

"All the Consent  
That's Fit to Manufacture"

# The New York Crimes

WAR  
Encampment Edition  
Today Don't stop! Don't Rest!  
Tomorrow Disclose! Divest!

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FREE

## LONG LIVE THE STUDENT INTIFADA



Trevor Jackson

Students and community members man the barricades at the UCLA encampment on the night of Tuesday, April 30. For several days, Zionist vigilantes attacked the solidarity camp under the wach of university officials and the LAPD.

### Letter From Palestinian Universities

To the students and faculty in Gaza Solidarity Encampments in US academic institutions

In a moment of great darkness, your protests erupt and give hope for humanity that justice is not an abstract concept but a continuous struggle that connects us all. Your values are emancipating the university from structural racism and complicity with power and colonialism.

The situation in Palestine has reached increased genocidal levels, marked by the mass targeting of Palestinian life by killing and displacement; the destroying of social, cultural, and all educational institutions; and the aim to reduce Palestinians to bare life with no political and collective future. You are leaders in the call for justice with your bodies on your university campuses and in the streets, speaking truth and justice loud and clear. You stand for the courage that is needed to take action strongly for justice and freedom and determinedly against systems of genocide and racism. We know the risks you are taking in face of the repressive measures that are taken against university spaces built on challenging the powers benefiting from silence.

At a time when the voices of the oppressed are intentionally silenced, your solidarity serves as a beacon of hope. Your actions are a resounding message that injustice and oppression will not be tolerated.

We draw inspiration from the courage of those who refuse and resist the continuing injustices of settler colonialism and military occupation. We welcome you at our universities in a liberated Palestine.

Together,

#### Presidents of Palestinian Universities

Prof. Omar Melad, Al Azhar University of Gaza  
Prof. Kamalin Shaath, Islamic University of Gaza  
Prof. Hasan Abu Jarad, Gaza University  
Prof. Ayman Soboh, Al Aqsa University  
Prof. Mustafa Abusafa, Palestine Polytechnic University  
Prof. Samer Najde, Al Quds Open University  
Prof. Abdel Khaleq Alfarra, Al Israa University  
Prof. Jaber Alda'or, University of Palestine  
Prof. Abdelnaser Zied, An Najah National University  
Prof. Talal Shahwan, Birzeit University  
Prof. Raghda Dwiek, Hebron University  
Prof. Imad Abu Kishkek, Al Quds University  
Prof. Ali Abuzuhre, Arab American University  
Prof. Iyad Twal, Bethlehem University  
Prof. Husein Shanak, Palestine Technical University - Kadoorie  
Prof. Nour Aldeen Abu Aroub, University of Al Istiklal  
Prof. Imad Alzeer, Palestine Ahliya University  
Prof. Dawod Zataree, Al Zaytoonah University of Science and Technology  
Prof. Matre Alraheb, Dar al Kalima University  
Prof. Derar Alayan, Nablus University for Vocational & Technical Education

### "Set the terms of your struggle"

Cal Poly Humboldt rapidly developed into the militant front of the campus Palestinian liberation movement. After repelling a police assault during their occupation of Siemens Hall—renamed Intifada Hall—the commune claimed much of the campus. We spoke to two participants about their efforts. This interview has been edited for clarity and length.

Tell us about the first day of the occupation.

The plan was to have a Seder. It was Passover. A number of Jewish students had brought, you know, big buckets of matzo ball soup. Around 4:30 in the afternoon, we entered Siemens Hall for what we thought would be a pretty calm occupation.

Immediately, we were met with confrontation from campus police. Word spread quickly that there was a building occupation happening on campus and that riot cops were on their way with "less-lethal" weapons. People made the decision to build barricades to prevent cops from entering.

The video that circulated, with the famous bonk, was taken as a mass of police was entering the building, while a larger mass of students and community members had gathered outside. With the support of the crowd outside, people felt empowered to repel the police from the inside.

We were saying: The point is to occupy the space. The point is to cause a crisis for this university.

Why do you think militancy took hold on your campus in the way that it did?

A lot of people came in with a personal ethos of militancy. But there were also a lot of people who just had really strong convictions about, and anger toward, the American empire and the ongoing genocide. The camaraderie that was established in those first hours was what fueled people to act militantly, even if they hadn't done so before. Seeing that the police were attacking a community that was

### The Cal Poly Humboldt Commune Speaks

joined together in an explicit rejection of something very obviously wrong, that was what empowered people to act with incredible strength and conviction.

People on this campus don't have it like in New York. It's very easy to start a student organization if you are an NYU student, you can go to The New School and talk to the people that have started an organization on their campus and they'll send a representative over and there's a very clear methodical way this happens. There will also always be a group of 50 year old Trotskyites and 35 year old Maoist who are ready to start an organization at your school and put you on the golden path, right?

But here, there's absolutely none of that infrastructure.

And so, people have to think creatively, people take their cues from other places. Instead of having these counterintuitive, like ways of acting that are proposed, often by student organizations or various sort of like leftist organizations in general, people took cues from one another.

What do you have to say to students struggling to embed militancy in their movements?

The most important lesson is to act bravely and believe that people will come. For the occupiers, the one point they were unwilling to compromise was to leave the building. There was this push to defend the space and to believe that in holding strong on that one point, people would support us. That became incredibly true and apparent.

What was really important in sustaining the fight against the police at the barricades was this tenderness that existed among the occupiers. When people were holding the barri-

acades, there were other people behind them that were hand-feeding them granola bars and opening tangerines, and it became clear that there was a beautiful camaraderie inside that needed to be protected from the cops.

There are a lot of impoverished students at Cal Poly Humboldt. There are students who are homeless. How do you think that those conditions impacted the tenor of your struggle?

Well, the school created an environment where people were ready to fuck the school up. There's a huge housing crisis. There's mold in a lot of the dorms. Earlier this year, there was a huge eviction of homeless students who were living in their vehicles on campus. There's an intense feeling of being policed on campus as well.

Students feel that the administration does not care about them. So when given the opportunity, they put that feeling into action. And because they were able to participate in a successful repelling of the police on night one, they learned that bowing to administration and bowing to the police do not keep us safe, that we have the potential to keep each other safe. So the politics that emerged, at its best, was an embodied, learned politics.

There's also a really strong indigenous community here. There was, from the beginning, a strong awareness of the hypocrisy of the school and of the local police forces as an extension of colonialism, the hypocrisy of them trying to establish who has a right to occupy space here. That was a huge driving force in the militant rejection of the police and the school.

You guys rejected the "outside agitator" storyline even before it became the dominant, pernicious narrative it is now. What prompted that? And how did that orientation shape the commune as it grew?

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## OUTSIDE THE LAW, INSIDE THE CAMPS

### In Defense of Outside Agitators

Who is the outside agitator? Where does she come from? The outside is everywhere, and — as we hear and repeat — so is Palestine. A pernicious narrative that seeks to pin chaos and unrest on outside agitators alone is now as popular among liberals as it is among cops and school administrators, three demographics united in their service to the myth of an innocent, and easily misled, student body. Untruthful and unhelpful, this narrative is merely another lazy means of posing one of the most immoral and least intelligent questions of our stark, historic time: Why is everyone here up in arms about something happening thousands of miles away?

In locating the source of agitation "outside" the university, we submit to a split geography. On one side stands the academy, a bastion of liberalism and free enterprise encircled by spiked gates, its glass buildings accessible only by ID card. Within the fortress, Zionist board members and corporate donors, graduate students making poverty wages, and the undergraduate class, future sentinels of the economy and the endowment.

On the other, the outside agitator's world: the neighborhoods the university bought up and gentrified, the streets where we struggle, the bridges and tunnels we blockade, the lobbies we occupy to demand an end to Israeli occupation and Israeli lobbying.

The outside agitator rattles the gates between these two spheres, connecting the student to a movement unbounded by graduation dates. She attests that the neoliberal university, the IOF-trained police, and the Zionist death squads are different organs of the same beast. She is an outlaw, used by administrators and the pigs as pretense for unleashing violence on the student movement, charged with burglary, with trespassing, with violating the sanctity of private property on stolen land.

Outlaws, as Palestinian revolutionary Basel al-Araj wrote in his essay "Exiting Law and Entering Revolu-

tion," are "figures of agitation in societies that persist in a state of submission, as they are the most capable of existing outside of the system that imposes humiliating conditions on the living." If the pigs act in service of a law that greenlights fascist violence and genocide, let us all be outlaws. Let us all be outside agitators. Let us all reject the gated community, the monied interiors that administrators are desperate to protect.

Protest is tolerated within academia as long as it is not disruptive, i.e., as long as it does not aim to force meaningful change. Columbia University, according to its current president Minouche Shafik, has a "storied history" of protest, an "essential component of free speech in America." But this ingredient of academic life, by the administrator's logic, becomes tainted when it contacts the movement beyond the university, when it blends ID-holders with the unaffiliated, challenging the academy's clipped geography.

*"Let us all reject the gated community that administrators are desperate to protect."*

Of course, the idea of a student movement isolated from the broader struggle for Palestinian liberation is an illusion. As the past several weeks have demonstrated, the students' struggle and the wider one are deeply intertwined, the former offering energy and new theaters of contention and the latter offering resources—tactical knowledge, supplies, and bodies—where needed. At Columbia and NYU, non-student organizers conducted media and security trainings and helped plan teach-ins. At CUNY,

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Zionist forces destroyed Al Israa University, the last remaining institution of higher education in Gaza on January 17, 2024. The destruction of knowledge is central to the current genocide.

## DESTROYING THE PAST TO PREVENT THE FUTURE

### On scholasticide and scholarship

When "Israel" bombed Israa University on January 17, they not only completely destroyed the campus and its hospital (the first and only university hospital in Gaza), they also eviscerated the adjoining national museum and its entire collection. Ahmed Alhussaina, Israa's Vice President, who fled to Egypt after 102 members of his family were martyred, explains that the museum included 3,000 artifacts from all across Palestine. "Some of [the items] go back to the Roman Empire." The collection is now in ruins, and the rich history of Palestine that it once preserved is irretrievably lost.

*"The capacity to engage in scholarship is a fundamental right of a people."*

Israa was the last standing university in the Gaza Strip. Since October 7, "Israel" has targeted, bombed, and decimated every single institution of higher education, making it clear that

the war on Gaza is being waged on multiple fronts. The Zionist entity's systematic destruction of universities strips Palestinians of the narrative power from which autonomy flows. Without a record of the past, the future crumbles.

The bombing of universities, archives, cultural centers, classrooms, professors and writers are the main means through which "Israel" engages in scholasticide: the concerted effort to wipe out spaces of knowledge production. In this case, the aim of Zionist scholasticide is to prevent Palestinians from understanding and narrating their history, culture and politics on their own terms, silencing indigenous histories and ways of knowing. Universities in "Israel" and the west are deeply reactionary; financially and epistemologically invested in the occupation and ready to brutalize students organizing for Palestinian freedom. In Gaza, however, the university serves as a crucial site of resistance, producing a politics that counters settler-colonial fantasies and myths.

Scholarship is a fundamental right, one that is especially crucial for occupied people, whose political reali-

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At Cal Poly Humboldt, students and friends occupied the administration building, which they renamed "Intifada Hall" — part of the largest liberated zone in the country.



Last week at UCLA, hundreds of students were first attacked by Zionist vigilantes, then assaulted and arrested by police. Next week, UAW 4811 the union representing 48,000 workers across the University of California system will vote on a strike authorization — marking a return of the political strike to the American labor movement.

## Like Fingers on a Hand Academic Workers Strike for Palestine

On the morning of May 1, almost 400 workers at CUNY par—grad workers and faculty, drawn from CUNY's 30,000 strong union, PSC. That same day, hundreds of academic workers at UC Santa Cruz — researchers, grad workers, postdocs, teaching assistants — walked out on a one-day strike. And that afternoon, their union, UAW 4811, filed Unfair Labor Practice charges and called a vote to authorize a strike across every UC campus. UAW's strike demands include amnesty for students arrested at UC encampments, divestment from weapons manufacturing and Israeli war profiteers, and a plan to sever research funding from military interests. Should 4811 members ratify that strike, 48,000 workers within the University of California system will walk off the job and crack open a new front of worker militancy against ongoing genocide.

As academic workers plan grade strikes at NYU and UNC-Chapel Hill, and the New School launches the first faculty encampment, *The New York War Crimes* spoke with organizers on both coasts: an anonymous representative of CUNY On Strike, a group of rank-and-file workers agitating within PSC, who could face Taylor law retaliation if named, as well as Sarah Mason and Jack Davies, current stewards with UAW 4811 at UC Santa Cruz and organizers of a 2019 campus wildcat. We talked about university workers taking risks in solidarity with students, struggling though and with the institution of the union, and why it's essential to organize as workers for Palestinian liberation.

### Shoulder to Shoulder for a Free Palestine

UCSC: In our position as workers in the university we have a tremendous amount of leverage because the university depends on our labor to function. How can we use this labor power to advance the struggle for divestment and advance the struggle for free Palestine? It's not only solidarity with students, we're all part of one movement, like different fingers on a hand. And beneath that movement is people in Palestine struggling for their own freedom. This is the bedrock. What's pushing us is that struggle, waged directly by Palestinians themselves.

Grad workers at UC Santa Cruz voted to do a one-day strike on May Day in solidarity with the call from the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions and the upsurge on university campuses. We had a week of intensive deliberation about what to do about this call. There were meetings held in 23 departments, where workers responded to the question of how do we want to meet the moment? Then at our campus-wide meeting, over 200 workers reached a decision to strike. There was a line of stewards across the entire front of the room and up the stairs. It was the same room where we decided to go on wildcat strike in 2019.

CUNY on Strike: Across our campuses, we are figuring out a way to use the tactics of worker militancy for the cause of Palestinian Liberation, shoulder to shoulder with students who are fighting for the same thing. Rank and file CUNY workers felt compelled to figure out how to support the student encampment, how to protect it, to put our bodies on the line and try to prevent retaliation.

Students held a mass assembly, where they made a forceful call to us: we are taking on real material risks right now and we're asking you to do the same. CUNY on Strike voted to organize a sick-out for May Day. More than 300 people pledged and 100 more supporters joined.

Certain delegates of the Union demonize Palestine Solidarity work as divisive or as outside our union's scope. But if this moment has shown anything, it's the opposite. Workers at CUNY are thinking about what kind of power we have to end our complicity in genocide. There is an incredible amount of money going to Israel, and we want not just to take it away, but to put it back towards having real working-class institutions for the public good: a university determined by the students and the workers. The cops who came to our campus, who are paid millions of dollars, who had all of this equipment and surveillance and logistical support to crack down on working class students, they are the reason why our university has been so underfunded. The connections are so clear.

### Putting the Union to Work

CUNY On Strike: We formed last semester because we understood that a strike would allow us to demand things we couldn't get at the bargaining table otherwise: a fully funded CUNY, free tuition — now, divestment. Our union is massive. PSC has 30,000 members, and it brings together contingent workers with no job security with tenured faculty and staff. But PSC hasn't been on strike once in its 52-year history. As workers mobilizing for Palestine, we have to understand that the same state that is trying to prevent us from going on strike is the same state that is trying to prevent us from being in solidarity with Palestinian liberation through BDS.

There's a connection we're making between the Taylor Law and Executive Order 157. The Taylor Law applies to all public sector workers and essentially makes going on strike illegal. It applies to anything that can be interpreted as a work stoppage, including this sick out. Executive Order 157 makes it so that any public institution that has a BDS commitment will be ineligible to receive funding from the state. That executive order has been invoked to say why it's impossible for CUNY to commit to BDS. But as we've learned from labor historians and organizing in anti-strike states, there's no such thing as an illegal strike. There's only an unsuccessful strike. That has been our campaign's philosophy.

UCSC: The strike authorization vote and the unfair labor practice charge came out of the [local] UAW executive board. These are inspired and correct decisions. How far it goes, that's for us to decide on our campuses. What we're trying to do at UCSC is create the conditions for workers to determine the path forward. We believe in worker self-organization, and we believe that when workers get to the department level and build up to the campus level, they can determine what to do. Maximizing the pain we can bring on the boss through a strike is not as obvious [here] as in other workplaces. We need to map our departments and see who's willing to go out on strike and

then make sure that those points of leverage are fortified. The strike is going to fall towards the end of the term, which means grades are going to be important. We need to make sure that faculty for those courses are not going to be willing to pick up struck labor.

There was also an initiative that began in the fall of last year, Researchers Against War, to map out research funding that comes from the Department of Defense. The Astronomy and Astrophysics as well as the Physics Department have taken positions that they will no longer accept any of this kind of funding. We as workers are part of this production chain of military research. How can we refuse this at the point of production? How are we positioned to say, "we don't want to conduct research for the war machine; we don't want to conduct research for state repression. It becomes an issue not only of international solidarity but also of worker control: what do we, as workers, want to make?"

### Re-orienting Towards Power

CUNY On Strike: The encampment has been raised, but the fight for divestment is ongoing. Part of that fight is getting the PSC to endorse the students' five demands at a special delegates assembly, where that will be on the table. But it's also about doing the spade work of the organizing we've been doing since last semester, trying to implement a ten-to-one steward structure, all the boring, organizational work that you do as a labor organizer that just needs to keep happening.

Mobilizing around political or electoral campaigns is not the strategy that is going to put an end to the genocide. We need a reorientation towards the workplace and a reorientation towards power: what are the actual spaces or institutions where I can wield my power and I can force some kind of realignment of the balances of forces, where I can somehow materially institutionally contribute to making this genocide untenable and put an end to it?

UCSC: The 2019 wildcat [at UCSC], then the 2022 statewide strike [including 48,000 academic workers organized by UAW 4811] built up this network of stewards and deep organizing structures that our solidarity organizing around Palestine would not have been possible without. That 2022 strike developed the muscle for this kind of organizing, and now we're seeing how this organizing is developing the muscle for us to pull off this larger scale action and put demands for divestment on the table statewide.

The most obvious historical analogy to what is going on right now is the wave of divestment protests against South African apartheid, which has incredible parallels beginning at Columbia University in the 1980s, and then springing outwards. But we're in a totally different world in terms of higher-ed labor organizing. This is the thing that's entirely disanalogous to the 1980s. There are unions [of academic workers] everywhere across the country. It's nowhere near a sure thing, but it's not hard to see a parallel to the student encampments by academic labor, a new contribution to be made. There's a moment that could be blown open — if workers decide to take strike action.

## On outside agitators

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comrades helped the students push campus cops out of their encampment, while political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal phoned in to offer the students words of encouragement. Members of WAWOG and the Palestinian Youth Movement set up a Popular University Telegram channel to broadcast news from the encampments. "This is the moment to be heard and shake the earth so that the people of Gaza, the people of Rafah, the people of the West Bank, the people of Palestine can feel your solidarity," he said.

At Emory in Atlanta, students responded to the administrators' objections to supposed outside agitators on campus with a communiqué citing the long history of the term's manipulation and inviting all the university's unaffiliates—the furloughed staff, the city's gig workers, the local high schoolers and the non-citizens—to struggle alongside them. "While the Freedom Riders were heading down to Georgia in the 1960s to fight for Black people's right to vote, segregationist governors cast them as 'outside agitators,'" the communiqué stressed. "To those from outside Atlanta and Georgia, we invite you to struggle with us. [...] In April 2023, Emory admin called the police to break up a protest led by students against Cop City on the quad. None of the pigs were Emory students. To all of those who struggle against police brutality, we invite you to struggle with us." These final lines invert the administrators' logic: The pigs are the imposters who import violence onto campus. The administrators are the frauds.

The encampments reignited our movement, infusing the broader struggle with a battery ahead of the Zionist invasion of Rafah and offering an image of what solidarity should look like in this moment: a refusal to be moved and a willingness to sacrifice. Administrators' fixation on outside agitators is a desperate attempt to sow division, to remind the students of their unadulterated status as soon-to-be professionals. We must resist these divisions. We must carry the momentum of the student movement forward, past the university gates and into the streets. As campuses empty for the summer and the students, enraged by their reactionary administrators and the Zionist police, enraged by the hell that the imperialists continue to unleash on Gaza, turn towards new sites of struggle, we will meet them there.



An Al Azhar University student defends his Master's thesis in a tent in Rafah on May 5. Since October, the Israeli occupation has destroyed every university in Gaza. Yet despite the scale of the destruction, education has not ceased.

## Against Scholasticide

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ties are constantly manipulated and erased. Incarcerating writers and academics in the West Bank, killing journalists, forcing the entire Strip into repeated blackouts, and targeted strikes against colleges and universities, is a crucial component of Zionist hasbara.

Scholasticide contributes to the demonization of Palestinians, who are reduced to "human animals"; it is easier to scapegoat a population when their ability to publicly narrate their own lived reality has been suppressed. By destroying the institutions charged with safeguarding habits of learning, thinking, and writing, "israel" attempts to relegate the Palestinian people and their cause to an obscure historical footnote. It is by negating the capacity of a people to respond to the past and theorize the future that you can both preemptively and retroactively justify your crimes. A people without a voice do not exist and therefore cannot be the subject of a genocide.

When ceasefire comes, college presidents, faculty and students will not be resurrected, and there will still be no universities for Palestinians to study at. According to the United Nations, it will take a full century for Gaza to be rebuilt. For the now stateless refugees who evacuated to Egypt, obtaining an education will be increasingly difficult, if not impossible. Genocide does not end after the bombs stop dropping; it continues to kill, brutalize, and

make life unlivable long after.

Life is what Palestine, and Palestinians, continue to teach. Pictures of Al Azhar University, whose campus was destroyed on November 4, recently circulated online. The refugee tents, where millions of Palestinians are now forced to seek shelter from "israel's" relentless bombing, became a classroom. The brick and mortar of campus was replaced with the flimsy nylon of the refugee tent, that with rising summer temperatures becomes, as Susan Abulhawa describes, "oven-like."

Withstanding these horrific conditions, faculty sat down to discuss a student's thesis and grant him his Masters degree. In all of its overwhelming violence and intent to genocide Palestine's people, history, and resistance, Zionist scholasticide will fail. As Alhussaina makes clear, "We will rebuild. We're not going anywhere. That's the way...every Palestinian feels...We want to live our life in the same place, in Gaza. We are not going anywhere."

### Universities destroyed by "Israel" in Gaza:

Al Aqsa University  
Al Azhar University  
Al Quds Open University  
Islamic University of Gaza  
Israa University  
Palestine Technical College  
University College of Applied Sciences  
University of Palestine  
Hasan University  
Gaza Community/Training Center

## Dispatch from Cal Poly



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The initial group that occupied Siemens Hall were not pretending to be anything other than a collection of students and the friends of students. We set the terms very early on.

Those with more experience drew on an understanding of the way "outside agitator" narratives have created insidious divisions within movements. Remember when the Wendy's was burned in Atlanta? A mob of people on Twitter identified a woman they thought was an outside agitator. She ended up going to prison, and then we learned she was the life partner of Rayshard Brooks, who had just been gunned down by the police.

We're all tied to one another, regardless of our positions in the world, regardless of our attachments to various institutions. We owe it to each other to fight together.

**You held the largest liberated zone in the country, effectively occupying most of the campus, as opposed to everywhere else, which has been either a quad or maybe one building. How did day-to-day life function in the commune?**

One of the most beautiful parts of the occupation was the construction of the barricades. There were multi-layered barricades of stray chairs and then pallets, and then overturned trash cans and dumpsters, and then metal picnic tables and metal fencing that had been bolted to the ground. Beyond that, there was a line with

"NO COPS PAST THIS POINT" written in chalk. The line would move and grow every night.

For people working in the mutual aid kitchen we established, the task became very clear. For people watching the perimeter, the task was very clear. For those who wanted to build barricades, the task was clear.

What would have really strengthened us would be to have programming. Empty space and time allows for continual meetings, which drain people's energy. If that energy is directed towards creating bonds instead of creating divisions, then you get that same sense we had on the first day—that this is a place to be defended. This is a place where we feel strong together. These are the people I'm fighting with.

**Can you narrate for us the events on the last day when the police came and ended the occupation?**

Because we're so isolated, it took a long time for the university and the state to amass enough force to end the occupation. What that meant was calling in 500 officers from as far south as Ventura County, which is about 11 hours away.

Students showed up with their own improvised armor, like the trash-can shields, the skating helmets, which reflected the beauty and intensity of their desire to defend the space. Even when the police surrounded the commune, a lot of us were able to escape through the forest, the routes only we know, because of our familiarity with

the terrain. We're proud of everyone for outsmarting the cops, which is easy because the cops are idiots; it's also beautiful because these kids are really smart. The police, despite outnumbering us, were only able to arrest people who had made the ideological or tactical decision to be arrested.

### What comes next?

There's a feeling that people have witnessed — participated in — something they cannot and will not forget.

What we heard again and again was that this was the experience in their lives that felt the real. There's an intense sense of falsity in participating in normalcy when the conditions of our lives are not normal and the conditions of the empire that we live in are not normal and the world is burning before us.

Young people everywhere have an intense feeling, an intense desire for action and for reality, and when an avenue is offered, when a few brave people offer a way for that energy to flow, it will go forth. There is a plethora of creativity and energy and anger and desire for something greater and something more tangible. And if you offer them a place they will rush towards it.

What's clear is that the administration is terrified of their students. The cops are terrified of them as well. And just like with night one of the occupation, whatever happens next is going to happen on our terms.

And we implore members of this student movement to set the terms of their own struggle.

**NYPD...  
KKK...  
IOF...  
They're All  
The Same**

Fascism is already here. The night sticks and grenades, the rubber bullets and tear gas—these are the unmistakable signs of empire in crisis.

Fascism is imperialism turned inward; just as empire meets threats abroad with violence and propaganda, the empire sics its IOF-trained thugs and media accomplices on those who threaten the head of the imperial snake. COINTELPRO targeted, surveilled, murdered and exiled the leaders of the Black Power movement because their principled militancy posed an existential threat to the US-dominated world order.

To understand this is to grasp the necessity of a student movement with an explicitly abolitionist orientation.

Since the uprising reduced Minneapolis' third precinct to ashes four years ago, and cracked open up new horizons of revolutionary possibility, police departments have honed strategies of counter-insurgency. The Stop Cop City movement in Atlanta has become the face of abolitionist struggle. Our comrades in Georgia wield a diversity of militant tactics to prevent the construction of a police training facility in the Atlanta Forest, a facility explicitly designed to train cops — with Israeli assistance — in anti-riot, crowd control techniques. Dozens of "cop cities" are planned across the country.

In places like Emory and Cal Poly Humboldt, the student intifada has placed itself in the militant lineage of Stop Cop City. Thousands of students are arming themselves with crude barricades and fighting pitched battles with heavily armed riot police. In multiple instances, from the University of Illinois to Cal Poly Humboldt to the City College of New York, organizers have effectively repelled police incursions.

Militant resistance to the police and their deputized Zionists is notable because it rejects the hegemonic understanding of what constitutes a legitimate protest. Our movement has largely understood the law and the

police which violently uphold it to be cynical agents of empire—not neutral arbiters of justice and order.

George Jackson's eternal words echo today:

*"Can power be seriously challenged without a response? Will the robber baron, the tycoon, the Fuehrer allow us to seize his privilege without resistance?"*

Ours cannot be a movement which entraps itself within debates over what tactics are palatable to power. The empire will never legalize that which threatens to undermine it. Imperialism is the global contradiction upon which our revolutionary struggle is built; internal state repression is but one head of the snake which we must confront.

A second head of the snake is state-sanctioned paramilitaries. From Mussolini's black shirts to the Zionist mob which laid siege to UCLA last week, deputized reactionaries have always formed a critical wing of fascism. In a naked display of hypocrisy, the University of Virginia in Charlottesville — where white supremacists were permitted to terrorize the city in 2017 — recently deployed riot police to mace and brutalize its students.

The mask has slipped, revealing that real estate, investment portfolios and military R&D have long been the true functions of the neoliberal university. Administrators built a university to train capitalists and produce technology for war. They swept encampments with brutal force, as if they'd prefer a university without students, an apt analogy for their vacuous and hollow institutions.

*The path to victory over  
fascism is clear —  
to the barricades and  
through the police*

True to its abolitionist orientation, the movement has not cowed in the face of state repression. We grow bolder, more strategic, more creative by the day, because we know that the overwhelming force levied against our movement does not demonstrate strength. To paraphrase the revolutionary anti-colonial poet Aimé Césaire: we now know that the puppet masters are lying — that their liberal ideals are masks which fail to hide their fascist faces. Therefore, we know that they are weak.

In 2020, it became clear that any truly radical movement must eventually reckon with state repression. We said then, as we say now:

The only way out is through the police!

**"Academic Mutus"**  
*On Cowardice and Complicity in Academia*

By SINAN ANTOON

These past months have revealed the best and the worst about our species and our profession. Despite the tension and pressure, there are colleagues who have shown their dedication to scholarship and critical knowledge and their commitment to truth and humanity amidst a genocide.

I'm sure you all have a colleague who didn't sign that petition for Gaza, or the letter condemning the destruction of all of its universities, or couldn't say a word about the slaughter of children and innocent civilians, because they said they were too busy writing a book on decolonization or finishing an article on the Anthropocene. And one must appreciate and admire this dedication to scholarship. Why let a genocide interrupt your deep thoughts and delay your advancement. Others were open, but needed more time to reflect and didn't want to rush to judgment and that's also admirable. We will remember your courage.

Other colleagues and administrators have shown creativity in expressing solidarity with Palestinians, or with students who are protesting against a genocide. Conservative pantomime has become the favorite choice. Minimal gestures and silence send a very powerful message to no one, but its powerful nevertheless and subtle. Hats off.

I, like many of you, was furious at administrators, deans, and presidents of universities who did not utter the words "Gaza," "Palestine," or "genocide" for these months. I rushed to judgment in my fury and thought how despicable. But it turns out they had no choice.

The New England Journal of Medicine published a study about a new syndrome a group of researchers discovered in US, but some European universities, particularly Germany. They termed it "Academic Mutus." It seems that those afflicted with this syndrome lose a peculiar set of words from their active vocabulary indefinitely. These are: Gaza, Genocide, Palestine, Palestinians, GGPP. The study found that administrators begin to suffer from this syndrome right after meetings or communication with donors or trustees. Since this syndrome does not adversely affect sentient beings, and its harm is restricted to Palestinians, the study made no recommendations for fur-



After clearing the Palestine solidarity encampment that had sprung up on Gould Plaza — arresting over 100 students, staff, faculty and community members — NYU collaborated with the NYPD to seal off the area. This innovative step brings the university one step closer to the cutting edge of higher education: a campus without students.

ther research or finding a cure.

The corporatization of higher education has transformed students into customers and we know how beneficial that has been. While the customer is always right, there comes a point when a customer is too rude, too rowdy and just mean. Customer service representatives try to placate them, or call the higher-ups, the managers. But there comes a point when a customer crosses all lines by becoming, for example, critical of apartheid or genocide, and calling on a university to divest. That is unacceptable. It hurts other customers and the entire business. Affecting ratings and revenue. They have to be silenced and kicked out. Simple as that. And police departments, whose record, and silky touch, are well-documented, are called on to assist. The cooperation between university administrators and police departments is heartwarming and reassuring. University

leadership has been phenomenal throughout showing us, yet again, that what matters the most to administrators are the wishes of donors and billionaires who carry the torch and show us the way forward to the abyss.

Hardworking parents are not sending their children to college and paying thousands of dollars to have their children become critical citizens and take a courageous and ethical stance or stand for something beyond self-interest and personal profit. All this will do is ruin their careers and tarnish their record. And that's outrageous.

Presidents should apologize to the NYPD for how rude the students were and how they made the police feel unsafe on our campus.

Some universities have added: "We condemn Khamas" to their mottos and insignia. The NYU board of trustees decided to amend "a private university in public service" which appears on stationary and in pamphlets

to "a private university in the service of the richest donor or weapons manufacturer." The university has brought in an outside firm of Israeli consultants, retired IDF soldiers, to help advise how to make our campus safe/r. One can see some of the results already.

Gould Plaza, the sight of the first NYU encampment, has been walled off and there is a checkpoint controlling movement in and out. This will be implemented with other buildings and facilities. One of the consultants, inspired by the sight of snipers on the top of buildings at Indiana University, suggested NYU deploy snipers beginning in the fall semester. This was enthusiastically welcomed, but awaits clearance from the legal team.

Any student participating in pro-Palestine activities will be transferred to NYU Tel Aviv for reeducation camps. There are suggestions to issue two types of IDs for students according to their political leanings and perhaps initiate a pilot program where the university tries out segregated classrooms to insure safety. If students persist in their malicious activism, there could be a population exchange of sorts, to transfer ungrateful and hateful students to a camp administered by NYU Oklahoma.

Encampments are calling for a host of things, including a boycott of Israeli universities, claiming they are implicated and complicit with apartheid and settler colonialism.

This is so myopic and counterproductive. It would be unwise, foolish to cut ties with Israeli universities. Thankfully, administrators have not only refused to acquiesce, but have announced plans and initiatives to strengthen academic cooperation. Students at US universities have so much to learn from Israeli society and culture. Veterans from the IDF will be invited to US campuses to demonstrate their experience in humanitarian work. Workshops on how to demolish a university in less than six minutes. How to blow up a hospital and lie about it. How to maintain high spirits and laugh as you blow up an entire block.

A new interdisciplinary journal, *Rethinking Genocide*, will be inaugurated. It is supported by a consortium, NYU, Columbia, UCLA. Its editorial board has some big guns from the field: Benny Morris, Destiny, Jared Kushner, Senator Tom Cotton, Piers Morgan, and Golda Meir's granddaughter's pet.

**No Rest Until  
Divestment**

The students keep saying it: *This is for Gaza. This is for Palestine. Palestine is the center.* Despite the media's attempts to reframe campus protests as free-speech battles, the primary demand at every encampment has been divestment from the Israeli apartheid regime and the weapons manufacturers, tech companies, and academic institutions that support it. Divestment is at the heart of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement; it is necessary for the delegitimization of the zionist entity, and it would be the most efficient way to stop funding genocide.

The results of negotiations for divestment have so far been mixed. Some schools have refused to discuss it. Large universities who train workers to produce the research powering zionist genocide argue that it would be impossible to disentangle themselves from the war industry. Public schools like CUNY weaponize austerity to argue that they cannot afford to divest from Hewlett-Packard or Boeing. Wealthy private institutions with sizable investments in weapons manufacturers (Princeton) or programs that produce the IP for zionist weapons (Harvard, MIT) argue that profits must be garnered at all costs.

While students engage in good faith negotiations, administrators use "dialogue" as a containment strategy. But promises to vote on divestment are not divestment. Agreeing to talk about divestment is not divestment. Task forces are usually all talk, no force.

Behind this conciliatory posturing is naked intimidation. Students have been silenced off and pressured behind closed doors. At some campuses, organizers agreed to terms short of divestment or cutting ties with Israeli institutions after being threatened with arrests. Other students, unable to report off-the-record threats to supportive communities, have effectively been coerced into making deals with corrupt administrators. Those who continue to agitate get smeared as "divisive." But the institution's ability to repress with impunity sets a deliberate precedent: comply or be targeted.

In the face of manipulation and violence, though, students have demonstrated a steadfast resolve. As the NYPD dismantled Columbia's encampment last week, one of the organizers stated: "Police being here doesn't mean we lost...it means we won in the most glorious way possible. This university offered us an empty deal. We did not concede. We did not fall for their bribes."

Liberal defenders of bribery argue that divestment is more complex or long-term than the immediate demand allows; but the historical record shows otherwise. Following campus anti-

apartheid divestment movements, more than 150 colleges had at least partially divested from South Africa by 1988. Over 60 colleges have divested from companies funding the genocide in Sudan since 2005. About 250 educational institutions have divested from fossil fuels. Since 2015, when Columbia became the first university to divest from private prisons, students have won divestment or secured pledges from the UC system, Stanford, Georgetown, Cal State LA, and Princeton, among others.

With Palestine at the center, the fight against the war machine is everywhere. Just as historic divestment movements took several years, student organizers agitating for Palestine have won divestment votes and the establishment of investment oversight committees over the past decade. Now is the time to press beyond reproducing prior successes. We have never seen such a coordinated and escalatory mobilization on campuses nationwide and around the world as the one now coalescing around this struggle for national liberation. An equally coordinated victory — material change, strategically accomplished — is possible; it has already begun. This February, UC Davis voted to divest their \$20 million student government budget from the zionist entity. Cal State Sacramento has reportedly agreed to begin divestment on May 24. And in Ireland, the encampment at Trinity College was up for just five days before administrators agreed to fully divest.

Here we offer eight historically grounded negotiating tactics to maintain power and achieve divestment:

*Establish preconditions* for negotiating: amnesty for organizers; advisors and mediators selected by students; a commitment to keep cops off campus.

*Maintain power* outside the negotiating table. Don't dismantle encampments unless a material end to complicity is offered in return. Don't accept conditions or restrictions on organizing.

*Practice transparency:* report back on the status of demands, weak offers, non-responsiveness, threats of police violence or academic retaliation, as well as positive developments.

*Surface the historical record* of previous movements and victories

*Rely on the support* of veteran organizers

*Don't accept committees,* bureaucracy, hollow promises — or anything short of demands — as victories. Steps forward can be celebrated, but not by handing over organizing leverage or losing sight of the goal.

*Build infrastructure* to avoid burnout and maintain momentum.

*Finally, don't just "be prepared"* for retaliation and police violence — train for it.

**Student Liberated Zones for Palestine are a Global Movement /**

Sources: Palestine is Everywhere and Prem Thakker | The Intercept

Systemic change for collective liberation



University of Southern California, Los Angeles



Columbia University, New York City

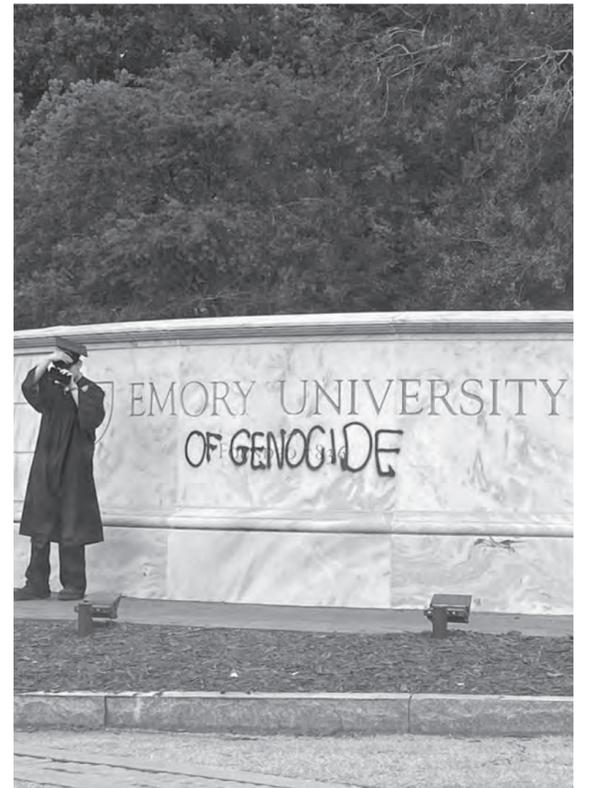
Gerard Dalbon



University of Texas, Austin



Washington University in St. Louis, MO



Emory University, Atlanta GA



University of Chicago, IL



UCLA, Los Angeles CA

Trevor Jackson



City College/CUNY, New York City

# The students, united!

Lessons from nine of the more than 100 encampments and liberated zones for Palestine on American college campuses

*In the escalating struggle against militarism, capitalism, and zionism in the imperial core, the students have become our teachers. Here, we pose seven questions to organizers from encampments at nine universities across the so-called United States: City College New York, Stony Brook University, Princeton University, Cornell University, University of Connecticut, University of Pennsylvania, Emerson College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Indiana University Bloomington. The answers move us to do more — more than we thought possible a year ago, a month ago, even a week ago. Victory is coming.*

## FORGING CONNECTIONS

**Tell us about some of the most exciting new connections, alliances and forms of solidarity that your group has forged over the course of the encampment.**

**CUNY:** During the first day, public safety was really agitating the crowd and trying to start problems with our encampment. The faculty who were participating in the encampment lined up and started doing this chant that went, “To get to our students, you have to get through us.” In moments like that, you see people really show up in the tough times. There were also people from the local Harlem community, people on neighboring streets, who would come down from their apartments and be like, “What do you guys need? Can we bring you guys any supplies or food?” And we were talking to the other encampments across the city: FIT, New School, Columbia, NYU — we were all interconnected.

**INDIANA U:** We have developed relationships with faith communities, local community organizations,

other activist groups both locally and nationally in the struggle for a free Palestine like the Welaunee Defense Society, and interpersonally with one another at the encampment. Organizers from IU Divestment Coalition have been connected with organizers from the IUPUI encampment, Columbia University Apartheid Divest Coalition, Palestinian Youth Movement, Stop Cop City, and a number of other national organizations for a Free Palestine as a result of the encampment.

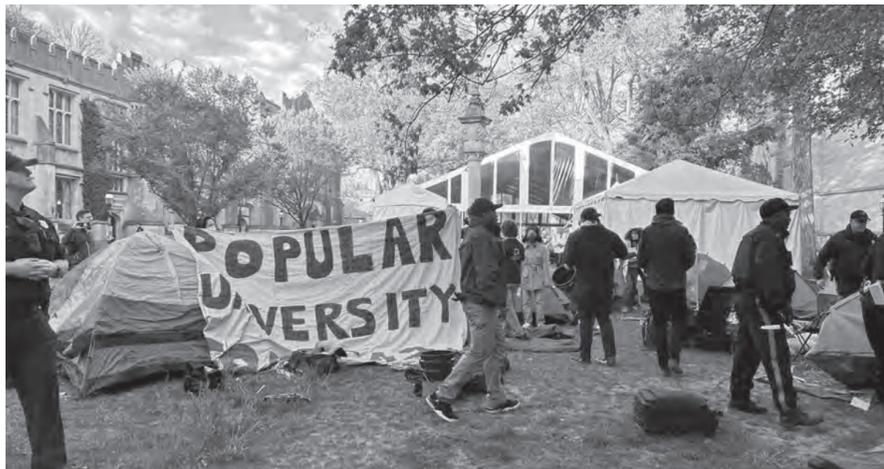
**MIT:** It feels like everybody is out here. The Greater Boston Tenants Union has a Palestine solidarity contingent that’s been trying to link tenant struggles to the Palestinian struggle by canvassing the landlord of Intercontinental [Management Company], which is currently the landlord for Elbit’s Cambridge Innovation Center. It’s cool to see this organization put pressure on that landlord to get rid of the people who are designing the drones and bombs that are killing Palestinians.

**EMERSON:** Importantly, we managed to connect in significant ways to the unhoused population in downtown Boston — throughout the course of our encampment, they were often our staunchest allies. The Boston Police Department used the Mass and Cass ordinance, which is most often levied against the most vulnerable unhoused people in Boston, to justify their raid. This experience informed our struggle against displacement everywhere, from Gaza to the streets of Boston.

**STONY BROOK:** The first night we slept over at The People’s Steps, we all stayed up for the first couple hours of the night sharing stories and laughing. We even had our own camp mascot — a protester’s cat — who spent the night with a keffiyeh draped around her head. Many students told us that this environment was the most they have felt connected to community at SBU.



Indiana University, Bloomington



Princeton University, New Jersey

## KEEPING UP MOMENTUM

**How have you kept up momentum within the encampment?**

**CUNY:** By being human! Understanding the needs of the community in the encampment as well as the needs for the movement right now. Most importantly, it’s not organizers that keep up the momentum, it’s the absolute rage we are all feeling each day we turn on the news to find more and more Palestinians being murdered in Gaza with our tax dollars and tuition.

**CORNELL:** By holding different teach-ins, art builds, performances, and more. We highlight as many beautiful components of our community as possible. One time, we had a spontaneous belly dancing performance, another time a band showed up. By empowering our community members to share their passions with the community, we keep momentum high.

**INDIANA:** We worked to take escalatory action every day, from adding tents at the beginning — which pissed off the administration so

much that they called in the state police with automatic weapons and a sniper — to attempting a sit-in which turned into a march to the President’s mansion. Adding structures to the encampment every day since the 2nd cop raid has been important, including adding a tarp ceiling across the center of camp to give cover from any future sniper presence or surveillance, as well as adding a library and adding wooden structures like the “apartheid walls”, pallets, and reinforced banners. We raised a Palestinian flag near the stadium and set up rogue tents with banners on them at strategic points around campus to remind people of the encampment’s presence and the Palestinian Liberation cause.

**EMERSON:** During the day, there were always people around so it was often quite busy and lively. There was always programming during the day, from classes to teach-ins (Khury Petersen-Smith on the next phase of resistance, and Yasser Munif on social movements and the history of encampments) to art builds

and screenings. The nights were extremely cold and long so making sure everyone had support and supplies was essential. The main challenge was balancing the safety of the encampment with opportunities to rest. Whenever police presence ramped up, we called for an emergency walk-out from classes and rally in the encampment—people understood what was needed of them was to be there, as often as possible and for as long as possible, because numbers kept us safe.

**PENN:** Our daily programs are the soul of our encampment and capture the essence of our movement. Each day offers community members the chance to organize teach-ins, lectures, songs, and other expressions of solidarity. We hold our ground in stressful and traumatic times, as is our responsibility to the people of Gaza. Our moral imperative is to see a free Palestine within our lifetime; we frequently remind our encampment of this to ensure that there is no outside force that can convince us that we are not big enough, not loud enough, or simply, not enough.



University of Connecticut, Storrs

## FACING DOWN THREATS

**What is the biggest threat to your encampment, and how have you dealt with it?**

**UCONN:** The police, marshaled by a zionist, imperialist administration, were our biggest obstacle. Within the first hour of the encampment, police arrested one student and injured another. In the ensuing days, we experienced 24-hour surveillance by incompetent but armed pigs. We prevented encroachment by training rank-and-file campers how to marshal and block police advancements through arm locks. These tactics were successful in forcing the pigs to back off on numerous occasions.

**CUNY:** The NYPD and the militarization of CUNY and NYC. We have dealt with it by standing firm on our demands to demilitarize CUNY and get the NYPD off our campuses—we are always conscious that the brutality we’ve faced is a part of a bigger system that upholds Zionism and white supremacy.

There was a moment when a public safety officer came in and started causing problems with a protester—picking on him, putting his hands on him. Other public safety officers lined up taking the side of their fellow officer, trying to show this strong front, but we managed to kick them out, we knew that we were stronger. It was really cool to see how easily public safety, and even President Boudreau, could be made to back down.

**MIT:** The two biggest threats are the Zionists and the police. Last Friday, Zionists brought buses of protesters onto the steps right across the street from the encampment. They blasted songs calling Palestinians mice and rats, and they covered the encampment and us with Israeli flags and propaganda posters. People

ignored them for the most part and they eventually left. A fence went up around the encampment, supposedly to protect it.

Then, the police set up an MIT ID scanner at the entrance to the encampment, and a couple of hours later, a letter was delivered to the students saying that if they did not leave by 2:30 PM, and if they had pending cases with the committee for academic discipline, they would be suspended and evicted from their dorms. The encampment was encircled by police in riot gear, but a giant crowd formed around the encampment, and eventually somebody jumped over the fence waving a giant Palestinian flag — and then people warmed up and started boosting each other over the fences and pushing the fences over.

The police were not expecting the crowd to be ready and willing to escalate. High schoolers arrived from a walkout and shut down traffic at a nearby intersection, and at the same time, a rally was occurring at Harvard, and MIT students also held a disruptive action in an academic building. All those actions happening at the same time really divided the resources of the police. They left us alone after that.

**STONY BROOK:** The largest threat to our encampment has been the political climate on Long Island. Even though we are only two hours from NYC, the beating heart of pro-Palestine organizing, our SJP is often characterized as a lost cause because the area that surrounds us is largely Zionist. The early stages of our organizing were rough, but we had our minds set on bringing change and divestment to our university. When we launched our Gaza Solidarity Encampment, some of our teachers said that they had not seen the student body mobilize to this extent in decades of teaching here.

**INDIANA:** The greatest threat has been internal fissures between the several organizations involved in organizing the encampment and we are working toward developing better systems for communication, accountability, leadership, decision-making, and solidarity to be resilient against such threats. The cops continue to present a threat to the encampment with their sustained presence. Though zionist, islamophobic, and anti-arab outsiders have sometimes been a nuisance, they have yet to pose physical threats to camp, merely jeering from the sidewalk or shouting from their cars.

**EMERSON:** The biggest threat to our encampment changed rapidly depending on the day and what was occurring inside the alley. One of the major threats to our encampments, besides the cops and the zionists, was the incessant media presence. We did our best to ensure that the media primarily spoke with designated spokespeople, as well as preventing media from filming or photographing protesters’ faces without clear consent given before-hand. Often, they got aggressive and would start picking fights with people in the encampment, in which case they were told in no uncertain terms to leave immediately, with marshals ensuring they did so.

**UPENN:** Zionist media propaganda has posed a constant threat to our safety and our mission. There is no internal division within the encampment that compares to the external hatred we have endured: chemical attacks, sexual harassment, in addition to racist and Islamophobic wake-up calls in the early morning hours. Western media works tirelessly against us, but we persist with the people of Palestine in our hearts.



University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

# CAPTURING THE SPIRIT

What is the one image or moment that best captures the spirit of your encampment?

**CORNELL:** At the end of the first day of the Liberated Zone, Thursday, April 25, the Cornell Administration threatened that everyone camping in the Liberated Zone would be suspended, so hundreds of community members (including students, staff, faculty, and local Ithacans) surrounded the Liberated Zone. They linked arms, forming a human wall while singing and chanting in solidarity. No one ended up being suspended that evening, and police backed away.

**INDIANA:** Once the camp had been set up for the second time, after the cops raided and destroyed much of what we had built the first time, a community member led the camp in singing "We shall not be moved" all together, which really boosted morale as we were attempting to recover from having many of our tents and canopies ruined.

**STONY BROOK:** Interestingly, the spirit of the encampment rests in moments organizers did not plan. At one point, the students in the encampment repurposed a large cardboard box into makeshift bookshelves. Someone wrote "The People's Library" at the top. Within a few hours, the cardboard shelves were lined with books like "Gaza Writes Back" and works by revolutionaries like Angela Davis. Students gathered around the cardboard library to discuss their favorite texts. They began "checking out" books by scribbling their names on the sides of the box. We loved this part of our camp.

**UCONN:** A revolution is not a dinner party, and an encampment is not a picnic. This is a perception that organizers had to constantly remain cognizant of to avoid diluting our anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist and pro-liberation message. Yet we also recognized that joy is not the same thing as hedonism, and rest is not the same thing as pacification. Key moments for our encampment were

nights spent sitting around the "Inverted Pyramid" - a cascading pit into the ground - singing and playing folk tunes about love, loss and resistance.

**EMERSON:** One of the most poignant moments came about a few days after the encampment was brutally dismantled, when all the arrestees as well as the wider community reassembled in the alleyway and chanted, reclaiming it as ours. We took this time to formally rechristen the alley—it will now forever be known to us as Walid Daqqa Alley.

Another moment was where one of our organizers overheard a conversation about the Seder Emerson Jews Against Zionism (EmJAZ) led one night, talking about how it was so beautiful and how they "felt for the first time like [they] were seeing God." After the encampment was removed, there has been an incredible flow of images and videos being posted from the encampment. Under one of them, there was a comment saying "I met you because of the encampment [...] love u."

# CRAFTING STRATEGY

How does the encampment fit into your long-term strategy, or your theory of change? What are your plans for the summer?

**STONY BROOK:** Our end goal is for Stony Brook to cut all economic ties with Israel, and end academic partnerships with universities in occupied Palestine. This encampment served its short-term goal of raising awareness about the genocide and SBU's cruel brutality towards pro-Palestine protestors. The curtains have finally been pulled back, as over 400 students on campus witnessed firsthand the fascism that runs deep in our university's leadership.

**UCONN:** Beyond finals and commencement, the movement to divest the University of Connecticut from genocide and sever all ties to the war industry finds itself emboldened yet geographically dispersed. We are currently focused on providing legal support for students and community members arrested at UConn and Yale University. We intend to politicize these arrests to galvanize the community around divestment and Palestinian liberation. By exposing the fragility of the administration and ruling class, we are already seeing widespread support.

**EMERSON:** A significant number of students at Emerson are not based in Boston, so our summer plans need to connect with and mobilize folks wherever they are. Emerson SJP will have a variety of virtual teach-ins and workshops ranging in topics. We are encouraging our students to join and support the encampments near them, especially as ours was violently removed. MIT and Harvard in Boston both have theirs still up. The combined-DMV SJP encampment at George Washington is still up.

Palestinian liberation means global liberation. It means fighting against oppressive and murderous systems like the Amerikkkan police, white supremacy, misogyny, and capitalism. To show up for Palestine, we also need to be showing up for those immediately around us in our neighborhoods and streets and workplaces.



MIT, Cambridge MA

# MAKING DECISIONS

How does your encampment make decisions?

**PRINCETON:** We struggle together. We send furious Signal messages, call meetings, send encrypted Zoom links, tap into the research committee, sleep on it, don't sleep all night, extend the meeting, order pizza, talk to the aunts, talk to the children, write agendas, say "stack" in the Zoom chat until our collisions turn to collusion. We talk to each other in small huddles in the rain and in sprawling living rooms. We listen to students and community members. We draw equally on the strengths of long-term organizers and those newly mobilized to fight for a free Palestine. We call town halls and community listening sessions. We take dinner breaks. We apologize when we fuck up. We call votes, we call for recounts, we sob. We struggle together.

**CORNELL:** Whenever a significant decision must be made, a General Assembly is called. During these meetings, members rotate as facilitators and note takers as various committee leaders share their updates and encourage discussion and planning among all present.

**UCONN:** The encampment was initially steered by a committee composed of leaders from different organizations. Then we began to experiment with daily camp meetings that democratized leadership and worked to abolish the distinction between organizer and the organized. We knew through firsthand experience that a small, identifiable group of leaders made the encampment more vulnerable to repression. We encouraged autonomy in everyday organizing tasks such as managing food and equipment as well as shaping event programming.

**INDIANA:** This has been an evolving process that was substantially disrupted by the arrests and banning [from campus] of core leadership in the two rounds of police raids of the liberated zone. Though some decisions have been very centralized and mismanaged in moments of urgency, stress, and sleep deprivation, generally, decisions have been made following many one-on-one's, votes by the IU Divestment Coalition, and collaboration with other organizations involved in the Liberated Zone.



City College of New York, NYC

Alexa Wilkinson

# LOOKING TOWARD VICTORY

What does victory look like to you?

**CUNY:** A liberated world. We have not achieved victory until every inch of Palestine is free and until filthy systems of oppression are eradicated from this earth. I was doing an exercise the other day for one of my classes, it's called Reading the City through Science Fiction—urban planning and city mapping through the lens of building worlds. We were talking about the idea of utopia and trying to imagine liberation, trying to imagine a world that's free. Victory implies a bit of a finish line, but honestly, I don't see myself stopping unless oppression in this world is eradicated in its entirety. That looks like more than a free Palestine. It looks like free Congo, free Sudan, the end of neoliberalism and capitalism and colonialism.

**INDIANA:** Victory is the total liberation of Palestine. It is self-determination for all those living within Palestine without the toxic forces of racist apartheid, colonialism, and exploitation that have characterized life for the majority of Palestinians for the past 75 years. Before the Zionist project began, Palestinian Jewish people existed in peace with Palestinians of other faiths and this is what the future holds as well in a liberated Palestine.

**MIT:** Palestine is the testing ground for the tools of imperialism that will be turned on any kind of resistance. Some of these tools come directly out of MIT. The robot dogs being used in Gaza, for example—Boston Dynamics, which pioneered that technology, was a startup that began at MIT. This moment has pulled back the wool from a lot of people's eyes about these institutions that were supposed to serve us;

we are calling out this institution for funding and providing the technology for and providing the advisors for a genocide. Victory looks like this kind of consciousness raising, that not only liberates the Palestinian people, but contains the seeds of liberation for everybody.

**PRINCETON:** Victory looks like Princeton's unequivocal divestment from the state of Israel. No more financial, institutional, or cultural ties with an apartheid regime engaged in a calculated, genocidal assault on Palestinians, in the complete annihilation of Gaza, and in the usurping of land for the creation of a settler-colonial state since 1948. Victory is a new common sense understanding at Princeton and far beyond that sees our lives in the imperial core as inextricably bound up with the lives of Palestinians. Our beautiful, dynamic encampment persists despite Princeton's staunch anti-tent stance, standing through arrests, rain, counter-protestors, Princeton "Public Safety" officers, and more. This week, we rally around students on hunger strike, who are putting their bodies on the line for Gaza. Victory looks like the ivory tower's gates being thrown open to the communities it actively displaces. Maybe until the tower itself is destroyed. Victory, for us, is the end of occupation, from Israel to America.

**STONY BROOK:** Two words: Divestment. Liberation.

**UCONN:** Victory, without compromise, not only looks like full divestment of the endowment from weapons manufacturers and the State of Israel, severing ties to the war-profiteering military contractors arming this genocide and others, and ending repression of Palestine solidar-

ity activists; victory is also creating a politically organized, educated, and self-defending united front against Zionism, fascism and imperialism.

**EMERSON:** Victory will not come until Palestine is liberated. Until the police are abolished. Until all oppressive systems around the world fall. Our encampment was a display of what a world based in liberation and community could look like, and in many ways that is what liberation looks like. It looks like a free Palestine where Palestinians have control over and access to their own lands. Palestinian liberation is the beginning of liberation for the whole world. Victory looks like resistance. Victory looks like students throwing themselves in front of other students and taking blows to the head to protect one another. Victory looks like us caring, even when it is difficult, especially when it is difficult and we suffer at the hands of the police, for each other and our most marginalized communities. Victory looks like a free Palestine, a free Congo, a free Sudan, and land back the world over.

**PENN:** Victory looks like the University of Pennsylvania divesting from the evils in which it is invested rather than punishing the members of its community who dared to challenge authority and demand change.

Victory looks like a free Palestine, where liberation aligns with the *thawabit* — the inviolable national rights of the Palestinian people. Victory is a Palestine where children are not limbless and orphaned. Victory is a unified Palestinian state where all religious and ethnic groups can coexist in peace. Until there is justice for the people of Palestine, there cannot be peace. There is no home for an ethnostate in a truly liberated Middle East. That is the bare minimum. That is victory.



Cornell University, Ithacy NY



أولئك الذين

STUDENTS OF THE WORLD  
الطلاب العالم