

STRUGGLING FOR LIBERATION: A COMPARISON OF BLACK AMERICANS  
AND PALESTINIANS

by

Dima M. A. Meemi  
A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty  
of  
George Mason University  
in Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree  
of  
Master of Science  
Conflict Analysis and Resolution  
Master of Arts  
Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security

Committee:

\_\_\_\_\_ Chair of Committee

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate Program Director

\_\_\_\_\_ Dean, Jimmy and Rosalynn  
Carter School for Peace and  
Conflict Resolution

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Fall Semester 2020  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA

Struggling for Liberation: A Comparison of Black Americans and Palestinians

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degrees of Master of Science at George Mason University and Master of Arts at the University of Malta

by

Dima M. A. Meemi  
Bachelor Degree  
Bir Zeit University, 2019

Director: Richard E. Rubenstein, Associate Professor  
Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution

Fall Semester 2020  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA

Copyright 2018 Dima M. A. Meemi  
All Rights Reserved

## **DEDICATION**

This is dedicated to my parents, siblings, and those who supported me in the path of achieving my goals.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was a hustle trying to write my thesis in Occupied Palestine, amongst this global pandemic that affected me mentally and physically, as I was resuming my medical treatment amongst the health crisis that the Palestinian hospitals had faced within the pandemic, and with the continuous electricity failures that effected almost all the citizens of the West Bank because of the Israeli control over electricity, But I still made it!

So to you, my family, friends, professors, who supported me in the path of obtaining my higher education, the government of the Republic of Malta for sponsoring me and helping me to achieve one of my goals in life, specifically Dr. Omar Grech, his Excellency Ambassador Reuben Gauci, and Professor Richard E. Rubenstein.

ML McGinty, who was my best friend in Malta, and still is although miles apart,

Abdulrahman Al-Zubeidi, for his endless love and support,  
Sarah Zaghari, and Reem Sadi for their support on all levels,  
And specifically;

To those who had and are still facing oppression because of who they are  
To the souls of those who were brutally killed because of their color,  
religion, gender, sexuality, and nationality  
For the ones behind bars, because they took a stand or just existed  
For Black American fighters  
For Palestinian freedom fighters  
And all the oppressed

I give my humble Thesis to you

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Chapter One: .....	1
Chapter Two.....	8
Chapter Three.....	33
Chapter Four.....	39
Chapter Five.....	51
Chapter Six.....	62
Chapter Seven .....	76
Chapter Eight .....	88
References.....	91

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

**PFLP\*** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

**USA\*** Unites States of America

**US\*** United States of America

**PLO\*** Palestinian Liberation Organization

**OPT\*** Occupied Palestinian Territories

**BDP\*** Baltimore Police Department

**BPP\*** Black Panther Party

**IDF\* and IOF\*** Israeli Occupation Forces, falsely known as Israeli  
“Defense” Forces, IDF.

**BDS\*** Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement

**WW1\*** world war 1

**WW2\*** World War 2

**UAE\*** United Arab Emirates.

**MENA\*** Middle East and North Africa

**NSJP\*** National Students for justice in Palestine.

**PARC\*** Palestinian American Research Center.

## **ABSTRACT**

### **STRUGGLING FOR LIBERATION: A COMPARISON OF BLACK AMERICANS AND PALESTINIANS**

Dima M. A. Meemi, M.S.

George Mason University, 2020

Thesis Director: Dr. Richard E. Rubenstein

As the world is constantly being reshaped by various and numerous factors, the resurfacing and/or development of arising core issues has been inevitable; concepts of slavery and colonialism remain to find new shapes, forms, and trends into existing in today's modern world. Notably, in a world where individualism is being promoted on a wide range, and is in fact a dominant concept, liberation movements have failed to accomplish their goals and aspirations towards a better future, specifically with the lack of a unified forum that provides genuine and substantial support, further intruding on the possibility of facilitating functional and practical dialogues for purposes of discussing and achieving the goals and demands of these liberation movements. Today, Black Americans are still suffering the oppression and injustices resultantly related to racism and institutionalized discrimination, while black underclass remains a distinct feature of Black Americans lives. Further, Palestinian people remain under the rule of the Israeli occupation, constantly, suffering

Israel's systematic and widespread oppression, discrimination, dehumanization, and ethnic cleansing, with complete and evident disregard to their fundamental and inherent human rights. Evidently, in both case studies and other similar cases of oppression and discrimination, Human Rights Defenders, politicians', vocal opponents' of aforementioned policies, and liberation movements, have all been labelled as terrorists' and demonized by their oppressors' and third parties within the international community who failed to provide any accountability for the real perpetrators due to political pressure, or mutual interests, underpinning the tragedy of millions of human being spread across the today's modern world. Liberation movements' found refuge and inspiration from previous, current and similar movements, advocating for solidarity for various causes in different and available forums. Notably, the clear Palestinian Black Solidarity, which was most obvious in which Kristian Davis Bailey, and Naber referred to as the "Gaza-Ferguson Era", allowed for the first distinct steps in introducing organized solidarity with movements advocating for the right of Black people; however, the shared solidarity was lacking in some aspects and was not perceived strongly. This research aims at exploring and analyzing the commonalities between Black and Palestinian Liberation movements, furthermore, it will seek shaping a framework that allows for more organized solidarity between liberation movements' that could be made with other movements [Zionism for instance]. Additionally, this research will highlight the importance of creating a comprehensive global liberation movement, or alternatively a unified forum for all liberation movements, and will study the initial steps towards either, in order to create a systematic and sustainable change within a global context.

**Key Words:** Palestinians, Black-Americans, Palestine, Israel, USA, Demonization, Criminalization, Racism, Black Lives Matter, Terrorists, Riots, identity, enemy, capitalism, crisis, movements, protests, language.

## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Solidarity, empathy, and support have characterized some social and political movements across the globe, in most cases, the movements' mutual support for each other's different causes has perpetuated inspiration and a global awareness of the shared human struggles across the globe. Liberation movements' mutual struggle to achieve their agendas and aspirations constituted a significant role in creating an ideological and humane connection between them, and solidifying their solidarity, which was expressed through different platforms and various forms including words, art, and supportive actions. This research aims to study and analyze the connection that emerged between the Black Liberation Movement, and the Palestinian Liberation movement, as these two movements were an example of the few that aimed to create connections based on them both being oppressed, demonized, criminalized, and commonly fighting against imperialism, racism, and discrimination, however, that connection is not deep, and sometimes it is not even clear.

The questions that arise when observing the solidarity, if any, are; what are the features of it; what is the nature of that solidarity; where does it start and how; what purposes does it serve; and how could it improve. Frank Barat in his interview with Angela Davis had stated that "Solidarity movements are, of course, by their very nature non-violent", but solidarity

is not always comfortable, especially if it is associated with a case like Palestine, as in most of the time is associated with the promoted idea of Anti-Semitism, or Terrorism. The same way the most recent Black protests support and solidarity was associated with support of “looting and rioting”. And although the connection between the Palestinian People and Black American people became in its most clear shape during what is referred to as “the Ferguson – Gaza Era”, in 2014, and most recently amongst the Black revolution following the murder of Floyd, there is significance to examine its deeper roots, and its relative historical context while focusing on both; similarities and differences between the two movements. Connections between movements are not constant, nor firm, and this was evident in Black American Leadership’s support of the Zionist movement in Palestine in 1948, while in 1967, this support took a clear shift, as the international community reached consensus that the Israeli settler’s existence in Palestine constituted an occupation of the Palestinian people, and the employed Israeli oppressive policies, and violations of Palestinian fundamental freedoms and human rights defied their right to self-determination. It was until then, when Black radical groups located the Palestinian people’s Struggle as one against Imperialism, which resultantly led them to express solidarity with Palestinians (Bailey, 2015). That happened while Zionists still tried to re-create connections with different activists and scholars for promoting their agenda of oppressing and repressing Palestinian movements and resistance. A recent example of this was given by Nadine Naber in her article which explored Palestinian-Black solidarity, in which Mark Yudof back in 2012, who occupied the President of California University position at the time, equated Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation to Anti-Semitism, and

vocally expressing his support to the discriminatory and apartheid policies employed by Israel, with complete disregard to the Palestinian people struggle (Naber, 2017).

The history of Black – Palestinian Solidarity is entrenched throughout recent history; both Palestinian and Black American leaderships found mutual support in each other's struggles, and with other similar-cause based struggles around the world, including the South African Struggle, the Vietnamese Struggle, and other liberation movements across the globe. Malcolm X was amongst the most influential African-American leaders to express that solidarity, and show support; he stated that "In short, the Zionist argument to justify Israel's present occupation of Arab Palestine has no intelligent or legal basis in history." Greg Thomas who had published an article in 2016 exploring the connections between BPP and the PLO mentions three official statements made by the BPP expressing support for Palestinians and their resistance against Zionism and Israel, the statements were dated in 1970, 1974, and 1980. The first statement was issued in a press conference and focused on showing complete support of the BPP to Palestinians and the PLO and emphasized on the communication between both movements; "We support the Palestinian's just struggle for liberation one hundred percent. We will go on doing this, and we would like for all of the progressive people of the world to join in our ranks in order to make a world in which all people can live". Second statement made reflected on the clear stand of the BPP on the support of Israeli withdrawal from the lands which it occupied in 1967. The third statement which was published in the Panther's newspaper following Newton's visit to Lebanon, which drew an image of connection between leaders from both parties and parallelism between the PLO programs in Lebanon and the BPP programs in

America. Thomas also mentions anonymous publications that had expressed solidarity with Palestinians (Thomas, 2016). These were amongst the most featured expressed solidarity coming from Black American movements towards Palestinians, their cause, and struggle.

Lubin explored deeper connections between the BBP and the Palestinian question and movements, in his article titled “Black Panther Palestine”, he stated in reference to the connections between Black and Palestinian movements that: “Palestine became an important geography in the making of a Third World international movement and no U.S.-based group was more directly responsible for creating a global liberationist politics linking Palestine and urban Black America, and in developing an ideological position on Third World solidarity, than the Black Panther Party” (Lubin, 2016).

And if we do examine the archive of Palestinian Posters, we see solidarity expressed in art (*The Palestine Poster Project Archives*, n.d.) specially those created by the Swiss Marc Rudin, who later took the name Jihad Mansour during his involvement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). (*Interference Archive | Marc Rudin/Jihad Mansour-Images for Palestine*, 2014).

## **DISTINCT FEATURES OF SOLIDARITY**

During the Ferguson Protests in 2014, Black protestors were faced by tear gas bombs, in attempts to break down the protests and silence rebellious acts; a response that is very familiar and constantly employed by Israel against Palestinian protestors in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT). Notably, a clear-cut solidarity between Palestinian

Liberation movements and Black protests was perceived, considering the simultaneous Palestinian, and specifically the Gazan support dedicated to Black Americans in Ferguson, undergoing the same policies that are applied on them, such as bombarding of civilian neighborhoods and cities and constant acts of aggression. The Police, using the same manufactured weapons and bombs used against Palestinians in Palestine, broke down the Ferguson protests, this support was reciprocated from the Palestinian side towards Black protestors, the solidarity took different forms varying from speeches, slogans, to practical advice on methods and ways to survive tear gas bombs (Naber, 2017). The Gaza-Ferguson Era, paved the way for more organized forms of solidarity, including the exchange of organized delegations from both sides, Palestinian and Black. (Day, 2019) and (Bailey, 2015). Furthermore, this year witnessed the most recent features of solidarity following the brutal death of George Floyd, noting Palestinian activists' significant and clear attitude, providing their solidarity while maintaining the main focus on Black Struggle, by raising awareness about it, in trials to maintain and strengthen the organized solidarity that started between both parties, Palestinians and Black people. (CAIR, 2020)

An example of the organized efforts that followed the Gaza-Ferguson Era was the Right to Education campaign's (Right2du) tour, the campaign which is located at Birzeit University campus, Ramallah/Palestine, along with National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) as they took an initiative to tour and provide substantial informative visits to different universities across the US for the purpose of raising awareness on the Palestinian Cause, the tour was named "Building Unity, Breaking Walls". ("2016 Right to Education Tour," 2016). Later on, field visits for delegations from different spots around the world and from

the US specifically started flowing to Palestine for the purpose of actually seeing the Palestinian struggle on the ground, Those delegations were multicultural and from multidisciplinary backgrounds, involving academics, students, and activists, that included American academic delegations coming in collaboration with the Palestinian American Research Center (PARC) which come at least twice a year, and other delegations which came in collaboration with Dream Defenders (Bailey, 2016).

This research takes special interest in exploring the various connections between different struggles towards freedom and specifically Black American and Palestinian movements, it aims to explore how the process of demonization and labelling takes place, including the language used to describe specific groups, movements, and individuals affiliated with either of the aforementioned. More specifically, the research draws attention to features of solidarity employed within a global context, focusing on Black-Palestinian solidarity; in the process the research aims at exploring that solidarity, which is not always clear or deep enough, and ways and developing strategies to endorse more organized and efficient approaches for purposes of achieving a systematic change, driven by organized solidarity and collective actions. Importantly, two key issues arise with regards to the Black-Palestinian Solidarity phenomenon, firstly, the fear of Black people being labeled as Anti-Semitic, secondly the lack of understanding on the behalf of the Palestinian people of the roots and historical context related to the Black struggle. Both issues will be thoroughly addressed in the upcoming chapters. This thesis will look deeply into the connection between Black and Palestinian Struggles, its features, similarities, differences, and shift in attitude, and key issues relative to the Arab-Black Tension in the US in general. Through

the provided analysis, an exploration for the possibility of creating a solid ground for solidarity will take place; a solidarity that will enable a systematic change. Chapter two will present the selected and related literature, and it is divided into three sections. Chapter three will present the methodology of this research, while chapter four will present the differences and the similar features of both the Palestinian and Black struggle and oppression within a comparative context that will employ living examples. Chapter five will focus on exploring the emergence of demonization that occurred and occurs until now which targets freedom fighters, activists, scholars, and movements using theoretical frameworks by different scholars. Chapter six will look into the transformation of the forms of oppression, starting with the slavery era in the USA and its evolution in the today's modern world; drawing the evolvement of the Zionist oppression towards Palestinians, explaining how a direct war, was transformed into organized and structured violence, oppression and discrimination, which characterizes the main feature of conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries; Chapter seven will look deeply into the state of emergency that occurred and how it was employed in the violation of human rights of the targeted groups; (Palestinians, and Black Americans). Lastly, chapter eight will provide a conclusion on the research findings, problems, and criticism of the findings.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to comprehend the convergence between Black Resistance in the United States and Palestinian Resistance, among this global pandemic, in the light of the murder of Floyd, Black angry Protests, Palestinian angry protests, the deal of the century, the annexation decision, and the normalization of relations with the occupying power in the MENA Region, it is worthwhile to look into and explore the history of both Palestinian and Black struggles, and the recent events that both are facing. The black struggle against institutionalized racism, and the Palestinian Struggle towards freedom and self-actualization, and how the identity of a Black, or a Palestinian protestor, or a fighter is demonized, and criminalized. Section one of this chapter will be exploring relevant literature in the theories used to write this thesis, which includes theories on power, demonization, the identity of an enemy, old and new wars, and the states of emergencies and crisis, while section two will be exploring relevant literature to Black and Palestinian Struggles, focusing on police brutality, the US prison system, and Palestinian struggle in the recent history and/or present. Section three will be exploring relevant literature to Black-Palestinian Solidarity and especially in what was referred to by different scholars as the “Gaza-Ferguson Era”, and other forms of solidarity with other liberation movements, section four will be a conclusion of the summarized literature and a context analysis in which will facilitate the process of going deeper into the subjects being discussed.

## 2.1. THEORIES AND THEORITICAL DISCUSSION

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, *The Subject and Power*, and *Security, Territory, Population* are some of the very essential literature that were explored to prepare for writing this thesis, as power, and specifically what Foucault referred to as biopower, was and still is a core element in the discussion of oppression. Power and its dynamics in general is a key to understand racism and discrimination in the historical context and in the modern and current eras. Foucault's arguments will be brought up when discussing state power as a normalized power that functions invisibly through various methods, with the focus on the prison system, states of emergencies, and the control of the government over its population.

In his book published in 1975, *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explored the evolutions of power, and specifically; State power, and how a state shifted from using visible power in controlling its population, into invisible forms of power, Foucault viewed power as a relationship, or to be more accurate; a network of intense relationships, that are in conflict, and sometimes the intensity between those relationships cannot be seen, not knowing who has the power over the other, but still, who has the power, produces knowledge, because they are somehow superior. Those power relations are not to be changed or adapted to, but the only way to get rid of power, is through resistance.

Foucault's approach to understanding history is as well an important key in understanding not what are things nowadays are like, but why are they the way they are, and how they became what they are. He then refers to how the prison system had changed, in a way that normalized the power relations, comparing prison systems back

then, to nowadays, and how the direct violence practiced on prisoners previously fueled the emotions of people, while nowadays punishment happens behind locked doors. And that being an essential point in this thesis, as it will be very helpful to understand the modern prison system that will be discussed later on.

Foucault's Essay, *Subject and Power*, is also an essential source here, as Foucault refers the key to understand power relations is by understanding the acts of resistance that aim to change those power relations. Not by describing them as "Anti-Authority" but by looking deeply into them and find the commonalities between those acts of resistance. Foucault highlighted the six commonalities and further explained on each one of them. Naming three types of struggles; against domination, the second is against exploitation, the third is against subjection. And the focus here will be on struggles against domination and subjection. He also explains how power is exercised, which help understand how state power which had been controlling its population for centuries, by promoting both at the same time; individuality and totality.

*Security, Territory, Population*, is a book that includes Foucault's lectures back in 1978, where he taught at the College de France, in the first lecture, dated on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January, Foucault gave an introduction to the definition of what he called bio-power, that term included the acts and policies that aim to control the biological features of humans, that falls in the political context, and how governments control their subjects, or their populations, hence, Foucault referred to biopower as biopolitics sometimes. He stated proposals that he believed were essential to the understanding of biopower. Firstly; investigating the why, how, where, between whom, and within which contexts those

policies take place, and how that form of power is applied as procedures and policies. Secondly; the set of relations that generate such forms of power, Foucault argues that such relations are not made nor found by themselves, he takes a logical and a coherent path in investigating and identifying the birth of such power relations and dynamics. Thirdly; he highlights that when looking into biopower, it for sure will intersect with historical, economic, and social fields, but argues that his approach is philosophical, still acknowledging that understanding biopower in the light of those fields facilitates our understanding of struggles and battles that were and are being produced in our societies. Fourthly; he emphasizes on his approach and analysis being philosophical, theoretical, and tactical. As he starts his lecture, he asks the broad question of what does “Security” mean, as he goes into details of the penitentiary system, the legal system, the permitted and the prohibited, he describes the whole system to be disciplinary. He then asks more specific questions on crimes, felonies and their punishments in the present, the most important of them all is; “Will crises, famines, or wars, severe or mild punishment..?” he mentions that disciplinary mechanisms did not only exist in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, they are still present in the juridico-legal code. Foucault states that; “discipline is exercised on the bodies of individuals, and security is exercised over the whole population”. (Foucault, 1982, 1995; Foucault et al., 2009)

Foucault’s work on power will be presented throughout the thesis, when talking about demonization and othering, it is important to acknowledge how power relations work, and how the subject is created, that is mainly being presented in chapter five, when discussing the demonization of Black Americans and Palestinians by their common, and

far Enemy. Biopower, and Foucault's conceptualization on what biopower is, is also important when looking at how the criminal justice system in the US aims to control the population, specifically; non-white population, the same is applicable when looking at the Israeli policies that are forcefully applied on Palestinians in the Occupied Territory, those policies are mentioned in chapters four, six, and seven. In the seventh chapter specifically, Foucault's question on what a state of crisis would do to the disciplinary system, in terms of the intensity and proportion of the criminalization and punishment, in the context of punishment, and securitization. The issue of a crisis or states of emergencies was explored by Scholar Giorgio Agamben, like Foucault, employs legal and political intersections within the discussion of security, and biopolitics.

#### *State of Emergency as a Paradigm of Government*

In this article, Agamben extends his previous work on the state of emergency, he explores how drawing the lines between legal and political intersection within a state of emergency is in itself a state of uncertainty, stating that the states of emergency are to be compared to the states created and caused by civil wars, hence, giving the government and authorities the power to practice their visible form of power under exceptional circumstances to control and contain the situation which they argue is a threat of security. Agamben highlights examples in which states of emergencies were declared and how they were used in different countries, including the US, within a historical context.

(Agamben, 2020)

Agamben's work was employed in chapter seven, which explored how a crisis and a state of emergency are used to employ the use of force on civilians covered by the argument of

security and securitization, that applies to both cases. The first; the way the Trump Administration dealt with the protests that flamed across the US in May-June, 2020. And the second; the Israeli policies towards Palestinian people, since the state of emergency within the Palestinian - Israeli conflict zone had been going on since 1948.

An interesting material that connected both scholars' work and theories was Katia Genel's *The Question of Biopower: Foucault and Agamben*. Genel combines Agamben's and Foucault's approaches together in her analysis of what is biopower, and how it functions. The most important section is Specifically the section where Racism was explored, the analysis of racism was brought up along with the question of how is killing normalized, killing that is applied by the state on specific populations and groups, and how does it become acceptable. (Genel, 2006)

In chapter six, where the development of the forms of oppression discussion takes place; I use the term "Wars" in the description of Race conflict in the US, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, mainly because killings that are based on race and religion take place in those conflict zones, and those killings equate to a genocide, and are to be considered, arguably, war crimes. The development of the forms of oppression used Kaldor's *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* as a reference, as it puts into comparison the four major differences between old wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, into the new wars of the 20<sup>st</sup> century, and those are; actors; goals; tactics; and funding. The most important differences in both case studies are; tactics; and goals, and how they shifted from direct attacks and direct killings into organized violence and structural violence. That applies if we are to categorize the case of Black Americans as a war,

which is the case when we look at organized violence and organized killings of Blacks in the US, while taking into consideration the history of how the racist structures developed, for the case of Palestine and Israel, the shift is quite clear, and it is a mix of both, but mainly, organized, and structural violence that is embedded within both [American and Israeli] systems, just as any other system, because the nowadays structural violence, is nothing but an extension of the old wars, but in a modernized manner. (Kaldor, 2013b). another supporting article also by Kaldor is; *In defense of new wars*, in this article, Kaldor reviews literature on the conceptualization of new wars, in this article she addresses four main components to the debate, the first is are new wars, “new”? the second is; whether a war is a war, or a crime, the third in which she explores the statistics on causalities of those war zones. The most interesting thing about Kaldor’s article is that she explores the political element of new wars, which is dropped in the discussion of the cases of exploration of both; the war on terror, and war on drugs. Kaldor states again the four major differences between old and new wars, in terms of actors, goals, methods, and forms of finance, and how Those key differences facilitated understanding the logic of new wars (Kaldor, 2013a).

Since the issues that my thesis is analyzing are deeply political and social, they include violent struggle between races as in the case of the US, and religious, political, and nationalist war in Palestine, with the existence of unsatisfied needs, needs that aren’t addressed, that keep the conflict going as the impact falls on a collective group, not only on an individual. An article that discussed the theory of needs was; *BASIC HUMAN NEEDS: THE NEXT STEPS IN THEORY DEVELOPMENT*. In this article, Rubenstein

looks closely into the existing theories that aims to analyze conflicts, he gives his criticism on those theories, whilst specifically focusing on providing possible approaches to the development of the theory of needs, he states that there is a “Need for a theory of Needs”, he believes that the theory in general lacks some elements, due to human needs being absolutized, and them not being examined within modern social conflicts that include elements of religion and identity (Rubenstein, n.d.).

The theoretical discussions that supported the claims made in chapter five were mainly concerned with the conceptualization of what demonization is, the identity of the demonizer and the demonized, and the identity of the enemy;

*The Jew, The Arab: A History of the Enemy*

Is a book by Professor Gil Anidjar, in which he theorizes the creation of the two bodies of the enemy, or just the enemy on two levels; theology, and politics. In which the theological enemy is created on the basis of religion, and God’s love, the political enemy is created based on materialistic basis, on power and authority on the earth. Anidjar, was amongst the scholars that successfully explained in theory the process of the creation of the enemy, in the historical example and centralization of Christianity, which could also be measured by centralizing Judaism, and Islam, as it will result in the same outcome; demonization and othering of the different ones, and those who rebel against the given power by God, are demonized as well. Previously; putting both, the Arab, and the Jew under the umbrella of the enemy, the enemy that Europe had created, and demonized (Anidjar, 2003). And now, those bodies of an enemy are applied on both, Palestinians, and Black Americans, as blacks are to be considered a political enemy, and Palestinians

are to be considered both; a theological and a political enemy, hence, a Theo-Political enemy. The analysis made did not take measures on the near enemy; as in it was not the American Police departments, nor only the Israeli Occupation Forces, it took the far enemy instead, which is a whole system that is profiting from oppression falling on those people.

### *Orientalism*

Is a book by the theorist Edward Said, first published in 1978, in his book, Said explains what the Orient is, and what Orientalism means, emphasizing on it being mainly on power relations between the West, and the Orient, or the East, and how the West always wants to be superior, in any way, and not only through armies, but also through other means, including Art. He also explains how the West was able to create an opposite image of everything that it is, the orient is exactly the opposite, any adjective that is given to the West, the East is in negation of that adjective. All that process of stereotyping the Orient, or the East, was adopted by experts, in many fields, including politics. Said's theory is essential in understanding the process of Othering, and how it really works, by creating imageries and stereotypes, that serves keeping power relations as they are; a superior West, and an inferior East (Said, 1978).

the theory is applied on the two specific case studies this thesis is analyzing; Palestinians; and Black people. Because the issue is not really only on the West being superior to the East, it is more related to power and power relations, which is applicable when we any case where there is the oppressor and the oppressed.

### *Reasons to Kill: Why Americans Choose War*

Is a book published by professor Richard E. Rubenstein in 2010, specifically Chapter Three of his book explains the process of demonization from the American Politics' perspective, and the characteristics of the demonizer, not only by giving examples of American military interventions, but also explaining why do these interventions happen, and how the identity of the enemy of the American identity is constructed, which is basically the "non-white others", whom are by default, inferior. The chapter illustrates that the reason behind the process of demonization, is othering in the first place, which occurs even in Cartoon. That in itself, is the start point of creating other differences, and categories, specifically racial differences, which are later used in a politicized manner, justifies war, and serves political and imperialist purposes. The main focus was on presenting the image of the enemy[From the US perspective], and what the identity of the enemy looks like. Satanic in nature, and has the ability, intentions, and capacity to harm us[Americans], therefore, justifying the reasons of killing the enemy. (R. E. Rubenstein, 2010). Rubenstein's analysis is brought up when discussing the process of demonization, but not only on focusing on the characteristics of the demonized, but also the demonizer.

Abdulrahim Alshaikh's Article "Violence, Militarization, and a Show" is an article published in Arabic, in December, 2019 amongst the wave of the vicious arrests wave by the Israeli Occupation Forces that targeted the students of Birzeit University, in his article, Alshaikh explains the functionality of Student Activism on Campus, comparing it to the failure of the official Palestinian governmental institutions, and how students on Campus, due to their activism are being attacked from both; the Israeli Governmental institutions, and the Palestinian Governmental institutions, and how those

students are being criminalized, as a part of the ongoing process of demonizing and deconstructing the identity of the Palestinian Hero, the Palestinian activist. Alshaikh's analysis will be brought up as part of supporting the discussion on demonizing the acts of resistance, on the level of shifting authoritarian power within the Palestinian National Authority, because he is, along with other Palestinian writers, explain how the PNA, adopted the Path to Peaceful, Non-Violent Resistance, kept only negotiations as an option, but kept losing more and more, including their credibility and people's trust, and failed to protect even their image with the path that they had chosen; Peace, and peaceful resistance. (Alshaikh, 2019)

Before going into the literature that explores Palestinian-Black solidarity in specific, a source that is worth looking at is *Locating Palestine In Pre-1948*. As it is mainly looking into the African American relations and views on Palestine pre and after the establishment of Israel. Indicating the shift of perspective on viewing Zionism as an anti-colonial, anti-racist movement, into a movement of colonialism and racism itself. In this chapter specifically, Lubin presents the employment of Said's Orientalism into understanding settler colonialism in Africa, and later he presents different perspectives of African Americans into what was going on in Palestine and Israel, the views on people, movements, and land, the swing of support (Lubin, 2009). This chapter gives a general idea of the African American perspective on Palestine within a historical frame, that itself gives basis to understanding Black American relations to Palestinian Arabs.

## **2.2 PALESTINIAN AND BLACK STRUGGLES**

This section explores literature on both Palestinian and Black Struggles, it focuses on highlighting the suffering of both people, the causations of those suffering, and the literature that explores forms of oppression applied on them, and whatsoever is related to them, police brutality, organized violence, demonization and criminalization, and organized and structural violence applied on them.

*Why we Won't Wait*

Is an article published by Robin D.G Kelley in November, 2014, as the Black American People were waiting for the verdict of Ferguson, the article was quite emotionally intense, listing the names of all those Black Lives whom were brutally taken away by the police at that time, or until that point of time, explaining how demanding of justice is not only over one incident, but it goes beyond that, it also shows how those victims and the history of killing becomes a part of a Black people's collective memory, that in itself fuels the conflict, because collective memory plays that big of a role in any conflict, and specifically social and racial conflicts. (Kelley, 2014)

*The 13<sup>th</sup>*

Netflix' Documentary, directed by Ava DuVernay is among the most successful documentaries in pointing the attention to Black Struggle from Slavery era until nowadays' Criminalization era. History, Interviews with scholars, and activists, statistics, and reports that shows how Racism is institutionalized and legalized rather than abolished. The movie starts off by indicating a loop in the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment which basically transformed the era of slavery into an era of criminalization of black people and other people of color, sitting all the black people free, but those that are criminals,

allowing the system to convict any black person with any felony and send them to prison, taking away their freedom. The movie addresses the issues and problems of the prison system in the USA, and how is it constructed to make profit and keep slavery going to rebuilt the economy after the American civil war, and later to make profit within the capitalist economic structure. Within the movie, stories of Black Americans were mentioned to further explain and relate the discussion to reality. (DuVernay, 2016)

*From “Brute” to “Thug”: the demonization and criminalization of unarmed Black male victims in America*

In this paper, the authors go deeply into the process of demonization and criminalization of Black Males at the hands of law enforcement in specific, relating that the stereotyping that leads to such treatment for Black male Victims happens due to many reasons, and that the most important reason behind that is the language used and adopted by media, and other sides. The study investigates the language and terminology that is used to describe Black men that were killed in the custody of law enforcement, and how it promotes stereotyping black men, which serves the process of justifying the unjustifiable actions that took away the victims’ lives. (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016)

*The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.*

Is a book by Michelle Alexander, in which she explores how racial discrimination became legally retained, and found its way into today’s world through the criminal justice system, and how the war on drugs itself is the key that facilitates racial discrimination and other features of white supremacy specifically in the US. The book is in chronological order, it starts from the end of the slavery era and goes all the way to the

present, and it is divided into six chapters, the first chapter explores racialized social control in the US through history, and how that racialized social control gave birth to a new racial caste system. In the second chapter she explores and describes in details that racial caste system; the mass incarceration, as she focuses on the functionality of the War on Drugs and it being the New Jim Crow, how it denies the rights of people of color not only pre and during arrest, but also after upon their release, and how they get denied of their rights, and discriminated against legally. In chapter three, she spots the light on the legal structure that rule within a system that stands on the racial discrimination, and the role of race within the American criminal justice system. Chapter four looks into those whom were released from prisons, and how their world looks like upon release, how the process of demonization and criminalization affects the black community from within. In chapter five, Alexander explores and states the parallelism between mass incarcerations and the Laws of Jim Crow, and the differences between them as well. Chapter six, Alexander looks into the unpredictability of the mass incarceration system, not saying that the Civil Rights movement failed in achieving its goals, but that the system that was born was not predicted, and although efforts will be focused on trying to amend and end mass incarceration, there is a huge potential for a birth of another system that cannot be foreseen. (Alexander, 2012).

The reason why Alexander believes that a new racist system might be born after the mass incarceration system is mainly Because racism is deeply rooted in the American society, we cannot predict what might come after the New Jim Crow, because forms of oppression keep developing. Alexander also states that although the Civil Rights'

movement helped somehow in abolishing the Jim Crow laws, the discrimination still continued but in reshaped forms, the policies that are now applied deprives black people and people of color from rights to education, housing, employment, and even the right to vote. And although Alexander's book is to be considered an in depth analysis to the similarities of the US criminal Justice System to the Jim Crow laws, with the legal and social dimensions, focusing not only on the prisons themselves, but the whole system and structures that function together in producing the neo-racialism in the US, the focus of the development of the forms of oppression I used specifically in chapter four in this thesis only looks at the shades of similarities between the slavery era and nowadays, specifically on how the prison system and police brutality targets black people specifically and other people of color in general, denying them from their basic rights and freedoms, and practices violence, and unnecessary use of force towards them, equating those policies and practices to a genocide, and a war crime. Alexander states that the main difference between the Jim Crow and the mass Incarceration is that the Jim Crow mainly counted on African Americans to run the economy of the US, while the mass incarceration system treats them as a "Disposable population", but one needs not to neglect the economic dimension when looking at the Criminal Justice System and the Prison industry, the prisoned population works on rates of less than one American Dollar a day, that in itself is almost free-labor, or in other words; slavery.

*The Drug War is the New Jim Crow*

In this article, Boyd explains the racial dimensions of the so-called war on drugs, and how it is the Jim Crow itself, but reshaped to fit today's world. He explains by giving

statistics, numbers, and percentages the effects of the war on drugs had on people of color, and specifically black men. Comparing how slavery put black men to work in plantations, now the prison system in depriving them from their own freedom, and stacking them in prison to practice free-labor, or in other words; slavery. Boyd makes a comparison throughout his article between the prison system nowadays, and slavery back then, showing how similar the effects they have on people of color. (Boyd, 2016)

*Right to Education rejects repeated arrests of Birzeit University students*

Was published during the wave of arrests that took students off the campus. The phenomenon of arresting student activists specifically from BZU is not new, it goes way back to the first and second intifadas, in which student activists were in the front lines of resisting the occupier (Right2Edu, 2019).

*The Haganah by Arab and Palestinian Historiography and Media* The article explores the Arab and Palestinian literature and narrative on the armed Zionist gangs, mainly the Haganah, which occupied and attacked Palestine and Palestinians during the Nakba; Haganah, Stern, and Irgun, which later were dissolved as small armed Zionist organizations and formed up the Israeli Defense Forces, IDF, or the Israeli Occupation Forces; IOF. The article highlights the connections of the Haganah's to the British mandate, because of that, it was frequently shut down by the British Authorities. The Haganah is an essential component in understanding the history of the conflict in the era between the end of WW1 and the end of WW2. The article explains the role of the Haganah as the official military group for the Zionist movement, because it later formed the IDF, or IOF, as the military forces of Israel, it supports the argument of how old wars

was performed by state actors, and aimed for a geopolitical expansion, hence; both; a war and an occupation. (Ozacky-Lazar & Kabha, 2002)

The description here on the Haganah does not give it its pure value, as it was to be considered the largest armed organization for the Zionist movement, the armed wing of the movement, literature on the Haganah is quite rich, and the main focus here is to present it as a large armed organization, and it being dissolved later to form the official Army for the State of Israel supports the argument of the state army intervention in 1948, equating it not only to Civil War, but arguably equating it to an occupation according to the International Law.

*The Systematic Torture of Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Detention*

Is an article that Explores the systematic torture of Palestinian political prisoners in Israel's custody, Mentioning the number of arrests and how it increased in 2019, highlighting the targeting of BZU students and the violations of the human rights of prisoners, and how the Israeli domestic law justifies those violations, and supports torture, Hawari mentions stories of prisoners and form sof torture they underwent, and the trials of those prisoners, she states the forms and mechanisms of torture used on prisoners, including women and children. Hawari indicates that prison torture is one of the faces of the Israeli structural violence that is targeted towards Palestinian civilians, she states that the reason international community gives no attention to reported cases of violence is because Israel uses the argument of state "securitization", and the "war on terror" narrative. Hawari at the end of her article gives suggestions for the workers on the human rights of Palestinians could and should take in order to address the issue of torture

applied on prisoners in Israeli detention and military prisons. This article includes important points that are related to the discussion of organized violence and human rights violations of Palestinian people, within the Israeli military prison system and the state of emergency and the argument of state securitization that Israel adopts. (Hawari, 2019)

## **2.3 BLACK PALESTINIAN SOLIDARITY**

### *Black-Palestinian Solidarity in the Ferguson-Gaza Era*

Is an article published by Kristian Davis Bailey, in which he highlights the history of Black-Palestinian solidarity and timelines it, he also highlights the commonalities; starting from racial capitalism, to the weapon identity that faced those Civilians in Gaza, and protestors in Ferguson, also indicating that solidarity did not start with the protests of Ferguson, but it goes to way back in time, however, Ferguson protests and the 50-day attack on Gaza in 2014 allowed for a chance of more organized collaboration between activists on both sides. Bailey pointed out that the solidarity episode is a new narrative that could move aside and disconnect Christian Zionism support to Israel, and Liberal Zionists that worked alongside with Black radical activists during the Civil Rights movement in the United States. (Bailey, 2015)

### *Freedom is a constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*

This book, published by Angela Davis, combines interviews, speeches and essays that address capitalism, racial capitalism, racism, discrimination, capitalization of security, and feminism. The book consists of ten chapters, all in which draws the connection between different liberation movements, in the first chapter; she publishes her email

interview with Frank Barat, discussing progressive struggles within a world that is run by capitalism, and where individualism is highly promoted, both Davis' questions, and Barat's answers open the eyes on many aspects on how a movement should work, what should it focus on, and solidarity is to be like between other movements, within a global context. And that is what the book mainly focuses on, in the first, and the other chapters; building and creating bridges between different freedom and liberation movements, regardless of where they are.

Simplifying that activism for Palestine does not require being an expert in the history of the conflict, the concept of establishing a movement that aims for a systematic and a sustainable change requires drawing the connections between different movements that are facing the same, or a different form of oppression, indicating that this in itself is a very difficult matter, in a world run by capitalism, and where individualism, and specifically, Capitalist individualism, is highly promoted. (Davis, 2016)

*"The U.S. and Israel Make the Connections for Us": Anti-Imperialism and Black-Palestinian Solidarity*

The article looks into Black-Palestinian Solidarity starting the Ferguson-Gaza events back in 2014, focusing on what followed those protests, from organized delegations visits, but at the same time she mentioned how Black radicals previously supported the Zionist movement as it strived for self-actualization, and how after 1967 that support switched into supporting Palestinians as an oppressed nation in a third world country. After 1967, Black activist started connecting Palestinian movements to other decolonization movements, later on that solidarity between Black people and Palestinian

people started to become clearer in features, however, Naber later states that the features of that Solidarity is no longer obvious, as they were not really taken for granted on an earlier stage either. Naber describes it in words saying that “the connections between these groups faded from view” but explains that the focus on them fell again in 2014 because of the U.S imperialism; referring to sponsoring Israel financially, and with weapons, and the exchange of training between the Israeli Army and the American Police Forces. Naber also looks deeply into the militarization of American Police, American Police which justifies it’s anti-any person of color as either a war on drugs, or a war on terrorism. Naber also indicated that a connection between two movements can be done by anyone, and can serve any purpose drawn, as she gives a recent example; in 2012, in which Mark Yudof made the connection in the opposite way, equating Palestinian Resistance to being Anti-Black Racist, and of course the common one; being Anti-Semitic, that backfired, and did not give the intended result that he wished for, but still; it was an indication of how one can draw the connection, and what purposes could it serve. (Naber, 2017)

*Finding a path to an enduring Black-Palestinian Solidarity*

This article was published by +972 magazine, after the fourth Dream Defenders Delegation’s visit to Palestine, Eli Day, wrote about that journey, that aimed to deepen international activists’ understanding on illegal occupation on the Palestinian territories (OPT). During that visit, he had met some Palestinian activists as well, whom emphasized on the idea of both; the importance of international solidarity; and the idea of the common enemy. Day, along with other members of that delegation, described their

experience relating it to their own, not as identical, but similar. Later on, Day describes it as even a harder struggle than any struggle can be seen in the United States, as he describes the land theft, the siege on Gaza, denying Palestinians of their citizenships, and unfair water distribution. Ending his article on focusing on the importance of solidarity. (Day, 2019)

*With whom are many U.S Police departments training? With a chronic Human Rights Violator – Israel*

Is a blog written by Edith Garwood, country specialist at Amnesty International USA, who is covering Israel, Palestinian Occupied Territories and the State of Palestine, Garwood highlights that many of the American Police Departments, and Law Enforcement Officials from many American States fly to Israel for training, especially in what it comes to crowd control, and use of force. These training trips are funded from taxes, and others are privately funded; including Zionist organizations in the US, that directly sponsored and funded those training trips, which as she describes; “is concerning”. (Garwood, 2016)

*THE POLICE MAY PULL THE TRIGGER, BUT IT'S THE SYSTEM THAT KILLS*

Is a freshly published article by Professor Rubenstein, in which he lists three key facts on the Racial uprising in the US. First fact; is that the reasons behind those protests are deeply political; and that those protests, likewise the previous ones, started after reported cases of Police violence and brutality; and lastly, the reforms that were planned never really got to the core of the issue, which is systematic. Rubenstein explains how the

system in the US structured racism works, in relation to not only history, but also to the economic system, which all the attempts to reform it were doomed to failure. He also stated that the system cannot be amended by acknowledging the racist history of America, nor by imposing restrictions on police and police departments, however, he lists some strategies for change, using these three approaches; Reformist approach; Radical approach, and revolutionary approach, and he explains further on how each approach works. Ending his article on the focus of the importance of satisfying human needs in order to achieve an actual change. Rubenstein suggests solutions for solving the issues of racialism within the system as a whole, as he highlights the role of capitalism as well. The article supports some of the arguments that my thesis is stating, specifically by focusing on the capitalist structure of the US and how it needs to be amended. (R. Rubenstein, 2020)

*Beyond Control: the criminalization of African asylum seekers in Israel*

Is an article published in February, 2020. The authors look deeply into the criminalization process of African asylum seekers coming to Israel through the borders with Africa, and the reasons behind it, and although both authors refer it to something beyond the state power, it still shows that it is for security purposes, which in itself is the argument of other human rights violations towards Palestinians, as in; they could be a threat. The authors use the term of “moral panic” in explaining why is the process of criminalization of African asylum seekers (Orr & Ajzenstadt, 2020). The article, in discourse, tries to justify the Israeli racist policies towards non-whites. The literature was used because of its recency, and because it merges the argument of the securitization of the state, which is

Israel's justification on its attacks on the OPT and Palestinian civilians, and how this argument is used to justify racism and racist policies now.

### *Black Panther Palestine*

In which Lubin highlights the three main claims that the panthers made regarding the Palestinian question. And those are, firstly; Israel being an extension of the US, secondly; Israeli diplomatic support of South Africa's government reflected on Israel's support to apartheid, and lastly; that the PLO is struggling against the same struggle, Lubin states that the connection made between BPP and the PLO was secular and not based on religious basis. (Lubin, 2016) the analysis made on the connection between the two organizations is used as well throughout this thesis, however, it is not based on the secularity or the secular politics, the connections made here is by analogizing the struggles within a global context, and with the absence of satisfying the needs of the people being oppressed, and the similarities of the systems that work on oppressing them.

The selected literature on Black-Palestinian Solidarity gives a general background on how, when, and why that solidarity occurs, in the upcoming chapters, the answers of what is the nature of that solidarity and what does it serve will be answered as part of the discussion and analysis.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION AND CONTEXT ANALYSIS**

### **2.4.1 CONCLUSION**

The body of the selected literature above will comprehend creating a thesis that explores deeply the connections between Black and Palestinian liberation movements, as well as any other liberation movement, by understanding the similarities of the forms of

oppression, within a global context, the way that oppression developed and transformed from one era to another, the process of demonization that is focused on those two cases being studied and analyzed, by understanding the identity of both, the demonizer, and the demonized, and the roots of that process, and what it really aims for. The role of collective memory in fueling a conflict, especially for both of the case studies being discussed. And not only by shedding the light on the importance of solidarity, which in its nature, is peaceful, but also, on what goes beyond that sort of solidarity, in order to be able to achieve an actual change. Of course, the body of the literature includes gaps, those gaps will be partially fulfilled in the body of this thesis, but the question that will be produced will also create gaps. When talking about solidarity, many perceive it as “useless” or “purposeless”, some even reject forms of solidarity from other groups with their group, and that is mainly the case with the Arab and Black American tension in the US, and Palestinians themselves being Arabs.

#### **2.4.2 CONTEXT ANALYSIS:**

Among this Global pandemic that the entire world had been dealing with starting approximately March of 2020, and On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 2020; The 46-year old black American George Floyd’s neck was knelt on by a white American Policeman in Minneapolis,<sup>1</sup> people passing by got those moments recorded, as Floyd pleaded “I Can’t Breathe” that didn’t stop the police from taking his breaths, and life away anyway.

---

<sup>1</sup> Christine Hauser, Derrick Bryson Taylor, and Neil Vigdor, “‘I Can’t Breathe’: 4 Minneapolis Officers Fired After Black Man Dies in Custody,” *The New York Times*, (May 26, 2020), accessed August 10, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/us/minneapolis-police-man-died.html>.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 2020. Eyad Hallaq, an Autistic 32-year old Palestinian was brutally shot by the Israeli Occupation Forces in Old City of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

These two murders happened in two different spots in the world, and both were used next to each other in character, art, and protest slogans in Palestine, Israel, and the U.S. these murders were not unique, they were not the first of a kind, and for sure won't be the last, but the reasons behind them are quite tied, whether it was obvious or not; Racism, discrimination, structural and systematic violence, and othering are the causes of such organized crimes within a structure of any conflict, and conflicts that had been going on for longer periods of time.

Whether the connection is clear or not, this thesis is to look into the institutionalized violence that Black American People, and Palestinian People had been and are constantly facing, as a comparison, highlighting the similarities and commonalities between both struggles towards freedom, the importance of international solidarity, by focusing on different factors that deals with the demonization of one's identity, actions, and how it functions on beyond just the individual's level, through various methods, and perhaps the most important of them all; language.

---

<sup>2</sup> Josh Breiner, "Unarmed Palestinian Killed by Police Died of Two Bullet Wounds to His Torso, Autopsy Shows - Israel News - Haaretz.Com," (May, 2020), accessed August 10, 2020. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-unarmed-palestinian-killed-by-police-died-of-two-bullet-wounds-to-his-torso-1.8885289>.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe; methodology used in this research; research questions; objectives; and obstacles of conducting this research.

#### **3.1. Methodology used in this research:**

In order to conduct this research, the method that was followed focused on gathering and analyzing archival sources, primary and secondary ones. Primary sources that provided theoretical frames that were used to analyze and to support the arguments of this thesis. That included different books exploring the concepts of demonization, wars, and racism given by various scholars and different perspectives, as the analysis of the pre-existing literature that is directly and indirectly related to the concepts being discussed and within this thesis. The use of secondary sources to support the given arguments, secondary sources included news articles that were gathered from different news agencies; American, Israeli, and Palestinian, mainly reporting key events that are related. Social media content specifically regarding officials' comments on the most recent events; Floyd's protests, the Deal of the Century, the Annexation, and the Peace agreement between the UAE and Israel.

The use of quantitative data was coming from the pre-existing literature, the quantitative data was not gathered by the researcher, and it does fall short in the research as the mention of statistics and percentages was used to support and explain the arguments given, and it is mentioned within the literature used to build this thesis.

All the data collected aimed to comprehend a decent research that aims to synthesize the similarities, and mark the differences between the two case studies being analyzed, and support it providing events, analysis of language and terminology, all in which will expand the literature concerned with Black and Palestinian Struggles and the forms of Solidarity between them, hoping that it will contribute to the conversation of solidarity between different liberation movements, specifically Black-Palestinian Solidarity, and help other researchers that are further exploring the Palestinian Question, and Black Struggle within the embedded and structured Racism and Discrimination.

Chapter four highlighted the similarities and marked the differences between Black American people and Palestinian people, those similarities were supported by giving recent examples that reflect a similar experience of both people and their movements. In chapter five, the use of theories was employed in analyzing and in creating a comprehensive analysis on the process of demonization that occurs and falls on Black people and Palestinians in general, supporting it with a general analysis of the nature of both struggles, within a historical frame. While chapter six aimed to analyze the timeline and development of the forms of oppression on the two case studies being discussed, using the Kaldor's stated differences on old and new wars, the support of that argument was by making the reference to incidents and events that happened in the recent history and the published news articles on those events. While in chapter seven, theorizing the functionality of the state of emergency in creating a state of disequilibrium between law and political order, and how a state emergency plays a role in justifying human rights violations, that argument was supported by providing articles from the

international law, along with official statements declared by the US and Israel in regards of how to deal with a state of a crisis or an emergency.

Throughout the research, the used news articles made as a reference were footnoted, as they were not listed within the literature review. The used news articles were coming as stated earlier from various News agencies with various perspectives. The statistics that were used within this research were pre-existing amongst the literature that was used to build and create this thesis, hence, the quantitative data used in this research was not gathered by the researcher, as it is coming from previous reports, literature, and articles.

### **3.2. Research questions:**

The research questions developed while conducting the research, and answered throughout the analysis in each chapter, and they could be summarized as follows:

1. How similar are the Black American Struggle compared to the Palestinian struggle?
2. What are the differences between Black American and Palestinian Struggles?
3. What does the process of demonization look like when we discuss the identity of activists, protestors, or fighters within the contexts of each case study?
4. Who is the demonizer, and what are their characteristics?
5. How different is the process of demonization in both cases?
6. What does the demonization process serve? And for the good of whom?
7. How have the nature of the oppression falling on Black Americans and Palestinians had shifted from the past compared to the present?

8. What are the human rights violations of both Blacks, and Palestinians?
9. How does a “state of emergency” during a crisis function in justifying more violations of human rights?
10. Why is solidarity important, and specifically; Global solidarity within a Global context.

The above research questions are to be analyzed in chapters five, six, and seven, while chapter eight was comprehending and summarizing the outcomes of the research findings and its criticism. As each question will be analyzed through theories. The literature existing regarding Black and Palestinian struggles is rich, while the literature focusing specifically on Black and Palestinian solidarity is not as rich, and it was mostly focused on the Gaza-Ferguson Era, and it does neglect a very important issue, which arose in the recent Black revolution following Floyd’s murder, and that is; the tension between Arab Americans and Black Americans in the US.

### **3.3. Research Objectives:**

The key objectives of this humble research paper are; to analyze to commonalities and differences of racial and political oppression that both Black Americans and Palestinians had been dealing with for decades, or more accurately, centuries; to draw a decent connection, based on facts, while acknowledging the historical events and current events that might contradict that connection; and to honor the memory of those whom were brutally killed by the same manufactured and sponsored weapons.

### **3.4. Research Problems:**

The research has few problems, and these are summarized as follows:

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in the beginning of this year, the research methodology switched from mainly focusing on personal interviews with academics and activists from the Black American Community, and from the Palestinian Community into the methodology described above at the beginning of this chapter. It is important to mention that there was the option of having virtual interviews, however, and amongst the angry protests that Black people are having the Palestinian Interviewees, did not feel safe nor comfortable conducting interviews virtually. And due to the arrests of some of the candidates, including the BDS coordinator Mahmoud Nawajaa.

The literature on Black and Palestinian Solidarity is mainly focused in the Gaza-Ferguson Era, although there are many Black American activists that support Palestinian Human rights and Palestinian struggle, and vice versa is also true. But the existing literature is mainly focused on that era.

The core issue is regarding the high tension between Black Americans and Arab Americans in the USA, this issue was highlighted by activists and scholars from both sides, such as Amer Zahr, and Kristian Davis Bailey. Perhaps during the recent protests, it is the first time a real action to address this issue had been planned, it started by the BDS conducting one virtual discussion circle that discussed this matter. Activists specifically from the Palestinian side started writing and addressing the issues of racism in the Arabic communities on black people, and demanded the abolish of the use of racist terminology that is widely used within the modern spoken Arabic. In the US specifically, the roots of that Arab-Black tension are pure economic, Bailey mentioned in his work that anti-blackness is mainly coming from the Merchant class that is formed by Arabs in

Black urban communities, and that “it has been an impediment to mainstream antiracist and anti-imperialism solidarity” (Bailey, 2015).

I personally avoided the use of Sources that were only available in Arabic, due to the very little time we had in conducting this research and the time that translation might require.

The research itself only aimed to theorize and put both struggles in anatomy in terms of demonization and development of oppression forms and tools. It lacks the ability of actually producing or drafting a plan for developing strategies of solidarity and activism between the two movements and/or within a global context.

The limitations of exploring the Human Rights violations in the occupied territory, as a Palestinian myself could put me at risk, Palestinian activists and students are being criminalized, and are facing arrests from both; the Israeli Occupation Forces; and the Palestinian Authority itself.

With all the given circumstances, the thesis which was outlined as described earlier in this chapter, touching the issues of demonization, criminalization, human rights violations without and with the employment of states of emergencies, although the mentioned obstacles and problem restricted and shifted the path of the used methodology, restricted and limited the research, and perhaps did not draw the complete picture of what the research aimed to create, still the core issues aimed to be discussed in this thesis were comprehensively analyzed through archival sources.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES UNDER THE WIDE UMBRELLA OF OPPRESSION

Establishing the connection between any two matters requires stating similarities and differences between the two matters; specifically, in the case of Palestinian and Black struggles, one needs to draw a bit further than usual; and to ensure including any relative stakeholders. This chapter will explore the similarities and differences between both parties by stating living examples to clarify and support the features of parallels and disputes.

Before exploring the connections between the two struggles, we need to explore the connections between Colonialism and Racism, as both are two inseparable issues, and the connections between them were explored by many scholars. The relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is a main lens in which enables us to look through it at the issues discussed, Memmi analyzes that this relationship is based on political and economic exploitation, where the colonized is always eliminated, until there is none to be eliminated and colonized, that is where colonialism stops, and when the role of the colonizer ends (Memmi, 2003), If we equate the Criminal justice system in the US, or the US as a whole to be a colonizer, the exploitation of Black Americans and other people of color will be understood within the historical context of the establishment of the US, and in terms of the economic structure that roles the country, and controls other systems, including the Criminal justice system. Later on, establishing connections

between the two case studies will become easier, since the reality of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can be approached by analyzing the relationship between the occupier and the occupied, a colonizer and the colonized. As a start, an acknowledgement of the differences of each struggle as its own is a must. The Palestinian – Israeli conflict is an intractable conflict with many faces, and the approach of analyzing the nature of it differs by the timeline, or the decade we observe. It includes the element of religion and identity, and at the same time, it is strongly politicized as a political conflict as well. The approach in which we analyze the conflict through either allows us to approach the Israeli discriminative policies as based on religion, or based on ethnicity. The discrimination towards Palestinians is because of them being goys, and the discrimination towards African Jews in Israel is based on racialism, and them being non-whites.

Besides the two struggles being different in nature; when looking at each group of people the circumstances are different. the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment, which was ratified in 1868 granted citizenship of all African-Americans and slaves in the country, meaning that when looking at the Black struggle in the US we look at an oppression that is towards citizens of the country, while in the case of Palestinians, there is still an issue of recognition of the state, or human, and legal rights of Palestinians because they're not Jews, and they do not belong to the Jewish state. So, looking to each struggle separately meaning that we are looking at a religious, political, and social conflict/warzone in Palestine, and systematic and institutionalized violence based on race and institutionalized racism against Black-American people in the US.

Despite the differences mentioned, the similarities between Black Americans in the US and Palestinians in the OPT and Palestinians in Israel are many, and they can be summed up in several points;

The first point; their realities are a product of a history that did not contribute to and/or had a say in creating or drawing its path. Resultantly, such realities are human made and shaped by white colonial settlers, and the roots of colonialism and slavery. The roots of colonialism and slavery are inseparable from white supremacy, in fact, they are deeply rooted within its origins, struggles towards freedom today are mainly against the new structures and conceptualizations of colonialism, wars, and racism; intractable conflict zones nowadays are mainly the zones that were colonized by/or under the British Mandate, and those are; Palestine; Kashmir; Ireland; and Hong Kong. A further inspection into the history of the creation of the US is the thirteen British colonies that were established at the expense of the blood of the Native people of the land; and the very first kidnapped group of Africans from the African continent who were sent to those colonies to be enslaved, raped, massacred and those spared to live under the mercy of the white masters who employed the most brutal, barbaric methods into torturing and killing them, those Africans suffered immense tragedies at the expense of their existence. Even the American Civil war, waged in order to unite the Northern and Southern states went viciously harsh due to white colonialists rejecting to end slavery. On the other hand, Palestinian people were occupied by the Ottoman Empire, and later were put under the authority of the British Mandate, who both contributed in facilitating White Jewish migration to Palestine, and later gave the Balfour declaration promising the establishment

of a Jewish home for Jews in Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Palestinians were forcibly displaced, transferred and exiled from their own country into neighboring countries, and remain until today to live in diaspora.

The second point; they are both to considered and categorized as second-class citizens, and are not treated equally. A Palestinian is not treated the same way an Israeli is. And a Black person isn't treated the same way a White person is whether in the US, or in Israel itself. To clarify this point; Palestinians in the West Bank are forcefully put under a Military system, that aims to deny their human rights, and needs, For example; an Israeli minor is convicted for stone throwing, he is to be tried in a civil court, and get a light sentence, or bailed out immediately. On the other hand, a Palestinian minor, convicted for the same crime, is to be tried in a military court, and could face up to 20 years in Israeli military prisons, and that is exactly what happened in the case of Aisha Rabi, whom was stoned till death by four Israeli Settlers while in her car along with her husband and daughter in the northern part of the West Bank, Only one of the four guys was tried in a civil court and got a light sentence,<sup>4</sup> while Palestinian kids, and youth, if marched in a peaceful protest, or got convicted for stone throwing, would be tried in military court, and could either face administrative detention, or up to a 20 year sentence. Today, at least 142 Palestinian minors are in Israel's Custody.<sup>5</sup> The case is quite similar

---

<sup>3</sup> "Text of the Balfour Declaration," accessed August 1, 2020, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/text-of-the-balfour-declaration>.

<sup>4</sup> Jacob Magid, "Supreme Court Okays House Arrest for Teen Accused of Killing Aisha Rabi | The Times of Israel," *Times of Israel*, (May 19, 2019), accessed August 10, 2020. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/supreme-court-okays-house-arrest-for-teen-accused-of-killing-aisha-rabi/>.

<sup>5</sup> B'Tselem, "Statistics on Palestinian Minors in the Custody of Israeli Security Forces," (June 30, 2020), accessed September 10, 2020. [https://www.btselem.org/statistics/minors\\_in\\_custody](https://www.btselem.org/statistics/minors_in_custody).

in the United States within the criminal and racist system. A Black person could face imprisonment for life if only suspected with the possession of marijuana, while a white person would be left out with just a warning, statistics showed that Blacks are 3.64 times more likely to be arrested than whites for marijuana possession.<sup>6</sup> The US has the quarter of the world prisoner's population, in which 40% of them are Black, although Black people form up less than one quarter of the population in the US (DuVernay, 2016). The statistics themselves show a systematic issue, which is embedded within the criminal justice system, and the war on drugs, which was a war against people of color, the issue which was analyzed in Michelle Alexander's book; *The New Jim Crow*, Alexander stated a comparison between the imprisonment of racial and ethnic minorities in the world compared to the US, highlighting that the percentage of Black people behind bars in the US is higher than what South African Prisons had in the peak of the apartheid era (Alexander, 2012).

The third point; Both Palestinians and Blacks know what is it like to be standing in front a man with a uniform holding a gun, who would not hesitate to shoot and kill. That is mainly due to the process of demonization that creates the image of a dangerous Black, or a dangerous Palestinian. The stereotyped image that is not being deconstructed by the regimes that are benefitting from it anyway. The number of cases on Black and Palestinian people who were killed by Police Departments and IOF are worrying, and in the majority of cases, those victims never really posed serious or any threat at all, and that

---

<sup>6</sup> "Racial Disparity In Marijuana Arrests," NORML, 2020, <https://norml.org/marijuana/fact-sheets/racial-disparity-in-marijuana-arrests/>.

is apart from Palestinians who protest or march, because the act of protest in itself is criminalized, therefore; the protestors are criminals, and they might pose a threat.

The fourth point; Both Struggle the same struggle of the old days, in the new days. In the sixth chapter I will be going into details of the institutionalized and organized violence that Black and Palestinian folks had been facing in the new norms. Because eventually Slavery never really ended, and Occupation never really stopped, and both structures found their way to become legalized, and legitimate.

The fifth point; they are both labeled using a terminology that dehumanizes and demonizes them. Language in general is powerful in terms of the impact that it leaves, and the terminology that is used to refer to Blacks and Palestinians is quite oppressive, whether it was used by media or officials, it serves the purpose of deepening stereotypes, and justifies unjustifiable actions. Black protestors were referred to by the term Riots by media and country officials, that perhaps aimed to justify even more police brutality and force interventions. It is true, the protests were violent, and so was the police, and so is the whole system. Malcolm X says that “Riot is the language of the unheard” and those protests were the only way for Black people to raise their voices and be heard, because the system itself does not understand a language but violence, think of all American Military interventions, flowers were not thrown on Civilians, but bombs were. On the other hand, Palestinians are being referred to as Terrorists, or “*Mukharribeen*” which means; the ones who cause damage. Although the reference would be made on any Palestinian even if they never really participated in a protest, those who just post on Facebook, or tweet on Twitter, are also being labeled as terrorists.

The sixth point; they both share the very same enemy. That enemy is not the direct or near enemy, not the Police directly, nor the IOF in particular, instead, it is the far enemy, that supports, benefits from racism, and enjoys putting Black people behind bars, the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, whilst keeping Israel the only powerful state in the MENA Region.

The seventh point; both people do not seem to have a say in determining their future. And I am referring to the fact that Palestinians were set aside in any discussion that is concerned with their future, such as Trump's Deal of the Century, instead, the suggested peace plans are made for them by those who believe to be superior and can decide their future for them. And Blacks are in fact dealing with the very same thing, nearly half of the prisoned population in the US is formed up by Black people (Boyd, 2016), and none of the discussions on amending the prison systems are nor is concluding Black Leadership on the discussion table. The US government finally realized that the prison system is problematic, partially. However, the talks about amendments on the prison system, or the criminal system as a whole only comes up when US elections are right at the corner. The question that rises here is; Why people of color and specifically Black people are not being involved in drafting or planning amendments on the Criminal Justice System? While they are the ones that should be concerned, as statistics shows; that one out of three black people is likely to spend his life in prison (DuVernay, 2016), while Alexander mentioned in her book that only in Washington D.C, the US capitol, three out of four black people are likely to serve time in prison (Alexander, 2012), therefore,

people of color should be involved in deciding on matters of such, because it affects them directly.

The eighth and perhaps the last point is that; the deaths on both sides are normalized, it had been going on for way too long, according to Statista; the number of blacks killed exceeds 200 people every year, and up until July, 20<sup>th</sup>, 111 Black men were shot and killed by US police officers.<sup>7</sup> And Palestinian casualties killed directly by Israel since its establishment exceeds 100000 Palestinian Martyrs.<sup>8</sup>

While the connections made here are pure secular, the element of religion can also make its way in such connections. For example, Up to 20% of black population in the US are Muslims,<sup>9</sup> a whole new movement can make its way through in a discussion of such.

The faces of similarities mentioned above is only scratching the surface, and again, a connection can be made by anyone, hence the history of Black Radicals supporting Zionism in Palestine is not to be avoided, and if it still exists in any form nowadays, it needs to be demolished, because the State of Israel itself is Racist.

---

<sup>7</sup> "People Shot to Death by U.S. Police, by Race 2020," Statista, accessed August 15, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/585152/people-shot-to-death-by-us-police-by-race/>.

<sup>8</sup> اليوم السابع - 1948 - منذ نكبة 1948 - ألف شهيد فلسطيني من أكثر من 100 ألف شهيد فلسطيني للإحصاء يعلن أكثر من 100 ألف شهيد فلسطيني منذ نكبة 1948 - اليوم السابع accessed September 8, 2020,

<https://www.youm7.com/story/2019/5/13/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%B2%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%89-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AD%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%83%D8%AB%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86-100-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D8%B4%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%89/4239710>

<sup>9</sup> 1615 L. St NW, Suite 800 Washington, and DC 20036 USA 202-419-4300 | Main 202-419-4349 | Fax 202-419-4372 | Media Inquiries, "Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans," *Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project* (blog), July 26, 2017, <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/>.

Israeli Racism is not only against Arabs, or Muslims, or Christians, it is also against Black people, and African Black Jews. Black protests in Israel goes every now and then, against deporting African asylum seekers, and asking for equality, and although Israel gives the right to citizenship to all Jews all around the world, this is not the case for Black Jews and Eastern [Arab] Jews. When the Israeli Keneset passed the “Prevention of Infiltration Law” early in 2012 it was mainly concerned about those who entered Israel through the Egyptian-Israeli border seeking asylum coming from different countries in Africa, mainly Ethiopia, the reasons that led into passing such an extreme law and policy are pure racist. African asylum seekers were and still are considered to be a threat or dangerous to the state, those asylum seekers, because they are Black, and potentially dangerous, get DNA tested to check their criminal record and whether they have or have not committed security violations (Orr & Ajzenstadt, 2020). Israel preferred White-Jewish migrants over Arabs, or African Jewish migrants and asylum seekers. That in itself puts a lot of question marks on what criteria is being followed to decide on who is Israeli, and that echoes for the question of who is an American, and whether you have to be white to be a citizen of Israel, or is it just an extra privilege that will facilitate the process of obtaining your citizenship.

The case is a bit more complex, because the demographic structure in Palestine and Israel is quite complicated and is not only limited to being Jewish, on one hand, and Palestinian on the other hand, and that is the case, the given reference itself is not deep enough, and it makes seem like it is only based on religion, but again, one does not need to be an expert of the history of the conflict, or the demography of the region to tell and

see Racism and Discrimination . And Palestinians are used to seeing Black-African-Israelis on military checkpoints, military prisons, and on crossing borders and always with guns, so to them [Palestinians], Black African Israelis are a part of the oppressive system., although that component is being oppressed as well, but from a different angle, and through different methods.

As for the differences, and as stated earlier in this chapter, one needs to acknowledge that the oppression of Black people in the US is based on color and race, while in Palestine, the case is different, for Palestinians who are citizens of Israel from the ones in the OPT. In the US, walking around with just your color could be your death sentence if you are suspected to be a threat, and that is mainly because “police are encouraged to use violence as a first resort” (Davis, 2016), in Palestine, its somehow similar, but never exactly the same, but it is important to connect different modes and faces of violence. The reasons behind the oppression of Black people are unjustifiable, and so is the case for Palestinians, but there are goals behind that oppression, and the goals are not 100% similar at the first glimpse.

Am I saying that both struggles are the same? Of course not, but I am saying that they both have the common grounds that can be stood on, and that will help take real steps towards achieving their goals, solidarity is peaceful, and in the case of solidarity with Palestine it might not be comfortable mainly due to the Zionism promotion on solidarity with Palestine being Anti-Semitic, hence, there needs to be a deep, mutual understanding of both struggles and abolish such Zionist claims, in order to facilitate the process of

creating a global movement that functions as a carrier for different liberation movements, within a global context.

#### DOES A REACTION DEFINE THE WHOLE GROUP?

And that perhaps is not the real question, when a reaction such as the protests that came after Floyd's murder occur, the questions asked needs not to be why is this happening, we know why, but rather how should we stop it. The protests as a respond were too peaceful compared to the long history of oppression that Black people had been dealing with, and again, no one should support violence, but those protests were nothing but a reaction to the systematic and unbearable oppression, and if no one saw a reaction of that kind coming than that is the key issue, not the protests as violent protests. Same is applicable on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict, until now the actions of violence committed are individual cases, and not at any how close to be a collective action, but it would be understandable if things went “out of control” considering the heaviness of the oppression falling on the Palestinian community and specifically in the OPT.

A question that rises here is; How do we stop such acts of violence?

And it is not that easy to address a question as broad as that, because there are many strategies towards achieving that goal, and another key point that perhaps was dropped from the similarities above, is that the collective memory plays a huge role in fueling social and political conflicts, and the conflicts that are being analyzed here are strongly motivated and triggered by collective memory, and in many cases acts of violence come as a way to raise the voices of those who do not feel heard, and a revenge as well.

Strategies to change include the focus on satisfying the needs of those who are oppressed, that in itself cannot happen unless a real systematic change happens that aims to deconstruct the causations of oppression, and again, that needs to happen within a global context, with different movement working together hand in hand to reach their common goals, which are comprehensive, and never contradictory. As I mentioned earlier, Palestinian leadership had focused on creating secular connections with different freedom movements, none of these connections were based on the having the same cause or struggle, but they were mostly with colonized nations, solidarity hence became a key that opened doors for new friendships and potential alliances, because the nature of relationships and different experiences between the colonizers and those who are colonized can be analogized, and the elements of sympathy and empathy between those who are facing the oppression by their colonizers cannot be dismissed. As for the religious alliances for Palestinians, they were not always successful, or were not built tightly, and we are seeing their failures now, the PNA expressed its frustration with the UAE normalizing peace with Israel, and that agreement might encourage other Arab and Muslim countries in the Persian Gulf region to normalize their relationships with Israel as well, the Palestinian experience cannot be understood by nations whom had not been exposed to systematic oppression, but those who are facing it might be more sympathetic and empathetic towards other struggles.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### AN ACTIVIST, OR A TERRORIST; A PROTESTOR, OR A THUG: THE DEMONIZATION OF THE ACTS OF RESISTANCE

In the "City of God," St. Augustine tells the story of a pirate captured by Alexander the Great. The Emperor angrily demanded of him, "How dare you molest the seas?" To which the pirate replied, "How dare you molest the whole world? Because I do it with a small boat, I am called a pirate and a thief. You, with a great navy, molest the world and are called an emperor."(Chomsky, 2003)

This was taken from Chomsky's introduction to his book *Pirates and Emperors*, and although the purpose of the given imagery, or comparison was the demonization on the global and international politics' level and international terrorism, it isn't that much of a different from the level of individuals, or groups, and how a given label can function in determining and defining an individual, or the group that the individual belongs to, whether that group was religious, racial, or social. The label of an Emperor is given to the Hero, while the label of a Pirate is given to the Other; the thief, the terrorist, and/or the thug/criminal.

The Concept of Othering and Demonizing had always been present in conflicts, especially those that include the element of identity, or a component of one's identity. Therefore, we can consider, as a beginning, Orientalism in general to be a demonizing structure, and later on we can categorize; unnecessary violence, military interventions, and police violence to be ones as well. In this chapter, the process of demonization of the

“Other” will be discussed, the Other referred to in this thesis could either be Black, or Muslim, or Arab, or the two, or even the three combined.

## DEFINITION

The term Demonization, as defined in the Oxford Dictionary is “The act of describing somebody/something in a way that is intended to make other people think of them/it as evil or dangerous”.<sup>10</sup> That definition, in itself reflects on the wide employment of demonization, on the levels of our Everyday lives, Media, Academia, and Politics, whether it was internal or external. But what purpose/s does demonization serve? And how is it done? And is demonizing limited by only describing as it is defined?

The answers to the above listed questions can be explored by analyzing the two case studies being explored in this thesis, and when addressing the criminalization of Black and Palestinian people, the question asked should not be how demonization is done, but rather why it’s done.

## WHO IS THE DEMONIZER?

Rubenstein states that “It takes both an evil character and evil intentions to construct an evil enemy” (R. E. Rubenstein, 2010) Indicating that the process of demonization occurs when a party has evil intentions towards the Other, which is quite obvious in the case of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, but isn’t that clear in the case of Black Struggle in the US, as it is an internal issue, and a conflict and is embedded within the structure, that will be discussed later in the next chapter.

Said’s Orientalism explains how the “West” created and constructed the identity of its enemy, or enemies (Said, 1979), his reference to the Orient meant a lot in discourse, but

---

<sup>10</sup> Oxford Learner’s Dictionary. Accessed July 15’ 2020.  
<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/demonization?q=demonization>.

mainly it meant Europe's other, or more specifically as Masuzawa describes ; "a land of exotic beings and exploitable riches that could service the economy and the imagination of the West" (Masuzawa, 2005). That perhaps, or for sure, explains the American political intervention in different conflicts in the Orient in general, and a conflict like Palestine in specific, as the US is a Western dominant Power standing with its ally against Palestine. And although the amount of State Terrorism that is being done by Israel to and on Palestinians exceeds the terrorist attacks that are categorized as Party terrorism, or individual terrorism, we still know which label is given to whom.

To further understand how the identity of the enemy is constructed; Anidjar explains how the religious or the theological enemy is constructed [from the perspective of Christianity]; the Muslim, or the Jew, or both at the same time, are enemies. While the Political enemy; is Arab, because Arabs had political units resembled by states, unlike Jews, who had no political unit until the establishment of Israel.

#### WHAT ARE THEOLOGICAL, AND POLITICAL ENEMIES? AND HOW ARE THEIR IDENTITIES CONSTRUCTED?

The Theological enemy, is the one that is created on the basis of religion, or the interpretation of religion. Anidjar explains:

"Because distinction between self, neighbor, and enemy are, for the love of God, abolished, Augustine can develop his complex doctrine of just war without contradicting himself, without even mentioning or needing to mention, the love of enemies. From the perspective of his Christian doctrine, that is to say, from the perspective of love, the enemy and the commandment to love the enemy exceed any particular sphere of the city (political – and therefore, military – social, or domestic) and encompass all of them, like "any other object of love that enters the mind," the enemy is not particularly bound to the sphere of was, nor he is bound to the private sphere. Rather, the enemy relates, refers, and is defined in relation to God and the love of God. As such (which is to say, precisely not "as such"), the enemy

cannot be the occasion for a *particular* kind of love, but only a step swept towards the same destination as that to which the whole flood of our love is directed” (Anidjar, 2003)

Thus, the “Our” Relationship with God, differs from “Their” Relationship with God, and it is for our perspective of how God should be loved, and if it does not meet our criteria, nor God, or We, should allow for any kind of love to be directed towards the enemy. That in itself, creates conflict among different religions, Anidjar’s gives the first example on the demonization of the non-Christian [from the perspective of Christians] people in Europe, mainly Muslims and Jews, those that suffered from oppression, because of their religious identity. Here, I am Highlighting the Spanish Inquisition era, that haunted non-Christians; Jews, and Muslims in Europe, deported and executed them. Later, the massacres targeted specifically Jewish people across Europe, the biggest massacre amongst all was the Holocaust. that Continuous oppression, and massacres later revealed on basic human needs of the Jewish people to safety, protection, and self-actualization; those social and psychological needs, if not fulfilled, nor respected, a conflict, is born. That in itself, was repeated in the modern era, this time, it is the Palestinian people, after the establishment of the Jewish State, Palestinians had been and still are suffering from being Othered, and demonized because of what they are and do.

[from the Jewish Perspective] The Palestinian, is “Goy”, and the term goy refers to anyone, that is not Jew, or Jewish. That in itself, categorizes Palestinians as Others in terms of beliefs, and relationship to God. Thawrat Al Buraq in the early 20th century is a great example to be put on the discussion table here. The clashes between Jews and Muslims over Al Buraq/The Western Wall, which is to be considered holy in both, Judaism and Islam. For Jews; it is the last standing piece of the second Jewish Temple.

for Muslims; it is mentioned in the Quran in relation to the Prophet's miracle of al Israa' Wal Mi'raj. The clashes between Jews and Muslims because of that wall started when the British mandate divided the days of the Prayers and timings between the two groups. Those prayers were almost always followed by protests and sometimes even clashes. The biggest clash lasted for about a week, resulted in a couple of hundred casualties on both sides, and were followed by a political decision made by the British Mandate back then in the execution of three Palestinian protestors. The interpretations of what a Muslim, or a Christian Palestinian believe about the symbolism of a holy place differs from the interpretation of what a Jewish symbolism of the very same holy place. Therefore, and somehow, a different relationship with God, hence; a theological enemy.

A political enemy, is not like the theological enemy, it is not measured or created on the basis of spirituality or God's love, it is measured more on materialistic basis, such as earth, and power. A political enemy is an enemy that is to rebel against the power of the King, or against the one who has power. In that case we can argue that Black movements in general, being demonized is because they are to be a political enemy, as they present a unit that stands against the power of the system. An example here is the demonization of Black Panther Party BPP, and here the argument is on how the ideology of the party stands against the ideologies of the system, therefore rebelling against its power; hence; demonized, and criminalized. The whole party was categorized as a terrorist entity (DuVernay, 2016).

Within a state that oppressed a minority of people, and those that were not even considered to belong to the state, in the case of Palestine and Israel, Palestinians are both,

the Theo-Political enemy, in the case of the United States, Black people were, and indeed are still are, the political enemy. It could be argued that the police itself is the problematic issue, that it perhaps needs to be addressed by reconstructing the police departments, but an article published earlier this year by Rubenstein says it all in just its title; “THE POLICE MAY PULL THE TRIGGER, BUT IT’S THE SYSTEM THAT KILLS” (R. Rubenstein, 2020).

Rubenstein states that the terminology used to describe the protestors “Riots” isn’t really accurate, because the reason behind those protests are social and political. Hill as well took a stand against the use of the term Riot, as he pointed out the mis-use of the term, explaining that the reason why those protests went violent is because Black people want to be heard, quoting Malcolm X who said “Riot is the language of the unheard”, he also made reference to the protests of 1967 in Detroit, protests of 1922 in Los Angeles, and the protests of 2014 in Ferguson, saying that the Floyd protests are no different from the previous Black protests, and they all have a social and a political element to them. (“*These Are Not Riots, These Are Rebellions.*” - Marc Lamont Hill, 2020)

#### THE DENIAL OF IMPORTANCE OF ONE’S IDENTITY

The sensitivity of identity in both case studies is a very important matter, A very important note that I would like to make here is that the reference made to Palestinians within the context of the Palestinian – Israeli Conflict mostly by Israeli Media, or the Israeli Government itself is not always Palestinian, instead it is Arabi, or Arab. And the reference made to the Israeli is Yahudi, or Jewish. And that can be looked at on two levels;

The first level, the reference made to the Palestinian – Israeli Conflict as an Arab – Israeli Conflict functions in a way that Israel is surrounded by four Arab neighboring countries that are in conflict with it; Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. The reference itself is terrifying for the Citizens of Israel, as they will constantly feel just by being located there that they are not safe, and that they are in an ongoing conflict with the neighboring countries. And that those Palestinians in the OPT are Arabs eventually, and are not a part of the “Us” and they could fit in as a component in any neighboring country. That is level two; the denial of Palestinian identity as an identity, by not even acknowledging it in terminology. The word Palestinian, or *Falasteeni*, are sometimes, and not always, used in reference to those who live in the West Bank, and Gaza Strip, separating them from the Palestinians who live in Occupied Palestine, or the Palestinian Citizens of “Israel”. The term Palestinian is also always associated with the terms Terrorist, or *Mukharrib*, constantly and repeatedly to maintain the image of the enemy who is to cause harm for “Us”.

The same way the terminology of a riot or a thug was and is still being given to Black people, it became associated with the Black identity as a source of harm, and violence.(Smiley & Fakunle, 2016)

In the name of Securitization; Structural and Organized Violence, Police, and the Military became the devil’s tools to maintain the upper hand and power; “One of the features that makes the devil diabolical is his insatiable lust for power.”(R. E. Rubenstein, 2010) And Power itself, or more specifically, and as Foucault categorizes it; Authoritarian Power. And it is what Black and Palestinian Struggles are Struggling with

on a level of “immediate struggles” (Foucault, 1982). The direct, and closest enemy of the Black; is the Police, it is the institution that practices its unnecessary power, violence, and killings on blacks, mainly because of the constructed stereotypical image; “a Black Man is a Dangerous Man” (Barat, 2016), and that in itself is demonization. On the other hand, the closest enemy of the Palestinian people is the IOF, it is the entity that practices the same policies, tactics, and procedures that are practiced on Black people in the US, on Palestinians in the Palestinian Territory, and Palestinians living in Israel.

The Black Protest started in Minneapolis and they spread like wildfires across the American Cities, and they went violent. Whether violence was the answer or not, it was justified, after all, people were angry, another soul was viciously taken away, emotions exploded, and the screams cheering Black Lives Matter started filling cities across the globe. But the focus needed to fall on the reactions to those protests, so what followed those protests?

The answer to that question is by following up with the responds of the US government and Trump’s Administration, here the terminology used in the media description and the official institutions’ language that reflected embedded racism. And describing the protests as “domestic acts of terror”, and “an issue of national security” created a state of emergency and escalated the conflict between Black people, and the system as a whole, that will be further discussed in chapter seven.

One thing that perhaps we need to spot the light on is Social Media’s Role in the modern era, and the role it plays in echoing a message that aims for demonizing and demonization of the “Other”. Here, the comparison falls between two of Trump’s Tweets,

one in which he referred to protestors protesting the lockdown due to the global pandemic, and the other referring to the protestors protesting the murder of George Floyd.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 2020, President Donald J. Trump Tweeted in regards of the American Protestors protesting against the lockdown in the States due to the Global pandemic, the protestors were angrily protesting how their lives were stumbled by the lockdown. Trump used the reference of “these are very good people” to the protestors, and added; “but they are angry”, he also commanded the Governor of Michigan to talk to the people(*Donald J. Trump on Twitter*, n.d.-a).<sup>11</sup> While on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, and Four days after the murder of Floyd took place, Trump tweeted: “...These THUGS are dishonoring the memory of George Floyd...” referring to the angry Black and Non-Black protestors on the street. The tweet was taken down because it violates Twitter’s Community Standards, but later was kept accessible, as twitter stated “Twitter determined that it may be in the public’s interest for the Tweet to remain accessible”(*Donald J. Trump on Twitter*, n.d.-b).<sup>12</sup> The use of terminology coming from the highest official in the country reflects on systematic racism and discrimination, although Trump was not the first to use this term in reference to angry black protestors, the previous Black President Obama had also used it in

---

<sup>11</sup> “Donald J. Trump on Twitter: ‘The Governor of Michigan Should Give a Little, and Put out the Fire. These Are Very Good People, but They Are Angry. They Want Their Lives Back Again, Safely! See Them, Talk to Them, Make a Deal.’ / Twitter,” Twitter, accessed August 15, 2020. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1256202305680158720>.

<sup>12</sup> “Donald J. Trump on Twitter: ‘...These THUGS Are Dishonoring the Memory of George Floyd, and I Won’t Let That Happen. Just Spoke to Governor Tim Walz and Told Him That the Military Is with Him All the Way. Any Difficulty and We Will Assume Control but, When the Looting Starts, the Shooting Starts. Thank You!’ / Twitter,” Twitter, accessed August 15, 2020. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1266231100780744704>.

reference to the protestors of Baltimore in April of the year 2015 (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). However, followed by an apology, admitting that the terminology used was wrong.

## CONCLUSION

An enemy, which has two bodies, could be constructed within conflicts between two large powers. Black, is indeed, to be considered a political enemy of the US as an imperialist structure and power. Palestinian, is both; a theological and a political enemy of Israel which in itself is the extension of the imperialist power of the US in the Arab World and the MENA region. The main difference is that People of color, and specifically black people are demonized as common criminals within the internal structure, and through the criminal justice system in the US (Alexander, 2012), that point will be discussed further in the upcoming chapter, and in the case of demonization of Palestinians, it is different, as Palestinians are demonized and are called terrorists as political enemies, and based on the element of religion, since the term terrorist is promoted to be associated with Arabs, and Arabs are associated with being Muslims. In short, this is how both Black and Palestinian liberation movements deal with a common imperialist, capitalist, and an evil enemy that constantly demonizes and criminalizes them directly and indirectly through various methods, including language, all in which serves maintaining power over authority, and abolishing acts of rebellion against that power.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THEN AND NOW: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE FORMS OF OPPRESSION

“it is argued that new wars are civil wars and the decline in civil wars suggests that new wars are not increasing. But new wars are not the same as civil wars and no one has claimed that new wars are increasing or decreasing; the argument was always about the changing character of war” (Kaldor, 2013)

As our world is being constantly reshaped, wars and forms of oppression were reshaped as well, and they found their ways to become legitimate somehow. And if we are to track down the timeline of a conflict or a war that had been going on for quite some time, we can easily see that what is happening today from organized violence applied by one party over the other is nothing but an extension to what happened in the old days and old wars. That also applies to both; slavery, and colonialism, therefore; Black Americans and Palestinians, and their ongoing struggle towards equality and freedom.

In her book, Kaldor states the four major differences between old, and new wars; Actors, Goals, Tactics, and Funding, of course the terminology of “New Wars” or “New, New Wars” is highly argued among scholars (Kaldor, 2013), but it will still be used just to differentiate timelines and differences of the history of both struggles. Kaldor used analysis of examples of actual wars like Bosnian, and Iraq wars. However, and for the case studies here, the focus will be on the conceptualization of what a war is, because the Palestinian - Israeli conflict categorized as a war in 1948, but it is also an occupation, and

The “War on Drugs” and “War on Terror” are basically a developed form of oppressing people of color (Alexander, 2012; Boyd, 2016).

**THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT; A NEW WAR, BUT STILL OLD.**

The nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict had shifted over the years, and although it revolves mainly around identity, and whatsoever components of identity, hence, it is referred to as a New and a New, New War in terms of its current shape and nature. However, the establishment of Israel as a state is a feature of old wars, and not new ones. As the goals of old wars were geopolitical expansions, (Kaldor, 2013) Zionism created its geopolitical unit over the Palestinian land by the use of force, and via Zionist armies, hence, and arguably, that is another feature of old wars; practiced by “state actors”; Haganah, Stern and Irgun, as they were the very first small armies of the Zionist movement, and the Haganah dissolved later and became the official army of the state of Israel (Ozacky-Lazar & Kabha, 2002).

The argument that I wish to support here, is that the terminology of either a war, or an occupation, applies to the Nakbka, or the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, because the terminology is important, and although the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict is categorized as a civil war according to the international law, it could also be argued that it is an occupation. Occupation criteria; is having a state’s military force entering another state by force. The division decision 181 which both Arabs and Jews rejected, stated that it will establish two states, one for Jews, and one for Arab Palestinians (United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine, 1947). Hence there were two states that were to be established, the use of force by the Zionist armies which formed up later the Israeli military force, is to be equated to an army intervention, therefore an occupation.

## ORGANIZED AND STRUCTURED VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE

Nowadays, Palestinians in the OPT are getting their most basic human rights violated, and the violations are to be divided into two categories; visible violations, and invisible ones. To explain this further; there are 522 roadblocks and military checkpoints in the OPT,<sup>13</sup> which means that there is almost no way for a Palestinian to move freely from one part of the West Bank to the other without passing by one, and that includes the possibility of long waiting hours to get checked up and searched. The separation wall, which is illegal according to international law, the wall has more than 46% of the West Bank annexed to Israel,<sup>14</sup> and the annexed lands has illegal Israeli settlements. The Fourth Geneva convention states that “The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies”<sup>15</sup>, however, illegal Israeli settlement are now at the heart of the West Bank, with more than 200 illegal settlement<sup>16</sup>. That does not only disrupt freedom of movement, it affects other aspects of everyday life of every Palestinian, including the basic human right to education. The settlements, and the wall, which were announced as illegal by the ICC, separate families from one another, 78 Palestinian villages are within the Greenline that forms the separation wall, meaning that the settlements are built on those villages. Restrictions of movement are not only because of the wall, nor the military checkpoints, restrictions of movement of Palestinian people is also related to them being Palestinians.

---

<sup>13</sup> Right2Edu Campaign’s presentation. Updated March, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid13

<sup>15</sup> “Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Geneva Convention (IV) on Civilians, 1949 - 49 - Deportations, Transfers, Evacuations,” accessed August 15, 2020, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WebART/380-600056>.

<sup>16</sup> Settlements,” B’Tselem, accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.btselem.org/topic/settlements>.

Green ID card holders; those who are citizens of the OPT, cannot access East Jerusalem, not any part of historical Palestine; Israel, unless they obtain a special permit from the Israeli sides. While Palestinian citizens of Israel, who form up 20.9% of the population of Israel according to the 2018 Israeli statistic booklet, carry blue ID cards, and require no permits to move between Israel and the OPT, but are still treated as second, or even third-class citizens.

Other than home demolishing, in which the state of Israel demolishes Palestinian homes, and later sends the bills of the demolishing costs, organized raids, arrests, killings, there had been a new feature of collective punishment that falls on the PNA and Palestinian people them by default.

The cuts of the tax return fund of the PNA, which had been a card that is used to apply pressure on the PNA to kneel to the Israeli policies is unbearable, disrupting the lives of more than 70 Palestinian families have the supporter registered into working in the public sector, including education, health, tourism, and other sectors.

Right before the Trump administration announced the peace plan that was being constructed with Netanyahu's administration, pressure fell on the PNA to agreeing to the Deal of the Century, although they were not amongst the list of constructors. With the PNA's rejection, tax refunds were cut off, and lives of Palestinians in the OPT whom count on the income from the public sector were disrupted.

ORGANIZED VIOLENCE ON CIVILIANS OF THE OPT. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OPT SINCE 1967.

The main features of the wars of this century are organized violence, and human rights violations of the civilian population in conflict zones. And the Human rights' situation in Palestine, in general, could be mainly focused on the collective punishment, that falls either on whole institutions, and even the whole population of the OPT. the increase of the settlements, the settlers' population within the OPT, and the rise of settlers' violence and the cases of settler's violence reported, protected by the IOF. The settlements, specifically in Hebron are growing at a rapid pace. By mid-2019, there were 5800 settler units in both the West Bank and East Jerusalem (Heaney, 2019), meaning that the process of annexation had been going and is still going until now, and the demonization of whole institutions only aims to erase Palestinian existence and denying the rights of Palestinians to exist.

#### EDUCATION UNDER OCCUPATION

Another feature of the organized violence and violations of human rights is the is the organized raids on the Palestinian institutions, specifically educational and academic institutions, and because "Education is a fundamental human right and essential for the exercise of all other human rights"<sup>17</sup> there needs to be a focus on the violations of the right to education within the OPT. A great example given here is Birzeit University as leading educational institution and its students. despite all the obstacles facing the Palestinian Liberation movement, student activism in Palestinian Universities and specifically in BZU had great efforts and impact on the Political level. Starting the late 70's and early 80's, student councils started mobilizing students to take national political

---

<sup>17</sup> UNESCO

actions against the Israeli Occupation. Because of that, the occupation started imposing obstacles on students, and forms of punishment. Since 2004 and until now, the campus was raided 11 times, and 7 elected presidents of the student council were arrested<sup>18</sup>, the last raid was dated 7<sup>th</sup> of March, 2018 when the Students' council elections were right at the corner, Israeli Undercover Unit merged with the Press covering the preparations for the elections on campus, and arrested the head of the student council then; Omar AlKisswani. That was not the first interaction between Undercover Israeli Unit and Students, earlier in 2015, and later in 2016 they merged with the students' protests near Beit Eil, shot, and arrested student protesters. The wave of arrests that targeted BZU students became more and more intense, as by now, there are more than 80 students in Israel's custody<sup>19</sup>, and the number is still rising.

To expand the understanding a bit more on student activism in Palestinian Universities, it is important to highlight that the movements were highly politicized, as in they are an extension of the Palestinian political parties on campus, and they reflect their ideologies and principles. Hence, and specifically in BZU as the oldest, and largest university, they show a lot of indicators on the people's support and how it swings, so Fatah observes the performance of "*AlShabiba*", Hamas follows and supports "*AlKutla Al Islamiya*", and the PFLP keeps track of "*Al Qutb Al Tullabi*", and those are the largest three student movements compared to their fellow movements. Another point is that on campus, and

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid13

<sup>19</sup> Right2Edu. (2019). <http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/right-to-education-rejects-repeated-arrests-of-birzeit-university-students/#:~:text=Over%2080%20Birzeit%20University%20students,whom%20are%20under%20administrative%20detention.>

during the yearly elections, it is the only safe space where students can actually practice their democratic right of voting, as there had been no elections in Palestine for the past 14 years. So, leadership of political parties; Fatah; Hamas; and the PFLP observe the elections closely, and support their extensions. There had been some movements and campaigns that evolved as well on campus that were purely independent, such as; Right2Edu, and Nabd, but those never were a body that could go into the elections and compete with the highly politicized atmosphere. Other student groups and initiatives focused on Animals rights, and environmental issues.

Students' movement, and the university itself, adopted and embraced the path to peaceful and nonviolent resistance, as it embraced the BDS movement when it was established in Palestine. AlShaikh, who is an associate professor at BZU wrote an entire article on the how the students' movement on campus, and the institution as a whole were demonized, stating that the goal of those continuous assaults, raids, arrests, and killings aim to deconstruct any act of resistance, including the peaceful ones (Alshaikh, 2019).

The article was published when all movements on campus gathered together and announced an open strike in objection to the decision of the university's administration in canceling all forms of militarization, such as marching, and Kuffiyeh, or scarves wearing pre-election period. The decision of the administration itself came after a very intensive attack by Israeli media on BZU as an institution, and accusations of it being supporting terrorism, and terror, the wave of attack came right after Birzeit ranked amongst the top

universities of the world's universities for the third time in a row,<sup>20</sup> for an educational institution under occupation, constantly targeted by attacks, that success and its achievers needed to be demonized. The path to peaceful and non-violent resistance was adopted by the PNA along with all its institutions, including BZU as a leading educational institution in the region, hence, it was the institute that embraced that option, and allowed student to live, at least for four years, within a democratic atmosphere, where various of movements, ideologies, merge together on the same ground within that frame. the demonization of a whole entity was a part of Israel's strategies since its establishment, and it is not limited to educational or cultural institutions as we are witnessing now, but rather whole geographic areas, refugee camps, or the whole Gaza strip, or the Palestinian Territory as a whole. In every attack and war Israel was a party in, the argument was "it is self-defense", also the extension of the US' phrase; "this is a war on terror". Israel's organized violence towards Palestinian also includes controlling resources, mainly land, water, and even hydrocarbons. The separation wall isn't really located on the borders of the green-line, and it does not aim to protect Israel's security as argued, the same way the criminalization of African asylum seekers is justified by the securitization of the state (Orr & Ajzenstadt, 2020), as it covers up the racist structure of the Israeli state. The separation wall does not stand for the security of Israel, and the checkpoints do not stand to regulate Palestinians' movement, they stand there to disrupt their lives, and control more land for settlements, and control water resources. The wall,

---

<sup>20</sup> shammad, "Birzeit University in International Rankings," Text, Birzeit University, April 28, 2018, <https://www.birzeit.edu/en/international-rankings>.

which was supposed to be approximately 300 kilometers long based on the green line when the talks of the Road Map for Peace were discussed in 2002, is now doubled by length, because it is the year 2020 now, the wall is still being built, and it is built in zigzags in order to control more resources, and annex more land.

One cannot talk about organized violence in Palestine without looking at the Gaza strip. Organized and structural violence found its way to the sieged Gaza strip, the siege on the Gazan population is in itself the most overt form of oppression, the direct bombings and so-called wars that happens every now and then had been avoided after 2014, they still take place every now and then, but not as severe and intense to get media coverage, and that is also due to them being normalized.

#### BLACK STRUGGLE IN THE US: FROM SLAVERY TO MODERNIZED SLAVERY

“The seduction of drug war rhetoric must be powerful indeed to have allowed the erosion of a right that was so hard won, presaging a return to de facto racial subjugation, to Jim Crow in the name of drug policy, to a unique form of American apartheid” (Boyd, 2001).

Since we are looking into the transformation of wars, the first question to be asked here is that are we to consider Black Struggle in the US a War? And the answer to this question does not only require us to dig into history, but to look at our conceptualizations of war, Black struggle is not a war in the commonly used definition of war, but one cannot ignore that there is black genocide, and genocide is a war crime, and Black people had and are still being massacred by the system, so the problem is not whether it needs to be categorized or classified as war or not, the problem is with the history of slavery and

racism in the US, and how slavery itself was reshaped into modernized slavery, and neo-racialism.

The American Civil War took place between 1861 and 1865, and the reasons behind it were many, including the debate on ending slavery. After the American Civil war, the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> amendments were amended within the American Constitution. Here the focus will fall only on the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment, because it aimed to end slavery, but never really ended it. One cannot go into the details of the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment without looking at the Criminal Justice system and the prison system in the US. The language of the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment in Section One states that:

“Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”<sup>21</sup>”

The underlying issue in the language of the amendment is the key to understand not only the history of police brutality towards Black population in the US, but also it explains the development of the prison system to us, the criminal justice system as a whole, and the concerning statistics related to it. “Though only five percent of the world’s population lives in the United States, it is home to 25 percent of the world’s prison population”.<sup>22</sup> Hilary Clinton was not the only politician who mentioned that figure on the eve of the American elections, Cory Booker had used it before, and so has many American politicians<sup>23</sup>, and academics as well. The numbers are worrying, but if we are to put in

---

<sup>21</sup> American Const. 13th amendment

<sup>22</sup> Clinton, Hilary. *Speech on Criminal Justice*. Columbia University. (2015), accessed September 13, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/04/30/does-the-united-states-really-have-five-percent-of-worlds-population-and-one-quarter-of-the-worlds-prisoners/>

<sup>23</sup> Ibid<sup>23</sup>

anatomy the percentages of the prisoned population and racial profile them, the dots will be connected, and it is clear that it is a war on people of color. Modern racialism and slavery covered by the criminal justice system.

Michelle Alexander was amongst the scholars and social reformers who explored in depth the racial discrimination in the US. In her book, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, she explains how slavery ended with the American Civil war, and how racial discrimination made its way to become retained legally, and although she focused on the criminal justice system being the New Jim Crow, a very important point that she categorized to be a difference between Mass Incarceration and the Jim Crow is that the mass incarceration system treats people of color as what she described “disposable” and “unnecessary to the functioning of the new global economy” (*Alexander, 2012*), DuVernay’s documentary, the 13<sup>th</sup>, highlights the economic dimension and the capitalist dimension of how the system benefits from those behind bars, and how capitalism is benefitting from criminal justice system putting people of color in cells (*DuVernay, 2016*).

To further expand our understanding on how the criminal justice system and the prison system in the US is tied to racism, racialism, and slavery, one needs to look at the commonalities between the modern criminal justice system in the US nowadays and slavery back then. Those features of similarities can be summed up as follows; Firstly, and secondly, plantations in the slavery era were stacked with people of color, or African-Americans, working under the mercy of their white masters, in no return. Prisons

in the US today are stacked with people of color, mainly Black Americans, working and earning less than one American Dollar a day.

Thirdly, the same way black people were deprived from their freedom during the slavery era, the prisons now deprives them from their freedom as well. “the number of black men in prison (792,000) has already equalled the number of men enslaved in 1820” (Boyd, 2016). And that number was 11 years ago, since then and until now, police brutality and violence towards Black Americans had increased. When I was searching reports, or news articles on black victims killed by police, I was hardly able to find their names, I was able to see statistics, and numbers, or “trendy murders” that echoed. And that leads to point Four, the normalization of oppression. Police brutality towards Black people is not the only thing that is normalized in the US, systematic racialism is also normalized, it is embedded within the promotion of the stereotypes on black people, as much as it promotes stereotypes on Muslims and Islam. A study by Smiley and Fakunle; *From “Brute” to “Thug”*: the demonization and criminalization of unarmed Black male victims in America explored the media’s use of terminology in describing black male victims whom were killed in police custody between 2014-2015, the impact that the used racialized language justifies the excessive acts of violence that are acted on Black people by police departments and law enforcement. It plants and emphasizes on the stereotypical image of Blacks being dangerous, and the only way to put that danger away was what had been done, typically; an unnecessary use of force, and murder.

The 13<sup>th</sup> amendment aimed to end slavery and any form of free-labor, the exception made was on those who are to be categorized as criminals. In the present; The incarcerated

population in the US is to be considered the new enslaved population, as they work for free, or in best case scenarios, they earn a Dollar or two a day (*Prison Policy Initiative, 2017*).

The Inhumane treatment and inhumane conditions that African-Americans had faced during the slavery era is being repeated within American prisons across the country. However, this is now happening behind high walls and locked doors, as it is not obvious to the public what those people are going through, making it almost impossible to understand and to sympathize with them. Foucault theorized the functionality of modern prison systems, and although he took it within the European context, a prison system is still a prison system, that serves, in terms of power dynamics, the same purposes of keeping the upper hand, and superiority. Visible power is still obvious in what we see in the actions of police in the US and their brutality towards people of color, and again, specifically on Black Americans.

The worrying phenomenon is that people of color are overly presented in the American Prisons compared to the demographic structure that they form in the US as a whole.<sup>24</sup> The reason why racial oppression, and neocolonialism had developed and found their way to fit into our world today, is because of the history behind those who benefit from such forms of oppression. As Boyd states “Racism is the original sin of the United States” the history of a country that is based on slavery, and genocide, found its way today to benefit from modern slavery, by putting black people behind bars to be enslaved

---

<sup>24</sup> Prison Policy Initiative. New York Profile. accessed September 13, 2020, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/NY.html>.

and work to keep the wheel of capitalism rolling. That is one dimension of it, the economic dimension, but the other dimension is power dynamics, control, and superiority. The weapons that are used to kill and oppress Palestinians are either US manufactured or US sponsored. The fact that American Taxes sponsor Israeli weapons is very concerning, more than 8 Million USD a day are channeled to Israel's military. And the fact that the global interest shifted from fighting weapons of mass destruction WMD into fighting small and light arms is also very concerning. Specifically, that the US gun policies and gun rights are pretty much open to everyone, and the amendments that are planned are planned in other territories, and abroad, hence, there is no real or clear aim to reduce or eliminate gun possession, but perhaps the purpose is to eliminate small armed groups that stand against the allies of the US across the world.

#### WHY AM I REFERRING TO IT AS A WAR?

The use of terminology here is not because black racism is classified as a war in itself, nor because the nature of the Palestinian – Israeli conflict is a war now, but because the policies that Palestinians and blacks are facing can amount to a genocide, and genocide is not a war, but it is a war crime according to International Law.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Accessed September 12, 2020, [https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocities-crimes/Doc.1\\_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocities-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### A CRISIS, AN EMERGENCY, AND THE JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS

Defining the limits of the state of emergency poses a very demanding challenge, the dominating difficulty lies in drawing the line between the political and legal intersection, considering that the state of emergency poses a point of “disequilibrium” between public law and political fact. Scholars suggest that if the state of emergency is characterized by exceptional measures, aiming to answer to times of political crisis, then resultantly “the state of emergency presents itself as the legal form of that which can have no legal form.” (Agamben, 2020). Notably, it is agreed upon that the sovereign usually possesses the power to make decisions, while remaining exterior to the normally valid legal order, nevertheless belonging to it. This has led to the confusion amongst many between the acts by an executive power and those by a legislative power, deeming it as a necessary characteristic of the state of emergency.

The declaration of the state of emergency is usually followed by the state’s introduction of special powers of arrest and detention, and placing limitations on individual freedoms, including the freedom of expression in most of the cases, association and assembly. In many cases, states’ abuse their special powers provided to them by the state of emergency, a direct and a visible use of power, resorting to illegal policies that endanger the integrity and application of fundamental human rights, accompanied with the

suspension of available domestic remedies, which resulted in numerous controversies.<sup>26</sup> To resolve the abuses and human rights violations resulting from declaring the state of emergency, while also allowing the sovereign to practice essential powers to contain emerging crises, the international legal order has allowed for the introduction of “derogations” referring to them as “extraordinary measures”. Resultantly, while some rights may be subjected to strict limitations in emergency situations, the limitations, regardless of their nature must not infringe on the right itself, therefore leaving space for the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms and rights.

Relatively, Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states that:

“In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, color, sex, language, religion or social origin.”<sup>27</sup>

While Article 27 (1) of the American Convention on Human Rights reiterates that:

“In time of war, public danger, or other emergency that threatens the independence or security of a State Party, it may take measures derogating from its obligations under the present Convention to the extent and for the period of time strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with its other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination on the ground of race, color, sex, language, religion, or social origin.”<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Human Rights in the Administration of Justice: A Manual on Human Rights for Judges, Prosecutors and Lawyers, accessed August 9, 2020, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/training9chapter16en.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 16 December 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 999, p. 171, accessed August 9, 2020, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3aa0.html>.

<sup>28</sup> American Convention on Human Rights. Article (27). Accessed August 14, 2020, <https://www.cidh.oas.org/basicos/english/basic3.american%20convention.htm>

It is worthwhile to look into Foucault's views on state power and biopower as we discuss states of emergencies. Foucault argued that states now practice a form of invisible power, rather than visible power in order to control their populations (Foucault, 1978). And the term biopower, which as Foucault defines it; it is the power that a state practices to manage humans in large groups, and to manage their populations. The case in states of emergencies or a declared crisis is that they actually allow the state to practice its visible power, in the name of security and securitization, a prohibited use of force, which includes unjustifiable arrests, privacy violations, torture, etc.

This chapter will explore in depth states of emergency and the term "crisis" itself, and the employment of the occurring circumstances into serving the implementation of policies that in normal or regular circumstances would not be used. Agamben within his arguments highlights the fact that states of emergencies are not always declared officially by States or governments, that applies to the situation of Israel and its policies towards Palestinians, while in the case of the US, and for example; a state of emergency occurred after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, and recently amid the outbreak of COVID-19, and the recent violent protests which were fueled by the murder of Floyd by the Minneapolis Police officers, leading to the use of excessive force and human rights violations of protestors on the street.

### **CRISIS IN DEFINITION**

The word's "Crisis" linguistic root is coming from the Ancient Greek term "*Krino*" which include the meanings of (to separate; to choose; to cut; to decide; and to judge).

The term crisis as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary is “a time of intense difficulty or danger”<sup>29</sup>, “a time when a difficult or important decision must be made”, or “the turning point of a disease when an important change takes place, indicating either recovery or death” with significance in the domains of law, medicine and theology. The English word ‘crisis’ in contemporary days is especially used to refer to “times of difficulty, insecurity, and suspense” (and that in particular “in politics or commerce”).

### **A CRISIS AND AN EMERGENCY,**

This year, and with the COVID-19 causing a global pandemic, the world went through a state of crisis, a health, economic, and social crisis. Quick decisions had to be made. The state of shock that the pandemic created states of emergencies in different countries. The Whitehouse declared a state of emergency in the US on March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2020<sup>30</sup> out of concern of the outbreak of the Virus. However, the kind of the state of emergency that will be discussed in this chapter is mainly focusing on the states of emergency that were declared because of the protests against police brutality following the murder of Floyd, and the state of emergency declared by Israel since its establishment, the Knesset says that “a national state of emergency has existed since the country’s inception in 1948”<sup>31</sup> and until today, the state of emergency is still going.

### **ISRAEL PRACTICING ITS ILLEGITIMATE POWER ON PALESTINIANS**

---

<sup>29</sup> Oxford Learner’s Dictionary. Accessed August 12, 2020, available at; [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/crisis\\_1](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/crisis_1).

<sup>30</sup> The Whitehouse. “*Proclamation on Declaring a National Emergency Concerning the Novel Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Outbreak*”. Accessed August 12, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/proclamation-declaring-national-emergency-concerning-novel-coronavirus-disease-covid-19-outbreak/>

<sup>31</sup> Knesset. Declaring a state of Emergency. Accessed August 12, 2020, [https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/DeclaringStateEmergency\\_eng.htm](https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/DeclaringStateEmergency_eng.htm)

The state of emergency declared by the state of Israel justified by the securitization of the state, had and is still violating the basic human rights of Palestinians, as it allows Israel to use its illegitimate power as an occupying force, both visible power, and invisible power, it is a part of the systematic and organized violence targeting Palestinians, but the level of it is a bit higher than what was stated in the previous chapter. According to Addameer, the Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association; The number of Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli military prisons exceeds 4500, while 360 of them are under administrative detention.<sup>32</sup> Since 2018, the wave of arrests became more intense, and cases of excessive torture towards Palestinian prisoners were reported to Palestinian NGO's, Yara Hawari, states that "The use of torture in Israeli detention is systematic and legitimized through domestic law".<sup>33</sup> The human rights situation in Palestine and the occupied territory is still grim, Israel was and is still using arbitrary and administrative detention on Palestinians and on Palestinian kids without being questioned, nor charged. An article published by Addameer in 2019 stated that number of Palestinian prisoners that had been killed while in Israel's custody and under torture since 1967 reached 221, the last amongst them was Bassam AlSayeh<sup>34</sup> whom despite of his critical medical condition, still was interrogated and tortured for hours, and was denied of healthcare access.

## THE DEAL OF THE CENTURY; ANNEXATION, AND NORMALIZATION

---

<sup>32</sup> Addameer. Statistics. July, 2020, accessed August 12, 2020, <http://www.addameer.org/statistics>

<sup>33</sup> AlShabaka. "The systematic Torture of Palestinians in Israeli Detention". November, 2019, accessed August 12, 2020, <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/the-systematic-torture-of-palestinians-in-israeli-detention/>

<sup>34</sup> Addameer. "Bassam al-Sayeh is the Third Palestinian Prisoner who Dies in Israeli Prisons in 2019". September, 2019, accessed August 12, 2020 <http://www.addameer.org/news/bassam-al-sayeh-third-palestinian-prisoner-who-dies-israeli-prisons-2019>

This year, and with governments drowning with the health crisis that disrupted entire countries and systems, the Israeli government agreed on the annexation plan that aims to join parts of the West Bank and the Jordan Valley into Israel's borders, the annexation is one of the steps towards implementing Trump's administration's suggested peace plan in the region, which was announced in January of 2020, aiming to resolve the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. The plan itself when was constructed, it excluded Palestinians from the constructors' list, taking away their rights of self-determination and self-actualization, and those are basic human needs for Palestinians, as they aspired those rights for a quite long amount of time, as those rights were not respected, nor appreciated, the conflict escalated a bit. Rubenstein explains further on this saying:

“when people in large enough numbers desire something intensely enough for a long enough period of time to sacrifice other desired ends for it. On this basis, Galtung may be justified in describing the need for freedom as basic, particularly when he specifies it in terms of concrete satisfiers like physical mobility. The needs that, if unsatisfied, generate destructive conflict may therefore change over the course of human history or even over the course of an individual's personal history.”<sup>35</sup>

By the exclusion of Palestinians, a denial of their needs occurred, and it was underestimating the bodies representing the people, no parties were included, not the PLO, nor the PNA, which in itself escalated the conflict. Other than excluding the rights of Palestinians in self-determination and self-actualization, the plan suggests keeping the illegal Israeli settlements in the heart of the West Bank in place, plans and projects of expanding Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem are still getting approved and implemented, specifically in the City of Hebron, as settlements in the heart

---

<sup>35</sup> Rubenstein, Richard. *BASIC HUMAN NEEDS: THE NEXT STEPS IN THEORY DEVELOPMENT*. Accessed August 12, 2020. [https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6\\_1/Rubenstein.htm](https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6_1/Rubenstein.htm).

of the city are spreading like cancer, destroying entire Palestinian neighborhoods. Naftali Bennett, the Israeli defense minister approved on a project to establish a Jewish neighborhood in Hebron, in which it requires demolishing and destroying the entire wholesale market, and displacing the Arab population there with Israeli settlers.<sup>36</sup>

The suggested plan was refused by the Palestinian side, although many Arab countries tried to pressure the PNA to agree to it, including Saudi Arabia, and the UAE,<sup>37</sup> but it is still being applied, regardless of its unfairness and bias, an American intervention in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict would never pay attention or give importance to the needs of Palestinians, it will still always prefer to support a foreign ally in the MENA region, and have an actual military force that can be used against Iran, or any potential rising power in the region.

#### NORMALIZED RELATIONSHIPS,

The Arab support for the Deal of The Century was coming from Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE,<sup>38</sup> months later, UAE and Israel announced a peace agreement, and normalized collaboration on tourism, technology and education,<sup>39</sup> By that, the UAE became the first Arab country in the Persian Gulf to formalize and normalize

---

<sup>36</sup> Haaretz, “*Israel threatens Hebron municipality: Consent to new Jewish neighbourhood, or lose property rights*”. Accessed August 14, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israel-threatens-hebron-gov-t-agree-to-jewish-neighborhood-or-lose-property-rights-1.8225822>

<sup>37</sup> “UAE and Saudi Arabia Back Trump’s ‘deal of the Century’ Economic Conference | Middle East Eye,” accessed August 14, 2020, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uae-backs-trump-administrations-deal-century-economic-conference>.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid38

<sup>39</sup> “Israel and United Arab Emirates Strike Major Diplomatic Agreement - The New York Times,” August 13, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/us/politics/trump-israel-united-arab-emirates-uae.html>.

relationships and peace with Israel, and the third in the whole MENA region, right after Egypt and Jordan.

A wave of anger flamed the Arab World following the Abraham Accord between The UAE and Israel, many scholars from the region predicted other countries to follow UAE's lead, and they were right, weeks after Abraham Accord, Bahraini government decided to normalize diplomatic relations and ties with Israel.<sup>40</sup>

the PNA and PLO expressed their frustration with both agreements, specifically with the UAE claiming that the peace agreement came to cancel the annexation of the WB and to help Palestinians. Those claims are not accurate, as Netanyahu himself stated that the annexation "remains on the table".<sup>41</sup> Protest in Palestine are still going, protesting the occupation, the annexation, and the betrayal of their 'friends', and the flaws of their leadership/s.

it is worthwhile to go deeper into the background and the impact that the peace agreements might have on the region and on Palestinians.

As a start, it is important to mention that neither the UAE nor Bahrain had any convincing reason to normalize their relations or sign peace agreements with Israel, unlike Jordan and Egypt, which are two out of the four neighbouring countries to Israel.

---

<sup>40</sup> ALJAZEERA. "*Bahrain follows UAE to normalize ties with Israel*". (September, 2020), accessed September 15, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/09/israel-bahrain-agree-establish-full-diplomatic-ties-200911171014685.html>

<sup>41</sup> Jewish Telegraphic Agency. "*Netanyahu says West Bank annexation 'remains on the table' following Israel-UAE agreement*". (August, 2020), accessed September 16, 2020. <https://www.jta.org/2020/08/14/politics/netanyahu-says-west-bank-annexation-remains-on-the-table-following-israel-uae-agreement>

The people's reactions of both countries are not to be called similar, Bahraini activists and figures expressed their rejection to the government's decision, while those who are residents of the UAE remained either silent, or supported the government's decision. Israeli media focusing again on bringing the element of religion into the discussion table, associated the majority of Bahraini rejection to the peace agreement to the fact that Bahraini population is mostly Shia, with Sunni Government.<sup>42</sup> the normalization of relations might open doors to other Arab and Muslim Countries to normalize relations with Israel, and the only savior for Palestinians isn't their friends, it is their everyday struggle towards proving their existence. The annexation will keep on going, and Palestinians will keep existing.

#### BLACK PROTESTS IN FOCUS

The Trump administration declared that the black protests in the US are an issue of national security, describing it as "domestic acts of terror", hence, a state of emergency was declared, and with Trump threatening deploying the US army, it is no longer the police responding to the protests against police brutality with even more police brutality, it is the US army. Agamben was amongst the scholars who explained in depth the problematics and complications that occurs when a state of emergency and the president's authorities within that matter; "Because the sovereign power of the president, is essentially grounded in the emergency linked to a state of war, over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the metaphor of war becomes an integral part of the presidential political

---

<sup>42</sup> Haaretz. *"Bahrain Normalizes Ties with Israel Weeks After UAE Deal"*. (September, 2020), accessed September 15, 2020. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-bahrain-normalizes-ties-with-israel-trump-announces-weeks-after-uae-deal-1.9147932>

vocabulary whenever decisions considered to be of vital importance being imposed.” (Agamben, 2020) Up until June 4<sup>th</sup>, approximately 10000 protestors were arrested,<sup>43</sup> and the number for sure had increased by now, as the protests and the protestors, American protestors, were considered a threat to the national security of the US. This was not the first time a state of emergency was declared and was employed against a population. US, post-9/11, applied the USA Patriot Act, in which Muslim population, and Muslim migrations were interrogated, questioned, and even deported in many cases. It was at that period that the shift happened and the demonization process fell on Islam and Muslims, the so-called War on Terror tied the Term ‘Terrorist’ to the Term ‘Muslim’, and it became a war on Arabs, as the label Arab became inseparable from the label Muslim. That is happening again now, within the same existing system, the criminal justice system, but within a state of emergency, and focusing on people of color to be a threat to the national security.

It became easier and more reasonable to understand how organized violence and human rights violations are legalized through states of emergencies and securitization debates, hence, justifying Israeli and American policies practiced on Palestinians and Black Americans. Israel, known to be “the only democracy in the Middle East”, uses the argument of securitization through state emergency to practice terrorism on state terror level on Palestine and Palestinians, on the other hand, the US, the ‘Land of the Free’ still enslaves people of color within the prison system, within the structures of “War on

---

<sup>43</sup> ALJAZEERA. “How many people have been arrested during George Floyd protests?”. (June, 2020), accessed September 16, 2020. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/06/people-arrested-george-floyd-protests-200603165051758.html>

Drugs” and “War on Terror”, although they cannot be called as wars in the common definition of what a war is, and those states of emergency could be argued to be not real states of emergency, but its main use is the justification of human rights violation towards specific populations, Agamben says; “The voluntary creation of a permeant state of emergency (though perhaps not declared in the technical sense) has become one of the essential practices of contemporary states, including the so-called democratic ones.” (Agamben, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

“Only a crisis - actual or perceived - produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes the politically inevitable.”<sup>44</sup>

The policies that were politically impossible, became inevitable as they were legalized through the use of the existing crisis, and states of emergency that were declared facilitated the use of visible power to control the population, the government equates this to a state of war, hence, the use of force is essential for the survival of the state.

The annexation plan is not new, it had always been happening, but never applied in the formal sense, the normalization, peace agreements, and connections with the state of Israel are not an option of popularity, although almost all Arab countries do have connections with Israel, the crisis that hit the world made it easier to make the

---

<sup>44</sup> Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom: Fortieth Anniversary Edition*, First edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

unacceptable, inevitable. The mass incarceration in the US increased during the pandemic, and after the Floyd protests, and people of color were as usual, the most vulnerable to changes that occurred during the pandemic.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION

The research aimed to create a comprehensive connection between Black American and Palestinian struggles, it highlighted the main differences between both struggles, and stated some similarities between them. The most important similarity is the process of demonization that people, parties, and organizations that Blacks and Palestinians belong to always face, and that it is coming from the same body, that demonizes them on two levels; theologically, and politically. The research as well explored the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in general, and the declared states of emergency in particular, and their functionality in facilitating human rights violations and population control. Mainly, the focus fell on putting the demonization process that targets these two parties in a theoretical frame. Later, the research explored the features of solidarity that occurred between those two parties, the nature of that solidarity, how it was formed, how effective was it, and what are its limitations.

#### MAIN FINDINGS:

Firstly, both case studies are not alike, but similar to each other in terms of facing an imperialist, capitalist, and a major power. That power is constantly working on demonizing them, mainly because of its thirst for more power.

Secondly, solidarity that occurred between the two struggles was more organized after the Gaza-Ferguson era, as following that era, there were many organized delegations from both sides, discussion circles, and common efforts that aimed to raise awareness on

the struggle that each party is facing. So that solidarity in its nature is peaceful, and it has the potentiality to become more organized and more productive, and not just slogans.

Thirdly, both parties are facing an oppression that keeps developing and re-forming.

Slavery became legalized through the criminal justice system in the US, and the nature of the Palestinian – Israeli conflict shifted to become organized, visible and invisible violence practiced on the civilian population in the OPT.

Fourthly, a crisis, in general, creates a state of an emergency, in which it allows the ruling powers to practice policies that in the normal circumstances would not be acceptable, that state of emergency, when occurs, it becomes a cover in which a state can use to control its population, and violate its rights.

#### CRITISIM OF THE FINDINGS.

As mentioned in the above chapters, a connection can be made by any party, and the connection can serve any purpose. Hence, it is possible for other contradictory connections to be made, just like the previous Zionist-Black connections in the past.

The research findings can be easily abolished and rejected by the previously mentioned point; The Black-Arab Tension within the American society. That issue needs to be explored further, and it was and is being highlighted and addressed by activists from both sides, such as Amer Zahr, and Kristian Davis Bailey.

#### LASTLY,

It is quite frustrating that it is the year 2020 now, and we are still witnessing race and ethnicity - based oppression in renewed forms, and the same revolutionary acts against that oppression are also still being demonized and criminalized.



## REFERENCES

- (85) *The State of American Prison System—YouTube*. (n.d.). Retrieved July 18, 2020, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7-VArD0iu8k>
- 2016 Right to Education Tour. (2016, January 8). *Right to Education*. <http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/2016-right-to-education-tour/>
- Agamben, G. (2020, May 7). *The State of Emergency as a Paradigm of Government*. Tablet Magazine. /sections/arts-letters/articles/state-of-emergency-giorgio-agamben
- Alexander, M. (2012). *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New Press.
- ALJAZEERA. (2020, September 12). *Bahrain follows UAE to normalise ties with Israel*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/09/israel-bahrain-agree-establish-full-diplomatic-ties-200911171014685.html>
- Alshaikh, A. (2019, December). *جامعة بيرزيت: العنف، والعسكرة، والفرجة- عبد الرحيم الشيخ*. <https://www.alhadath.ps/article/110736/%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%81%D8%8C-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B3%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%A9%D8%8C-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AC%D8%A9--%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%AE>
- American Convention on Human Rights. (n.d.). *Basic Documents—American Convention*. Retrieved September 14, 2020, from <https://www.cidh.oas.org/basicos/english/basic3.american%20convention.htm>
- Anidjar, G. (2003). *The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy*. Stanford University Press.
- Bailey, K. D. (2015). Black–Palestinian Solidarity in the Ferguson–Gaza Era. *American Quarterly*, 67(4), 1017–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2015.0060>
- Bailey, K. D. (2016, July 22). *Dream Defenders, Black Lives Matter & Ferguson Reps Take Historic Trip to Palestine*. EBONY. <https://www.ebony.com/news/dream-defenders-black-lives-matter-ferguson-reps-take-historic-trip-to-palestine/>

*Bassam al-Sayeh is the Third Palestinian Prisoner who Dies in Israeli Prisons in 2019.* (2019, September 9). Addameer. <http://www.addameer.org/news/bassam-al-sayeh-third-palestinian-prisoner-who-dies-israeli-prisons-2019>

Boyd, G. (2016). *The Drug War is The New Jim Crow. NACLA Report on the Americas.* <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10714839.2001.11722573?needAccess=true>

Breiner, J. (2020, May 31). *Unarmed Palestinian killed by police died of two bullet wounds to his torso, autopsy shows—Israel News—Haaretz.com.* <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-unarmed-palestinian-killed-by-police-died-of-two-bullet-wounds-to-his-torso-1.8885289>

B'Tselem. (2020). *Statistics on Palestinian minors in the custody of Israeli security forces.* [https://www.btselem.org/statistics/minors\\_in\\_custody](https://www.btselem.org/statistics/minors_in_custody)

Carol Daniel Kasbari. (2020, August 14). *Abraham abandoning the Palestinians.* Middle East Institute. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/abraham-abandoning-palestinians>

Chomsky, N. (2003). *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World.* South End Press.

Davis, A. Y. (2016). *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement.* Haymarket Books.

Day, E. (2019, September 30). *Finding a path to an enduring Black-Palestine solidarity.* <https://www.972mag.com/black-palestine-solidarity-dream-defenders/>

*Declaring a State of Emergency.* (n.d.). Retrieved August 18, 2020, from [https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/DeclaringStateEmergency\\_eng.htm](https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/DeclaringStateEmergency_eng.htm)

*Donald J. Trump on Twitter: “The Governor of Michigan should give a little, and put out the fire. These are very good people, but they are angry. They want their lives back again, safely! See them, talk to them, make a deal.” / Twitter.* (n.d.-a). Twitter. Retrieved August 15, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1256202305680158720>

*Donald J. Trump on Twitter: “...These THUGS are dishonoring the memory of George Floyd, and I won’t let that happen. Just spoke to Governor Tim Walz and told him that the Military is with him all the way. Any difficulty and we will assume control but, when the looting starts, the shooting starts. Thank you!” / Twitter.* (n.d.-b). Twitter. Retrieved August 15, 2020, from <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1266231100780744704>

DuVernay, A. (2016, October 7). *13th* [Documentary]. Netflix. <https://www.netflix.com/watch/80091741?trackId=13752289&tctx=0%2C1%2C6d475dd>

7786d6a8ded87c138aa222dd2fd890b4a%3A085d35f48e5aba198df9d49accabc59b0992fc78%2C6d475dd7786d6a8ded87c138aa222dd2fd890b4a%3A085d35f48e5aba198df9d49accabc59b0992fc78%2C%2C

Editors, H. com. (n.d.). *Slavery in America*. HISTORY. Retrieved July 18, 2020, from <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/slavery>

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777–795.

Foucault, M., Ewald, F., Fontana, A., & Davidson, A. I. (2009). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977--1978* (M. Senellart, Ed.; G. Burchell, Trans.; First Edition). Picador.

Garwood, E. (2016, August 25). Where Do Many Police Departments Train? In Israel. *WITH WHOM ARE MANY U.S. POLICE DEPARTMENTS TRAINING? WITH A CHRONIC HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATOR – ISRAEL*. <https://www.amnestyusa.org/with-whom-are-many-u-s-police-departments-training-with-a-chronic-human-rights-violator-israel/>

Genel, K. (2006). *The Question of Biopower: Foucault and Agamben - ProQuest*. [https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/212148214?rfr\\_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo](https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/212148214?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo)

*Giorgio Agamben on the state of emergency*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 10, 2020, from <https://www.generation-online.org/p/fpagambenschmitt.htm>

Gramlich, J. (2019). *The gap between the number of blacks and whites in prison is shrinking*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/04/30/shrinking-gap-between-number-of-blacks-and-whites-in-prison/>

Haaretz. (2020). Bahrain normalizes ties with Israel weeks after UAE deal. *Haaretz.Com*. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-bahrain-normalizes-ties-with-israel-trump-announces-weeks-after-uae-deal-1.9147932>

Hauser, C., Taylor, D. B., & Vigdor, N. (2020, May 26). ‘I Can’t Breathe’: 4 Minneapolis Officers Fired After Black Man Dies in Custody. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/us/minneapolis-police-man-died.html>

Hawari, Y. (2019). The Systematic Torture of Palestinians in Israeli Detention. *Al-Shabaka*. <https://al-shabaka.org/summaries/the-systematic-torture-of-palestinians-in-israeli-detention/>

Heaney, C. (2019). *EU Six-Month Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank, Including East Jerusalem (Jan. – June 2019)*. European Union. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/eu-six-month-report-on-israeli-settlements-in-the-occupied-west-bank-including-east-jerusalem-jan-june-2019/>

How many people have been arrested during George Floyd protests? (2020, June 4). *ALJAZEERA*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/06/people-arrested-george-floyd-protests-200603165051758.html>

*Interference Archive* / *Marc Rudin/Jihad Mansour-images for Palestine*. (2014). <https://interferencearchive.org/marc-rudinjihad-mansour-images-for-palestine/>

*Israel and United Arab Emirates Strike Major Diplomatic Agreement—The New York Times*. (2020, August 13). <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/us/politics/trump-israel-united-arab-emirates-uae.html>

*Israel threatens Hebron municipality: Consent to new Jewish neighborhood, or lose property rights*. (n.d.). Haaretz.Com. Retrieved September 14, 2020, from <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israel-threatens-hebron-gov-t-agree-to-jewish-neighborhood-or-lose-property-rights-1.8225822>

Kaldor, M. (2013a). In Defence of New Wars. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 2(1), Art. 4. <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.at>

Kaldor, M. (2013b). *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era* (3rd ed.). John Wiley & Sons.

Lee, M. Y. H. (n.d.). Does the United States really have 5 percent of the world's population and one quarter of the world's prisoners? *Washington Post*. Retrieved August 2, 2020, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/04/30/does-the-united-states-really-have-five-percent-of-worlds-population-and-one-quarter-of-the-worlds-prisoners/>

Liberation. (2014, February). *The long history of Black-Palestinian solidarity – Liberation News*. <https://www.liberationnews.org/history-black-palestinian-solidarity-html/>

Liphshiz, C., & JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY. (2020, August 14). Netanyahu says West Bank annexation “remains on the table” following Israel-UAE agreement. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. <https://www.jta.org/2020/08/14/politics/netanyahu-says-west-bank-annexation-remains-on-the-table-following-israel-uae-agreement>

Lubin, A. (2009). Locating Palestine In Pre-1948. In M. Marable & H. D. Aidi (Eds.), *Black Routes to Islam* (pp. 17–32). Palgrave Macmillan US. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230623743\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230623743_2)

Lubin, A. (2016). Black Panther Palestine on JSTOR. <https://doi.org/doi:10.5325/studamerjewilite.35.1.0077>.

Magid, J. (2019, May 19). Supreme Court okays house arrest for teen accused of killing Aisha Rabi | The Times of Israel. *Times of Israel*.

<https://www.timesofisrael.com/supreme-court-okays-house-arrest-for-teen-accused-of-killing-aisha-rabi/>

Masuzawa, T. (2005). *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. University of Chicago Press.

Memmi, A. (2003). *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Earthscan.

Naber, N. (2017). “The U.S. and Israel Make the Connections for Us”: Anti-Imperialism and Black-Palestinian Solidarity. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 3(2), 17. JSTOR.

<https://doi.org/10.5749/jcritethnstud.3.2.0015>

NW, 1615 L. St, Washington, S. 800, & Inquiries, D. 20036 U.-419-4300 | M.-419-4349 | F.-419-4372 | M. (2017, July 26). Demographic portrait of Muslim Americans. *Pew Research Center’s Religion & Public Life Project*.

<https://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/>

Orr, Z., & Ajzenstadt, M. (2020). Beyond control: The criminalization of African asylum seekers in Israel. *International Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 142–165.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2020.1724369>

*Our Documents—13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery (1865)*. (1865). U.S Const. <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=40>

Ozacky-Lazar, S., & Kabha, M. (2002). The Haganah by Arab and Palestinian Historiography and Media. *Israel Studies*, 7(3), 45–60. JSTOR.

*People shot to death by U.S. police, by race 2020*. (2020). Statista.

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/585152/people-shot-to-death-by-us-police-by-race/>

Petersen-Smith, P. B., Khury. (n.d.). *Why Palestinians are mourning George Floyd*.

Nydailynews.Com. Retrieved July 15, 2020, from

<https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-why-palestinians-are-mourning-george-floyd-20200714-x5j2kxqqfctdltcgjly3gquou-story.html>

Prison Policy Initiative. (2017). *How much do incarcerated people earn in each state?*

<https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2017/04/10/wages/>

*Pro-Palestinian groups hitchhike a ride on Ferguson’s racial strife. Blacks reject comparison of civil rights movement and BDS - ProQuest*. (n.d.). Retrieved September 2,

2020, from [https://search-proquest-](https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1558492136?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo)

[com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1558492136?rfr\\_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo](https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1558492136?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo)

*Racial Disparity In Marijuana Arrests*. (2020). NORML.

<https://norml.org/marijuana/fact-sheets/racial-disparity-in-marijuana-arrests/>

- Richard E. Rubenstein. (n.d.). *Basic Human Needs: The Next Steps in Theory Development*. Retrieved August 12, 2020, from [https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6\\_1/Rubenstein.htm](https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6_1/Rubenstein.htm)
- Right2Edu. (2019, September 11). Right to Education rejects repeated arrests of Birzeit University students. *Right to Education*. <http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/right-to-education-rejects-repeated-arrests-of-birzeit-university-students/>
- Rubenstein, R. (2020, June 15). *The Police May Pull the Trigger, but It's the System That Kills*. TRANSCEND Media Service. <https://www.transcend.org/tms/2020/06/the-police-may-pull-the-trigger-but-its-the-system-that-kills/>
- Rubenstein, R. E. (2010). *Reasons to Kill: Why Americans Choose War* (First Edition edition). Bloomsbury Press.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism* (1st Vintage Books ed edition). Vintage.
- Settlements*. (n.d.). B'Tselem. Retrieved August 2, 2020, from <https://www.btselem.org/topic/settlements>
- shammad. (2018, April 28). *Birzeit University in international rankings* [Text]. Birzeit University. <https://www.birzeit.edu/en/international-rankings>
- Smiley, C., & Fakunle, D. (2016). From “brute” to “thug:” the demonization and criminalization of unarmed Black male victims in America. *Journal Of Human Behavior In The Social Environment*, 26(3–4), 350–366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2015.1129256>
- SUBMISSION TO THE UN UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW: THIRD SESSION OF THE UPR WORKING GROUP OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, DECEMBER 2008*. (2008). <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/document/?indexNumber=MDE15%2f029%2f2008&language=en>
- Text of the Balfour Declaration*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 1, 2020, from <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/text-of-the-balfour-declaration>
- The future of race in America: Michelle Alexander at TEDxColumbus*. (2013, March 15). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQ6H-Mz6hgw&t=1s>
- The Palestine Poster Project Archives*. (n.d.). [Text]. The Palestine Poster Project Archives. Retrieved July 13, 2020, from <https://www.palestineposterproject.org/>
- “*These Are Not Riots, These Are Rebellions.*”—Marc Lamont Hill. (2020, May 28). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nVkNMecQ8ow>

Thomas, G. (2016, October 1). The Black Panther Party—For Palestine by Greg Thomas. *Samidoun: Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network*. <https://samidoun.net/2016/09/the-black-panther-party-for-palestine-by-greg-thomas/>

Timeline of US police killings. (2020, June 26). *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52905408>

*Treaties, States parties, and Commentaries—Geneva Convention (IV) on Civilians, 1949—49—Deportations, transfers, evacuations*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 15, 2020, from <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WebART/380-600056>

*UAE and Saudi Arabia back Trump’s “deal of the century” economic conference | Middle East Eye*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 14, 2020, from <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uae-backs-trump-administrations-deal-century-economic-conference>

A/RES/181(II) of 29 November 1947, 181 (1947), 1947. <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253>

United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, (1951), 1948. <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide-convention.shtml>

Wallis, V. (2020). From Black Liberation to Mass Incarceration: A Documentary Journey. In V. Wallis (Ed.), *Socialist Practice: Histories and Theories* (pp. 171–183). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35066-6\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35066-6_10)

Youm7. (2019, May). *المركزي الفلسطيني للإحصاء يعلن أكثر من 100 ألف شهيد فلسطيني منذ نكبة 1948—اليوم السابع*. <https://www.youm7.com/story/2019/5/13/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%B2%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%89-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AD%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%83%D8%AB%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86-100-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D8%B4%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%89/4239710>

*تعرف على موقف السعودية من صفقة القرن*. (2020, February 1). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WeYyvDbgxvw>

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Dima M. A. Meemi (Deema Mimi) is a Palestinian refugee and activist, born in 1997 to a refugee family originally from Al Lidd City. She received her Bachelor Degree in English Language and Literature with a Minor in Translation from Bir Zeit University where she served as a Voluntary Teacher Assistant in the Languages and Translation Department in 2019. She was then granted a scholarship by the Government of Malta for the Dual Program between the University of Malta and George Mason University in Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security for the years 2019-2020.