2024

Fugitive and Sumud Encounters: Geographies of Black-Palestinian Transnational Refusal

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Submitted to Scripps College in Partial Fulfillment of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in American Studies

19 April 2024

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Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have happened without the endless guidance and support from my mentors and the various disciplines, knowledges, and authors I've been introduced to in my last four years at Scripps. Thank you first and foremost to my brilliant readers, Professor Deeb, Professor Geismer, and Professor Mubirumusoke, to whom I owe the world. With constant encouragement, they helped transform what was a messy conglomeration of ideas into a broader intellectual project that I hope to continue for years to come.

Endless thank yous to Professor Deeb, who I've considered a mentor since the first class I took with her sophomore year. I, along with all of SJP, are indebted to her principled politics, organizing work, and discussions over office hours, which are always sweetened with a Turkish delight. Thank you to Professor Geismer, who has encouraged me to think spatially and who's sharp analysis of liberalism has guided my writing and worldviews. Thank you to Professor Mubirumusoke for encouraging a lens of Black hospitality and for guiding me through opaque philosophical texts.

Gratitude to the American Studies Department at Scripps, particularly Dr. Wendy Cheng, the backbone of the department. American Studies has given my peers and I a political home and constantly breathes moral clarity and life into the colleges.

Thank you to my parents, whose strong moral compasses, attention to justice, and fostering of curiosity is to blame for my degree in the humanities. And to my little brothers for their laughter and patience in entertaining my role as grumpy, eldest daughter at the dinner table.

Forever love and adoration to my dear friends and roommates, with whom I've spent delirious hours in the library and managed to giggle with the entire time. Gab to me about your scholarly pursuits always; I wouldn't want to know a world without you in it.

Thank you to my friends inside Nickolas and Darren, for our robust conversations on abolition and prisons. Here's to writing, struggling, and organizing together until and after release.

This thesis truly would not have been possible without my amazing comrades and fellow organizers in Claremont Students for Justice in Palestine. I am honored to have organized and struggled alongside such brilliant, politically astute people for the past four years. Onwards towards freedom and liberation; see you all in the streets for years to come.

This thesis honors the Gabrielino-Tongva people and their continued struggles against colonialism. I cannot begin to talk about Indigenous Palestinians without talking about the unceded stolen land that we exist on today. What is now Claremont, California is the ancestral lands of the Gabrielino-Tongva people, who have historically inhabited, loved, and struggled here. To honor their enduring presence and resistance is to orient ourselves towards decolonization everywhere, from Palestine to Turtle Island.

Lastly, this thesis is dedicated to the over 34,000 Palestinians martyred in the past six months. Let their dreams of a free world not die in vain. Within our lifetimes, from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.

Introduction

"A Black revolution makes everyone freer than they actually want to be." - Saidiya Hartman

"We are not freeing Palestine, Palestine is freeing us."

Figure 1. Black child holds sign that reads "Black DC Boys 4 Brown Gaza Children" at the November 4th, 2023 March on Washington for Gaza

On November 4th, an estimated 300,000 people marched the streets of Washington DC to demand a ceasefire and an end to the siege on Gaza. Less than a month after the October 7th Hamas resistance attacks, protestors traveled from across the U.S. to march and denounce President Joe Biden's complicity in the unfolding genocide in Gaza. Among them was a young Black child, adorned in a tie dye sweatshirt, who raised a sign high into the air, which read "Black DC Boys 4 Brown Gaza Children. Ceasefire."[1] The image circulated quickly around Twitter and Instagram the day after the march with commenters enamored by his scribbled writing and principled solidarity. Few addressed it as a display of Black fugitivity with transnational implications.

Through solidarity with fellow children, this young protestor reveals the revolutionary becoming developed in the affective spaces and kinship systems he is a part of, likely at home, in

[1] Quds News Network (@qudsnen), "Black DC boys for brown #Gaza children" The cutest showcase of solidarity spotted in #WashingtonDC", Twitter, November 5, 2023,

school, or on the streets protesting. A single snapshot of this moment reveals little about the child's story, or how he came to the protest that day, but reveals much about the historical tradition of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity that he embodies. The child's averted gaze, which settles calmly into the distance, and his refusal to acknowledge the camera, represents a larger tradition of refusal that animates Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. This solidarity, nurtured and rehearsed in affective spaces like the home or the streets, is often illegible to liberal state frameworks. Though often unacknowledged, Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity is animated by two parallel practices of resistance through refusal: Black fugitivity and Palestinian *sumud*.

The boy's sign reveals much about the radical methods of Black and Palestinian transnational solidarity that I aim to investigate in this thesis. By placing "Black DC boys" and "Brown Gaza Children" in the same sentence, the young boy reveals the inherently interlinked experiences of Black and Palestinian people. Rather than framing these two identities as exclusive, disparate categories, his sign formulates them as relational and co-constitutive identities. He crafts a shared vision of solidarity sought through struggle, one which uplifts the type of social visions that these identities afford and their subsequent resistances to colonial enclosure. Taking inspiration from this young boy's principled articulation of solidarity, this thesis aims to employ solidarity as an analytic to reveal the resonances of Black and Palestinian refusal in both struggles for liberation. I put into conversation Palestinian *sumud*, which roughly translates to steadfastness from Arabic, and Black fugitivity, two examples of resistance which respond to violent methods of settler-colonial and anti-Black enclosure. Both are concepts that are never stable nor can be singularly defined. They are constantly in flux in response to current conditions of domination. Sumud and fugitivity both respond to specific localized conditions of

settler colonial and anti-Black enclosure, and in their wake mark creative ways of survival, refusal, resilience, and joy. I will track the history of both concepts, from their origins in political struggle to their current-day configurations. By putting into conversation Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud, as two spatially and historically specific methods of refusal, I will analyze the globalized possibilities for transnational resistance that arise in collaboration and solidarity, and the creation of alternative geographies of refusal.

This thesis illuminates that Black and Palestinian revolutionary political movements push *all of us* to engage in new relationships with each other and to build a world beyond the violences of colonialism and anti-Blackness. This idea is embodied by the two quotations in the epigraph, which inspire this thesis and are quotes I come back to frequently throughout it.[2] Both of these quotes orient us towards the revolutionary possibility that Black and Palestinian liberation would offer not only Black folks and Palestinian folks, but the ways it would reorient our world, and free all of us. Following the spirit of these quotes, this thesis, from a contradictory positionality, hopes to let these sentiments reverberate together, sentiments from both the Black radical tradition and the Palestinian liberation struggle, and to allow these to extend past the limiting boundaries of academia. I hope to allow these quotes to animate our organizing spaces, to let them change us, to push at my own positionality, and to strengthen my own commitments to revolutionary possibility and to a freer world. These worlds are always being created, particularly from those who live under anti-Black and colonial enclosure, those whose worlds have been ending since the dawn of colonialism. Native scholar Leanne Betsamosake Simpson writes "In some ways, I think my ancestors rebuilt their world every day, every season, every year through practices of renewal and repetition. Right now, engaging in world building is a

[2]Code Pink (@codepink), "We are not freeing Palestine. Palestine is freeing us. Solidarity with activists around the world rising up for Palestinian liberation in the face of repression", Twitter, October 20, 2023.

collective act of generating the knowledge we need to figure out how to live with each other the day after this world ends."[3] Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity offers these new world buildings, from a starting point of refusing the violent world that exists today. Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud teach us that it is always worthwhile, and also necessary, to fight for these alternative worlds and geographies, and that we can only do so in collectivity.

Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud are the catalysts for these alternative worlds. I posit them as two spatially specific and historically contingent practices of refusal, both of which arise in response to conditions of Israeli settler colonialism and anti-Blackness. In their collective formations, sumud and fugitivity have transnational possibilities. Palestinian sumud is a Palestinian-specific method of refusal. Broadly, it is linked to the Palestinian refusal of colonial structures with its roots in refusing structures of incarceration. Lena Meari defines it as "political-psycho-affective subjectivity"[4] which can "refuse to recognize … the embodied order of power that structures the colonial relation."[5] Throughout the following chapters, I will explore sumud and fugitivity in depth and in conversation with one another.

Chapter one tracks a more expansive definition of Palestinian sumud, through its historical origins and contemporary manifestations. Starting in the stories of steadfastness in Gaza amid the ongoing genocide, chapter one recounts the history of settler colonialism in Palestine and a strong tradition of resistance to it. Relying heavily on Lena Meari's conception of sumud, I follow the origins of sumud in the prison encounter. By tracking the history of sumud in prisons and detention centers, domestic spaces, and in relation to the land, I follow sumud as an affective familial tradition that is often illegible through liberal frameworks. In these practices of

[3]Maynard, Robyn, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Christopher Griffin, and Hannah Voegele. 2021. "Everyday We Must Get Up and Relearn the World: An Interview with Robyn Maynard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson". *Interfere: Journal for Critical Thought and Radical Politics*, 2. 152.
[4] Meari, Lena. "Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons" South Atlantic Quarterly 113, no. 3, 2014, 549.
[5] Meari. Sumud, 548.

resistance, I reveal sumud's transnational possibilities. Sumud inspires revolutionary political becoming that can emanate outside of Palestine, through the processes of refusing enclosure, rejecting liberal traditions and the category of human, and the creation of alternative geographies. By analyzing political posters, I reveal the transnational possibilities of such refusal and the global revolutionary political becoming that sumud demands.

Black fugitivity is a parallel process of refusal to anti-Black enclosure, coined by various Black scholars. Fugitivity broadly encapsulates the practice by which Black folk find freedom from the continual construction of Black folk as fungible objects, through flight, escape, and the generative creation of new. In this sense, authors Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen and Alex Moulton "read fugitivity as not just a historical phenomenon or political theory, but a practice- a method- for apprehending and imagining the world otherwise."[6] For the purposes of this thesis, I will look at the spatially specific forms of Black fugitivity that arise in the enclosures of United States public schools, while also noting the deep ties between fugitivity and Palestinian sumud. Chapter two tracks the historical origins of Black fugitivity in the traditions of maroonage during chattel slavery. I use schools as an analytical site of anti-Black enclosure to highlight the stories of Black fugitivity that emerge in their wake. I rely on Damien Sojoyner's theorizations of Los Angeles public schools as enclosed spaces. I also render Los Angeles an enclosure, which allows for the culmination of modern day configurations of anti-Blackness in schools. By weaving together multiple stories of Black fugitivity, I reveal the militarized, anti-Black nature of schools as well as the revolutionary political becoming in response to it. I put into conversation Assata Shakur's autobiography and Marley from Damien Sojoyner's article "Another Life is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places" to propose Black fugitivity as a potentially transnational

[6]Gross-Wyrtzen, Leslie, and Alex A Moulton. 2023. "Toward 'Fugitivity As Method' : An Introduction to the Special Issue." *Acme* 22 (5): 1261.

force of solidarity. Marley and Shakur draw on historical traditions of Black refusal originating in chattel slavery to build liberated worlds and create intentional beauty within enclosure. I also recount the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) fugitive freedom schools and their primary assertions of solidarity with Palestine. Through the rejection of liberal multiculturalism, Black fugitivity animates a Black revolutionary political becoming that reverberates far beyond the boundaries of school, Los Angeles, and the United States.

Chapter three tracks how sumud and fugitivity, in relation to each other, and in relation to a long history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, create alternative geographies of liberation. In conversation with each other, the two spatially specific practices of refusal are strikingly familiar in their methods. In their overlap, sumud and fugitivity lay the groundwork for global solidarity that has the potential to destabilize systems of anti-Black and colonial enclosure across the world. I begin with a twitter exchange during the 2014 summer of solidarity between Ferguson and Gaza to reveal a much longer history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity in revival. I also look to the Black Panther's historical solidarity with Palestine and the Black4Palestine solidarity statements that arose in both 2014 and 2023. Finally, I provide a close textual analysis of the idea of "home" in June Jordan's 1983 poem "Moving Towards Home" and Suheir Hammad's poem "open poem to those who rather we not read… or breathe." These two poems create alternative liberated geographies based in the metaphorical "home" of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity.

Throughout the following chapters, I will pay particular attention to the resurgences of solidarity work with Palestine since the onslaught of Israel's latest iteration of genocide in Gaza. I use the words renewal and resurgence interchangeably to reveal the historical continuities Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity that has resurged in the last six months. As scholars,

activists, and authors of "Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity: Renewals, Returns, and Practice", Noura Erekat and Marc Lamont Hill similarly adopt "renewal" to pay homage to a decades long history of Black-Palestinian solidarity. They write, "we do not imply an interruption, at any juncture in history, of solidarity praxes between Blacks and Palestinians."[7] These resurgences, as well as the historical tradition of solidarity, inspire reconfiguring our commitments to each other and to an anti-imperialist, decolonial world. In this thesis, I draw on a robust and documented tradition of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity that illuminates these practices of refusal. This tradition shaped much of Third Worldist solidarity from the late 1960's to early 1980's. Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity continues to mark a radical internationalism that this thesis aims to honor as well as learn from. Drawing on scholars of this tradition such as Marc Lamont Hill, Robin Kelley, Alex Lubin, Noura Erekat, and many more, as well as the solidarities I've witnessed and participated in in organizing spaces, I hope to let these voices rise off the page and inspire collective action.

Solidarity, or comradeship as Jodi Dean explains, forces us to recognize each other not as disparate people, but global citizens of the world, whose safety, freedom, and liberation are deeply intertwined. Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity has long taught the world that there is no freedom for anyone without freedom for everyone. The practices of sumud and Black fugitivity encourage these reconfigurations of the self, not just as individuals, but as part of a global structure of collectivity, or what I refer to as a collective "we". This "we" differs from liberal projects that assume us all to be disparate, state and nation based citizens. Sumud and Black fugitivity ask us, what does it mean to create a collective "we", when Palestinian and Black people have historically been denied humanity? If liberal understandings of "We" rely on

[7]Noura Erakat & Marc Lamont Hill (2019) "Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity: Renewals, Returns, and Practice", Journal of Palestine Studies, 48:4, 9.

the citizen-subject of a larger nation state, what does "we" look like for Palestinians denied a state, or to those in exile? For Black Americans who were only incorporated into the nation state under the conditions of chattel slavery? Sumud and Black fugitivity, in direct refusal of this liberal, exclusive "We", chart new paths of solidarity and relationality across the world. Sumud and Black fugitivity reach beyond individualism and understand us all to be interconnected kin, struggling through individual desubjectification by the liberal state and towards a new collectivity. Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity holds the possibility to build the conditions of this new collectivity.

This thesis asks, what would it mean to center these types of solidarities and comradeship as an analytic? Or as critical geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore asks, "How can people who inhabit forgotten places scale up their activism from intensely localized struggles to something less atomized and therefore possessed of a significant capacity for self determination?"[8] The radical dreaming that arises out of Black and Palestinian struggles and refusal ties them intimately together and illuminates each other's demands for a free world.

Methodology

Throughout this thesis I draw on various scholars whose radical methods offer interventions into academia. In line with the methods of American Studies, I take seriously alternative sites of knowledge production that lie outside of the strict boundaries of the academy. While academia proliferates essentializing and limiting disciplines, lack of connection to material processes and communities outside of the ivory tower, and the Western epistemic tradition of reifying written knowledge, I hope instead to illuminate sites of resistance outside of

[8] Gilmore, Ruth. "Engaging Contradictions : Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship." 2008. Essay. In 1. Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2008, 31.

higher education. Therefore, I look to alternative sources, such as political posters, tweets, art, and poetry to make these academic boundaries more malleable. By centering the radical theorizing and dreams that arise in the alternative sites of knowledge production, new possibilities emerge in how we communicate revolutionary demands, ones that cannot necessarily be legible through academic writing. These demands are often sought through organizing spaces, in the home, within kinship networks, and are often illegible to typical university archives. In this thesis, I hope to uplift knowledge that is often not considered legitimate knowledge, and to center "the situated knowledge of these communities and their contributions to both real and imagined human geographies as significant political acts and expressions."[9]

In discussing race, this thesis refuses to categorize race as a static, fixed, or stable category, but rather understands race to be a historically contingent, fluid, and constructed category that is always connected to material conditions.[10] The scholars I follow take a distinctly non-essentialist, historically contingent approach to understanding race, which accounts for the asymmetrical processes of racialization in the United States and in Palestine. Thus, racialization is a socio-historical process foundational to United States and Israeli settler colonial projects, by which racial categories are "created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed."[11] In this understanding of race, which relies heavily on the Black radical tradition, I suggest that both Blackness and Palestinianness encapsulate a political consciousness and radical orientation towards the world, rather than simply a ethnic group or phenotype. I draw similarities between Black and Palestinian liberation struggles and methods of refusal that extend beyond their

[9]McKittrick, Katherine, and Clyde Adrian Woods. 2007. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 4.
[10] Lipsitz, George. 24 June 2020. "What Is This Black in the Black Radical Tradition?" Verso Blog,
[11] Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial Formation in the United States : From the 1960s to the 1990s*. Routledge, 55.

statuses as racialized peoples in a settler, anti-Black world. I take inspiration from Fred Moten's *Stolen Life*, where he argues that Blackness is an analytic force to propose new ways of existing in relation to each other and in relation to our world. He proposes a sort of ontological Blackness,[12] a certain way of being and knowing that is defined by refusal, is constantly in motion, embodies a politics of disruption, and has an antagonistic relationship to the state. I see deep intersections between this ontological, fugitive conception of Blackness and similar conceptions of Palestinianness, particularly, Palestinians-in-sumud.[13] These identities are, as Camila Hawthorne and Jovan Lewis note, "neither singular nor universal but as always historically and geographically situated and produced through complex spatial processes and diasporic routes… black spatial imaginaries, modes of resistance to racial-spatial violence, the geographies of racial capitalism, and the struggles over urban space."[14] Blackness and Palestinianness are produced as much as they are claimed. I will focus on how these identities are claimed, the epistemic interventions that they privilege, and the possibility for global pathways of solidarity that they produce.

Similarly to Moten, João Costa Vargas suggests that a revolutionary Black consciousness can be extrapolated to other struggles for freedom, while still privileging Blackness as an ontological and epistemological framework. Vargas writes, "Black radical becoming offers a blueprint of radical, revolutionary political consciousness and organizing that is potentially able to both draw on the cognitive advantages the experiences of Blackness generate and establish bridges with non-Black progressive movements."[15] Blackness as a political consciousness rather than simply a phenotypic identity category allows for deep engagements with a tradition of

[12]Moten, Fred. 2018. *Stolen Life*. Consent Not to Be a Single Being, V. [2]. Durham: Duke University Press, 34.
[13]Meari, Sumud, 548.
[14]Hawthorne, Camilla A, and Jovan Scott Lewis, eds. 2023. The Black Geographic : Praxis, Resistance, Futurity. Durham: Duke University Press, 3.
[15]Vargas, João Helion Costa. 2010. Never Meant to Survive : Genocide and Utopias in Black Diaspora Communities. Transformative Politics Series, Ed. Joy James. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 137.

Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. As Vargas writes, "it is the revolutionary component of Blackness that is capable of generating theories and practices that project a nonhierarchical lifeworld, one that does not depend on tropes of difference associated with vertical scales of power and humanity."[16] In this way, the Black radical tradition, or what Saidiya Hartman calls a Black revolution, would free us all from structures of oppression beyond anti-Blackness. By centering this revolutionary potential in Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, I reveal Blackness and Palestinianness as deeply intertwined and co-constitutive.

By putting the Black and Palestinian resistances in conversation, I do not aim to make Black and Palestinian static, separate identity categories that are mutually exclusive. I take inspiration from Amahl Bishara's method of critical comparison in her book *Crossing a Line: Laws, Violence, and Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression.* Bishara writes:

> "we look at similarities and differences to understand more about how settler colonialism, racism, and militarism, and displacement operate, interact, and compound each other today; we do this to highlight the generative connections activists have made across movements; we do this to shine lights from one part of the world to another so that we can deepen our readers senses of understanding and solidarity of lesser known places."[17]

Bishara continues, suggesting that we not only focus on shared oppression as a means of creating networks of solidarity. Instead, we must focus critical comparison to highlight the social visions and liberated geographies that activists generate. This would mean both highlighting and de-exceptionalizing the specific experiences of Black diasporic folks and Palestinians. I aim to balance the spatially specific methods of resistance that arise in the face of anti-Blackness and settler colonialism as well as the broader implications of resistance to oppression on a global scale. Centering the methods of Black geographers is particularly helpful in revealing Blackness

[16] Vargas, *Never Meant to Survive,* 138.
[17] Bishara, Amahl A. 2022. *Crossing a Line : Laws, Violence, and Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 258.

and Palestinianness as situating forces beyond the body and as "place-making apparatuses that in every geographic context makes its location more meaningful, more substantial, more human."[18]

Critical geographer Tiffany Lethabo King explores geographies of Black and Indigenous resistance through her book *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. King uses the conceptual framework of the shoals as the generative intersection of Blackness and Indigeneity, to hold the contradictions of how racialized projects of slavery and settler colonialism have aimed to make Black and Indigenous people antagonistic. For this thesis, I rely on the term Indigenous to encapsulate a distinct political and cultural identity of the original inhabitants (whether diasporic or still living on their land) of a colonized place. Indigeneity can be defined in endless ways, and as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Christopher Castiglia and Caroline Chung Simpson write, "some indigenous peoples define themselves by their historical continuity with precolonial and presettler societies; others by ties to territories and surrounding natural resources; others in relation to distinct social, economic, or political systems; and still others by their distinct languages, cultures, and beliefs."[19] Importantly, acknowledging Palestinians as Indigenous both allows for a critical engagement with Israeli settler colonialism, as well as a focus on Indigenous refusal and resistance, which has persisted since the origins of the Zionist settler state. I find King's discussion of indigeneity to be deeply applicable to Palestine and other Indigenous struggles worldwide, as she destabilizes the United States' black-white binary and recognizes indigeneity as a distinct relationality to land, nation, and settler colonialism, rather than a "phenotypic race". Instead, as many Indigenous scholars have taught us, "the concept of race does not map so neatly onto American Indians or any other indigenous peoples, since the question of indigeneity is rooted in a distinct relationship to land and territory that has

[18] Hawthorne and Lewis, *The Black Geographic*, 5.
[19] Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani, Christopher Castiglia, and Caroline Chung Simpson. "Indigenous." In *Keywords for American Cultural Studies, Third Edition*, edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler, 11:138. NYU Press, 2020.

consequences for sovereignty."[20] Palestinians, as Muslim, Jewish, and Christian Indigenous people have long existed in historic Palestine.

I use the terms Palestinian and Indigenous interchangeably, to reflect both the spatially specific experiences of Palestinians living under Israeli settler colonialism, as well as the broader globalized structures of colonial enclosure that mark global Indigenous life. The settler colonial project in Palestine began with British rule and expanded when "Zionists decided they would establish a civilized, secular, European colonial nation-state like France or Germany… in Palestine."[21] With the establishment of the Zionist Jewish-only nation state in Palestine, the Indigenous Palestinians were massacred, erased, eliminated, and driven off of their land. Similarly to the Indigenous people of Turtle Island[22], the United States and Israel's settler colonial projects required the elimination of the native and the extraction of their land. Enslaved Africans were forcibly and violently brought to the United States and structurally coerced into the settler colonial project of dispossession, complicating the binary of settler-indigenous.

By referencing King's conceptual shoals, I aim to allow Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud to rub up against each other. In conversation, their resonances will reveal larger revolutionary political becomings. King explains her work as "a moment of friction and the production of a new topography. The Black Shoals, as an analytical and a methodological location, constitutes a moment of convergence, gathering, reassembling, and coming together (or apart)."[23] In these convergences, she finds new methods of being and becoming that demand both Indigenous and Black liberation, in all the ways they contradict as well as coincide. She refuses to allow Black and Indigenous people to be rendered antagonisms, and as I aim to do, sees their

[20] Kauanui, Castiglia, and Simpson. "Indigenous." 139.
[21] Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani and Patrick Wolfe. 2012. "Settler Colonialism Then and Now" *Politica & Societá.* 252.
[22] Turtle Island is an Indigenous name for the land that is now called the United States, referring to the Indigenous creation stories that describe the continent as being formed on the back of a giant turtle.
[23] King, Tiffany Lethabo. 2019. *The Black Shoals : Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies*. Durham North Carolina: Duke University Press, 4.

identities as deeply relational and mutually constitutive. In this, she erodes the category of nation state that has haunted so many Black and Indigenous struggles. Instead of situating Black and Native people as separate racialized categories under the nation state, she suggests that they emerge constitutively.[24] Thus, the shoal is a capacious site of many meanings that allows seemingly disparate people to engage in collective world making. I hope that the collection of poetry, posters, tweets, and art in this thesis allow for these same shoal resonances, in their contradictions, encounters, and overlaps.

To establish Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity as having the possibility to create alternative geographies, outside of the liberal frameworks of constructed race, I rely on Robin Kelley's seminal article "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top: Solidarity as Worldmaking". Kelly suggests that the glue for Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity is not shared experiences of racialized oppression, but the liberatory visions of alternative worlds that arise out of these conditions.[25] In the creation of counter geographies that resist colonial enclosure, Katherine McKittrick, Black geographer, identifies a "Black sense of place", which she defines as "not a steady, focused, and homogenous way of seeing and being in place, but rather a set of changing and differential perspectives that are illustrative of, and therefore remark upon, legacies of normalized racial violence that calcify, but do not guarantee, the denigration of black geographies and their inhabitants."[26] I look to the places where the denigration of Black geographies and their inhabitants is not guaranteed and instead becomes a starting point for alternative sites of existence and subjectivity. The discipline of Black studies and geography heavily informs these reconfigurations of identity in collectivity.

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[24] King, *The Black Shoals,* 28.
[25]Kelley, Robin D.G. 2019. "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top: Solidarity As Worldmaking." Journal of Palestine Studies 48 (4 (192)): 85.
[26] McKittrick, Katherine. 2011. "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place." *Social & Cultural Geography* 12 (8): 950.

From geographies of enclosure, people resist and seek liberated geographies alongside the difficult entanglements of racial encounter. Starting in histories of chattel slavery, Leslie Gross Wyrtzen and Alex Moulton describe how maroon communities "created intimate and kinship ties that generated means and subsistence for themselves and their kin. They showed up in spaces of care, celebration, and cultivated expressive and embodied aesthetic practices to heal from the everyday toil of their laboring lives."[27] This tradition of generative marronage establishes the roots for current traditions of Black fugitivity. In these practices, Black and Palestinian activists make new worlds in their refusal of our current world. I center Blackness in a discussion of Palestinian worldmaking as it encapsulates a revolutionary political consciousness that is translatable to Palestinian liberation. Alex Lubin notes that "placing black studies at the center of global history enables a complex view of the global assemblages of racialization that take place across uneven and unequal geopolitical conditions."[28] Further, I center Palestinianness in Black geographies as the revolutionary sumud that Palestinians practice animates the creation of alternative worlds.

Lastly, I rely on some of the methodological frameworks offered by Alex Lubin in his book *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*. Like Bishara, he also suggests a comparative analytic that I apply to reveal co-constructed histories of colonialism and anti-Blackness. He writes, "comparative histories of colonialism produce an analytic that exposes something important and productive about the colonial world as well as the desire of the oppressed to undertake its refashioning."[29] I use comparison here to reveal the millions of ways that Black and Palestinian activists are engaging in decolonial refashioning of

[27]Gross-Wyrtzen and Moulton, "Toward 'Fugitivity As Method'" 1265
[28]Lubin, Alex. 2014. *Geographies of Liberation : The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*. The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 175.
[29]Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation*, 8.

the world and creating the "geographies of liberation" Lubin so aptly named. I use "geographies of liberation" to reveal the sort of transnational possibilities and alternative sites of existence that are formed when Black and Palestinian rebellion and refusal are deeply co-constitutive of one another. Lubin also suggests the fugitive nature of this method, as he writes "*Geographies of Liberation* is also about the fugitive memories of history that have become taboo in the contemporary public sphere."[30] In this sense, I draw on the fugitive methods discussed above alongside a robust field of scholarship on Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity to reveal how practices of fugitivity and sumud inherently animate this work and destabilize fixed racial categories.

Writing as Witnessing: Context of the Ongoing Genocide in Gaza

I began writing this thesis as the most brutal iteration of Israel's genocidal regime against Palestine unfolded. Writing about the genocide has been a project where words have failed me. There are no words to represent the level of mass destruction, devastation, and ethnic cleansing that Israel has imposed on Palestinians, both since October 7th as well as the past century of the Zionist settler colonial regime in historic Palestine. As I write, Israel has massacred over 34,000 Palestinians in Gaza, each one a person with a dream of a free Palestine, each one someone who may have practiced sumud throughout their life. Many of these people may have told stories to their children about a world beyond colonialism. Many of these people were children so young they never knew a world outside of constant Israeli bombardment. Israeli bombardment has displaced two million Palestinians from their homes in Gaza and flattened entire neighborhoods, rendering them unrecognizable. The consequences of Israel's violence are unimaginable, leaving Palestinians nowhere to return to when an eventual ceasefire is implemented. This thesis is a

[30]Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation,* 174.

disturbing time capsule, something I hope can bear active witness to the devastation of the past 196 days, and document the relentless resistance and solidarity that arises out of the worst of genocidal conditions, from Turtle Island to Palestine. I hope this project honors each life lost in Palestine, both honoring and uplifting their stories and their demands for a free world.

The stakes of writing about an ongoing genocide are critical, and because of the aforementioned contradictions, my attempts will necessarily have gaps. These gaps exist where Black and Palestinian resistance escape the regulative eyes of whiteness and the academy, which I inherently uphold. However, writing as witnessing is important despite these contradictions, as an act of exposure and documentation, and to refuse the normalization of genocide that is expected of us right now. As bombs drop on Palestinians and Israel continues to block life saving food and aid, those of us living in the imperial core are expected to continue business as usual, and to see our lives as ontologically separate and detached from the daily lives of Palestinians.

It is impossible to write a thesis about Palestine from within the United States without it being riddled in contradictions. It's hard for me to imagine a more incommensurable contradiction than the fact that my tax dollars continue to contribute to the slaughter of the people who inspire and animate this work. My commitments to the liberation of Palestine, to end U.S. complicity in genocide, apartheid, and ethnic cleansing, therefore must extend far beyond the confines of this thesis and U.S. academic institutions. Though riddled in contradictions, I find writing this thesis essential, for the potential solidarities it reveals, both in a long tradition of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, as well as my own solidarity and commitments to liberation. As a white woman situated within a wealthy university, I hope to explore how to write about resistance to colonialism from within a deeply colonial institution - private higher education. Taking seriously the aims of American Studies to embrace these contradictions and

destabilize disciplinary boundaries, I hope to both recognize and work through/against these inherent contradictions.

Because of my positionality, my writing cannot fully encapsulate the liberatory dreams, demands, and possibilities of the Black and Palestinian concepts that I study. It is deeply contradictory for me to write about sumud and fugitivity, two concepts that aim to be hidden and constantly in motion. In contrast, academia aims to make concepts static and knowable. Further, as a white woman, I embody the structural forces and violences that sumud and fugitivity escape. Sumud and Black fugitivity, at their core, reject liberal colonial projects such as U.S. academia, and as Damien Sojoyner writes, "the fugitive strategy is revealed to be both illegible and dangerous within a liberal framework."[31] Further, in writing about Black fugitivity and sumud, I must interrogate and attempt to undo essentialist racial categories that mark Black and Palestinian life, categories that I've been taught and raised to uphold as a part of white supremacy. From the positionality of a white writer, I hope to break with the common, and violent, practice of writing solely about Black and Palestinian oppression, and rather center their shared methods of refusal and resistance as an analytic, or as a starting point for looking to decolonial futures. As Sojoyner also writes, "the lived reality and actions of subjugated people cannot be read through the filter of the liberal discursive projects that restrict racialized populations to very specific modalities of being."[32] To push against these liberal discursive projects, I hope to follow the ways Black and Palestinian actors engage in processes of desubjectification through resisting the limiting category of human and refusing prescribed notions of criminality. Through this, Black and Palestinian actors remake their identities in terms of collectivity, forging global formations of "we".

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[31]Sojoyner, Damien M. 2017. "Another Life Is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places." *Cultural Anthropology* 32 (4): 518.
[32] Sojoyner, "Another Life is Possible" 518

By refusing to make sumud and fugitivity stable or fixed, I hope to become undisciplined, allowing Black and Palestinian resistance to intervene into the strict frameworks of academia. While academia proliferates the disconnect between theory and praxis, the emphasis on liberal citizen-subjects, and the reification of the category of human, I hope that in contrast, this thesis encourages practices of resistance and engagement with new worlds outside of higher education institutions. The writing in this thesis must always be engaged with material processes of change. I take inspiration from the strong tradition of organizing and solidarity work that I am surrounded by, both at the Claremont Colleges and at home. This thesis would not be possible without deeper engagements with solidarity work that I explore with my comrades, whether that be on the streets, planning disruptive actions late into the night, or discussing the visions of a decolonial world that inspire our organizing work. As Jodi Dean discusses in her book *Comrade,* comradeship is utopic and through political relation to each other, we seek and rehearse freer worlds.[33] There is no writing or theorizing about freer worlds without practicing them, and in the past four years of being an organizer in solidarity with Palestine, I've humbly learned from my comrades about building strong political collectivities. The existence of strong political partnership "enables the relation between comrades to cut through the determinations of the everyday (which is another way of saying capitalist social relations)."[34] The comradeship that I find with fellow organizers and the broader comrade kinships between Black and Palestinian activists inspire and animate this thesis and our broader collective refusal to normalize the violent world we know today. And as Dean writes, "the comrade relation remakes the place from which one sees, what it is possible to see, and what possibilities can appear."[35] As comrades in the United States, we orient ourselves towards Palestine, and in this, orient ourselves towards a

[33]Dean, Jodi. 2019. *Comrade : An Essay on Political Belonging.* London: Verso.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35]*Ibid*

decolonial future, allowing endless new possibilities and worlds to appear as we fight for the end of the world of imperialism, Zionism, anti-Blackness, and enclosure as we know it.

Key Concepts

Throughout the following chapters, I repeatedly reference key terms and concepts that require definition. I aim to give a brief and broad understanding of each, noting that they have capacious and contested meanings.

Enclosure

I rely on the term enclosure to describe the various methods of coloniality and anti-Blackness that imprint upon Black and Palestinian life. Enclosure, adapted from Marxist ideology, references the purposeful caging and confinement of people onto land. Gary Fields in his book *Enclosure* writes, "enclosure is a practice resulting in the transfer of land from one group of people to another and the establishment of exclusionary spaces on territorial landscapes. At the same time, enclosure brings profound material changes to the land surface after the practitioners of enclosure replace the disinherited as sovereigns and stewards on the land and begin to construct an entirely different culture on the landscape."[36] I define enclosure more broadly, as a practice of colonial and anti-Black enforcement of power, which is developed through the organized abandonment, elimination, and restricted movement of racialized populations. In the context of Black America, enclosure began with the onset of chattel slavery and has persisted in the afterlife of slavery today. Slavery defined African captives as commodities in a broader system of racial capitalism. As Stephanie Smallwood writes in her book *Saltwater Slavery,* "the most powerful instrument locking captives in as commodities for

[36]Fields, Gary. 2017. *Enclosure : Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror*. University of California Press: Oakland, California, 6.

Atlantic trade was the culture of the market itself."[37] Many Black studies scholars and activists suggest that this commodification has never stopped haunting Black life in America, forming a sort of social death for Black life.[38] Saidya Hartman articulates the haunting of chattel slavery, commodification, and anti-Black enclosure in her book *Lose Your Mother.* In the introductory pages she writes, "black lives are still imperiled and devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that were entrenched centuries ago. This is the afterlife of slavery-skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment."[39] The afterlife of slavery has continued to construct Black life as Other, whether that be through slavery, segregation, or incarceration. Spatially, Black life has never been privileged a sense of place in the United States. Instead, structural capitalism, colonialism, and white supremacy work to enclose and marginalize Black life, and as McKittrick and Woods discuss, "situates black subjects and their geopolitical concerns as being elsewhere (on the margin, the underside, outside the normal), a spatial practice that conveniently props up the mythical norm and erases or obscures the daily struggle of particular communities."[40]

Enclosure of Black life in the United States, while reliant on some of the same processes of racialization and subjugation, has looked different from enclosure in Palestine. Enclosure in Palestine takes the form of over one hundred years of disposession, ethnic cleansing, and genocide by the Zionist colonial project. Zionism rendered Palestine "*terra nullius* to those who came to settle it, with those living there nameless and amorphous."[41] It has also meant the

[37]Smallwood, Stephanie E. 2022. Saltwater Slavery : A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 56.
[38]Patterson, Orlando. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death : A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 8.
[39]Hartman, Saidiya V. 2008. Lose Your Mother : A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route (version First edition.) New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 6.
[40]McKittrick and Woods, *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, 4.
[41]Khalidi, Rashid. 2020. *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine : A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017* (version First edition) First ed. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 11.

continual erasure of Palestinian identity and culture by Zionism. Since October 7th, Israel has bombed and destroyed every single university in Gaza,[42] demolishing thousands of archives, knowledge production, Palestinian culture and memory. This history of scholasticide and epistemicide[43] begins with the origins of the Zionist settler project. Zionism relies on the destruction of Palestinian identity and culture, such that "it created a world in which only knowledge produced by European colonists and settlers was deemed legitimate, while colonized societies were compelled to construct new systems from scratch — often mirroring those of their colonizers — because their own systems had been destroyed."[44] Gaza, as a physically enclosed space, surrounded by militarized borders, is, as Helga Tawil Souri writes, "the embodiment of enclosure processes from land to factory to prison to expurgation and the political-economic structures that confine those on the weaker end."[45]

While both anti-Black and colonial enclosure have spatially specific meaning, I suggest that enclosure as a broad term encapsulates the familiar racist and colonial frameworks that structure the world, from Turtle Island to Palestine. Enclosures can be as large as the settler state of Israel or the imperial desires of the United States, and as localized as schools in Los Angeles. Damien Sojoyner focuses specifically on schools in Los Angeles as anti-Black enclosures, stating "rooted in a liberal tradition of social progress, the current realities of Black education are mired in a brutal system of punitive containment and curricular evisceration that I argue forms the basis of an enclosed place."[46]

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[42] Moaswes, Abdulla. February 2, 2024. "The Epistemicide of the Palestinians: Israel Destroys Pillars of Knowledge" *Institute for Palestine Studies*. Blog, Genocide in Gaza.
[43] Scholasticide, coined by Professor Karma Nablusi, and epistemicide refer to the deliberate destruction of Palestinian education by Israel.
[44] Moaswes, "The Epistemicide of the Palestinians".
[45] Matar, Dina and Helga Tawil-Souri, 2016. *Gaza as Metaphor*. Hurst Press, London.
[46] Sojoyner, "Another Life is Possible", 516.

By putting into conversation spatially specific and historically contingent stories of anti-Black and colonial enclosure, global interlocking systems of domination are revealed. Both Palestinian and Black resistance illuminate global structures of enclosure as well as long histories of refusal to be enclosed.

Encounter

Next, I use the term encounter to mean a space where Black and Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies rub up against each other. Similarly to Tiffany Lethabo King and her conception of the shoals, I look to racial encounters as a site of possibility. Encounters demonstrate the interlocking forces of racialization as well as future possibilities of solidarity. I draw on Katherine McKittrick's definition of racial encounter as the messy entanglements of modern life in the wake of coloniality and violence. She writes about encounter as the convergences of "life, violence, encounter, and coloniality, together, point to practical strategies of resistance (from poetics to activism) that complicate otherwise mundane and discrete racial categories."[47] Mirroring her methods, I look to sites of racial encounter that occur in the wake of structural abandonment and elimination of racialized populations, whether that be by the occupying state, the settler colonial project, and/or the messy and expansive limbs of enclosure.

I look at Black fugitivity and sumud as sites of encounter that allow for the destabilization of discrete racial categories as well as the possibility for transnational solidarity and collective identity. In Lena Meari's seminal article on sumud, she conceptualizes the prison interrogation as a site of colonial encounter that embodies the power structure of the Zionist project. She writes, "each interrogation is considered as a singular encounter but also as encoding the history of past, present, and future colonial encounters."[48] In light of these varying definitions

[47] McKittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place" 953.
[48]Meari, Sumud, 549.

of encounter, I hope to convey the double bind of encounter- that racial encounters both have the ability to both embody and uphold colonial relations, as well as the possibility of destabilizing hegemony through refusal, poetics, and activism. I focus specifically on the racial encounters between Black and Palestinian folk that through refusal, create the grounds of possibility for alternative geographies.

Liberalism

I repeatedly rely on the term liberal or liberalism to describe the fundamental political discourses that shape the United States and Israel. These discourses emphasize individual freedom, universality, and a gradual social progress towards reform. Liberalism posits individuals as citizen-subjects who are governed by the institutions who supposedly preserve the individual freedoms of these citizen-subjects.[49] The methods of refusal that I explore in this thesis are illegible through liberal frameworks, which are deeply invested in a "correct way to resist." This typically looks like voting, or engaging in larger structures of governance, or encouraging "constructive dialogue" and "peace making projects." Instead, methods of refusal that reject the notion that we are on a teleological moral arc towards justice reveal the continued violence of the liberal state. Sarah Ihmoud notes that "Anti-blackness is a racial logic foundational to modernity and the liberal humanist framework, and thus, the very formation of the modern nation-state… Theorists of anti-blackness reveal that black intimacy with death is modernity's condition of possibility."[50] Modern liberalism depends on anti-Blackness and settler colonialism to produce nation citizen-subjects and functions as enclosure for Black and Palestinian life. The signing of the 1993 Oslo accords, amid international pressure for a

[49]Pal Singh, Nikhil. "Liberalism." In *Keywords for American Cultural Studies, Third Edition*, edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler. NYU Press, 2020.
[50] "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity" moderated by Noura Erekat. *Jadaliyya,* June 3, 2015.https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32145 =

"two-state solution" as the only appropriate responses to settler colonial violence, cemented liberalism as a force of enclosure onto Palestinian life. Noura Erekat and John Reynolds note that after Oslo, "a liberal politics of human rights and formal equality displaced more radical understandings of apartheid, which considered anti-apartheid movements to be inseparable from the wider anti-imperial struggle."[51] I posit that liberalism, in its emphasis on individual citizen-subjects, forecloses potentials for global solidarity and collective liberation politics.

Liberalism is also complicated through questions I explore in this thesis- who is considered citizen-subjects? What types of collective freedom dreams exist outside of the prescribed liberal narratives of social progress? Nikhil Pal Singh problematizes Adam Smith and John Locke's definitions of liberalism by writing "the problems of political domination, exclusion, and inequality within liberalism are deepened dramatically when we consider the historical record of liberal-democratic nation-states founded in racial slavery and colonial expansion."[52] I suggest that racializing projects of colonialism and chattel slavery are inherent to the "health" of liberal democracy. The alternative geographies of solidarity explored in this thesis diverge from entrenched liberal narratives of gradual social progress.

Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity

I draw on a robust field of scholarship of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity and its historical origins. Noura Erekat and Marc Lamont Hill explore the term "Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity" (BPTS) in their 2019 article "Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity: Renewals, Returns, and Practice." Erekat and Hill make a critical intervention into the scholarship on Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, noting that solidarity is not inherently presumed, yet built through struggle. In a later article, "Geographies of Intimacy: Contemporary

[51] Erekat, Noura and John Reynolds. "Understanding Apartheid: Embracing a radical critique of Israeli apartheid is a precondition for bringing it to a just end". *Jewish Currents,* November 1, 2022.
[52] Pal Singh, "Liberalism."

Renewals of Black-Palestinian Solidarity" Erekat expands on this intervention, writing, "the activists' stories of politicization show that such solidarity has been produced through struggle rather than preceding it, underscoring a politics of location and engagement."[53] Erekat and Hill thus encourage us to critically interrogate the meaning of solidarity itself, which they suggest involves "active witness, critical reciprocity, critique of state violence, and recognition of difference."[54] I expand on this definition of solidarity to include the practices of sumud and fugitivity. Solidarity is also built on the collective refusal of systems of enclosure, refusal of liberal state building traditions, and the creation of alternative geographies. I also assert that solidarity is built up from the local to the global, and that spatially specific methods of resistance have the possibility to become globalized tactics and shared visions of a decolonial future. Critical, reciprocal, engagement with various struggles marks the deep interconnectedness of all liberation struggles and orients us towards a collective global comradeship, or collective "we". As Erekat suggests, solidarity then becomes a structure of intimacy, which is not easily corrupted or co-opted by liberal state building projects. By bringing solidarity into this affective, intimate realm, Erekat reveals that "unlike the transactional and tenuous nature of business relationships, such kinship is upheld by a common repertoire of mutually reinforcing deeds and gestures based on the visceral knowledge that the relationship exceeds political conditions and is the source of survival in the plural 'we'."[55] This thesis aims to uplift this plural or collective "we" through the resonances of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity.

The Black radical tradition

[53] Erekat, Noura. "Geographies of Intimacy: Contemporary Renewals of Black-Palestinian Solidarity" American Quarterly 72, no. 2 (2020), 491.
[54] Erakat & Hill "Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity: Renewals, Returns, and Practice", Journal of Palestine Studies, 10.
[55] Ereakt, Noura. "Geographies of Intimacy", 479.

The Black radical tradition is another force that animates the practices researched and written about in this thesis. Importantly, the Black radical tradition foregrounds the revolutionary visions of a decolonial world over state building, which aptly applies to the Palestinian liberation struggle. Starting in the 1960s, the Black radical tradition was further practiced and developed in relation to Palestinian demands for freedom. Many radical Black activists and organizations understood the Palestinian liberation struggle as a point of political development and revolutionary political becoming. In *Black Power and Palestine*, Michael Fischbach argues, "support for Palestinians in their struggle against Israel became a vital part of the programs and worldviews of several important groups and individuals within the Black Power movement and, in doing so, reflected and deepened their attitudes towards race, identity, and political action at home."[56] Black radicalism and internationalism developed in conversation with the Palestinian struggle for freedom. Expanding on these historical solidarities, Lubin writes:

> "elements of the Black radical tradition that allied with the Palestinian struggle understood it not only as a principled response to a specific historical injustice, but also as the signpost of an analytical understanding of imperialism, colonialism, and white supremacy as global phenomena that subsume the Black American condition."[57]

The Black radical tradition, rooted in the specific experiences of Black life, is a potentially revolutionizing force that can be scaled up to include the Palestinian struggle for freedom. The Black radical tradition destabilizes the very binaries and hierarchies that structure modern life steeped in coloniality and violence. Blackness then, animated by the practices of Black fugitivity, is malleable, and deeply translatable, and as I argue leads us to a broader, more liberatory understanding of solidarity with Palestine.

Liberation

[56]Fischbach, Michael R. 2019. *Black Power and Palestine : Transnational Countries of Color*. Stanford Studies in Comparative Race and Ethnicity. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 10.
[57]Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation,* 8.

Liberation, as I use in this thesis, encapsulates something broader than rights or equality as defined by the liberal democratic state. I expand on Alex Lubin's definition of liberation as "a political consciousness rooted in a desire for political freedoms as well as the right to belong, to feel at home. The desire for the affective nourishment of home is a fundamental political demand that requires confronting the geographies of modernity that impose dominant understanding of belonging and exclusion."[58] Thus, liberation would extend far past the freedom of just Black and Palestinian people as racialized groups, but would mean freedom from all axes of oppression. I do not claim to know what true liberation would look like, but it would likely mean new ways of relating to each other and to our world, new systems of knowledge, and the generative and messy processes of abolition. Thus, the term liberation recognizes the expanse of violences we are up against in our fights for freedom, and the complete revolution that a new world would require, while also recognizing the interconnectedness of everyone's freedom. Nada Elia writes, "Our whole theory of change can be distilled as de-exceptionalizing Israel-Palestine",[59] suggesting that even when we center the freedom struggles of Palestinians, or Black Americans, and their liberatory visions of a free world, liberation would necessarily extend past these borders or racialized categories. Thus, liberation in the context of this thesis means looking to methods of refusal, starting with Palestine and Black America, and letting these refusals energize a globalized intifada and the social visionings of an entirely new world.

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[58] Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation,* 173.
[59] Elia, Nada. 2023. *Greater Than the Sum of Our Parts : Feminism, Inter/Nationalism, and Palestine*. London: Pluto Press New Wing, 128.

Both Black people in the U.S. and Palestinians in the wake of Zionist colonization have never been granted space and have claimed it anyway. They have refused the conditions of today by creating anew and leading a revolutionary tomorrow. They have engaged in deep, meaningful solidarity with each other and made this solidarity, a living, breathing, life form. To wake up every day and resist the sheer impossibility of existing in a world that demands Black death and Palestinian erasure, is to craft a new way of being and knowing, one that is constantly in solidarity with others who refuse imperial desires. To inhabit what has long been considered unlivable, and to create love and joy in it, is grounds for deep, unwavering solidarity. To refuse the conditions set for today is the basis for a revolutionary becoming that both sumud and fugitivity incite. Further exploration of these two concepts in conversation with one another will reveal how the Black and Palestinian liberation struggles are inseparable and in their revolutionary political becoming, are deeply inspiring for the creation of a new world, from Turtle Island to Palestine and beyond.

Chapter 1: Sumud as Revolutionary Political Becoming

In October 2023, after Palestinian armed resistance broke through the apartheid wall surrounding Gaza and attacked multiple Israeli settlements, the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF) began the sixth military bombardment campaign in the last 20 years against Gaza. On October 13th, as the IOF carpet bombed and collectively punished Gaza, Palestinians like Siba Sharaf began posting testimonials on social media. Her instagram, which previously featured smiling pictures of herself in Ramallah and Birzeit, now features audio recordings of Palestinians living under bombardment. Sharaf is not alone in this, as Instagram has become one of the main platforms of social media used to uplift Palestinian voices throughout the ongoing genocide in Gaza. Journalists like @wizard_bisan1 and @byplestia document the violent Israeli bombardment in ways that mainstream media sources like CNN and the New York Times have refused. One of Sharaf's videos is an audio visual snippet featuring the words of Mohannad Abu Abed,[60] a 22 year old law student at Gaza University. Over visuals of Palestinian children playing among rubble, he says, "I swear we'll never leave, even if they destroy our houses, if they martyr our families, we won't leave."[61]

Abed's words reverberate with the Palestinian concept of *sumud*, which roughly translates to "steadfastness" from Arabic. Since October 7th, videos like Abed's and accounts like Sharaf's have forced the world to grapple with Palestinian sumud and bear witness to their steadfast refusal to leave their homeland, historic Palestine, as well as their steadfast affirmation to live with dignity throughout ethnic cleansing and genocide. This chapter tracks a history and fluid definitions of Palestinian sumud, its contested origins, and its contemporary examples in daily Palestinian life.

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[60] Sharaf, Siba. *Instagram Video,* Gaza, Palestine. https://www.instagram.com/reel/Cy_gLiVIVpo/?igshid=NTc4MTIwNjQ2YQ%3D%3D

[61] *Ibid.*

Sumud, as a spirit of Palestinian life and resistance, is a distinct, Palestinian example of a global phenomenon of resistance. It encapsulates much more than its incomplete English translation of "steadfastness". Sumud, as explored in this chapter, opens multiscalar, transnational possibilities for solidarity by refusing enclosure, rejecting liberal traditions, and creating new geographies. Sumud encapsulates a revolutionary political becoming, a distinct political subjectivity that emphasizes collective struggle over individual selfhood. In this way, sumud reverberates outside of historic Palestine, from the localized examples of sumud in the Israeli prison and the Palestinian home to a global phenomenon of resistance against systems of enclosure.

The history of Palestinian resistance since the onset of European Jewish colonial settlement in Palestine has taken shape in many forms. Palestinians have always found ways to resist colonial enclosure, captivity, and forces of domination. From 1919 until 1928, Palestinians held a series of Palestinian Arab congresses, which "put forward a consistent series of demands focused on independence for Arab Palestine, rejection of the Balfour Declaration, support for majority rule, and ending unlimited Jewish immigration and land purchases."[62] Resistance continued after the formal establishment of the Zionist settler colonial state of Israel, or the 1948 Nakba, when over 750,000 Palestinians were expelled from their land by Zionist settlers. Indigenous resistance in Palestine is not an isolated phenomenon, but a broader global determination of Indigenous people everywhere who refuse the elimination tactics and violent forces of colonialism. From Turtle Island to Palestine and beyond, there are countless examples of resistance against the intended annihilation of Indigenous peoples and their land, as well as a revolutionary commitment to building a life affirming world beyond the violence of colonialism.

[62]Khalidi, Rashid. 2020. *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine : A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017*. First edition. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 31.

As Patrick Wolfe, one scholar of settler colonialism, writes, "The logic of elimination not only refers to the summary liquidation of Indigenous people…it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base—as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay."[63] Though Wolfe's definition is not the only concise definition of settler colonialism, he accurately describes the settler colonial apparatus that is the state of Israel. For the past century, from British colonial control to the origins of the Israeli state, colonialism in historic Palestine has erected a new settler society through brutal military sieges, an apartheid system, complete surveillance of Palestinian life, the incarceration of Palestinian youth, and the constant brutalization and murder of Palestinians. Israeli society was simultaneously constructed quite literally on top of the wreckage. The Israeli state does not only aim to materially eliminate and erase the Palestinian people through ethnic cleansing and genocide, but aims to culturally and historically erase their presence and claim indigenity to the land. Western popular culture and systems of knowledge production claimed historic Palestine to be barren or backwards in an attempt to justify the ongoing colonial rule.[64]

Further, Zionist settlers remade the land of historic Palestine to claim indigeneity to it, transforming many Arab villages that were violently emptied during the Nakba into Hebrew named Jewish settlements.[65] Thomas Abowd tracks the history of this colonial remaking through his book *Colonial Jerusalem: The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948-2012.* In West Jerusalem, Talbieh was renamed Komemiyut, or independence in Hebrew, and Qatamon became Gonen, defense in Hebrew.[66] As Abowd notes, the names chosen for the Jewish settlements were not accidental nor "inadvertent signifiers. They are, rather,

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[63] Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" Journal of Genocide Research, 2006, 387.
[64] Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine,* 10.
[65] Abowd, Thomas Philip. 2014. *Colonial Jerusalem : The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948-2012*. First edition. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 53.
[66] *Ibid*.

components in a religio-nationalist vocabulary that has sought to portray Jerusalem as the self-evident and exclusive province of the Jewish state."[67] Ashkelon, one of the cities attacked on October 7th, was previously Al-Majdal, renamed in a Zionist effort to impose Israeli geography and cultural systems onto the stolen land.[68]

Zionist settlers frequently proliferated the phrase, "a land without a people for a people without a land"[69] to encourage and justify mass migration of Jewish settlers into historic Palestine. They also saw settler colonialism as an effort to "make the desert bloom"[70], with the Jewish National Fund planting an upwards of 250 million trees since 1901 in historic Palestine. This was an intentional effort to "uproot the native people of Palstine and reshape their land."[71] Zionist colonial logics continue to try to render Palestinian as non-existent. Backed by the United States highest politicians and Western media, the structures of Zionist settler colonialism reverberate far past the borders of historic Palestine. In 2011, former speaker of the house Newt Gingrich violently said, "I think that we've had an invented Palestinian people who are in fact Arabs."[72]

Palestinian resistance in various forms fights against this intentional colonial erasure and for the right to return home, to remain on their ancestral land, and practice Indigenous ways of living. Over the past one hundred years, Palestinians have resisted colonial enclosures through general strikes, armed intifadas, storytelling, solidarity building with other third worldist movements, marches of return, and the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions movement, among

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[67] *Ibid.*
[68] Lieberman, Dan. "Ashkelon: The Story of the Middle East Conflict" The Palestine Chronicle, July, 13, 2009.
[69] Garfinkle, Adam M. "On the Origin, Meaning, Use and Abuse of a Phrase." Middle Eastern Studies 27, no. 4 (1991): 539.
[70] George, Alan. "'Making the Desert Bloom' A Myth Examined." Journal of Palestine Studies 8, no. 2 (1979): 88.
[71] Baker, Catherine. "Film Uncovers Truth About JNF's Tree Planting in Israel". Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. August 18, 2023.
https://www.wrmea.org/israel-palestine/film-uncovers-truth-about-jnfs-tree-planting-in-israel.html
[72] "Gingrich Calls Palestinians Invented People" *Al Jazeera*, December 10, 2011.
https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2011/12/10/gingrich-calls-palestinians-invented-people

many other methods. This history of resistance is undeniably shaped by Palestinian sumud, a practice which animates the Palestinian struggle for freedom.

Sumud Through Time and Space

Following Lena Meari's pivotal dissertation, *Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons*, sumud emerges not at one historical point, but organically and affectively through Palestinian society and traditions of resistance. She argues that sumud cannot be singularly defined, only approximated through "a multiplicity of significations and practices…an assemblage of the singular practices of Palestinians-in-sumud."[73] Scholars of Palestinian history point to various origins of sumud. I defer to Meari's dissertation, which looks to the colonial prison encounter as one of the most critical sites of the practice and proliferation of sumud.

In her book "Sumud: Birth, Oral History, and Persistence in Palestine", Livia Wick suggests that Palestinian sumud originally manifested after the 1967 War, the year the official military occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip began. Wick argues that sumud in its most literal sense was an economic response to the military orders imposed on Palestinian finances and businesses. In an attempt to remain self-determined and in control of Palestine's economy, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) took up sumud as a resistance strategy. As Wick explains, "it was a priority to construct what Yezid Sayigh has called 'parallel institutionalization' or an alternative system of social services and economic opportunities separate from Israeli state institutions."[74] In economic terms, the 2005 Palestinian

[73]Meari, Lena. "Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons" South Atlantic Quarterly 113, no. 3, 2014, 594

[74] Wick, Livia. *Sumud : Birth, Oral History, and Persisting in Palestine*. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Press, 2023, 100.

civil society call for Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) was and continues to be a manifestation of sumud and a determination to build economic and political power outside of Israeli institutions. BDS represents the constant incorporation of sumud as resistance into Palestinian daily life living under occupation. Palestinians "refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli-run administration"[75] and through this, maintain their commitment to their homeland and their people's struggle for liberation by building creative alternatives.

After the 1967 war, surrounding Arab countries, particularly the Jordanian government, began to monetarily fund steadfastness. Scholar Jan Busse suggests that this type of formal institutionalization of sumud corrupted[76] it's affective, collective nature. Sumud was also adopted formally by Palestinian political organizations such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the leftist resistance group the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Meari discusses how the PFLP taught sumud as a strategy of the Palestinian people to mobilize and stay steadfast to the nationalist liberation struggle.[77] However, Meari suggests that rather than sumud easily fitting into the formalized political ideology of the PFLP, "the political possibilities of the PFLP as a Palestinian revolutionary movement were determined more by the sumud practices of PFLP members than by the party's political ideology."[78] Sumud, and as later explored, Black fugitivity, are not necessarily legible through formalized party politics, as they are often rehearsed and developed in affective realms of domestic spaces and homes. Thus, formalization of these practices of resistance is often impossible, as sumud is fluid and escapes singular definition. Instead, I look to the "formations of familial and social relations its practice generated",[79] which extend far outside of the formalized politics of the PFLP.

[75] *Ibid*.
[76] Busse, Jan. "Everyday life in the face of conflict: Sumud as a spatial quotidian practice in Palestine" Journal of International Relations and Development, vol. 25, 2022, 591.
[77] Meari, Sumud, 555.
[78] Meari, Sumud, 558.
[79] *Ibid.*

Regardless of its origins, sumud most importantly develops a revolutionary subjectivity, which as Meari notes, "is constantly engaged in restructuring the self in the context of not recognizing or surrendering to power structures through a connective relation to the community of strugglers and the community at large, opens up new conception of politics that involve relationality, imagination, and affects, in a way that destabilizes the rational conception of politics."[80] This type of reorganization of politics, that is reliant on the affective relationships of the home and familial kinship bonds that can arise in prison, opens space for a new type of organizing and politics that extends beyond historic Palestine. It is a revolutionary becoming, a remaking of the self outside of the terms of liberal, individualist, humanist terms that the Oslo Accords entrenched. Despite the increasingly crushing forces of liberal colonialism, Palestinian sumud resists liberal individualist formations and continues to engage in a tradition of revolutionary anti-colonial demands. This revolutionary political becoming, in rejection of colonial liberalism, is most clearly seen with Palestinians' refusal to confess to the Shabak in Israeli prisons. Meari suggests that sumud is rehearsed in the unnamed Palestinian practices that occur in these prisons.[81] Meari defines sumud in prisons through a complete disavowal of the Zionist colonial entity. "By practicing sumud these Palestinians refused to confess to the interrogators and refused to recognize the interrogators and the embodied order of power that structures the colonial relation."[82] Sumud in prisons destabilizes the colonial power structure through refusal to confess even if it takes enduring great pain and sometimes even death. Palestinians survive torture with the knowledge that they are in solidarity and community within a much larger, collective adoption of sumud.

[80] Meari, Sumud, 556.
[81] Meari, Sumud, 555.
[82] Meari, Sumud, 548.

These collective articulations of revolutionary political becoming can extend past their spatially specific origins and become transnational forces of solidarity. Sumud refuses systems of enclosure, refuses liberal traditions, and inspires revolutionary political becoming that animates alternative geographies. Palestinians-in-sumud actively engage with glimpses of decolonization, glimpses which I argue illuminate a globalized struggle of resistance. Globalized decolonial struggle begins, however, in the intimate, affective realms: the home and the land.

At various points in Palestinian history, we see how sumud is undeniably fostered and nurtured within Palestinian domestic space and homes. Aisha Odeh, one of Meari's interviewees, suggests that sumud was natural to her, therefore forming all facets of Palestinian life and resistance. She says, "the question of when I first thought of sumud is similar to asking when I began to eat or when I became interested in eating."[83] Here, Odeh reveals the familial, affective nature of sumud; sumud is as natural as eating, a practice deeply situated in the home. Sumud is rehearsed and practiced through the home, blurring the lines between political and personal and marking the Palestinian home as an important site of resistance.

The Palestinian home is also a key site of the converging forces of occupation.[84] As Palestinian feminist authors, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Sarah Ihmoud note, the attacks on Palestinian domestic spaces are inextricably linked from the larger attacks and dispossession of the entirety of historic Palestine.[85] They cite military invasions of home spaces, illegal evictions from and theft of Palestinian homes, home demolitions by Israeli bulldozers, revocations of IDs and the construction of the apartheid wall as key tactics to limit Palestinian access to home space. Currently, 70% of homes in Gaza have been demolished completely and flattened.[86] On

[83] Meari, Sumud, 559.
[84] Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nadera and Sarah Ihmoud. "Exiled at Home: Writing Return and the Palestinian Home." Biography 37, no. 2 (2014): 380.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] "Israeli bombardment destroys over 70% of Gaza homes: Report." *Al Jazeera,* December 21, 2023. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/31/israeli-bombardment-destroyed-over-70-of-gaza-homes-media-office

multiple scales, including the entirety of Palestine as well as individual families' homes, the Zionist settler state entrenches Palestinian life in occupation by constantly breaking any boundaries of private, domestic space. Jan Busse suggests that the occupation seeks to constantly disrupt normalcy in daily Palestinian life, through checkpoints, raids, and incarceration.[87] Busse notes that Palestinian sumud responds to create normalcy through culturally scripted life projects as a way to "productively employ spatial practices in order to pursue their daily life."[88] The Palestinian home is also a site of life affirming practices that are a direct threat to the Zionist goal of eliminating the Indigenous Palestinian population. The home is a "space for the creation and transmission of Palestinian memory and cultural and political identity."[89]

Palestinians practice sumud in the home by remaining in one's generational family home, by continuing to create intimate spaces despite the risk of unannounced Israeli raids, and by rebuilding after Israeli bulldozers flatten their homes over and over again. Home is a site of Palestinian resistance and sumud, particularly that of Palestinian mothers, who in the wake of incarceration, eviction, and exile, teach their children life and resistance.[90] They foster the revolutionary political becoming that emanates outside of historic Palestine.

More than just a tactic to create normalcy as Busse suggests, sumud engages in spatial practices of creating new, liberated geographies. When the Zionist state has transformed historic Palestine into geographies of death and occupation, sumud, in its refusal of the larger embodied colonial powers, demands a liberated Palestine. The home and Israeli prison, as intertwined sites of the converging forces of occupation and enclosure, reveal the role of Palestinian mothers in nurturing the affective, revolutionary political becoming of sumud.

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[87] Busse, "Everyday Life in the Face of Conflict", 590.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Ihmoud, "Exiled at Home", 381.
[90] Ziadah, Rafeef. "We Teach Life, Sir". London, December 11, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKucPh9xHtM

As referenced in Amahl Bishara's film, *Degrees of Incarceration*, Palestinian mothers often encourage their children to practice sumud in prison.[91] In the film, a Palestinian mother notes, "it is always the mothers of prisoners who suffer the most."[92] Sumud, as a relationality sought through familial and social ties, is a defining sociality for both Palestinian families and their incarcerated family members. By teaching their children the importance of collectivity, decolonial visioning, and refusing to confess to the Shabak, Palestinian mothers nurture a future of Palestinian freedom. As noted in Meari's article, to confess to the Shabak would be to break the ethical familial relationship built on decolonial collectivity that Palestinian mothers create with their children.[93] This ethical relationship devoted to struggle spans past individual families, to all Palestinian families who engage in sumud, building a revolutionary political collectivity.

From inside prison, incarcerated Palestinians keep in contact with their families and other Palestinians by being in sumud. Riyad, a former Palestinian political prisoner that Meari interviews, writes, "I thought of my sumud as defending my mother and the mothers of others… for me to practice sumud meant to exist."[94] The revolutionary becoming that Riyad practices connects him to other Palestinians experiencing the forces of Zionist occupation across historic Palestine, and further, connects him to the demands of Black and Indigenous people refusing enclosure globally. Sumud, as referenced by Riyad, is a deeply familial practice, invoking the importance of the domestic space as a site of decolonial geographies despite the occupation's constant surveillance and encroachment into Palestinian space.

Sumud is a Palestinian political and conceptual apparatus that is very much site specific, rooted in the conditions of the home, the land, and the prison. This is often seen through cultural

[91] Bishara, Amahl. *Degrees of Incarceration*, 2010, 58 mins.
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] Meari, Sumud, 558.
[94] Meari, Sumud, 551.

symbols of sumud, such as the *sabr,* or prickly pear cactus, and the olive tree. Both plants have stayed resiliently rooted in historic Palestine despite Israel's colonial environmental degradation and remaking. The plants represent an unbreakable devotion to the land and the maintenance of Palestinian home space. They have come to represent the myriad of ways Palestinians remain rooted in their land, refuse to leave despite constant Israeli encroachment, and resist through teaching Palestinian identity, culture, and memory. One political poster artist, Micah Bazant wrote, "When I was in Palestine, I learned about the saber as a symbol of indigenous resilience and resistance… I believe the terror and apartheid of Zionism will end and free Palestine will rise, just like the beautiful saber."[95] Bazant's political poster pictured below, is one of a cannon of Palestinian political posters that represent Palestinian sumud and resistance through imagery of the prickly pear cactus or the olive branch. By invoking the prickly pear as the key image of the poster, Bazant references the Palestinian steadfastness, or sumud, to the land. The mirrored reflection of the cactus suggests Palestinians' deep rootedness in historic Palestine. The plant reaches below ground, symbolizing centuries of Palestinian life and struggle on the land. The mirrored roots also invoke images of Palestinian rootedness through familial relations, such as Riyad crediting his political nourishment and revolutionary roots to his mother. The prickly pear, as a symbol of sumud, is life affirming and represents the unbreakable power of Palestinian revolutionary political becoming. The cactus seemingly rises above the apartheid wall pictured that surrounds Gaza. By breaking through this wall, Bazant suggests that Palestinian sumud, as represented by the cactus, has the potential to overcome Israeli occupation and reclaim historic Palestine.

[95] Bazant, Micah, *Gaza Will Be Free,* 2014.

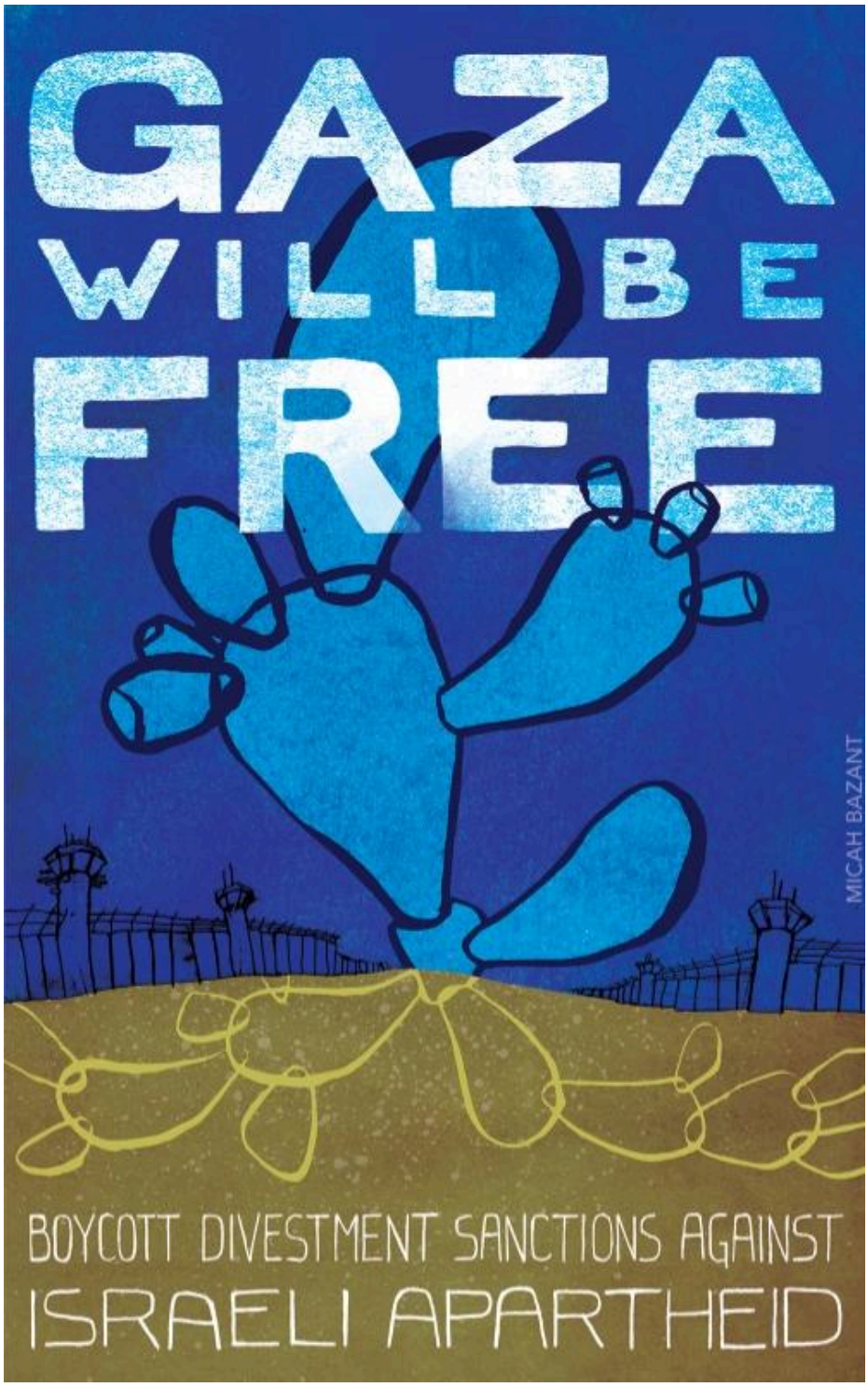

Figure 2. Micah Bazant's 2014 political poster shows a prickly pear cactus rupturing a militarized apartheid fence with the words "Gaza Will Be Free".

Bazant's poster recalls the ways sumud is unquestionably a response to Israeli occupation. It originates in settler colonial conditions in Palestine, it is discursively sought affective familial relationships, and it is represented by Palestinian native plants. In some ways sumud is specific to the Palestinian struggle for liberation. It is a genuinely Palestinian concept which grew out of the Palestinians' experience with Israeli occupation. In spite of this, Busse suggests, "the practice of sumud as such is not unique insofar as it represents a means to shape everyday normalcy in the face of conflict settings that can also be observed elsewhere."[96] I will allow sumud to travel beyond its spatially specific origins in the Palestinian home, land, and prison, and let its revolutionary becoming converge with other struggles against enclosure, such as the Black liberation struggle in occupied Turtle Island. Sumud envisions decolonial geographies that translate to struggles across the globe. Having discussed sumud's history and spatial aspects, I now turn to three distinct qualities of sumud that are potentially translatable to other global liberation struggles: refusal of enclosure, rejection of liberal traditions, and rejection of the category of human.

Refusal of Enclosure

In listening to the Palestinian political prisoners that Meari interviews, it becomes clear that Palestinains in sumud not only refuse to confess to the Shabak, but refuse larger infrastructures of prison enclosure. They refuse prison isolation, Shabak torture, and larger structures of liberal individuality to disrupt fragmentation and remake Palestinian collectivity on their own terms. In focusing on the prison, Meari reveals the multi-scalar functions of the prison in Palestine as well as the multi-scalar geographies of refusal that Palestinians-in-sumud generate. Primarily, the entirety of historic Palestine is imprisoned by the occupying forces and

[96] Busse, "Everyday Life in the Face of Conflict" 585.

settler infrastructures of Israel. Israel enacts colonial enclosure with prisons as one of its "eliminatory options",[97] relying on the structural imprisoning relationship to fragment Palestinian life and quell Palestinian resistance. Gaza can be understood as the epitome of this constructed enclosure, as it has been called the world's largest open air cage,[98] surrounded by highly militarized fences and aerial surveillance. The individual Israeli prisons in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which Meari focuses on, are common sites of this structural colonial encounter. Currently, over 10,000 Palestinians are incarcerated in Israeli prisons and the majority of Palestinian families are impacted by Israeli incarceration.[99] Meari notes that "since 1967, over eight hundred thousand Palestinians, or approximately 20% of the total Palestinian population in the 1967 occupied palestinian territory and 40% of Palestinian males, have been arrested and interrogated by Israel."[100] By refusing to confess to the Shabak, the Palestinians-in-sumud that Meari interviews refuse the larger infrastructures of prison and surveillance in Palestine. Their practices of sumud embody a long history of the political imprisonment of Palestine and Palestinians. In this sumud collectivity, a single interrogation interaction can hold the history of the entire occupation and brutal colonization of Palestine. Hence, a refusal to confess to the Shabak is a larger refusal of systems of enclosure in Palestine. Palestinians-in-sumud articulate feelings of deep connectedness to this history of struggle[101] and enact a broader Palestinian collectivity to refuse the ongoing settler colonial occupation.

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[97] Hernández, Kelly Lytle. *City of Inmates : Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965.* Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2017, 9.
[98] Høvring, Roald. "Gaza: The world's largest open-air prison". *Norwegian Refugee Council.* April 26, 2018. https://www.nrc.no/news/2018/april/gaza-the-worlds-largest-open-air-prison/
[99] Shakir, Omar. "Opinion: Why does Israel have so many Palestinians in detention and available to swap?" *Los Angeles Times,* November 29, 2023. https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2023-11-29/gaza-palestinian-prisoners-hostage-exchange-detention-israeli-prisons
[100] Meari, Sumud, 548.
[101] Meari, Sumud, 564.

Whether in Palestinian homes, in Israeli prisons, or on the land, sumud is rooted in antagonisms to the colonial embodied powers and refuses the systems of colonial domination that shape everyday Palestinian life. It is a "line of flight for escaping the regulative forces of control."[102] It is a Palestinian anti-colonial mode of being.[103] This steadfast refusal transcends space, time, and history, to the multi-scalar levels of the prison in Palestine. By encapsulating over one hundred years of occupation in a single interaction with the Shabak, or rebuilding their home for the 4th time, or tending to a garden of prickly pears that have survived colonial environmental remaking, Palestinians-in-sumud, resist colonial enclosure and allow for this to reverberate and inspire resistance of enclosure across the entire modern world. To look at the global implications of Palestinian sumud, I will explore sumud as a distinct rejection of the liberal traditions that the Oslo Accords entrenched onto Palestinian life. Liberalism, as I posit, makes up one of the key features of contemporary Israeli enclosure of Palestinian life, as well as one of the primary political discourses that structures global enclosure.

Rejection of Liberal Traditions

In 1993, after the Oslo Accords, the political climate in historic Palestine shifted from militant internationalist struggle against colonization to surviving life under occupation, negotiating and dealing with coexistence with colonizers, and covert forms of resistance. The Oslo Accords mutually recognized both an Israeli and Palestinian entity and established the Palestinian Authority. Palestinians were still denied statehood and the right to return. There were still no formal mechanisms to address continued Israeli occupation and the ongoing structure of Zionist settler colonialism was not challenged or disrupted in any meaningful way. Rashid

[102]Meari, Sumud, 550
[103] *Ibid*.

Khalidi further notes that Palestinian negotiators of the Accords signed onto "a highly restricted form of self-rule in a fragment of the Occupied Territories, and without control of land, water, border, or much else."[104] After Oslo, Meari describes that the colonial encounter shifted to be a broader negotiation of daily life under occupation. For one of Meari's interviewees, Suha, "the terms of the confrontation shifted while the colonial conditions continued. The sense of collectivity had collapsed."[105] While sumud remained a key component of resistance during incarceration and interrogation, it also came to shape day-to-day life and individual practices of Palestinians living under apartheid in the West Bank and Gaza, never losing its overtly political meaning. Sumud became a tool to maintain steadfastness on the land as settlers continued to encroach on historic Palestine and steadfastness to a decolonial vision of Palestine.

Importantly, sumud represented a distinct rejection of teleological liberal narratives of progress. While the elite of the world, including the corrupt PLO leadership, applauded the Oslo Accords as a step closer to "peace in the Middle East", Palestinians stood firmly in their visions of a decolonial future and refused to settle for a normalized, segregated, apartheid state. Palestinians-in-sumud distinctly refused liberal, state building projects such as the Oslo Accords, and refused to conceptualize Palestinian liberation in the form of the nation state. Rather, they demanded something broader and more liberatory, a vision of a decolonial future built through affective and familial networks of care and sumud. As Sarah Ihmoud writes in "Palestinian Feminism", "decolonial feminist organizers in the homeland share a disillusionment with dominant political parties and the state-building enterprise."[106] Instead, Palestinians-in-sumud demand the creation of future geographies that do not rely on Western traditions of a neoliberal

[104] Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine*, 200.
[105] Meari, Sumud*,* 556
[106]Ihmoud, Sarah. "Palestinian Feminism: Analytics, Praxes and Decolonial Futures." Feminist Anthropology 3, no. 2 (2022): 291.

state. Sumud demands a revolutionary restructuring of the self that glimpses at decolonial futures and encourages us to ask, what kind of radical political praxis can emerge outside of the spaces of normalized, liberal politics?

Even though sumud was disseminated by the PFLP, sumud as a practice refused to be incorporated into a static political sphere, no matter how radical, and rather existed in the collective individual practices of Palestinians-in-sumud. Sumud, as a practice rooted in antagonisms and refusal to colonial enclosure, opens alternative geographies outside of normalized, state-making liberal projects. To imagine these alternative geographies, I turn to Amahl Bishara's exploration of "counter-publics" in Palestine in her book *Crossing A Line.* Bishara suggests we look to spaces outside of normalized liberal politics to glimpse at decolonial futures. She implores us to think beyond, as "what purports to be a liberal public sphere- which is actually a racialized colonial public- could never contain the liberatory dreams of many of the Palestinians in this book."[107]

Bishara reads against the grain of formalized politics to investigate the type of kinship networks and solidarities that arise between Palestinians in prison. The radical political expression that arises in the most marginalized geographies of Palestinian space, the Israeli prison, reveals much about refusing liberal enclosure on many levels. Bishara follows the kinship networks that Palestinian women in prison make, networks that disrupt the categories by which the Israeli colonial state defines them, as some women are Palestinian citizens of Israel and others are from the West Bank. In her interview with Khalida Jarrar, Jarrar notes, "from my own experience in captivity, women prisoners were united from all over Palestine… their goal is to

[107]Bishara, Amahl A. *Crossing a Line : Laws, Violence, and Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2022, 31.

punish us but there you feel that your identity is enhanced because we were all suffering from the same occupation. We were living together as Palestinian women."[108]

Meari also notes the radical transformation of the self that happens to Palestinians-in-sumud during incarceration and interrogation encounters. The sumud practices in prison allow Palestinians to survive immense bodily torture and harm with the knowledge that they are part of a collective struggle. Here, in the most horrific prison conditions, Palestinians practice sumud to build alternative networks of kinship and familial affective relationships that refuse the colonial occupation. They craft new geographies of sumud, which mend the fragmentation the colonial state creates and envision a liberated future based in solidarity and care. Palestinians-in-sumud don't just refuse the colonial entity, they refuse its multiple limbs of enclosure, many of which include liberal political spheres, normalized politics, and the disruption of kinship networks. Instead, they create anew and reaffirm their identities as collective Palestinians-in-sumud.

Rejection of the category of the human

One of the key concepts used to sustain the liberal nation state is the category of citizen-subject, which hinges heavily on an exclusive category of human. Black studies scholars uniquely orient us towards the anti-Black and colonial origins of the category of the human, problematizing the overarching liberal humanisms that shape our political discourses. As Alexander Weheliye notes in "After Man", it is impossible to disentangle the foundations of racialization from the category of human.[109] He writes, "the jurisdiction of humanity depends upon the workings of racialization (differentiation) and racism (hierarchization and exclusion); in

[108]Bishara, *Crossing a Line*, 234.
[109]Weheliye, Alexander G. "After Man." American Literary History 20, no. 1/2 (2008): 328

fact, the two are often indistinguishable."[110] Refusing to reify the liberal humanist figure of "man", Weheliye instead looks to "how humanity has been imagined and lived by those subjects excluded from this domain."[111]

Sumud is similarly interested in these new formations of subjectivity that reject the static and racialized category of human. Rejecting liberal humanisms is part of the process of revolutionary becoming. For incarcerated Palestinians, this means transforming the criminalized subjectivity imposed onto Palestinians through the process of desubjectification. Meari suggests this desubjectification happens in prison when Palestinians in sumud imagine themselves as a table or a mountain to stand steadfast in their refusal to confess. As Meari writes, "turning oneself into a table and then into a mountain, into nonhuman objects, or imagining oneself surrounded by comrades…. These examples reveal a constant movements of unmaking and remaking the self, the continuous process of desubjectification that Palestinians generate through this practice."[112] By rejecting the criminalized subjectivity imposed onto Palestinians by the Israeli state, they create new subjectivities that embody the possibility of a liberated Palestine. In the moment of the interrogation encounter, they become a body freed from the occupier's definitions of Palestinian selfhood.

Sumud is also interested in undoing colonial fear. Palestinians are constantly created to be criminal subjects by the Israeli state, which uses incarceration as a settler colonial tool. As Meari suggests, Palestinians-in-sumud see pain, particularly the pain they endure for not confessing to the Shabak, as a collective political experience, and therefore transform the criminalized subjectivity to a collective mode of being. "In this context pain in general, and within the interrogation encounter in particular, constitutes the private experience as a public, collective,

[110] *Ibid.*
[111] Weheliye, "After Man", 321.
[112] Meari, Sumud, 548.

and shared experience, re-signified by political meanings."[113] By experiencing pain in sumud, Palestinians-in-sumud radically disavow the colonial fears instilled into the colonized population and demand a different subjectivity.

The sumud practice of imagining oneself as a nonhuman object exemplifies this powerful rejection of the category of human. Through desubjectification, Palestinians-in-sumud destabilize a seemingly fixed category of human selfhood to reach beyond for different configurations of a transformed self. In *Scenes of Subjection*, Saidiya Hartman reveals how the category of humanity has been historically used to define others as nonhuman, particularly in the age of chattel slavery.[114] By rejecting the all too common discourses of liberal humanisms, Hartman forces us to reckon with what may exist outside of this limiting category. Palestinians-in-sumud, by rejecting the human form in favor of non-human imaginations, force us to imagine new possibilities beyond the limits of liberal humanism. To reject the category of the human in its totality requires a new conception of being, a revolutionary becoming that refuses to ascribe to the colonial and anti-Black conditions of the human subject. As Meari suggests, this desubjectification is "a constant revolutionary becoming, opening up a possibility for an alternative regime of being, for an ethical-political relational selfhood."[115] This ethical-political relational selfhood, rooted in affective kinship structures discussed above, paves way for a new type of being and becoming that emanates outside of historic Palestine. Hence, Palestinians-in-sumud engage in the generative process of desubjectification to reject liberal humanisms in favor of a decolonial liberated vision of the world. What kind of politics can arise from this radical rejection of the human? Can these politics and transformed subjectivities extend

[113] Meari, Sumud, 573.
[114]Hartman, Saidiya V, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, Marisa J Fuentes, Sarah Haley, Cameron Rowland, and Torkwase Dyson. *Scenes of Subjection : Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. 25th anniversary edition /ed. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2022.
[115] Meari, Sumud, 549.

to all those deemed less than human by colonial regimes? In the coming section, I will address the translatable aspects of sumud. I will allow sumud to travel and become multiscalar-emanating far beyond historic Palestine. On a globalized level, sumud creates larger structures of intimacy and struggle through refusal that lays the foundations of revolutionary transnational solidarity.

Sumud as Revolutionary Political Becoming

Sumud encapsulates a revolutionary political practice that is translatable to all other struggles that refuse conditions of settler colonialism and occupation. Sumud therefore inhabits an antagonistic core, which puts into conflict the colonized and the colonizer. To grapple with this antagonism and to refuse the subjectification of the colonial condition is a glimpse at what decolonization may look like. Sumud rigorously engages a decolonial framework in its rejection of rational liberal politics. In all these ways, sumud is deeply translatable, and broadens our understanding of other liberation struggles. The Black liberation struggle, as I will argue in the coming chapter, engages similar conceptual frameworks of resistance, marking a global revolutionary becoming that encapsulates sumud and its sibling methods. Further, because sumud is deeply familial and a political-psycho-affective subjectivity,[116] it travels and is inherently transnational in the Palestinian diaspora. Steadfastness is consistently referenced in the political texts of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) in the United States.[117] As Nijmeh Ali discusses in her article about cultural sumud, "the majority of activists emphasize their personal sumud, by emphasizing their efforts in educating themselves and their children in a

[116] Meari, Sumud, 549.
[117] Wakeem Shehadeh, Saliem. "Researching the General Union of Palestine Students from the Diaspora" Dissertation for University of California Los Angeles, 2023.

way that keeps Palestine as a living presence in their mind."[118] Because of its transitory, familial nature, sumud emanates far outside of historic Palestine, opening up its potential for revolutionary political becoming to the entire world.

There is a specific type of possibility that arises from practicing the rejection of colonial fear and the refusal to be a captive subject to colonial forces. This refusal of captivity extends from Palestine to Turtle Island and beyond, through practices such as sumud and assemblages of similar resistance. For example, the sumud that arises in Gaza in the worst of genocidal conditions can transcend its physical boundaries and reveal larger globalized resistances in the face of global systems of domination. As Dabbagh writes, "there is Gaza in all of us, the idea of continuing to fight for what one believes to be morally and legally compelling, even if all odds are against you."[119] Sumud is generative and creates a transformed subjectivity, one that demands a transformed, liberated world. This globalized sumud is exemplified by the 1983 political poster entitled *Sumud* by Hisham Mansour, one of the propagandists for the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Al Fatah). The poster shows an arm with a keffiyeh pattern around it holding a gun, symbolic of the Palestinian armed resistance. The arm breaks through barbed wire chains in the shape of a Star of David. Though this symbol stands spatially and temporally specific to the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the chains are a symbol that can be transposed to all global systems of enclosure. It is clear that these chains do not only oppress Palestine, but represent human cages everywhere. The armed fist is quite literally rupturing the entire world, breaking open the globe from occupied Palestine and emanating outward to other liberation struggles. Sumud as revolutionary political becoming has the ability to rupture systems of

[118] Ali, Nijmeh. "Active and Transformative Sumud Among Palestinian Activists in Israel: Local Dissent vs. International Governance", Switzerland, Springer International Publishing, 2019, 91.
[119] Dabbagh, Selma. "Inventing Gaza" Hurst, 2016, 1.

domination across the world, to literally break open global enclosures and reconfigure a global revolution.

Figure 3. Hisham Mansour's 1983 poster "Sumud" demonstrates a keffiyeh fist rising out of historic Palestine.

In this rupture of our current world, sumud creates alternative geographies of revolutionary becoming. Sumud opens space for transnational solidarity as it rejects the liberal nation-state for an intimate political collectivity. The local becomes global and the global becomes increasingly intimate. Palestinians-in-sumud are deeply connected to all those who struggle against colonial enclosure, and these networks of solidarity are established. For example, Robin Kelly theorizes about the geographic space that Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity creates. He is clear that Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity is "not just a recognition of parallel oppressions, humiliations, violence, and carcerality under occupation but a shared vision of liberation— a vision that extended beyond the nation-state and the transnational to the world."[120] This sort of principled solidarity that sumud opens space for both holds the specific experiences of occupation in Palestine and the U.S. as well as recognizes their struggles' intimacies. Sumud ruptures enclosure in a way that paves space for globalized geographies of resistance, placing the Black liberation struggle and the Palestinian liberation struggle as deeply reliant on one another.

The global systems of domination that enclose historic Palestine and Black folks in the United States are invested in deep disconnection and fragmentation. By forging connections, Palestinian sumud and Black fugitivity make space for ruptures in colonial modernity. Despite manmade geographies of death and domination, and manufactured distance between Palestine and the United States, sumud and other strategies of refusal create new geographies of solidarity. Without reducing the specificity of people's struggles, sumud in conversation with Black fugitivity, allows for deep and lasting connections of political solidarity and strengthens a global resistance movement. As Meari suggests, "sumud, then, is an invention, a potential 'creative and

[120]Kelley, Robin D. G. "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top: Solidarity As Worldmaking." Journal of Palestine Studies 48, no. 4 (192) (2019): 69–91.

created becoming'."[121] In this creative intervention into global hegemony, sumud ruptures us all, our conceptions of selfhood and our commitments to a decolonial future. It is a necessary tool of refusal for our collective liberation and survival. "Sumud enables, in Qatamesh's words, a temporal space to build a resistance movement capable of resisting colonization."[122] These temporal spaces, in their fluid glimpses, structure a potential for futures that reconfigure our solidarities, political commitments, and lives.

[121] Meari, Sumud, 559.
[122] *Ibid*.

Chapter 2: Black Fugitivity as a Transnational Force of Possibility

In her autobiography, Assata Shakur, revolutionary Black activist and member of the Black Liberation army, details her experience growing up in segregated Southern schools and the drastic shift she experienced moving to New York for elementary school. Shakur was one of the only Black students in her classes in New York, and her experience demonstrates how schooling in the North constituted an anti-Black enclosure. Through autobiographical snippets, Shakur reveals the New York classroom to be a normalized site of militarized surveillance and discipline of her and her Black peers. She writes specifically about her 5th grade year with her teacher Mrs. Hoffler.[123] In Shakur's example, it is clear that schools are both a site of anti-Black enclosure that rely on police power to create normative bodies and discipline Black students, as well as a site of agency and Black resistance. She notes, "the teacher was one of those military types and her classes resembled boot camp. We were told where to sit, how to sit, and what kind of notebooks, pens, pencils, etc., to use."[124] Shakur continues to recount that she and the one other Black student in the class "were her [Mrs. Hoffler's] favorite targets … The whole class would be in an uproar, but we were the only ones she saw with our mouths open."[125] By describing the school as a boot camp, where actions were constantly surveilled and disciplined, Shakur reveals the forms of police power that white teachers impose on Black students to enforce the production of "civil students", quiet, subservient Black youth, and what many Black studies scholars would call "fungible objects."[126] The structuring anti-Black racial calculus demands the complete subservience, objectification, and fungibility of the Black subject to uphold racial order. Schools function in a similar sense to prisons in upholding anti-Black racial order, and as Sojoyner notes

[123] Shakur, Assata, Angela Y Davis, and Lennox S Hinds. *Assata : An Autobiography*. Chicago, Illinois: Lawrence Hill, 1987, 34.
[124] Shakur, *Assata,* 34
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Mubirumusoke, Mukasa. 2022. *Black Hospitality : A Theoretical Framework for Black Ethical Life*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2.

"the history of the education of Black people in Los Angeles in many ways foregrounds the buildup of the massive prison system and its complementary policing apparatus in California."[127] Shakur's experiences in school were not an anomaly to the racial order; schools across the United States function as a productive policing apparatus that encloses Black life and "reproduces multiple forms of violence onto Black youth."[128]

Shakur resisted Mrs. Hoffler's targeted violence towards her through methods of refusal. She writes, "The more she rode our backs, the more rebellious I became. I would sit in the back of the class and make jokes about her."[129] Shakur recalls her own agency by refusing to respect a teacher who creates and upholds anti-Black enclosure. She refused to be passively subjected to Mrs. Hoffler's racism and both withdrew from the seriousness of the class, as well as noting, "I made up my mind right then and there that she wasn't going to do it to me. A few days later, she came after me. When she put her hands on me, I kicked her or hit her."[130]

Using Damien Sojoyner's critical article "Another Life is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places" I read Shakur's refusal of her racist teacher as an example of a much larger phenomenon of Black refusal and Black fugitivity. As Sojoyner discusses in his ethnography of how Black students disengage from racist school systems, "these practices of refusal, operating alongside practices of disengagement, are central to Black fugitivity and extend beyond common understandings of resistance."[131] Similarly to sumud, I note that Black fugitivity is specific to the anti-Black enclosures and geographies built on Black genocide and chattel slavery. Fugitivity cannot be characterized as simply Black resistance as it takes into account the fundamental anti-Black political ontology from which it escapes. Mukasa Mubirumusoke further explains,

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[127]Sojoyner, Damien M. 2017. "Another Life Is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places." *Cultural Anthropology* 32 (4): 517.
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] Shakur, *Assata,* 46.
[130] Shakur, *Assata,* 47.
[131] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 516.

"black people specifically have a privileged relationship to this fugitivity and disruptive force."[132] Black fugitivity, a practice deeply rooted in the Black radical tradition, reveals these anti-Black enclosures and resists them through the often subtle practices of refusal and disengagement, which are inherently entangled with the creation of alternative, liberated geographies. As Sojoyner writes, "refusal is the embodied knowledge at the core of social visions of being that are irreconcilable with liberal, difference-making state projects."[133]

Throughout this chapter, I will shift from the affective site of the home and prison as explored in previous chapter, and now look to *schools* as sites of anti-Black enclosure where Black youth enact practices of fugitivity that destabilize global systems of domination. Following Sojoyner's interventions, schools offer a particularly interesting lens from which to read Black fugitivity as they epitomize the liberal enclosure of Black life as well as embody a place where freedom is negotiated and sought through fugitive terms. Black children in schools are subject to the structuring anti-Black political and libidinal economy, in which blackness continues to be inextricably linked to slaveness.[134] Thus, schools, as part of a larger anti-Black liberal modernity, necessitate the production of Black youth as not subjects, but fungible objects.[135] Fugitivity arises in response to this presupposed ontological condition of slaveness.

Through their practices of refusal and escape, Black youth reveal schools as anti-Black enclosure and enact the type of political sociality, or revolutionary becoming, that is necessary to undo enclosure everywhere. As Mukasa Mubirumusoke writes in his book *Black Hospitality,* "the crime of antiblackness in its arresting subjugation of black people is made all the more

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[132] Mubirumusoke, *Black Hospitality,* 102.
[133] *Ibid.*
[134] miraya ross, kihana. *The Future is Black: Afropessimism, Fugitivity, and Radical Hope in Education* (1st ed.). "On Black Education". Routledge, 8.
[135]Hartman, Saidiya V., Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, Marisa J. Fuentes, Sarah Haley, and Cameron Rowland. 2022. *Scenes of Subjection : Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. [Revised and updated edition] 25th anniversary edition. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 27.

legible by the criminal escape of blackness from political ontology and the scarred sociality the abides in its wake."[136] By refusing schools and creating Black sociality in their wake, Black youth resist global conditions of anti-Blackness and demand a freer world. The world they demand would be fugitive of Blackness and fugitive towards Blackness in their search for freedom beyond enclosure. Practices of liberation and revolution, while often not intelligible through liberal discourses and frameworks, open space for new worlds, worlds that can sustain the liberatory practices of Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud. As Vargas states, "anti-Black genocide generates the imperatives of liberation and revolution."[137]

Fugitivity in schools becomes a jumping off point to explore the various resistances and refusals to anti-Black enclosure that occur on transnational scales. I attend to the specific experiences of anti-Black enclosure while simultaneously showing that fugitivity is a method that is inherently transnational and can travel past temporal and/or spatial boundaries. Beginning with the historical origins of fugitivity, I will track a tradition of Black students and teachers who fight for Black space in schools despite the continued production of Black youth as fungible objects. In this process, these stories reveal the revolutionary becoming that emanates outside of Black life in the United States and demands a radical transformation to our entire world.

Historical Origins

The clearest origins for what scholars and activists call Black fugitivity is in the tradition of maroonage during the era of chattel slavery in the United States, South America, and the Caribbean. Kmt Shockley and Kofi LeNiles recount this history of early fugitivity, writing "the Africans who escaped from enslavement and founded villages in the nearby mountains and dense

[136] Mubirumusoke, *Black Hospitality,* 5.
[137] Vargas, *Never Meant to Survive,* x.

forested regions are called 'Maroons'."[138] For example, many enslaved Africans in Virginia and North Carolina escaped to the Great Dismal Swamp, establishing a community alongside the Indigenous people there.[139] These Maroons escaped enslavement and established sovereign spaces outside of dominant, anti-Black geographies, like the plantation or the auction block. Maroonage, as a critical part of the Black radical tradition of refusal, and its current renditions of fugitivity are "not just a historical phenomenon or political theory, but a practice- a method- for apprehending and imagining the world otherwise."[140] Modern day maroonage marks movement towards autonomy by recalling a deep history of African diasporic ancestors using the same methods of refusal during slavery. I draw on Shockley and LeNiles definition of maroonage as "the concept that the people of African descent can utilize the 'spirit' of the maroons in order to create liberated spaces for Black people throughout the world"[141] to understand a tradition of Black fugitivity in schools.

Modern day renditions of this flight and escape inspire the practices of the Black youth in this chapter who disengaged from schools.[142] Shakur's experience of anti-Black enclosure in schools represents a larger role of liberal American schooling in the afterlife of slavery. As Givens notes, "our gaze toward Black education is always routed through the memory of slavery and Black people's violent exclusion from the American schooling project."[143] Returning to Shakur's anecdote, her experience shows us both a singular rupture of her class's anti-Black

[138]Kmt G. Shockley & Kofi LeNiles, 2019. May we forever stand: reflections on culture, community and Maroonage, International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 32:4, 367.
[139] Morris, J. Brent. In *Dismal Freedom: A History of the Maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp*, 31. University of North Carolina Press, 2022.
[140]Gross-Wyrtzen, Leslie, and Alex A Moulton. 2023. "Toward 'Fugitivity As Method' : An Introduction to the Special Issue." Acme 22 (5): 1261.
[141]Shockley & LeNiles, May We Forever Stand, 364.
[142] Givens, Jarvis. "Literate Slave, Fugitive Slave: A Note on the Ethical Dilemma of Black Education" in *The Future Is Black : Afropessimism, Fugitivity, and Radical Hope in Education*. Edited by Carl A. Grant and Ashley Woodson. New York, NY: Routledge, 24.
[143] Givens, "Literate Slave, Fugitive Slave", 23.

enclosure and a larger collective refusal of the way schools and other aspects of the liberal project of modernity create anti-Black fungibility and the continued plantation economy. In line with maroon stories of refusal, schools are a ripe site of Black resistance, refusal, and fugitivity. I will use three historical case studies of Black youth fugitivity in schools to track methods of refusal that are parallel to Palestinian sumud: the refusal of enclosure, rejection of liberal traditions, and the creation of alternative geographies.

Schools as Liberal Enclosure

After the legal desegregation of schools with the 1954 Brown vs Board of Education civil rights case, schools across the United States continued to function as anti-Black enclosures. Post-Brown desegregated schools, as Ashley Woodson writes, did not "ameliorate Black subordination in any meaningful way."[144] Despite the legal shift, public schools maintained their original goals of shaping Black youth into subservient objects. Schools were just one liberal modality of persistent anti-Black enclosures that shaped modernity. They are sites of normalized anti-Black violence, where Black students are continually "racialized, dehumanized, hypersexualized, and so forth in schools before, during, and long after desegregation."[145] White teachers uphold this enclosure through targeting and policing of Black students as well as organized abandonment and continual disavowal of Black intelligence.[146]As João Helion Costa Vargas argues in his book *Never Meant to Survive: Genocide and Utopias in Black Diasporic Communities,* the genocide and continued enclosure of the Black diaspora is "at the core of our

[144] Woodson, Ashley. 2021. "Afropessimism for Us in Education: In Fugitivity, through Fuckery and with Funk" in *The Future Is Black : Afropessimism, Fugitivity, and Radical Hope in Education*. Edited by Carl A. Grant and Ashley Woodson. New York, NY: Routledge, 17.
[145] miraya ross, kihana. "Black Space in Education: Fugitive Resistance in the Afterlife of School Segregation" in *The Future Is Black : Afropessimism, Fugitivity, and Radical Hope in Education*. Edited by Carl A. Grant and Ashley Woodson. New York, NY: Routledge, 49.
[146] Sojoyner, "Another Life is Possible", 520.

society's self understanding, is at the core of our purported ethical standards, and indeed is the foundation of modern polities in the Americas."[147] Despite how public schools in America are touted as a crucial aspect of our continued, teleological ascent towards a better humanity, many Black scholars and activists reveal the inherently violent, disciplinary police power that schools craft to subjugate and control Black life, and that anti-Black enclosure is actually necessary to the psychic health and wellbeing of larger liberal society. Despite this, there are endless histories of resistance to the conditions set for Black children in schools, many led by Black mothers, teachers, and students themselves, both inside and outside of schools.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) represented a group of Black students who formally organized themselves after a series of sit-ins protesting Jim Crow anti-Black violence in the summer of 1960. Importantly, as an organization made up of largely college students, these Black youth had experienced the myriad of ways schools controlled Black life. In the summer of 1963, SNCC's Charlie Cobbs proposed the Freedom Schools program across Mississippi. Leaders of SNCC intimately knew the structuring anti-Black violence of public schools and in response launched an educational program that would center Black youth and Black history. They encouraged Black youth "to articulate their own desires, demands, and questions" and "to find alternative and ultimately new directions for action."[148] The forty one SNCC freedom schools represent a unique tradition of Black fugitivity in the sphere of education. In line with a longer tradition of refusal, the Freedom Schools reinvoked the secret maroon schools in the 18th and 19th centuries for enslaved Africans.[149] By developing freedom

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[147] Vargas, João Helion Costa. *Never Meant to Survive : Genocide and Utopias in Black Diaspora Communities*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010, xi.
[148] SNCC Legacy Project, "The Freedom Schools Movement", 2011. https://snccleg acyproject.org/the-freedom-schools-movement/#:~:text=SNCC's%20Charlie%20Cobb%20thought%2C%20%E2%80%9Clet's,program%20would%20empower%20young%20people%20%E2%80%9C
[149]Menkart, Deborah and Jenice View. "Exploring the History of Freedom Schools" *Civil Rights Teaching*, https://www.civilrightsteaching.org/resource/exploring-freedom-schools

school curriculums, SNCC drew on a centuries long tradition of Black fugitivity and flight from the regulative forces of control that shaped public education, to a fugitive schooling that centered Black resistance.

We can also read Black fugitive methods in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's commitments to transnational liberation. SNCC was one of the first Black power organizations to call for solidarity with Palestine. In their June-July 1967 newsletter, SNCC published a fierce critique of Zionism entitled "The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge."[150] SNCC's commitment to radical Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity reflected their commitments to refusing enclosure and building a liberated world, a world which would include Palestinians in their struggle. By making these transnational connections, SNCC rehearsed generative spaces of refusal that created alternative geographies of liberation. These geographies are rooted in the Black radical tradition and its methods of fugitive refusal that emanate outside of the United States and destabilize national borders.

In 1963, SNCC published a photo by Danny Lyon[151] where three SNCC members are seen pictured, faces averted from the camera, praying outside of a segregated pool in Cairo, Illinois. The overlaid text reads, "come let us build a new world together". These three SNCC members represent a fugitive methodology: they refuse to confront the camera directly nor to ascribe to what a hegemonic protest photo may look like. For example, there are three of them, instead of a singular, heroic figure. Further, the three are pictured all on the same level, horizontally breaking up the photo, refusing to be a singular representative of SNCC. Lyon's photo also undoes the patriarchal conception of a male revolutionary leader by centering a young Black girl in the frame. In some ways, the actual photograph is an enclosure in itself, boxing the

[150] Minor, Ethel. "Third World Round Up: The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge" *SNCC Newsletter,* June-July 1967, Atlanta, Georgia.
[151] Lyon, Danny. Photographer. "Come let us build a new world together", 1963, Cairo, Illinois.

three Black protestors into a singular moment in time, voiding their context. However, the three figures become fugitive from the bounds of the photograph with the text, "come let us build a new world together" a direct invitation to the viewer that destabilizes the subject / viewer positionality. This creation of a new world, an invitation to rehearsing life outside of enclosure, extends globally to all people struggling against or within enclosure. Within the frame of the photo, the three SNCC members created an alternative social vision of the world, one which is inherently horizontalist, feminist, and Black. Because building a new world can never be done alone, SNCC lays the framework for a future of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity to come, encouraging us all to "embrace the becoming part of a political community whose centripetal force is a commitment to liberation."[152]

Enclosure in Los Angeles

Turning to a more contemporary example in schools, I follow the story of Marley, a Black boy who dropped out of school in Los Angeles. Marley builds on this historical tradition of fugitivity discussed above by refusing to be subject to anti-Black schooling. As with my analysis of sumud, it is critical to ground this analysis of Black fugitivity in the specific conditions of anti-Blackness from which it arises, including the brutalities of chattel slavery, the continued plantation economy that structures our world, and the lived experiences of Black youth navigating racist school systems. Black fugitivity arises as a refusal of this violence, as sumud arises as a refusal of Zionist colonialism.

[152] Vargas, *Never Meant to Survive,* 147.

Figure 4. Danny Lyon's photograph demonstrates three Black protestors kneeling outside of a segregated pool in Cairo, Illinois. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee used this photograph with the overlaid text "come let us build a new world together".

I turn to specific practices of Black fugitivity in schools in Los Angeles, as it is where Sojoyner, author of "Another Life is Possible", situates his ethnographic research. Various historical systems of anti-Black enclosure in Los Angeles do not foreclose, but produce these subsequent methods of refusal.

In the early 1900s, Black life was thriving in Los Angeles. The Black Belt, though highly segregated and over policed, was home to about 47,000[153] Black Angelinos who built networks of kinship and community there. Los Angeles was built as a segregated city and "African Americans were barred from living (but not working) beyond the Black Belt."[154] The thriving Black community of Los Angeles was considered to be the Harlem of the West,[155] housing a community of jazz and active nightlife, which was often written off by white suburbanites, social workers, and elites, as "vice". Black sociality and life in the city threatened the settler colonial fantasy of a white, settler Los Angeles, so white elite invested in policing and prisons to uphold this fantasy. As Kelly Lytle Hernandez writes, " rooked, enterprising, and brutal cops plagued Black LA, rampaging through the streets collecting payoffs, conducting raids, and harassing people on the streets."[156] The 1965 Watts Rebellion thoroughly upended the white settler "order" in Los Angeles, and from it came a brutal crackdown on Black life through increased policing in neighborhoods and the structural abandonment and deprivation of resources to Black communities. Post-Watts, Los Angeles began an official program called Police Role in Government that explicitly demanded indoctrinating Black youth into "becoming proper, subservient citizens."[157] Schools in Los Angeles thus became key sites of policing Black youth and producing "normative" citizens of the settler racial order, and as I would further argue, fungible objects in an anti-Black world. Despite public schools being touted as America's greatest achievement, the Police Role in Government program reveals the policing power that schools uphold in their creation of anti-Black enclosures.

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[153]Hernandez, Kelly Lytle. 2017. *City of Inmates : Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965*. Justice, Power, and Politics. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 163.
[154] Hernandez, *City of Inmates,* 164.
[155] Hernandez, *City of Inmates,* 165.
[156] Hernandez, *City of Inmates,* 174.
[157] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 522.

The modern day configurations of policing in Los Angeles schools are produced by this long history of anti-Black enclosure. I read Damien Sojoyner's ethnography of Marley's disengagement from school as situated within a larger, both local and transnational tradition of Black fugitivity. In his article, Sojoyner and Marley discuss Marley's commitments to community organizing and how school had failed to connect the things he learned in class with real world impacts on his community. In highlighting the ways Los Angeles public schools enclose Black life, Sojoyner writes, "Marley's alternative strategy of complete disengagement demonstrated a key function of the radical nature of the Black fugitive logic: the proposition of an alternative social vision for the utilization of social resources."[158] Instead of investing his time into school, Marley completely disengages and instead, invests in community organizing for his people. Through this, he exposes the tenuous anti-Black enclosure that is liberal public schools, which he sees as incapable of reform. Though his actions are criminalized and illegible to the school system, he actively makes change for his people by dropping out of school. Because school works to "negate alternative social visions presented by Black radical forms of indigenous knowledge, which might otherwise resist and counter the multiple forms of violence inherent in contemporary capitalism",[159] Marley brings his alternative social visions to fruition outside of this enclosure. While "schools in Black communities, functioning as enclosed places, serve to reproduce Black economic, political, and social misery and simultaneously to render said misery as a product of Black failure",[160] Black youth such as Marley and Shakur envision alternate Black geographies that refuse enclosure on multiscalar levels.

Refusal of Enclosure

[158] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 531.
[159] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 521.
[160] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 523.

When Marley refuses enclosure of his school by dropping out, he is refusing not only the larger enclosures of schools in L.A., but the enclosure of Black communities everywhere. I suggest that similarly to sumud, practices of Black fugitivity traverse spatio-temporal boundaries to engage with past, current, and future articulations of Black fugitivity. Shakur and Marley act in collaboration with an entire history of maroonage. Shared methods of Black fugitivity therefore hold the potential to destabilize over 400 years of anti-Black enclosure, and intimately connect the experiences of both Marley and Shakur, despite their stories occurring over 60 years apart. Shakur and Marley, as actors of Black fugitivity, are in conversation with this history of Black diasporic ancestors. Marley and Shakur both reveal "a common set of lived experiences that dictate that the racially charged tenets of capitalism, across historical movements, are incapable of reform and are only capable of reproducing violent conditions for Black life."[161] In Marley and Shakur's commitments to building places that rehearse, generate, or glimpse at freedom from anti-Black enclosure, they built and rehearsed new worlds, drawing on a history that dates back to chattel slavery. In their creation and maintenance of Black space, the fugitive, "is the simultaneous embodiment of life, culture, and pathways to freedom, on the one hand, and the singular exposure of the state as a tenuous system of unstable structures constantly teetering on the brink of illegitimacy, on the other."[162] Similarly to sumud, Black fugitivity destabilizes the state's inherent project of enclosing Blackness and reveals the inability of reform. What my thesis asks is, can these methods of refusal be scaled up? Can they expose the anti-Black, colonial frameworks of liberal state projects across the globe?

Rejection of liberal tradition

[161] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 528.
[162] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 526.

Like sumud, practices of Black fugitivity are often illegible to and irreconcilable with liberal state projects, particularly schools which posit themselves as institutions on the teleological arc towards human progress. As discussed above, the core tenets of liberal social progress are deeply rooted in anti-Black projects of enclosure. In its rejection of liberal ideas of multiculturalism or democratic belonging to civil society, fugitivity exposes the states intentions to enclose and surveil Black life through constantly undermining the structures of domination that form these enclosed places. It is impossible for liberal frameworks to imagine refusal, or in the case of Marley, dropping out of school, as a legitimate and necessary form of resistance. Sojoyner further emphasizes, "The lived reality and actions of subjugated people cannot be read through the filter of the liberal discursive projects that restrict racialized populations to very specific modalities of being."[163] In all these ways, Black fugitivity undermines liberal pedagogies with an alternative social vision of being that refuses to ascribe to liberal projects of multicultural belonging. In fact, it undoes these liberal projects through resistance that is often illegible to them. This secrecy represents how threatening Black fugitivity is to the anti-Black status quo. It also marks the revolutionary political becoming that has the potential to rupture global systems of domination.

Revolutionary Political Becoming

Black fugitivity represents a revolutionary political becoming that I argue is, like sumud, translatable to other contexts of resistance against colonial and anti-Black enclosure. In its rejection of liberal traditions and refusal, as well as generative creation of "something else", Black fugitivity is a practice of rehearsing and creating liberated subjectivities that defy the liberal requirements of racialized subjects. As Gross-Wyrtzen and Moulton write, "At their most

[163] Sojoyner, Another Life is Possible, 518.

capacious, fugitive methods are not about escape from the world but a practice of making the world otherwise."[164] This alternative social vision and world making can include other struggles against enclosure, spanning from Black resistance and the maintenance of Black life in the Americas to Palestine. Black fugitivity is always relational, both constantly engaged in relation with histories of maroonage, as well as in relation with other racialized people subject to enclosure. It is not just a linear escape to freedom, but a practice and rehearsal of making other worlds, worlds which include all people engaged in practices of escape. Fugitivity has copious methods, and importantly, it is invested in "linking the movements and place-making of other oppressed people within geographies of precarity, and revealing or revitalizing narratives of solidarity, care, and entanglement across local and global space."[165] In this way, Blackness becomes not a totalizing ontological category, but as many theorists point us to, a privileged point of view of destabilizing the larger anti-Black, colonial world. Further, "because Blackness itself was so central to the articulation of racist, colonial, spatial imaginaries and practices, it is also a privileged analytical location from which to challenge them and articulate different modes of living."[166]

In Shakur and Marley's employment of Black fugitivity, Blackness becomes not strictly an identity, but an investment in a liberated world. Fred Moten in his book *Stolen Life,* suggests that blackness is more broadly constitutive of a certain way of being and knowing which creates the possibilities for a development of consciousness that is constantly in refusal, has an antagonistic relationship to the state, embodies a politics of disruption, and is constantly in motion or fugitive. As Moten says, "everyone whom blackness claims, which is to say everyone, can claim blackness."[167]

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[164] Gross-Wyrtzen & Moulton, "Toward Fugitivity as Method",1268.
[165] Gross-Wyrtzen & Moulton, "Toward Fugitivity as Method",1262.
[166]Hawthorne, Camilla A, and Jovan Scott Lewis, eds. 2023. *The Black Geographic : Praxis, Resistance, Futurity.* Durham: Duke University Press, 10.
[167]Moten, Fred. 2018. *Stolen Life*. Consent Not to Be a Single Being, V. [2]. Durham: Duke University Press, 159.

Vargas expands on Moten's theorizing, suggesting "Black radical becoming offers a blueprint of radical, revolutionary political consciousness and organizing that is potentially able to both draw on the cognitive advantages the experiences of Blackness generate and establish bridges with non-Black progressive movements."[168] In this way, Black fugitivity travels, through the African diaspora and beyond, to imagine the world otherwise and build a politic and space of collective liberation that pushes against, fights within, or escapes outside of systems of enclosure. Black fugitivity encourages alternative sociabilities and ways of existing in the world that resist the liberal state building projects of creating subservient, racialized objects. This revolutionary becoming motions not necessarily towards a reformed Black subject, but a home, in which Black fugitive sociality thrives. In the next chapter, I follow the radical world building that Black fugitivity and sumud articulate, with an emphasis on the metaphorical concept of "home" in Black and Palestinian geographies.

[168] Vargas, *Never Meant to Survive,*137.

Chapter 3: Sumud and Fugitive Encounters and the Creation of Alternative Geographies

In the summer of 2014, two simultaneous moments of state sanctioned violence incited global anti-colonial rebellions. On August 9th, police in Ferguson, Missouri, shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown. At the same time, rockets and bombs rained down on the Gaza Strip, as Israeli military forces violently attacked the tiny strip of occupied land. Between July 8th and August 26th that summer, Israel's military forces killed 2,241 Palestinian citizens.[169] As Gaza suffered one of the most brutal military attacks since 2008, Ferguson protestors began waving Palestinian flags as they protested police brutality. As protestors occupied the streets of Ferguson and Gaza, the two distinct, place-based struggles mapped global forms of solidarity that connected their causes. On August 13th, as militarized police violence escalated in Ferguson, Palestinian activist and Birzeit University student, Mariam Barghouti tweeted, "Solidarity with #Ferguson. Remember not to touch your face when teargassed or put water on it. Instead use milk or coke!"[170] Ferguson activist, Johnetta Elzie, noted a similar global connection forged through Twitter: "Thanks to Twitter, I had been able to see photos of Gaza weeks before and feel connected to the people there on an emotional level. I never thought the small county of Ferguson, this little part of Greater St. Louis, would become Gaza."[171] Following a history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity that was revived in the summer of 2014, I will explore the sumud and fugitivity that animate these forms of resistance. Sumud and fugitivity shape

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[169] Maram Humaid, "Palestinians Slam Israeli Rejection of Appeal Over Gaza Killings." Al Jazeera, April 30, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/30/palestinians-slam-israeli-rejection-of-appeal-over-gaza-killings#:~:text=Between%20July%208%20and%20August,soldiers%20and%20six%20civilians%20died.

[170] Barghouti, Mariam [@MariamBarghouti]. Twitter, August 13, 2014, 8:06 PM https://twitter.com/MariamBarghouti/status/499754015983681536?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E499754015983681536%7Ctwgr%5Ed88c8a06d16da5736b3b238fedb39e478d5ebb09%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fglobalvoices.org%2F2014%2F08%2F14%2Fnot-gaza-palestinians-tweet-tips-to-ferguson-protesters-dogding-teargas-rubber-bullets-and-police-aggression-in-missouri-usa%2F

[171] Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation, (Haymarket Books, 2016). 162.

Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, connect Black and Palestinian geographies, and create the conditions of possibility for global solidarity and liberated geographies. I will trace the intertwined Black and Palestinian struggles through history, paying particular attention to the connected regimes of death imposed by the United States and Israel and the shared imaginations of transnational resistance that arise in their wake.

History of Shared Struggle

The solidarity sought through struggle in the summer of 2014 revealed a revival of a much larger history of Black and Palestinian transnational solidarity. Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, a long tradition of joint struggle against imperialism, was at its apex during the 1960s up until the early 1980s. In 2014, Ferguson and Gaza became critical locations in the long history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity of building people's power and resistance. In both struggles activists drew on a history of anti-colonial frameworks and solidarities rooted in the Third World Liberation movement, where oppressed peoples across the globe made connections between their separate place-based struggles under colonial and imperial powers. In 2014, they referenced the solidarities built by the Black Panther Party, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Palestinian letters to Angela Davis during her incarceration to revive a historically rooted struggle.

From the 1960s to early 1980s, the rise of the Black Power Movement and other Black liberation movements struggles coincided with the peak of anti-colonial internationalist struggle. Black folks in the U.S. saw themselves as politically tied to Vietnam, Cuba, Palestine, and many other countries in the revolutionary struggle. The Black Panther Party (BPP) declared their struggle for liberation in the U.S. to be intertwined with Palestinian liberation, naming the U.S.

and Israel as the collective enemy.[172] As Noura Erekat writes, "historic articulations of Black–Palestinian solidarity framed racism and colonialism as entwined and co-constitutive structures of domination and sought to unravel them across the entire globe."[173]

The Black Panthers built their political identity through fighting global imperialism and building solidarity with Palestinians. After the 1967 war, where Israel brutally escalated violence against Palestinians, captured, and settled the West Bank and Gaza, the Black Panthers released an official statement in solidarity in their newsletter *The Black Panther*. The November 1968 issue quoted, "Israel IS because Palestine's right to be was canceled… the term, Israel, is like saying racist United States, and it has the same policy as the U.S. Government has in the Middle East."[174] The Black Panthers thereby directly linked the Palestinian fight for the right to exist, to self-determine, and to live safely in Palestine to their own struggles at home. The demands for self-determination in two occupied countries were strikingly similar, both emphasizing the right to live freely and a right to space. For the Black Panthers, the Palestine question "afforded them the chance to deepen their own attempts to create a revolutionary black culture of resistance at home by linking it to the Palestinian's culture of resistance."[175] Connections to Palestinian liberation strengthened their own political struggle and demands at home. Many Black Panthers were inspired by images of Palestinian armed resistance[176] and often considered them the "vanguard"[177] of a larger global anticolonial revolution. Elridge Cleaver, who met with al-Fateh

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[172] Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color*, (Stanford University Press, 2018). 3.
[173]Erekat, Noura. "Geographies of Intimacy: Contemporary Renewals of Black-Palestinian Solidarity" American Quarterly 72, no. 2 (2020), 473. doi:10.1353/aq.2020.0027.
[174] "Mao Condemns U.S.-Israeli Link", The Black Panther, vol. 1, no. 1, November 16, 1968, 9. https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/index.htm.
[175] Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color*, (Stanford University Press, 2018). 121.
[176] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 117.
[177] *Ibid.*

officials in Algeria in 1970,[178] was particularly inspired by Palestinian political poster production to enhance the written rhetoric of the Black Panther Party at home.[179] He worked closely with Emory Douglass, who produced two evocative cartoons condemning Israeli soldiers and uplifting the work of Palestinian guerillas in the March 1970 issue of The *Black Panther* newspaper. As Michael Fischbach recounts in his book *Black Power and Palestine*, "The BPP used Palestinian-themed art and sloganeering not only to generate support for the Palestinians but, equally important, to bolster the domestic revolutionary image they were creating for themselves as armed revolutionaries."[180]

Emory Douglass effectively conveyed the intertwining interests of U.S. imperialism and Zionism by representing both as pigs kissing. Pigs were a common symbol employed in the Black Panther Party's revolutionary visual culture, often representing United States police, as well as a wider connotation of oppressive forces in

Figure 5. The Black Panther Newsletter includes a political poster of two pigs, one representing the United States and one representing Israel.

[178] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 122.
[179] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 121.
[180] *Ibid.*

control.[181] The two pigs share a gun, representing the deadly exchange and intertwined regimes of death that the U.S. and Israel impose.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee also developed their domestic political struggle in relation to Palestine. The internal SNCC debates about whether to publicly endorse the Palestinian struggle for freedom encouraged critical conversations and theorizing about SNCC's larger demands at home. After the controversy of their initial statement of solidarity with Palestine, SNCC member Courtland Cox said, "Palestine was another example of what was happening to us, and it was the same people involved in our oppression who were involved in their oppression over there. People saw people in like situations."[182] In struggling together to come to an agreed-upon organizational stance on Palestine, SNCC's platform became more explicitly internationalist. As Cox notes, they understood liberation at home to be intimately and deeply tied to their brothers and sisters in Palestine.

The Black and Palestinian encounters of 2014 reinvoked these frameworks of global imperialism to build solidarity and political identity in struggle, thus cultivating a global anti-colonial struggle that both attends to and transcends spatial specificities. In 2014, the conditions of occupying military siege, increased violence, and war in Ferguson and Gaza allowed for global connections to be made. It opened space for the two place-based struggles in Ferguson and Gaza to acknowledge that their liberation movements are not disparate, but rather, deeply intertwined, inseparable, and even foundations of each other's solidarities. Just like in the 60s and 70s, statements of solidarity, particularly in the U.S., resurged in 2014. Building on the political work of the Third World Liberation movement, and organizations like the Black Panther

[181] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 120.
[182] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 36.

Party and SNCC, these statements named global imperialism as the common enemy and linked the political identities in separate place-based struggles. Black4Palestine, a network of Black activists committed to supporting the Palestinian struggle for freedom and self-determination, wrote in 2014, "while we acknowledge that the apartheid configuration in Israel/Palestine is unique from the United States (and South Africa), we continue to see connections between the situation of Palestinians and Black people."[183]

Black4Palestine maintained spatial specificities and acknowledged the different conditions in Palestine and the U.S. while also emphasizing connections, thus building Black-Palestinian solidarity *in struggle*. The current Black4Palestine statement, released October 25, 2023 states

> "we make this commitment in a long tradition of Black people standing with other peoples around the world in our shared struggle against oppression, racism, and colonialism. This includes calling for an end to U.S. aggression in the Vietnam war, standing with anti-colonial struggles around the world, and most recently with the Black uprising of 2014 and building solidarity with Palestinians over our shared terrain of U.S. and Israeli state violence and disregard for our lives."[184]

The statement, with over 6,000 signatures, revives a historical tradition of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity to call for not only a ceasefire in Gaza, but maps a larger politic of collective global liberation. By also naming Vietnam as a parallel site of anti-colonial struggle, they map both shared global struggles as well as their shared visions of anti-colonialism.

However, it is important to note that solidarities have not always been evenly developed in Palestine and in the United States. While many Black Americans oriented their politics towards Palestine, there is less historical evidence of Palestinians in Palestine connecting themselves deeply with Black American struggle in the United States. Palestinians and Arabs in

[183] "2015 Black Solidarity Statement with Palestine" Black4Palestine, 2015. http://www.blackforpalestine.com/read-the-statement.html
[184] "2023 Black Solidarity Statement with Palestine" Black4Palestine, 2023. https://www.blackforpalestine.com/sign-the-2023-statement.html.

the diaspora, particularly in the United States, engaged deeply with the Black power movement, for example the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) support for SNCC.[185] The OAS uplifted the internationalist demands of SNCC and claimed them as their kindred people in need of liberation. In historic Palestine, one of the earliest articulations of solidarity with Black liberation was Leila Khaled, Palestinian freedom fighter's interview in 1970, where she said in reference to the Black Panther Party, "I'm with those people because they are defending their rights as human beings and the worst thing you or anyone can face is when you are not treated like a human being."[186] During Angela Davis' prison sentence in 1971, she recounted receiving letters from incarcerated Palestinian political prisoners.[187] However, this tradition of solidarity has uneven developments and contours, with Black Americans most often leading the charge for articulating solidarity with Palestinians.

Calls for global solidarity do not negate the continual need to struggle against the anti-Blackness in Arab communities and the and anti-Palestinian racism in Black communities. Anti-Blackness is one of the most pervasive systems of global domination, which means in building effective transnational solidarity, Palestinians must address anti-Blackness in their organizing spaces. Additionally, even if Palestinians were given the right to return tomorrow, anti-Blackness would still be a structuring force of the world. Despite a history of shared violence of both Black and Palestinian people, Bailey notes that "Black Americans would experience anti-Black state violence if Israel never existed and will experience such violence even when all three criteria of the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement are satisfied."[188]

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[185] Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine,* 137.
[186] Fischback, *Black Power and Palestine,* 139.
[187] McGrath, Jack, "Angela Davis on Black-Palestinian Solidarity" *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs,* February 1, 2024. https://www.wrmea.org/north-america/angela-davis-on-black-palestinian-solidarity.html
[188] Davis Bailey, "Black Palestinian Solidarity in the Ferguson-Gaza Era", 1019.

The continual structures of anti-Black and anti-Palestinian racism do not foreclose potentialities for solidarity, but emphasize the importance of solidarity, as not presumed or inherent, but built through struggle. For example, in 2014, many Arab and Palestinian authors released statements in solidarity with Ferguson, such as Kahled Beydoun's "Why Ferguson is our Issue: A Letter to Muslim America". Beydoun specifically addressed a history of anti-Black racism that is the foundation of many current systems of domination. "Ferguson is our issue because the same structures that ruthlessly enforce anti-Black racism also execute and endorse Islamophobia. Long before Muslims bodies were monitored for fear of violence, subversion, and security, these tropes drove the systematic surveillance of Black bodies."[189] Statements of solidarity like such illuminate much larger global systems of domination, and therefore, illuminate the potential for global anti-colonial resistance between Ferguson and Gaza.

More recently, many radical Palestinian activists have come to see their national liberation struggle as applicable to and rooted in the same global systems of domination that Black Americans experience. For example, in 2015, Jadaliyya, an independent electronic magazine produced by the Arab Studies Institute, hosted a roundtable to begin addressing anti-Blackness in Black-Palestinian solidarity organizing.[190] The panel discussed the complex contours of solidarity, including the Arab slave trade of East Africans, the inapplicability of U.S. racial frameworks in Palestine, and the necessity for solidarity to extend past liberal nation-state identity politics. The Jadaliyya roundtable reveals that by actively struggling with anti-Blackness and anti-Palestinian racism, activists and scholars *broaden* their commitments to robust global solidarity. As Sarah Ihmoud notes in the roundtable, "engaging the logic of

[189] Kahled Beydoun,. "Why Ferguson is Our Issue: A Letter to Muslim America." *The Islamic Monthly*, (August 27, 2014) https://www.theislamicmonthly.com/why-ferguson-is-our-issue-a-letter-to-muslim-america/

[190] "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity" moderated by Noura Erekat. *Jadaliyya,* June 3, 2015.https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32145

anti-blackness forces us to reckon with a decolonization project that is not reducible to some form of native sovereignty wedded to the nation-state form, but one that seeks a far more radical break with Western epistemology, and the construction of a new world."[191] By struggling against global systems of enclosure and their manifestations in organizing work, the Black and Palestinian activists at the Jadaliyya roundtable rehearsed and enacted a futurity of reciprocal solidarity.

Regimes of death

One of the clearest ways to connect the struggles of Black and Palestinian liberation are through the intertwined death-making imperial projects of both the United States and Israel. More than forty years after the 1967 War, activists on social media in both Ferguson and Gaza made a poignant connection: the tear gas weaponized on protestors in Ferguson was the same brand of tear gas the Israeli military sprayed on Gazan civilians. The U.S. and Israel have distinct and overlapping histories of colonialism, and putting those two histories in conversation, as activists in both Ferguson and Gaza did in 2014, opened space for collective internationalist struggle. Militarized state occupation in 2014 catalyzed connections between two distinctly different spaces and reframed these struggles as politically intertwined.

The monetary and ideological connections between Israel and the United States as military imperial powers laid the groundwork for a shared anti-colonial understanding between Gaza and Ferguson. The deadly exchange of weapons and military tactics between the U.S. and Israel is more than the annual $3.8 billion in military funding. Since October 7th 2023, the United States has provided Israel with unending support to commit it's brutal genocide of the

[191] *Ibid.*

Palestinian people, recently approving a $14 billion package to Israel.[192] Beyond their monetary exchange, Israeli and U.S. police forces train side by side in tactics to suppress protestors and enact state violence. In 2011, just three years before the brutal murder of Michael Brown,

> "the St. Louis County Police Department chief Timothy Fitch attended the Anti-Defamation League's (ADL) National Counter-Terrorism Seminar, an annual week-long Israeli training camp where US law enforcement executives 'study firsthand Israel's tactics and strategies' directly from 'senior commanders in the Israel National Police, experts from Israel's intelligence and security services, and the Israel Defense Forces'."[193]

The same weapons, tactics, and colonial ideologies used to kill Black and brown folks in the U.S. were also being used, disseminated and traded with and in Israel to kill Palestinians. 2014 revealed, down to the brand of tear gas, that these are not merely figural connections. The U.S. and Israel have a direct, explicit, and deadly exchange of military gear used under the same pretense of occupying land and displacing the Black and brown populations in both the U.S. and Palestine. Activists in 2014 recognized that the increased state violence was a natural outgrowth of colonial expansion in both the U.S. and Palestine. Nada Elia also references the reciprocal relationship of militarization, policing, surveillance, and racial profiling between Israel and the U.S., noting that because of this deadly exchange Israel has perfected [its tactics of repression] against the Palestinian people.[194] Responding to historically intertwined regimes of death, protestors in both Ferguson and Gaza fought for their right to space and existence and conceptualized themselves as people similarly forced outside of liberal citizen-subjects formations, and people with a shared enemy of global imperialism. However, the glue of the

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[192] Kampeas, Ron. "$14b US aid package for Israel crafted with eye to 'multi-front war,' not just Gaza" *The Times of Israel,* 21 February, 2024. https://www.timesofisrael.com/14b-us-aid-package-for-israel-crafted-with-eye-to-multi-front-war-not-just-gaza/

[193] Rania Khalek, "Israel trained police to occupy Missouri after killing of Black youth." *The Electronic Intifada*, September 2, 2014. https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/rania-khalek/israel-trained-police-occupy-missouri-after-killing-black-youth

[194] Elia, Nada. 2023. *Greater Than the Sum of Our Parts : Feminism, Inter/Nationalism, and Palestine*. London: Pluto Press New Wing, 127.

longstanding tradition of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity is not these histories of shared oppression, but the intertwined visions of a free world that their struggles demanded.

Shared Resistances Through Imagining Freer Worlds

As outlined in the previous two chapters, the revolutionary refusal present in both sumud and Black fugitivity animates the historical and contemporary practices of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. While liberal humanisms require a politics of analogy and identity politics, the real cement of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity is a vision of worldmaking beyond enclosure, which both sumud and fugitivity demand. As Robin Kelley writes,

> "Activists highlighted the similarities in state violence, racialized histories of dispossession and enclosure, and tactics of popular resistance as an effective strategy for political mobilization and coalition building. However, it seems to me that analogies or 'a chain of equivalence' are not the cement that holds transnational solidarities together."[195]

The sumud and fugitivity that undeniably strengthen a history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity demand the creation of alternative geographies of resistance, particularly, a new version of "home".

The Black and Palestinian home is a rife site of resistance. As explored in chapter one, the Palestinian home is a space of affective kinship networks of sumud. Further, as discussed in Mubirumusoke's book *Black Hospitality,* which invokes the frameworks fugitive Black sociality and Black hospitality as a response to the continual plantation economy, Mubirumusoke writes, "the black homes, through illicit commerce and illicit movements of identity, are also a space of black social fugitivity with affective excesses, 'non-traditional' education, and exponential growth that escape traditional space and time."[196] Within both the forced statelessness of

[195]Kelley, Robin D.G. 2019. "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top: Solidarity As Worldmaking." Journal of Palestine Studies 48 (4 (192)): 71.
[196] Mubirumusoke, Mukasa. 2022. *Black Hospitality : A Theoretical Framework for Black Ethical Life*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 21.

Palestinians and homelessness[197] of Black folk, geographies of liberatory homes arise, homes which "capture the tension of black people's relation to the essentially fugitive blackness that absconds in that they are at home with a blackness that escapes them."[198] We cannot necessarily chart these homes and geographies onto typical cartographic terms, as they are fugitive of time and space, have impossible dimensions[199] or as Mubirumusoke writes, "the black home entails a black social spacing and temporalization or 'timing' that does not extend from (or ground) the autonomous liberal subject and its self-assurance, but instead emerges within darkened vulnerability and fugitivity."[200] To fully explore this home outside of hegemonic cartographies, I turn to poetry to envision shared resistances and the creation of geographies of refusal.

Black and Palestinian liberation struggles are deeply intertwined through shared resistance and imaginations of a liberated world. The refusals that energize these shared visionings include the rejection of liberal humanist projects and politics, refusal of enclosure, and refusal of the category of the human. In this, sumud and Black fugitivity inspire revolutionary political becomings that create the conditions of possibility for global decolonial liberation. Instead of liberal humanist projects that require the creation of or affirm a nation state in both Black America and Palestine, Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, in its most radical renditions, advocates for freedom over statehood.

Sumud and fugitivity push Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity past an analytic of shared oppressions and towards an expansive vision of a liberated world, one which expands past phenotypical racial definitions. I turn to the following two poems, "Moving Towards Home" by June Jordan as well as Suheir Hammad's poem "open poem to those who those who rather we

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[197]Harney, Stefano, Fred Moten, and Jack Halberstam. 2013. *The Undercommons : Fugitive Planning & Black Study*. Wivenhoe: Minor Compositions, 55.
[198] Mubirumusoke, *Black Hospitality,* 111.
[199] Mubirumusoke, *Black Hospitality,* 112.
[200] Mubirumusoke, *Black Hospitality,* 79.

not read… or breathe" to demonstrate how methods of fugitivity and sumud make racial categories flexible, open up transnational intimacies, and craft geographies of liberation.

June Jordan, Black feminist poet, activist, and essayist born and raised in Harlem, New York, wrote her seminal poem "Moving Towards Home" in 1982. Throughout her life as an activist, Jordan identified deeply with both the South African and Palestinian struggles for freedom. She repeatedly insisted that both the South African and Palestinian people have "a human right to sanctuary on this planet."[201] In 1982, Jordan, a writer for *The Progressive,* was horrified by the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon.[202] She departed from the deafening international silence after the massacre by writing various poems and essays about Lebanon and Palestine. As an activist deeply committed to Black liberation and all liberation struggles, her writings on Palestine and Lebanon marked another critical moment in the history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. Her poem "Moving Towards Home", which has become canon in the study of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, reverberates with the foundational interventions that this solidarity builds. In her revolutionary interventions into the idea of home, one can read practices of fugitivity and sumud within her lines. Jordan allows these practices of refusal to animate her poetry, which rejects enclosure to reveal new groundings for solidarity. I argue that June Jordan embodies Black fugitivity in her principled rejection of liberal traditions as well as her poetic creation of a revolutionary subjectivity that demands transnational solidarity.

Jordan rejects liberal traditions by refusing to highlight a singular, pure, liberal subject. She writes of "the people who refuse to be purified / those are the ones from whom we must

[201] Jordan, June. 2014. Life as Activism: June Jordan's Writings from The Progressive. Sacramento, CA: Litwin Books, viii.
[202]Feldman, Keith P. 2015. *A Shadow over Palestine : The Imperial Life of Race in America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 208.

redeem / the words of our beginning."[203] By centering those who refuse to be purified, and those who resist Israeli settler colonial tactics of elimination, Jordan uplifts resistance on Palestinian terms. She demands we witness and attune to the revolutionary subjectivities that arise from violent enclosures. From the most horrific conditions of imperial war, Jordan orients us towards a new world, one which is built on revolutionary becoming. Jordan empowers those "who refuse to be purified" to be the center of collective liberation politics. Refusing liberal politics of purity and humanism, she demands that these are the ones who will be at the forefront of the alternative world, the ones who have crafted beauty in the enclosure and the ones who demand an alternative geography from the most impossible of conditions.

From within conditions of captivity, Jordan writes about refusal as the groundwork for the creation of a new world. To glimpse at this new world, Jordan orients us towards the site of the living room, which is simultaneously the title of her poetry book that includes "Moving Towards Home". As discussed in chapters one and two, home spaces and domestic spaces mark a critical site of the proliferation and rehearsal of sumud and fugitivity. For Jordan, the living room is where "the land is not bullied and beaten to a tombstone / where the talk will take place in my language / and where my children will grow without horror."[204] The living room represents an affective space of kinship and creation, and Jordan points us towards the liberatory possibilities of the living room as a site of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. While violent anti-Black and colonial enclosure shape the conditions of Black and Palestinian life, the living room is a refuge, a creation of intimacy and kinship relations that defies the violent conditions of the world that imprint upon Black and Palestinian life. Robin Kelley's article "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top" can be read alongside Jordan's conceptual

[203]Jordan, June. 1985. "Moving Towards Home." In *Living Room*, *New York,* 133. New York.
[204] Jordan, Moving Towards Home , 134.

"living room" to reveal the liberatory dreams that arise in alternative geographies. He writes, "it is not the condition of captivity that is the basis of solidarity but the critique of captivity from a place of confinement, the shared dreams of liberation, and the mobilizing and planning to fulfill that dream."[205] If we take seriously the idea of the living room as not only a place of confinement, but a radical space of dreaming, the living room becomes where sumud and fugitivity flourish. It is in the living room where Jordan finds the planning and mobilizing for liberatory dreams, and where those who refuse to be purified rehearse alternative ways of being in relation to one another. The living room marks a space that refuses liberal humanist rhetoric, where solidarity extends beyond the politics of racial analogy, and where Jordan, as stated in the final lines of her poem, becomes Palestinian.

In the final lines of her poem, June Jordan writes, "I was born a Black woman / and now / I am become a Palestinian / against the relentless laughter of evil / there is less and less living room / and where are my loved ones? / It is time to make our way home."[206] I am most interested in the proximity and intimacy she gives to both Black womanhood and Palestinianness. The pivot between Blackness and Palestinianness is a recognition of shared identity built through struggle. Instead of static identity categories, Black and Palestinian become subjectivities always in relation to one another. Jordan deems them malleable and constantly in flux, as she is forever in the process of "becoming" Palestinian. These transient verbs, of "becoming", and "moving towards", embody both Black fugitivity and sumud in their refusal to be static. This hearkens back to Meari's analysis of sumud as a "constant revolutionary becoming"[207] and reveals how practices of sumud and fugitivity animate Jordan's poetry.

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[205] Kelley, Robin "From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top", 85.
[206] Jordan, Moving Towards Home, 134.
[207] Meari, Lena. "Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons." South Atlantic Quarterly 113, no. 3 (n.d.): 549.

In these lines, Jordan suggests that becoming Palestinian means inhabiting refusal through constant revolutionary becoming which inspires building worlds of liberated geographies. In the conceptual living room and in her becoming Palestinian, Jordan makes intimate the inherently interconnected subjectivities of both Black folk and Palestinians. In his analysis of the poem, Keith Feldman writes that this interconnectedness, "signifies a practice of being in relation that is wholly mundane—not only in its recognition of the terrifying suffering produced by liberal democratic states but also in the commitment to the merely human practice of making home, a space to dwell and laugh and thrive and resist."[208] In this, the living room, and the home that Jordan glimpses at, are capacious sites of solidarity, sites of rehearsing a freer world that glimpses at decolonial futures.

By ending her poem with "it is time to make our way home", Jordan swiftly creates a condition of possibility- a new *home* built on Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. By demanding a home that ties seemingly disparate geographies of Palestine and Black America, she opens space for collective refusal and world building. Feldman also suggests that "Jordan's lines evoke the need to breathe into words a convivial space of inhabitation, one made through the compact performance of becoming in the face of dispossession. They call forth the present as the pressing context for a relational enactment of home."[209] Sumud and fugitivity cannot be disentangled from this liberatory vision of the home and future. As Feldman writes, Jordan's poems "make available a spatial imaginary for justice that governing language otherwise obscures, engendering a line of flight toward a different kind of home."[210] Using the same language Meari uses in describing sumud, which is a "line of flight for escaping the regulative

[208] Feldman, *A Shadow Over Palestine,* 216.
[209] Feldman, A Shadow Over Palestine, 186.
[210] Feldman, *A Shadow Over Palestine,* 208

forces of control",[211] Feldman reveals that refusal is bound up in a generative creation of new. Just as maroons did in escaping chattel slavery, the line of flight to a new world and alternative subjectivity animates the practices of escape. In the conceptual home, Jordan eloquently ties these histories of Black radicalism and Palestinian refusal to mark a politics of relationality which expand beyond politics of racial analogy.

The home Jordan speaks of does not necessarily mean a nation state; as discussed above, sumud and fugitivity reach beyond the boundaries of the nation state and demand freedom through the creation of new subjectivities and liberated geographies. Jordan rejects liberal traditions of state building and embraces what Alex Lubin calls intercommunalism, or "a political imaginary that recognized the shared conditions of racial capitalism and possibilities for anti-imperialism among local communities across the world. As a political imaginary, intercommunalism was the practice of geographically linking colonial locations globally and fostering a politics of comparison and solidarity."[212] The home that June Jordan references is an intercommunal site of political possibility in encounter, a space where Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud rub up against each other, and in their frictions, create global methods of refusal that chart liberated geographies as well as inspire revolutionary political becomings. Palestinian activists and authors have responded to this invitation into the alternative home Jordan creates with reciprocal engagement in liberatory imaginations.

In direct conversation with Jordan, Suhier Hammad, a Palestinian born in Brooklyn, expands on this liberatory conception of the home in her 1996 poetry book *Born Palestinian, Born Blac*k. She describes her book as forever in relation to Black liberation politics, as she

[211] Meari, Sumud, 550.
[212]Lubin, Alex. 2014. *Geographies of Liberation : The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*. The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 120.

works “a new embroidery, stitched in june jordan’s dark.”[213] In her introduction, Hammad makes three important interventions that lay the frameworks for alternative geographies of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. She signs off her introduction with her location, written succinctly as “jersey city / oakland / jerusalem”. By connecting Jersey city and Oakland, two historically black cities, to Jerusalem, in occupied Palestine, she maps the intimate geographies of resistance that emerge in all three places. She rearranges traditional geographies and seemingly unrelated spaces to cartographically chart a political geography of liberatory practices. Hammad’s poetry book has also been critically studied in the canon of scholarship on Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. Author Sirene Harb, in reference to Hammad’s introduction, calls this usage of historical experience to create shared geographic cartographies, "combinatorial poetics", which “establish a rapprochement between different histories and stories of struggle.”[214] Combinatorial politics and intercommunalism structure the conceptual home that Jordan and Hammad rely on, allowing it to become a space of Black-Palestinian solidarity.

Further, Hammad employs Jordan’s flexible conception of the home in the introductory passage of her book. She writes, “Home is within me. I carry everyone and everything I am with me wherever I go. Use my history as the road in front of me, the land beneath me.”[215] For Hammad, home is both a physical place, as well as a malleable site of refusal that she carries within herself. In this way, home can be constantly in motion, fugitive, and sought through affective means. By embodying both sumud and fugitivity in her conception of the home, Hammad draws on what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls “freedom as a place.”[216] Further, Palestinians in exile in the diaspora, most of whom cannot return home to Palestine, create alternative homes

[213] Hammad, Suhier. *Born Palestinian, Born Black.* Harlem River Press. 1996, 11.
[214]Harb, Sirene. "Transformative practices and historical revision: Suheir Hammad's born Palestinian, born Black." Studies in the Humanities, vol. 35, no. 1, June 2008, pp. 34
[215] Hammad, *Born Palestinian, Born Black,* 11.
[216] Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2022. *Abolition Geography : Essays Towards Liberation*. New York: Verso Books, 79.

in diaspora. Palestinians are denied the right to return to their Indigenous lands and as sumud encourages, create home space regardless, whether that be in the diaspora or in historic Palestine. As Ihmoud and Shalhoub-Kevorkian write, "we honor those who … created home in spite of colonial violence and dispossession of the homeland and home-spaces."[217] Hammad does the same, bringing home, and a future home of Black-Palestinian solidarity, with her as a conceptual throughline in her poetry book.

Hammad also begins her book of poetry with a series of definitions of Blackness, to show its historical contingency and constructedness. Her analysis reads similarly to many scholars of Blackness and Black fugitivity, such as Moten's concept of Blackness as claimable.[218] Hammad conceptualizes Blackness as malleable, similar to her own Palestinianness, through varying definitions of Black. She also touches on anti-Blackness in her own culture, describing Black as "the Arabic expression 'to blacken your face'/ meaning to shame."[219] She also describes Blackness as a relationality to Palestinian identity, writing "relative purity / like the face of God / the face of your grandmother."[220] Here, she rehearses a politics of intercommunalism and relationality, revealing Black and Palestinian identities to be inherently intertwined.

In the afterword of *Born Palestinian, Born Black*, Kazim Ali discusses the question of what it means for Hammad to claim Blackness, noting, "Black, in her case, not being mere ethnic marker, but a political position in relation to a dominant power structure. The word has numerous historical and political meanings that she embraces, but the word to contemporary audiences means one particular thing."[221] Instead of the limiting category that we understand Blackness through, as a phenotypic racial identity, Hammad pushes us to understand political Blackness

[217] Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nadera and Sarah Ihmoud. "Exiled at Home: Writing Return and the Palestinian Home." Biography 37, no. 2 (2014): 380.
[218] Moten, Fred. 2018. *Stolen Life*. Consent Not to Be a Single Being, V. [2]. Durham: Duke University Press, 159.
[219] Hammad, *Born Palestinian, Born Black,* 12
[220] *Ibid*.
[221] Hammad, *Born Palestinian, Born Black. 93.*

through a politics of relationality that she embraced growing up in Black communities in Brooklyn. In the aforementioned Jadaliyya roundtable, poet Aja Monet expands on this idea, writing "Blackness is the embodiment of resistance, the soul of resistance, and Palestinians know resistance."[222] Hammad embodies Black-Palestinian resistance through her use of Black vernacular in her poetry, offering us a glimpse of intercommunalism and solidarity sought through struggle, the sort of political becoming that Jordan orients us towards.

Hamad also expresses solidarity through refusals animated by sumud and fugitivity in her poem, "open poem to those who rather we not read… or breathe". She writes, "we children of children exiled from homelands / descendants of immigrants denied jobs and toilets / carry continents in our eyes / survivors of the middle passage / we stand / and demand recognition of our humanity."[223] She first establishes the extent of enclosure and denial of a homeland that she as a Palestinian refugee, children of parents who survived the Nakba, has experienced. She relates this experience as the same dispossession that Black Americans, many of whose ancestors survived the Middle Passage, experience. In recognizing the denial of Black and Palestinian space, she also affirms the fugitive conception of home that exists as resistance. By carrying continents in their eyes, Hammad points the reader towards the alternative geographies that Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity creates.

The end of the stanza at first glance appears to appeal to liberal tropes of humanism. However, lines later she writes, "we be political prisoners walking round semi-free / our very breath is a threat / to those who rather we not read / and think analyze watch out and fight back / and be human beings the way we need to be."[224] Hammad affirms that recognition of humanity

[222] "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity" moderated by Noura Erekat. *Jadaliyya,* June 3, 2015.https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32145
[223] Hammad, *Born Palestinian, Born Blac*k , 73
[224] *Ibid*.

will go beyond liberal tropes, but affirm humanity on her own terms. To be a human being the way she demands is a revolutionary subjectivity, a being and becoming animated by sumud and fugitivity. To be in a constant state of struggling towards a new subjectivity, a revolutionary becoming, creates the conditions of possibility for Black-Palestinian transnational being. She broadens our visions of the human, the home, and the self, to create an expansive vision of liberation that makes intimate Black and Palestinian struggles for freedom, and through this, enacts the process of building a new world together.

In a long history of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, sumud and fugitivity become animating forces of refusal and the continued rejection of liberal traditions. In refusing Israeli and U.S. regimes of death, Black and Palestinian people have sought to create alternative geographies, ones which uplift their liberatory demands. The metaphorical home of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity continues to be nurtured by the practices of sumud and fugitivity, as well as continued articulations of solidarity, such as the recent International Court of Justice (ICJ) trial against Israel. In the following conclusion, I turn to the ICJ trial as a site of continuing Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity that bolsters a global collectivity.

Conclusions: Worlds Beyond Genocide

After days of hearings, on January 26th, 2024, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Israel must take steps to prevent genocide in Gaza, acknowledging evidence of plausible genocide of the Palestinian people under the 1948 Genocide Convention. The South African government, from the wake of the legacy of apartheid, brought the charge against Israel to the highest international court, marking a historical tradition of solidarity between South Africa and Palestine and a broader continuation of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity.

South Africa's 84 page application to the ICJ asked Israel to "immediately suspend its military operations in and against Gaza"[225] and to end the siege, stop the bombardment and end the blockade, amongst other criteria. South African attorneys were clear to acknowledge over one hundred years of Zionist violence, dispossession, and settler colonialism in Palestine. They drew parallels between South Africa's own history of colonialism, ongoing neoliberal apartheid, and continual dispossession through racial capitalism.[226] Attorney Tembeka Ngcukaitobi aptly spoke, "Israel has a genocidal intent against the Palestinians in Gaza. Israel's special genocidal intent is rooted in the belief that, in fact, the enemy is not just the military wing of Hamas, or indeed Hamas generally, but is embedded in the fabric of Palestinian life in Gaza."[227] In acknowledging the broader genocidal intent of the Zionist settler colonial state, Ngcukaitobi orients the court towards a decision that would not just address the ongoing brutal genocide in Gaza but the broader demands for a free, decolonial Palestine.

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[225] Kattenburg, David. "ICJ orders Israel to prevent genocidal acts in Gaza and punish calls for incitement". *Mondoweiss,* January 26, 2024. https://mondoweiss.net/2024/01/icj-orders-israel-to-prevent-genocidal-acts-in-gaza-and-punish-calls-for-incitement/

[226] Clarno, Andy. 2017. *Neoliberal Apartheid : Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2.

[227] Singh, Tanupriya. "Deflect and deny: Israel responds to South Africa's accusation of genocide at ICJ" *People's Dispatch,* January 12, 2024. https://peoplesdispatch.org/2024/01/12/deflect-and-deny-israel-responds-to-south-africas-accusation-of-genocide-at-icj/

South Africa holds a unique position in bringing Israel to trial, invoking a legacy of apartheid that continues to structure South African life today. South Africa's charges also illuminate a robust tradition of solidarity between South Africa and Palestine. Nelson Mandela, South African anti-apartheid activist, famously said "we know all too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians."[228] And, as early as the 1970s, as Andy Clarno writes in *Neoliberal Apartheid:Palestine/Israel and South Africa*, "Palestinian intellectuals pointed to similarities between the Bantustan strategy in South Africa and Israeli proposals for Palestinian 'autonomy' in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."[229] The South African Communist Party called apartheid "colonialism of a special type."[230]Apartheid in South Africa, thus, is the natural outcome of colonialism, just as genocide is the natural outcome of Zionist colonization of Palestine.

In 1994 when South African apartheid formally ended, the fall out of the Oslo Accords began to shape Palestinian daily life. The formalization of the Palestinian Authority and the continued settler control by Israel marked a shift to an era of neoliberal apartheid.[231] In South Africa, the same decolonial visions were thwarted by global neoliberalism. For many Palestinians, South Africa represents an example of promised "decolonial" land restitution that remains hindered by neoliberal racial capitalism. As Clarno notes, "Postapartheid South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world."[232] The United Nations (U.N.), ICJ, and nongovernmental organizations have been some of the main forces entrenching this neoliberal apartheid. Formalized liberal institutions rely on critiques of apartheid without acknowledging its

[228] Jackson, Trina. "Who Are My People? The March on Washington for Gaza and Historical Connections in Black-Palestinian Solidarity" *Grassroots International,* February 2024. https://grassrootsonline.org/learning_hub/march-washington-black-palestine-solidarity/
[229] Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid,* 3.
[230] Erekat, Noura and John Reynolds. "Understanding Apartheid: Embracing a radical critique of Israeli apartheid is a precondition for bringing it to a just end". *Jewish Currents,* November 1, 2022.
[231] Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid,* 3.
[232] Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid, 2.*

roots in colonialism and reify the fight for individual human rights over collective liberation. Noura Erekat and John Reynolds expand on this in their article "Understanding Apartheid", arguing that we cannot untangle genocide and apartheid from their underlying frameworks of settler colonialism.[233] In the 2024 ICJ hearings, South African attorneys aptly set up these frameworks, noting the "ongoing Nakba"[234] in Palestine. However, frameworks of colonialism are effectively illegible at the ICJ, which stands as a liberal, colonial institution that reifies the teleological narrative of post-colonial modernity. In fact, the ICJ has historically been unable to enforce rulings that charge colonial nation states. In 2003, the ICJ found Israel's apartheid wall in the West Bank to be in violation of international law.[235] The hearing was unbinding, essentially authorizing Israel to continue upholding and constructing the apartheid wall, which it has done in the 20 years since. In 1986, the ICJ also ruled the United States in violation of international law in their military intervention, human rights violations, and support of the dictatorship in Nicaragua.[236] The case called for reparative action from the U.S., from which there was none. Reparative accountability would need to address the structures of colonialism and imperialism that United States and Israeli policy rely on. The lack of material action after Israel's ICJ trial represents what both South Africans and Palestinians have long known: "apartheid requires the same remedies as other manifestations of colonial rule and foreign occupation: collective liberation and land restitution."[237]

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[233] Erekat and Reynolds. "Understanding Apartheid".
[234] "Ongoing Nakba: South Africa Rips Apart Israel at ICJ Hearing on Gaza Genocide Case" *Hindustan Times,* January 11, 2024. https://www.hindustantimes.com/videos/world-news/ongoing-nakba-south-africa-rips-apart-israel-at-icj-hearing-on-gaza-genocide-case-101704981151634.html
[235] Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (2003, I.C.J,
[236] Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicar. v. U.S.), Judgment, 1986 I.C.J. Rep. 14, ¶ 190 (June 27).

[237] Erekat and Reynolds "Understanding Apartheid"

The ICJ trial is a historic continuation of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity in which we can read glimpses of sumud and fugitivity. I do not posit the trial as a clear home of Black fugitivity and Palestinian sumud, as the ICJ cannot diverge from the very liberal institutions that reify the structures of nation states. Regardless, it remains a historic display of solidarity that forever marks the settler state of Israel as fallible, fragile, and destined to end. It has revealed the genocidal intent built into settler states, and as Margaret Kimberly at Black Agenda report writes, "The Republic of South Africa has done the world a great service, not only because it is revealing the seriousness of Israel's crimes, but because it also reveals how these crimes have been normalized around the world."[238] While Western media continues to effectively invisibilize the ongoing genocide, South Africa brings attention to the intentional annihilation, slaughter, and elimination of the Palestinian people. By publicly charging Israel with genocide, South Africa has made an indelible public stain on Israel's reputation as a liberal democracy. They have ripped off the liberal veil and revealed its inherent genocidal regime, that both Israel, the U.S., and all of their imperial allies impose onto Black and Indigenous life. Fugitivity and sumud effectively reveal how naturalized liberal democracies function as genocidal enclosures.

In terms of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity, invoking the frameworks of genocide is not new. In 1951, William Patterson, on behalf of the Civil Rights Congress (CRC), endorsed by over 100 Black scholars and activists, charged the United States with genocide of its own Black population at the United Nations. The Civil Rights Congress explicitly drew on Black internationalism, arguing that genocide of Black people in the U.S. was "not a private affair of Americans, but the concern of mankind everywhere."[239] Citing the economic, social, and political disposession of Black folks, the CRC established anti-Black genocide in the U.S. to be both

[238]Kimberly, Margaret. "South Africa's Case at ICJ also exposes US and the West" *Black Agenda Report,* January 17, 2024. https://www.blackagendareport.com/south-africas-case-icj-also-exposes-us-and-west
[239]*We Charge Genocide*. 1951. [S.l.]: New York: Civil Rights Congress,.

deeply foundational to U.S. domestic policy as well as a threat to international justice everywhere. The CRC explicitly named U.S. police as the enactors of anti-Black genocide, writing "the police are the government, certainly its most visible representative. We submit that the evidence suggests that the killing of Negroes has become police policy in the United States and that police policy is the most practical expression of government policy."[240] In drawing on an internationalist critique of liberal democracy and imperial crimes, We Charge Genocide "situated black lived experience in a longue durée of exploitation and migration, a story in which racist violence had made itself apparent at every repulsing turn, causing 'premature death, poverty and disease'."[241]

In 2014, a group of Black Chicago youth brought a similar case to the U.N. After Dominique Franklin Jr., or Damo, was shot by Chicago police, Damo's friends among other Chicago activists organized themselves as a collective: "We Charge Genocide". The organization flew to Switzerland where they presented a report of police violence and torture against Black Chicagoans to the U.N. Special Committee on Torture. Drawing on the 1951 U.N. case, the activists retold a continual history of torture and genocide against Black Americans. By presenting their case at the U.N., they internationalized their cause, connecting the torture and genocide of Black Americans to the ongoing torture and genocide of all those effected by imperial and colonial rule, including Palestinians. During the hearings, Ethan, one of Damo's close friends, stood up to testify. In his standing, Ethan demonstrates a glimpse of Black fugitivity in his forthright rejection of the U.N. liberal enclosure. Laurence Ralph narrates this pivotal moment in his book *The Torture Letters*, writing, "when it was time for Ethan to speak, he intentionally broke UN protocol by standing to deliver his speech, lending gravity to the

[240] *Ibid.*
[241] Helps, D."'We Charge Genocide": Revisiting black radicals' appeals to the world community.' Radical Americas 3, 1 (2018): 6.

situation."[242] By refusing the structures of the U.N. trial, which activists like Ethan noted they were already skeptical of,[243] Ethan honored both a history of Black fugitive refusal, and Damo's memory. In this, he demands recognition of Damo that spans beyond the limiting liberal institutions of the U.N.

Paige May, another one of Damo's close friends, ended the trial with a moving speech, in which she decenters the conversation of Damo's death, and more broadly, the cultural obsession with Black death, to refocus on his life. By refusing the ontological condition of Black death that structures our world, Paige reorients the audience towards a freer, fugitive, world. She spoke, "but we do this for your life, Damo, and your right to live it. We do this for the living, in order to survive our despair."[244] By demanding a world that centers Black life and living, Paige exercises a new futurity, one which is transnational and abolitionist.

Charging genocide in 1951, 2014, and in 2024, despite being through the International Court of Justice and United Nations, indelibly marks the settler state with it's history of violence. These trials reveal the charged nation states as what they are- settler colonial and anti-Black enclosures that enact contemporary genocide. No ruling at the ICJ could properly address the underlying structures of violent colonialism that must be dismantled to stop ongoing and future genocide in Palestine and Turtle Island. Sumud and fugitivity destabilize these underlying structures through escape, escape from the conditions set for Blackness and Palestinianness, whether that be the elimination of the native or Blackness as "ontological nothingness."[245] The ICJ trial *did* orient the world towards a longer history of settler colonialism, which must be

[242] Ralph, Laurence. 2020. *The Torture Letters : Reckoning with Police Violence*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 121.
[243] Ralph, *The Torture Letters,* 119.
[244] Ralph, *The Torture Letters*, 132.
[245] Warren, Calvin L. 2018. *Ontological Terror : Blackness, Nihilism, and Emancipation*. Durham: Duke University Press, 5.

acknowledged to understand the escape to revolutionary political becoming that sumud and fugitivity inspire.

The revolutionary political becoming explored throughout this thesis is sought in a myriad of sites, whether that be in Turtle Island, Palestine, South Africa, or Switzerland. Through rehearsing sumud and fugitivtiy on transnational scales, Black and Palestinian activists actively build a different world. To build worlds through struggle, and to wholeheartedly believe in the coming of that world is not easy or instinctive, but developed through revolutionary political becoming. Paige May eloquently articulates this in her final lines of her letter to Damo. "That is the struggle. To fight back and imagine better and carry onward, all while knowing that we were never meant to survive… Out of your life + death, Damo, revolution is growing. We must mourn your death. We must celebrate your life. And we must struggle on."[246]

Black-Palestinian traditional solidarities continue to struggle on, and to foster movements towards alternative geographies. When the ICJ fails to implement a ceasefire, and when liberal institutions further entrench the enclosure of Black and Palestinian life, solidarity outside of these institutions charts pathways towards freer worlds. Black-Palestinian solidarity builds homes and worlds in refusal, spaces which hold the possibility to rupture global systems of colonialism, anti-Blackness, and domination. Within those ruptures, black fugitivity and sumud flourish. They nourish the affective conceptual home, or what Jordan calls "the living room", and in those spaces, encourage a global collectivity. These homes are not rooted in the nation state, which as Palestinians and South Africans witnessed in 1994, has only entrenched the enclosure of Black and Palestinian life. Instead, the solidarity they build attends to localized struggles as well as looks beyond nationalist movements to a larger global struggle in both Palestine, South Africa, the U.S., and beyond. From the intimately known experiences of genocide, Black and

[246] Ralph, *The Torture Letters*, 132.

Palestinian practices of sumud and fugitivity reorient us towards a new world and actively build up the praxes we need to inhabit it.

This thesis has explored fugitivity and sumud as deeply parallel methods of resistance that open up transnational pathways of solidarity. First, we follow the historical origins of sumud and its roots in the prison encounter. Given the prison's globalized nature, sumud comes to inhabit a broad transnational scope. In turning to Black fugitivity, we witness the contours of the Black radical tradition that inspire Black youth's refusal of liberal public schools. In looking to where sumud and fugitivity intersect, we turn to the collective home, built on Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity. There, we find an affective space that rejects liberal traditions and the limiting category of human. By situating Palestinian sumud and fugitivity in relation to each other, as transnational forces of possibility beyond liberal state formations, sumud and fugitivity establish the conditions for freer worlds. Those of us who aim to be in solidarity everywhere are indebted to their radical refusals and their revolutionary political becomings.

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