

# WRITTEN REVOLUTION



VOLUME V  
October 2024 //



HONORING HISTORY, SHAPING HISTORY



### About Us

Written Revolution is a publication intended to allow the unempowered voices on campus to share their creative projects in a collective framework. Fundamentally, this publication platforms revolutionary thought on campus - we believe that writing and art are among the most powerful tools for conducting a revolution. We are aligned with the liberation of all oppressed peoples, with global indigenous rights movements, with people-oriented philosophies and practices, and with anti-capitalist sentiment. In particular, we hope to spotlight projects that engage with culture and community by producing radical shifts away from the hierarchical and individualistic.

We share essays, poems, sketches, cartoons, and many other forms of content in order to further the liberatory frame of mind. Written Revolution is open to those who support our cause, and our content submission is open to all MIT community members. We also summarize revolutionary actions and activities taken on campus to further the call to liberation, be it through student unions, grassroots movements and demonstrations, or large-scale organizing. We are here to encourage such collective action on our campus. We are the revolution, and we are writing our own history.

### Get involved



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**O**ne year after the Palestinian resistance broke down the prison wall that has entrapped Gaza for decades, people all over the world are continually being inspired by the resilience and steadfastness of the Palestinian people under this accelerated phase of genocide enacted by their occupiers. We have borne witness to countless scenes of horrifying destruction and senseless desecration of life.

It was one year ago that the occupation first bombed Al-Ahli hospital and tried to misdirect the international community to cover up their egregious violation of human rights; world leaders looked on impassively, giving their tacit or even explicit consent for the heinous crime. Now every single hospital in Gaza has been bombed, most of them multiple times.

It was one year ago that the occupation first bombed the UNRWA school in the Al-Maghazi refugee camp, where over 4,000 people were sheltering, claiming the relief and aid organization to be a militant base. Now hundreds of schools in Gaza have been bombed directly.

It was one year ago that the occupation murdered journalists Mohammed Al-Salhi, Mohammad Jarghoun, and Ibrahim Mohammad Lafi, shamefully claiming that they were instead acting as militants in the South of Gaza. Now over 150 journalists have been murdered by the occupation, their families targeted and homes laid to waste.

The people of the world now know the true face of the occupation which Palestinians have known their entire lives, and for generations before. This is not just due to the shocking severity of the crimes of the occupation, but directly because Palestinians are documenting and showing the world the crimes of their occupiers. The contradictions of the Zionist state are now laid before us—the global audience who have long averted our eyes to the horrors of the Israeli occupation—as we contrast the statements of “humanitarian policy” and “self-defense” they claim to uphold with the brutality of their unmistakable genocide.

But it would be a mistake to believe that this genocide is only one year old, that its roots began on October 7th, 2023. In reality, the occupation has been committing these crimes for decades:

- in 2021, during the Sheikh Jarrah evictions and the violence enacted against the Unity Intifada that opposed them;
- in 2018, during the offensive against Khan Younis; in 2015–2016 during the Habba uprising in the West Bank and Occupied 1948 Palestinian territories;
- in 2012 during the Stones of Shale operation that led to several deadly incursions into Gaza;
- in 2008–2009 during the Battle of Al-Furqan, spurred by the occupation’s unjust raid on Deir Al-Balah, which left thousands martyred in just three weeks;
- in 2006 when the occupation imposed its blockade against the entire population of Gaza;
- throughout the Al-Aqsa Intifada of the early 2000s against the direct military occupation of Gaza;
- throughout the First Intifada of the late 1980s to early 1990s against the entirety of the occupation, marked by civil disobedience, mass strikes, boycotts, and active resistance;
- during the decades-long illegal military occupation of all of Palestine after the Naksa, or setback, of 1967;
- since the illegal settler-colonial annexation of Palestinian land in the 1948 Nakba, or catastrophe, the first major project of genocide and ethnic cleansing against the Palestinians;
- and over the three preceding decades, after the British imperialist Arthur Balfour made his infamous declaration in 1917 to support the colonial project that would become the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

This is a woefully incomplete synopsis of the injustice that Palestinians have faced for their very existence on their own indigenous lands. The Zionist project was at its inception a colonial project intent upon robbing the Palestinians of their land in the name of “Jewish safety,” all while partnering with European antisemites to realize their vision. Many histories have been written about the Palestinian perspective since these atrocities began, and many more truths remain to be told about the horrors that Palestinians face.

But we want to make one thing abundantly clear:

## IT IS NOT JUST ONE YEAR.

It has not been just one year of settler-colonialism. Not just one year of apartheid, one year of genocide, one year of ethnic cleansing, one year of war crimes, one year of violations of international law, one year of the robbery of indigenous lands. The settler project that calls itself “Israel” is over a century in the making, and it will take a protracted and unified struggle to unmake it. Its progenitor, European colonialism, was similarly a centuries-long process of dispossession of indigenous lands, slavery, oppression, sexual violence destabilization, resource extraction, and genocide in Africa (ongoing in the modern crisis of the Congo, Sudan, Tigray, and Somalia, among others), in Asia (ongoing in Kashmir and Bangladesh), in Latin America (ongoing in Ayiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba), in the Pacific islands (ongoing in the Philippines and Hawai’i), and here on Turtle Island. The world is vast—and the history of resistance to occupation and colonialism even more so. We must become students of history if we are to become more than simply its echoes.

This edition of *Written Revolution*, our fifth one since this publication’s inception, comes at a time of historical reflection. We intend to engage with history—not by ignoring or rewriting it but by confronting, acknowledging, and learning from it. In this edition, we first honor history by exploring its examples in Palestine, Kashmir, Bangladesh, Algeria, and our own history of resistance at MIT during South African Apartheid. Our authors then approach its lessons for today to create a culture of resistance and network of mutual aid that can withstand and outlast the imperial core.

We hope that this edition serves as a wake-up call—now is the time to rise up and fight back.





MIT Alumni For Palestine



Asian American Initiative



Arab Student Organization



BGSA



Black Students Union



Coalition Against Apartheid



The Disability Justice Collective @ MIT



MIT Divest



MIT DUSP Students For Palestine Liberation



Faculty & Staff For Palestine

*The MIT Coalition For Palestine (C4P) was founded in October 2023 in response to the escalation of the genocide against the Palestinians waged by the occupation forces. Today, the C4P includes 18 student, staff, and faculty groups aligned towards collective liberation for Palestine and all the globally oppressed.*



Graduates For Palestine



Indigenous Students 4 Justice



Jews For Collective Liberation



Muslims For Justice



Palestine@MIT



MIT Taara



Reading For Revolution



Written Revolution



mit\_caa



In 1987, the MIT Coalition Against Apartheid protested against the MIT Corporation's ties to apartheid South Africa.

A couple of days ago, this year, in 2024, we picketed the corporation again, for their complicity in apartheid and genocide in Palestine.

We know what side the MIT Corporation is on, but we will not stop, we will not rest.



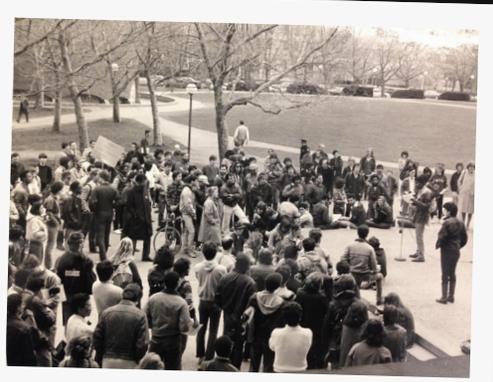
October 12

Add a comment...

# HONORING HISTORY



We begin our fifth edition with a focus on our foundations, our reflections, and our determination to learn from the past. Resistance is built on the echoes of global solidarity. The struggle of the Palestinian people did not begin on October 7th, 2023. The struggle did not begin in 1948 at the start of al-Nakba, which stretches to this day in every sense of the word. The struggle did not begin in 1917 when the British declared that a land that was not theirs to give would be given away, forcefully taken, ripped from the hands of its people. We also know that the resistance did not begin when Gaza broke the prison wall. It did not begin when the first stone was thrown by a young boy at an IOF tank. It certainly did not begin when the first tent was pitched by our comrades in New York City this year, and it certainly did not end when the stakes were torn out of the ground. Our protests are a modern manifestation of the continuous practice of resistance bred by the repression enacted by the current world order. Global resistance to colonialism has a protracted history stretching back hundreds of years, and global liberation will require a protracted struggle into the future. In this section, we honor the history of our ancestors, our martyrs, our inspirations. From Kashmir to Algeria, from the Coalition Against Apartheid in the 1980s to 2024, from our grandmothers to our grandchildren, nothing can prevent the seeds of resistance from bursting through the ground and towards the sun.



## p12 EXCERPTS

Someone up there is always reminding me of how fragile my Asian condition is. It never fails. But that someone is not subtle, not subtle at all. He or she might as well throw 5-lb. bricks.

The basic story goes like this. Here we have a pretty opinionated person who often takes the time to thank the someone for the good things in life. This love usually comes when things are going especially well, of course. For example, a beautiful day, a little extra money, a new love or good health. But going thanks for these things is turning into a curse.

Tuesday night I feel good about my and my recent dates, by Wednesday morning I'm a lonely old maid. Last

## MIT advising system under investigation

By Michael Tavis

An ad-hoc faculty committee is being formed to gather information on the current undergraduate advising system and make a preliminary assessment and recommendations to the Committee on Educational Policy (CEP).

Members of the CEP, the Commission on Academic Performance (CAP), the Committee on Student Environment, the Dean's Office, and the Medical Department, Professor Thomas Greytak, Chairman of the CAP, will serve to convene the group.

There are two advisor programs at MIT, freshman and upperclassman. In charge of the former is Dr. Alan Lazarus, former of the Office of Director of the Office of Freshman Advising (OFA) (formerly the Freshman Advisory Council). He is aided by Assistant Dean for Student Affairs Bonny Kallermanna.

There are a few problems with (Please turn to page 9)



# THE KHAN YUNIS MASSACRE, 1956

— A grandmother of a Palestinian community member

“They lined our men, one by one, next to each other, and then shot them in the head. One by one, their bodies dropped to the ground, as a barrage of bullets pierced their heads.

Khan Yunis reeked of death back then. We were exposed to the most gruesome scenes. Every day, we would wake up to the lifeless bodies of our loved ones, mutilated in the most horrifying way possible.

They made public calls for all men to line outside. They would break into every house and make sure that no man is left inside. They did not care about what you did, what you were doing, or who you were. They had that desire to kill, to murder, to grab the first Palestinian in front of them, and bury them with bullets.

One story that haunted us was of a disabled old man in our neighborhood. They broke into his house and ordered him to stand and line up with the other men outside. He cried and begged them to leave him, as he was unable to walk, unable to stand. His son stood in front of him, shielding him, negotiating for his father’s life. And all they did was laugh. The old man’s grandchild was sitting under the table, petrified, as he saw the IOF soldiers shoot both his father and grandfather dead.

They have also mass raped our women. My mother created a camp near the beach, where we would call all women to seek shelter from the IOF soldiers that broke into houses to intimidate, assault and rape women. We gathered them in tents, and my mother would give them advice on how to stay together and ensure one another’s safety.

We lived in perpetual horror and fear. Every day felt like it was our last day. And then I saw my brother get taken away. I felt like the whole world was snatched away from me. We couldn’t do anything. We were immobilized. The IOF, at this point, would shoot at any walking person that looked Arab. It was our family’s biggest miracle when he wasn’t killed, and the operation that night ended right before they intended to shoot him, but they killed all of his friends in front of him. They assaulted him, spat on him, treated him with so much malice, inflicted trauma that he never recovered from.

[...] When people question our resistance, it indicates they are living an undignified life or that they lack moral principles. No one has endured the amount of tragedy that we have and still do. To accept this endless suffering, to give away our olives, figs, our orange groves, our homes, and the land we walk barefoot on out of love – it is the death of our existence. You show your love to your people, your land, your home, your community, when you carry the weapon and vow to protect your home from all that hurts it, burns it, and spills its blood.

...It was 1956, our tragedies and mass graves were poorly documented. And yet now the occupation commits war crimes in front of everyone’s eyes, and they try to justify and fund their terror. If anything, I became a witness to how merciless this world has become. If it’s not for our resistance, our people would simply not exist. The Arab world has abandoned us, too. The people of Gaza have no one but each other, my love.”

The Israeli government, the United States, and war-profiteering corporations such as MIT are complicit in, and currently committed to, sustaining a global system of colonial violence and exploitation. This system, rooted in the subjugation of entire populations, is

**HISTORY REPEATS:  
THE UNYIELDING  
COLLECTIVE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST COLONIALISM  
& OUR ROLE AT MIT**

— Hana Flores

most visible in the ongoing genocide against Palestinians and the military occupation of their land. Colonialism has always relied on dehumanization, and the present-day suffering of Palestinians mirrors the dynamics that drove French colonial rule in Algeria. In 2024, it is uncontroversial to regard French occupation of Algeria for what it was, a violent, exploitative regime.

It took decades of struggle, countless lives, and international solidarity to ultimately end an 132 year long brutal colonial occupation and result in Algerian liberation and independence, and it will take the same for Palestinians to end theirs of 76 years. Without accountability, colonial forces will continue to perpetuate one of the largest industrialized atrocities of the 21st century, the current Israeli-American genocide of Palestinians.

The parallels between the struggles of Algeria and Palestine are striking. Both colonial projects rely on military control, forced displacement, and systematic dehumanization to maintain dominance. As depicted in The Battle of Algiers, the French military’s brutal repression of the Al-

gerian population, including torture, mass arrests, and collective punishment, failed to break the spirit of the Algerian people. Similarly, the Israeli government’s use of violence and repression, backed by military and economic aid from international actors such as

the United States, has not silenced Palestinian resistance despite billions of dollars and advanced warfare that far outweighs that of the indigenous. This is a testament to the arrogance displayed by colonial powers who to this day have refused to learn the lesson that you cannot out-spend or out-gun those who have morality, liberty, and justice on their side.

Like the Algerian resistance, the Palestinian struggle endures through mass unity and global solidarity. International pressure and condemnation from newly independent nations in Africa and Asia alongside countries within the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, domestic opposition from within France, and most importantly, the Algerian War of Independence spearheaded by the National Liberation Front (FLN), made it so it became untenable for France to continue their occupation. Drawing on this historical parallel, divestment from institutions that support Israeli apartheid—such as MIT’s financial ties to companies profiting from the occupation—is crucial for account-

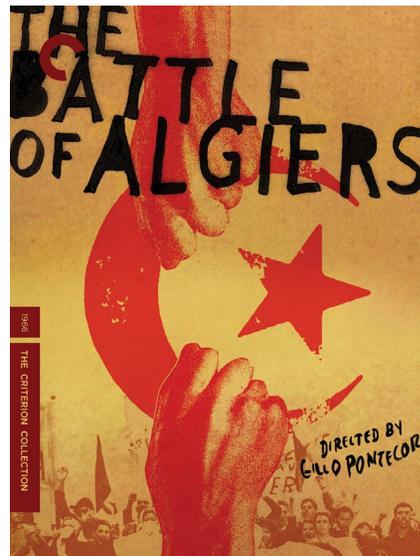
ability. The fight against colonialism requires solidarity and action, not only from those directly oppressed but also from institutions and individuals who have the power to withdraw support from violent systems.

### The Battle of Algiers and the Inextinguishable Resistance

The Battle of Algiers, is a 1966 film directed by Gillo Pontecorvo inspired by the 1962 book *Souvenirs de la Bataille d'Alger*, an account of the campaign by FLN military commander Saadi Yacef, who wrote the book while held as a prisoner of the French. The film vividly captures the brutal realities of colonialism and the spirit of resistance. Set during the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), the film follows the FLN's uprising against French colonial rule. Ali La Pointe, an illiterate former boxer, who had been repeatedly unjustly incarcerated since the age of 12, transforms from a petty criminal into a key revolutionary figure. His personal evolution reflects the awakening of the Algerian people, who, after being brutalized by colonialism, embrace the fight for freedom.

Ali La Pointe's story underscores the personal and collective consequences of colonialism. In one of the film's most harrowing scenes, Ali witnesses the beheading of a fellow Algerian prisoner who defiantly chants, "Long live Algeria!" before his execution. This act of repression only strengthens Ali's resolve, reflecting a recurring theme in the film: the more brutal the repression, the stronger the resistance.

The FLN's tactics range from armed assaults to covert operations carried out by women planting bombs in French-dominated areas. One



memorable sequence shows Algerian women disguising themselves in Western clothing to plant bombs in French cafes. This reflects the desperation and creativity of a people fighting an overwhelmingly superior military power. The French response, led by Colonel Mathieu, is ruthless: mass arrests, torture, and isolation of the Casbah (the Muslim quarter). Mathieu justifies torture as a necessary evil to maintain control, a rationale that mirrors modern-day practices in Israeli detention facilities.

In discussing the FLN's violent resistance, it's crucial to contextualize it within the broader landscape of colonial structural violence. Much like in Palestine today, where Israel's military occupation and settlement expansion are forms of systemic violence, the FLN's attacks were responses to the brutal repression and occupation they faced. Palestinians have endured for decades, and continue to endure, pervasive structural violence, from demolitions of family homes to imprisonment of children without trial, reinforcing

the comparison. Both the FLN and Palestinian resistance fighters have been labeled as "terrorists," yet both represent indigenous peoples' resistance against violent occupation. While the FLN was eventually vindicated and Algeria gained independence, the struggle exacted a great cost on Algerians—much like the ongoing costs borne by Palestinians. However, the rhetoric and condemnation of violent resistance often ignore the underlying violence of colonialism that drives such actions. To ignore the disproportionate violence inflicted on a colonized people while simultaneously criticizing their response is to assert that these people should simply accept their own mass exploitation, and in the case of Palestinians today, their own genocide.

### The origins of Israel are indisputably colonial

The colonial roots of Israel are deeply intertwined with the logic of European settler-colonialism. Early Zionist leaders, like Theodor Herzl, viewed the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as part of a larger civilizing mission. In his diary, Herzl explicitly referred to the Jewish state as "something colonial," envisioning it as a buffer against the "barbarism" of Asia and the Arab population. He believed that the state would serve as a bastion of European civilization in the Middle East. Herzl's writings reveal his disdain for the indigenous Palestinian population, whom he viewed as backward.

Vladimir Jabotinsky, another key Zionist figure, was even more explicit. In *The Iron Wall* (1923), Jabotinsky argued that the indigenous Palestinian population would never willingly accept Zionist colonization, stating that only military force—a meta-

phorical "iron wall"—could protect the Zionist project.

David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, was candid about the need for ethnic cleansing to establish a Jewish state. In 1937, he wrote, "We must expel the Arabs and take their places... and, if we have to use force... then we have force at our disposal." The displacement project was implemented in the Nakba of 1948, when over 700,000 Palestinians were forcibly displaced.

These colonial aspirations persist in the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. The establishment of settlements, construction of the separation wall, and ongoing military occupation reflect the same colonial framework that guided early Zionist leaders. In *The Battle of Algiers*, the French military viewed all Algerians as potential insurgents. Similarly, Israel's occupation operates on the assumption that all Palestinians are threats, justifying the bombings of hospitals and the Israeli sniper shots aimed at the heads of children we witness today.

### The Use of Torture in Israeli Detention Facilities

Torture is a fundamental aspect of maintaining colonial control. In Palestine, the systemic use of torture in Israeli detention centers serves to suppress resistance and break the spirit of the Palestinian people.

This past April, Al Jazeera published an article detailing the brutal conditions faced by Palestinian detainees, many held without trial under "administrative detention." Torture methods include beatings, electric shocks, sleep deprivation, and psychological torment, all designed to instill fear and discourage future resistance. The violence extends even

after death, with Israel withholding the bodies of deceased prisoners as leverage. In August, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories published a report titled “Welcome to Hell” with the testimonies of 55 Palestinians, almost all without any charges, delineating the torture they faced.

These practices mirror the torture tactics used by the French colonial regime in The Battle of Algiers. French forces routinely tortured FLN members to extract information and dismantle the resistance. In both Algeria and Palestine, torture has failed to break the will of the people. Instead, it exposes the brutality of the occupying power and draws international attention, galvanizing solidarity and resistance.

Torture is not a mere byproduct of occupation—it is a calculated tool of control. As long as these practices continue, the more determined the liberation struggle becomes to end such atrocities.

### **Conclusion: Sustaining the Struggle**

The lessons of The Battle of Algiers and the ongoing Palestinian struggle make clear that the fight against colonialism is long and requires sustained resistance. For Palestinians, the fight for liberation has persisted for decades and will continue until the structures of occupation and apartheid are dismantled. This movement requires more than isolated acts of defiance—it necessitates global solidarity and sustained pressure to challenge systems of oppression.

It is easy to obfuscate an individual’s role and position in upholding such inhumane systems of oppression. However, at U.S. research universities, the role of these institutions is

excruciatingly clear. For 2012, the top recipients of US Defense Department funding were: Johns Hopkins University (\$609 million), the University of Texas at Austin (\$122 million), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (\$111 million), Stanford University (\$72 million), and the University of California at San Diego (\$64 million). Today, MIT in particular holds a determined position in maintaining partnerships with companies like Lockheed Martin, Maersk, and Raytheon, which profit from the war crimes being committed against Palestinians. MIT’s commitment to knowledge and innovation must align with justice and human rights, and divestment from these companies would be a significant step. Moreover, MIT students, faculty, and staff can take personal action by boycotting projects that reinforce the American-Israeli military-industrial complex.

Movements like Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) are essential in holding Israel accountable for its human rights violations. Just as international pressure helped dismantle French colonialism in Algeria, global solidarity is crucial to ending Israeli apartheid. It is not only an institutional task but a collective responsibility. Each individual can contribute by advocating for policy changes or participating in boycotts.

The Palestinian struggle, like all anti-colonial movements, is a long-term fight. By committing to ongoing resistance and global unity, we honor the legacy of resistance in Algeria, Palestine, and around the world and build toward a future where colonialism, apartheid, and oppression no longer exist. Through global solidarity, individual action, and sustained movements like BDS,

we can dismantle oppressive systems. The lessons of past resistance show that victory comes through persistence, unity, and unwavering commitment to justice.

To sustain the movement, to sustain the struggle, is to sustain a commitment to life, humanity, and liberation. The anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-racist movements of the past have secured any semblance of liberties we enjoy today. Likewise, the liberatory movements of today will secure our collective freedoms for tomorrow.



# KASHMIR

— Mar

What do the world's biggest open-air prison and the world's most militarised zone have in common? *History.*

The occupation of Kashmir and Palestine, though geographically distant, share a profound history rooted in colonialism and the struggle for self-determination – with the roots of both conflicts emerging from the divisive policies of British colonial rule in the 1940s, leading to decades of violent dispossession, and resistance. Since 1948, Palestinians have faced relentless dispossession of their land and identity, with countless individuals forced into exile. Conversely, Kashmir was ceded to the Indian state on October 26, 1947, following a controversial decision by an unpopular monarch, without the consent of the Kashmiri people. However, both Kashmiris and Palestinians were promised self-determination by the United Nations in 1948 but this promise remains largely unfulfilled with the revocation of article 370 in 2019 further eroding Kashmir's autonomy, while Palestinians continue to seek recognition as a sovereign state amidst ongoing occupation. This lack of agency and

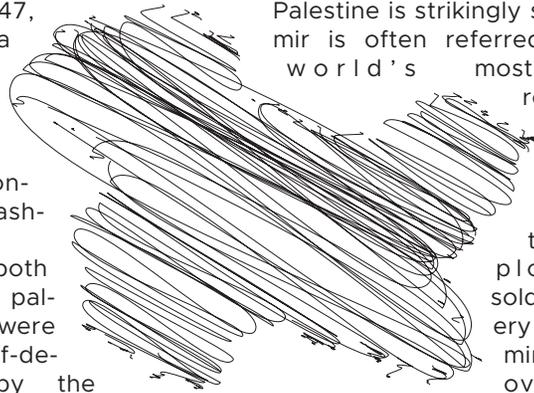
the failure of international bodies to enforce these commitments has perpetuated long-standing cycles of violence and calls for autonomy and justice in both regions.

## Intifada / Tehreek

What is known as the Intifada to Palestinians resonates as the Tehreek among Kashmiris. The timing of these movements has created a unique synergy; with young people in both regions drawing inspiration from each other's fight against oppression. The narratives of struggle are intertwined, as both groups seek to reclaim their rights and identities.

## Militarisation and Oppression

The militarisation of Kashmir and Palestine is strikingly similar. Kashmir is often referred to as the world's most militarised region, with approximately half a million Indian troops deployed – one soldier for every 25 Kashmiris. This overwhelming military presence has resulted in over 100,000 state-sanctioned killings, around 10,000 forced disappearances, and the discovery of more than 700 mass graves. In parallel, Palestine is characterised as an open-air prison where Israeli forces impose severe



restrictions on movement and daily life. The pervasive surveillance and military control have led to widespread human rights violations against Palestinians.

## Maqbool Bhat / Leila Khaled

A poignant parallel exists between two iconic figures: Maqbool Bhat

and Leila Khaled, whose lives intertwined across borders, reflecting a shared commitment to challenging oppression and fighting for justice.

## Partners in Crime

The relationship between India and Israel further complicates these struggles. Since the 1960s, India has been one of Israel's largest

**“ ISRAELI TARKEEB CHHUV TYUHI AZMAAVAN, YOU ADAPT ISRAEL'S TACTICS, AES TE HYOCCHMUT FALASTEENI INTIFAAD BUT WE HAVE ALSO LEARNT PALESTINIAN INTIFADA**

– zanaan wanaan, kashmiri bella ciao

arms clients, spending about \$10 billion over the past decade on military equipment. A poignant adage captures this connection: “made in Israel, tested on Palestinians, and used on Kashmiris.” This exchange underscores how both regions are subjected to similar tactics of oppression and violence. from Kashmir and Leila Khaled from Palestine. Bhat, affectionately known as baba-e-qaum (father of the nation), was the first Kashmiri leader executed by the Indian state. As founder and first leader of the Jammu-Kashmir National Liberation Front, a group fighting for the independence of Kashmir, he was a symbol of resistance to Indian domination, an accomplished guerrilla fighter, and a fierce opponent of Indian imperialism. His legacy includes orchestrating the 1971 hijacking of the Indian Fokker plane ‘ganga,’ an act inspired by Leila Khaled's groundbreaking hijacking of TWA flight 840 in 1969—the first by a woman in history.

Moreover, Indian police forces have received training in Israel for “anti-terror” operations—practices that mirror those employed against Palestinians. The convergence of military strategies highlights a troubling alliance that exacerbates human rights abuses in both territories.



## The Many Faces of Occupation

Arbitrary arrests, degrading security checks, and seizure of land has all but become commonplace in both regions. Detentions being a common tactic employed by



the military to suppress dissent. In Kashmir, thousands of individuals have been detained without trial under laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), which gives occupation forces full legal protection (read unfettered impunity) for their actions. Likewise, in Palestine, Israeli occupation forces frequently carry out large-scale arrests, often focusing on young men and activists. During interrogations, many testimonies have documented instances of physical abuse accompanying these detentions.

In terms of checkpoints, they're a significant aspect of daily life in both Kashmir and Palestine. In Kashmir, these checkpoints serve as a means of draconian surveillance, aiming to control/restrict movement and keep tabs on the population. Israeli checkpoints in Palestine limit the movement of Palestinians between cities and villages, blocking access to edu-

cation, healthcare, and jobs. The security points frequently result in embarrassing body searches and long wait times that can stretch for hours.

Land confiscation is yet another issue that links the struggles of Kashmiris and Palestinians. In Kashmir, the revocation of Article 370 in 2019 has empowered Indian settlers to establish residency in the area and acquire land that was formerly exclusive to locals. This development has sparked concerns among Kashmiris regarding potential demographic shifts that may jeopardise their cultural identity and entitlements. Similarly, in Palestine, enduring Israeli policies dating back to 1948 have perpetuated ongoing land seizures, with the expansion of settlements on Palestinian territory continuing unabated, often justified under various pretexts but resulting in significant displacement and loss of homes for Palestinians.

### Occupation of Hydropower

Kashmir, often referred to as the "paradise on earth," is endowed with a rich hydropower potential, boasting a capacity of approximately 20,000 megawatts (mw). However, despite this vast potential, the region grapples with a severe electricity crisis. The current electricity demand stands at around 1,800 mw, which means that even if only 15% of the hydropower capacity were harnessed effectively, it would still yield nearly double the amount of power needed to meet local demands. Yet, the reality for Kashmiris is starkly different. During the harsh winter months, when energy needs peak due to extreme cold, residents often endure power shortages that provide them with only five hours of electricity per day—on a good day. This chronic energy deficiency not only hampers daily life but also stifles economic growth and development in the region.

In a parallel narrative, the legacy of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories has resulted in systematic human rights violations, particularly concerning access to clean and safe water. Since Israel's military occupation in June 1967, it has consolidated control over all water resources and related infrastructure in the occupied Palestinian territories. This has led to severe restrictions on Palestinian access to water, which is critical for both daily living and agricultural practices.

The Israeli authorities have implemented discriminatory policies that deny Palestinians equitable access to shared water resources. For instance, military order 158, issued in November 1967, mandates

that Palestinians must obtain permits from the Israeli military before constructing any new water installations. This requirement has rendered it nearly impossible for Palestinians to develop new water sources or infrastructure, exacerbating their struggle for basic necessities.

The occupation not only materially affects the lives of those who are occupied, as well as those who live in exile, it emboldens the oppressor and inspires more evil. For the regime of occupation, it is crucial to control the narrative of the occupied and that of their geographical friends, whether it be through the media, the educational framework, or through controlling the options that the dissenter can rely on. All this to say, our struggles are inextricably linked because our oppressors are in cahoots. And now more than ever, resistance is all. All that one should count on, all that matters, all that makes sense.



# CURRENT SETTLER VIOLENCE AGAINST CHT'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH

*Signed by IS4J, Taara, & NAIA*

The Indigenous people in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh are facing an unprecedented level of violence and deserve urgent and immediate international attention. Bengali settlers in the direct presence of the law enforcement agencies are enacting a critical phase of inhumane atrocities on Indigenous communities, particularly those currently residing in Khagrachhari and Rangamati Hill District.

The mainstream Bangladeshi media has failed to report on these horrific incidents with an unbiased accuracy, authenticity, and integrity which led to spread of misinformation among the mainstream population. Because of the failure of Bangladeshi media's proper representation of ongoing violence, CHT Indigenous people's security has become more threatened.

## Patterns of the Incidents

On 20 September 2024 at approximately 5:00 pm, a sudden and brutal attack took place in the Larma Square area of Dighinala Sub-district in Khagrachhari. Bengali settlers, reportedly incited by false claims broadcast from a local mosque (Daily Star), looted and burned houses and businesses owned by Indigenous individuals in the direct presence of the state armed forces. Several business establishments were set on fire, few of which belonged to Bengalis, forcing the Indigenous people to flee and take shelter in nearby forest areas. Unfortunately, this violence did not end there. By 10:00 pm, armed attacks were reported in Upalipara, Narankhaiya, and Sanirvar Bazar ar-

reas in Khagrachhari main town area, where the military openly fired, causing further deaths and injuries among Indigenous people. In Khagrachhari, 3 deaths are confirmed and hundreds are injured, some in critical condition, all of whom belong to the Indigenous community. The absence of reliable news coverage allowed this violence to spread unchecked, leaving the Indigenous communities in Khagrachhari highly vulnerable. The situation escalated to another district, Rangamati, on 21st September 2024, where the communal riot continued, resulting in the vandalization, looting of Buddhist temples and Indigenous people's properties. One person was killed, Indigenous girls were assaulted, and nearly a hundred people from the Indigenous community were injured.

We are making an urgent plea for immediate intervention from the international community. The Bangladesh Army, stationed in the area, has been present during these attacks, raising serious concerns about their role in either preventing or enabling this violence. And Bangladesh Army has published a controversial report about the violence which increased the possibility of further communal attack and mistrust, negativity against the Indigenous community.

The latest violence is not an isolated event, but part of the long-standing legacy of settler-colonial violence and military rule in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). The historical context of this conflict, rooted in the forced settlement of Bengali communities,

reflects a broader pattern of systematic oppression from the state. From the government-sponsored population transfers in the late 1980s to the ongoing military occupation in the CHT, the state has consistently sought to undermine Indigenous sovereignty and identity in that region.

These communal riots are not random acts of violence but are deeply tied to planned ethnic cleansing and a continuation of policies that promote land grabs, language and cultural erasure, and genocidal practices against the Indigenous people. This cycle of aggression and human rights violations is a direct consequence of decades of neglect, impunity, and the state's unwillingness to address the core issues of autonomy, land rights, and justice for the CHT Indigenous population.

## We call for the following actions:

1. The affected Indigenous communities need immediate protection, humanitarian assistance, and long-term security to prevent further violence.
2. We urgently request that an investigation by both the Bangladeshi government and international bodies be carried out into these attacks and armed firing to the indigenous people, particularly given the presence of military forces during the violence.
3. Local authorities and the international community must act swiftly to en-

sure that those responsible for these crimes are brought to justice.

4. We urge the MIT community to raise awareness about this matter and advocate for justice by encouraging the government of Bangladesh to take prompt and appropriate action.
5. We urge Cambridge and Boston SJP (Students for Justice in Palestine) organizations to organize and spread awareness on these issues.

The voices of the Indigenous people of the CHT have long been silenced, and we endeavor to use our platforms to bring their struggle to light. As we commit to the liberation of all oppressed people, we fight for the safety and survival of the Indigenous people of the CHT.

## From

MIT Globally Indigenous Students for Justice (IS4J)  
MIT Taara  
MIT Native American & Indigenous Association (NAIA)

## Co-Signed by

MIT Alumni for Palestine  
MIT Asian American Initiative  
MIT Bangladeshi Students Association  
MIT Coalition Against Apartheid  
MIT Divest  
MIT DUSP for Palestine  
MIT Faculty & Staff for Palestine  
MIT Graduates for Palestine  
MIT Jews for Collective Liberation  
MIT South Asian Association of Students  
MIT Written Revolution



# MASSACRES, STRUCTURAL GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE IN BANGLADESH'S CHT

The CHT (Chittagong Hill Tracts) has a different pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial history from the rest of Bangladesh. British annexation occurred in 1860, one hundred years after the colonization of Bengal (the eastern part of which is now Bangladesh). Chakma Bidroha or the Chakma Resistance from 1772 to 1798, is the first recorded resistance against the British, occurring long before the famous Sepoy Bidroha (Sepoy Rebellion) in 1857, which is often erroneously referred to as the first uprising against the British in South Asia. At the departure of the British from India in 1947, the CHT was left under the control of a new "colonial" power, East Pakistan. Control moved to Bangladesh when it gained independence from Pakistan in 1971.

Demand by CHT leaders for retention of CHT's autonomous status in the 1972 constitution of Bangladesh, the government began to suppress the early stages of a CHT autonomy struggle that eventually saw the emergence of an armed resistance guerrilla group, the Shanti Bahini (peace force). The CHT became fully militarized in August 1975 when Bangladesh was brought under military rule as a result of a coup in which President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated. Since 1975 the CHT has remained under military occupation. In 1991 an international human rights panel, the CHT estimated that one member of the security force was appointed against every ten hill people in the CHT.

Since then the Bangladesh government has taken "repressive measures and deployed heavy military" adding that instead of ensuring their protection, the mil-

itary presence "has only aggravated human rights violations." In the late 1970s, then-president Ziaur Rehman instituted a government-run "population transfer programme" in which the government provided cash and in-kind incentives to members of the country's majority Bengali community to move to the Chittagong Hills area, displacing the local population. The military moved into the region in response to the rise of local armed groups opposed to the "settlers" and the imposition of Bengali identity and language. Reports of soldiers subjecting the indigenous civilians to abuses including forced evictions, destruction of property, arbitrary arrests, torture, and killings.

Between 1979 and 1985, 400,000 Bengalis from the plains were settled in the CHT in three

ity (PCJSS or JSS). While the JSS demobilized the Shanti Bahini as part of the Accord, the Bangladesh government, in contravention of the Accord, maintained its heavy military presence in the CHT.

UN Special Rapporteur Lars-Anders Baer, in his 2011 report to the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), recorded that one-third of the Bangladesh military is stationed in the CHT. Baer notes the occurrence of "arbitrary arrests, torture, extrajudicial killings, harassment of rights activists and sexual harassment," and the retention of so-called "Operation Uttoron" (Upliftment), an executive order that allows the military to interfere in civil matters beyond its jurisdiction.

The Bangladesh military now has 6 permanent cantonments (barracks) in the 3 districts of the CHT. This appears excessive considering there are only 14 cantonments in the rest of the 61 districts of Bangladesh and that the CHT

is not a war zone, nor is there now any counter-insurgency. From the 1970s, sections of the military and paramilitary began acquiring the common and private land of indigenous peoples to expand their establishments. The Bangladesh army currently occupies 500 acres at its Ruma barracks and is attempting to occupy a further 9,560 acres.

In June 2010, the Border Guards Bangladesh (BGB) initiated acquisition of more land for a new battalion headquarters at Ruma, 33 potentially making large numbers of Jummas homeless. On May 3, 2011, as a protest against possible eviction from their ancestral homes and lands, hundreds of Jummas marched along the



tortuous 37 km road from Ruma to Bandarban, the major town of the district. The lands have mostly been leased to non-CHT residents who are high-ranking Bengali elites, including civil servants, military officials, political leaders, business entrepreneurs, professionals, and their relatives.

From 1979 to 2010, over 40,000 acres were acquired by Bengali elites as plantation leases.

Ultimately, in implementing the policy of mass transmigration and land acquisition under military occupation, the state's actions (and inactions) served to encourage transmigrants to violently take over lands belonging to the Jummas, evicting hundreds from their homes, using sexual violence against indigenous women, and committing massacres (examples of "creeping genocide"). The outcome of the transmigration program is that. From the mid to late 1980s, 70,000 Jummas were forced to flee their homes to take shelter in India, a conservative estimate of 300,000 Jummas became internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the number of deaths remains unknown. The government remained silent about the violent land-grabbing incidents during the pre- and post-Accord period, including consistent maintenance of a "culture of impunity" toward the alleged criminal settlers and security personnel.

The implementation of the policy, which increased the non-indigenous Bengali population by 150 percent between 1974 and 1991, 40 has resulted in a drastic change in the demography of the CHT. The 2011 census avoid-

ed providing separate figures for Bengalis and indigenous peoples, perhaps to intentionally conceal the demographic hegemony of Bengalis in the CHT.

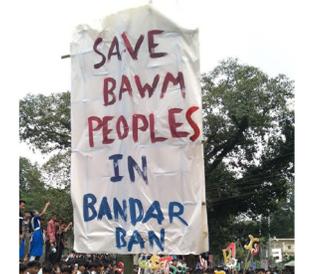
The ongoing CHT conflict, primarily grounded in attempts to grab indigenous people's land, is evident in mass attacks that have occurred in the post-accord CHT. These include violent incidents in Baghaihat (Sajek) on February 19-20, 2010, and Guimara (Ramgarh) on April 21, 2011, which were documented by many national and international news media and human rights organizations. In 2021, Genocide Watch issued a "genocide warning" for the Jumma, noting with deep concern the colonialist violence and cultural erasure their lives have been steeped in. Many organizations also asked the government to conduct impartial inquiries into the incidents and bring the perpetrators to justice. However, the government has not taken any steps toward an impartial inquiry into the recent incidents.

During the armed conflict, institutional policies and strategies of the state selectively discriminated on the basis of indigenous women's ethnicity and gender. A secret memorandum circulated to army officers in 1983 encouraging them to marry indigenous women from the CHT. It would seem that the stationing of Bengali army officers in the CHT as part of the ongoing military occupation of the CHT was not enough, the policy was also to occupy women's bodies, to colonize women through forced marriage. The policy memorandum of 1983 resulted

in a violent turn, with marriages occurring after abduction or intimidation.

Sexual violence against indigenous women has been instrumental in the forced relocation of Jummas from their homes and lands. It has been observed that "mass rape and sexual violence on Pahari [Jumma] women in the attacks on their villages was a key factor in making their communities leave to seek shelter elsewhere, thereby providing occasion for their lands to be taken over."

However, there is no complete record of the number of sexual violence cases that have occurred in the CHT or their details. Among



a limited number of partial records, Ume Mong, an indigenous woman leader, estimated that from December 1971 to 1994 a total of 2,500 indigenous women were raped.

According to a report of 1995 documented that "Over 94% of the all alleged cases of rape of Jumma women between 1991-1993 in the CHT were by 'security forces.'" Of these, over 40 percent of the victims were alleged to be children. Records indicate that between 2003 and 2006, 27 percent of all rape cases were committed by security personnel and the rest by Bengali settlers.

In 2015, the Home Ministry of the Bangladeshi government issued an order prohibiting the Jumma tribes from "speaking to foreigners or Bangladeshi citizens from outside the Chittagong Hill Tracts" except in the presence of a military or government official.

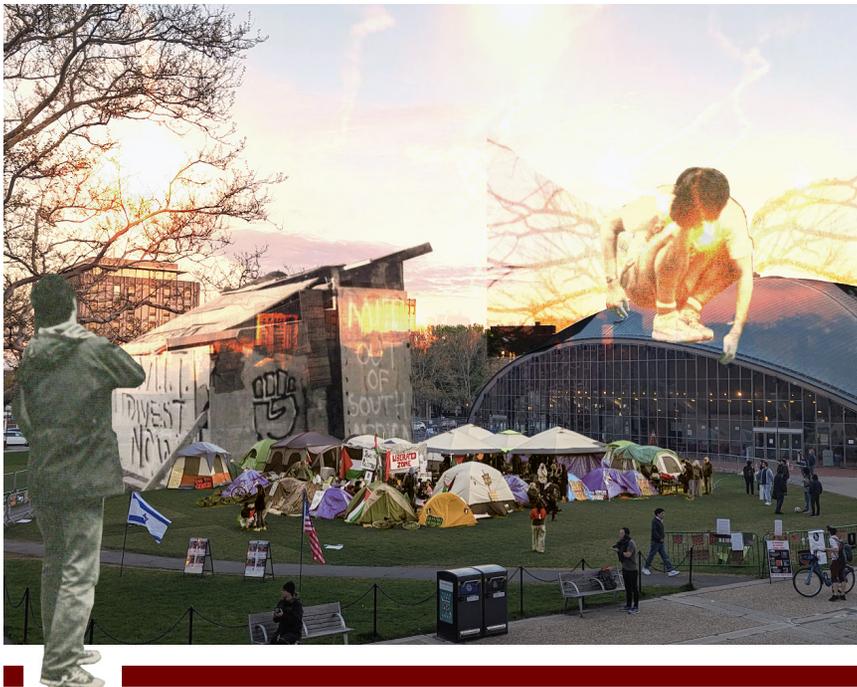


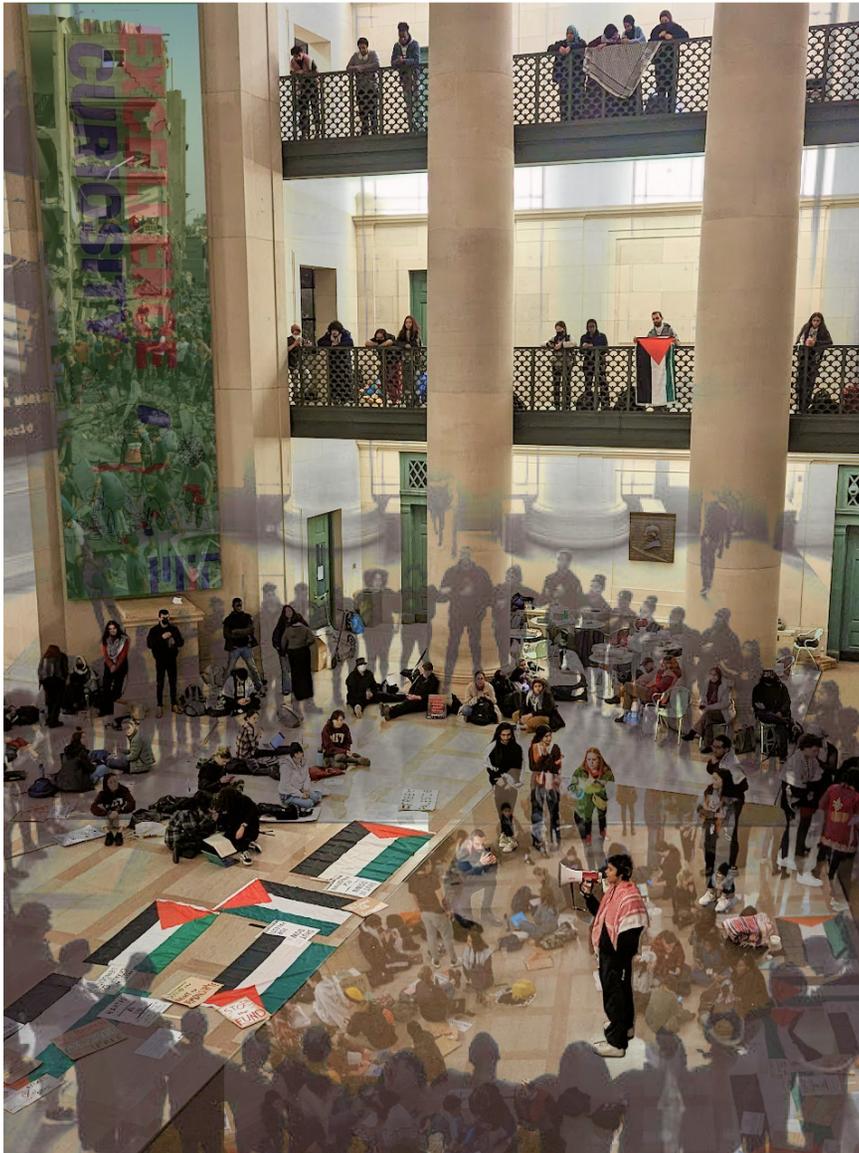
# RESISTANCE IN PHOTOGRAPHY OUR MOVEMENT WITHIN THE CONTINUUM

— Kaitlyn Gee

Everything we do, but especially our revolutionary love, exists in a continuum. When I heard that this issue of Written Revolution would center on the past, present, and future of the movement, I thought of everyone that we bring with us when we fight for liberation: the generations of activists across centuries that have paved the way for us and our strength today. We carry their hopes, dreams, passions, and ultimately their legacy with us in the movement.

In Native Hawaiian culture, we call this mo'okū'auhau. Formally, this means genealogy or lineage, the genetic history of how a person came to be. Culturally, it reflects a way to understand the present and navigate the future through understanding how we came to be and where we get our thoughts, beliefs, and actions from. In essence, it's grounding ourselves and our identity in what came before us. We cannot know who we are without knowing the system that created us. Thinking about temporality beyond settler colonial and/or linear frameworks, we are the past, present and future embodied in one. Time is cyclical, relational, and nonlinear. Our ancestors are not merely figments from the past, but ever-present entities that we keep alive through honoring how they have shaped us today. The paths that they cleared are their ways of watching over us; the sacrifices they made are their ways of ensuring we are loved. As we move forward into the future, we bring our predecessors with us.

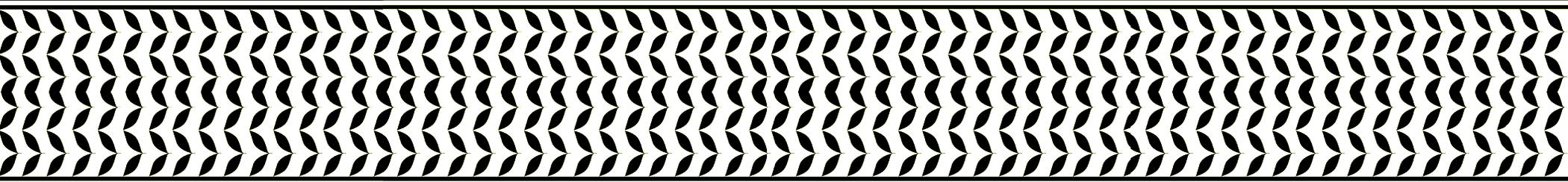




I wanted to explore how to express this visually – which are the pieces you see here. I've taken archival images from the original CAA, BLM protests in 2019, present-day and mid-20C Palestine, and our movement over the past year. Superimposing some of the “ancestors” of our movement onto the encampment and protests, this is my attempt to collapse the past, present and future onto themselves. Drawing inspiration from Petna Ndaliko Katondolo’s film KATASUMBIKA that we watched last week, these photo collages use transparency and overlays to put different contexts and windows of time in conversation with one another.

Ultimately, it is a great source of pride that we strive for justice within the broader, generations-long history of global activism. But it is also our responsibility to remain humble, knowing that every one of our victories, and every one of our accomplishments, is shared with every person who came before us in the resistance. Nothing that we are doing is new, and that is one of our greatest strengths.

Much love,  
Kaitlyn



# SHAPING



Honoring history goes beyond reading and learning about it. Honoring history means exercising our collective ability to make and shape it. Dorothy Thompson once said, "Peace has to be created, in order to be maintained. It is the product of Faith, Strength, Energy, Will, Sympathy, Justice, Imagination, and the triumph of principle. It will never be achieved by passivity and quietism." Learning and informing oneself about an issue is the first step, but it can't be the last. We must play an active role in shaping our reality, in shaping the history that will be taught decades from now. There will be a free Palestine in our lifetime. As the editors of Written Revolution, we see this publication as a small part of our work in making that a reality. In this section on shaping history, we invite you to reflect on what you have learned—from the pieces you read in the last section and from your own life experiences—and consider how to transform that knowledge, emotion, or lived experience into principled action. Let your imagination run wild. What can you do to help this cause? How can you engage your faith, strength, energy, will, sympathy, desire for justice, and imagination for the causes of all oppressed people on this earth? You hold so much more power than you realize. Honor yourself by recognizing that and letting go of passivity and quietism.

Be loud. Be proud. Shape history. Fuck shit up. And **FREE PALESTINE!**

# HISTORY

# WE MUST LEARN TO USE OUR POWER

— Fedaa Alsoufi



I want to begin with a question that Audre Lorde asked in *We Must Learn to Use Our Power*: “How does a system bent upon our ultimate destruction make the unacceptable gradually tolerable? Observe closely, look around, read the Black press.”

We are witnessing, yet again, the Zionist regime’s brutal campaign of annihilation against the Palestinian people. Bombs fall upon Gaza day in and day out, refugee camps are raided in the West Bank, and each day, another settlement rises where Palestinian homes once stood. This is not isolated; it is the

continuation of a decades-long process, an erasure of an entire people. The Nakba, the catastrophe of the Palestinians, did not end in 1948—it is ongoing, intensifying, and evolving before our eyes.

In the colonized 1948 lands, Palestinians live under constant oppression, their rights stripped away, their existence denied, as they struggle for breath under a system designed to suffocate their very hope. In Gaza, Palestinians are bombed. In the West Bank, they face military raids by the IOF. Palestinians are confronted with ethnic cleansing and death in every

aspect of their lives—no street, no school, no home is free from this state of terror.

This is a regime that exports its terror. We see their war machine not only devastating Palestine but spreading its destruction across the region. From Lebanon to Syria, to Yemen, civilians are targeted in cold blood. Beirut, Al Baqa’a, Idlib, Al Hudaybiyah—all bear the scars of the Zionist entity that thrives on terror and ethnic cleansing. We are standing here today while the Zionist entity is given the green light to invade Lebanon once again but they will be confronted with the same resistance they failed to break its spirit in 1982 and 2006. The Zionist entity is a cancer that infects our entire region with terror.

And yet, in the face of such undeniable crimes against humanity and textbook genocide, there are those who remain silent, those who refuse to acknowledge the genocide for what it is. We need only to look here, to our institutions—places like MIT—where academic freedom and moral integrity should compel us to stand on the right side of history.

But silence prevails. President Kornbluth, in her communications, has failed to name the ongoing massacres for what they truly are: a genocide, an ethnic cleansing, a crime against humanity that affects not just Palestinians in Gaza or the West Bank, but civilians in Lebanon, Syria and Yemen. This refusal to acknowledge the



truth is not just an omission; it is complicity.

No one at MIT would dare to stand here today and say that apartheid in South Africa was just. No one would defend the investments and collaborations this institution once had with a regime that upheld racial segregation and brutality. We look back at that era with shame, knowing that it was wrong. Yet today, MIT’s double standards are glaring. Professors engage in research with the Israeli Ministry of Defense and Israeli institutions that are deeply embedded in the machinery of apartheid and occupation and genocide, and it is excused in the name of academic freedom. But freedom for whom? Freedom to normalize collaboration with a regime that thrives on occupation, colonization, and bloodshed of my people?



We, Palestinians, are asking for our basic humanity to be recognized. We are not asking for exceptional treatment—we are demanding the recognition of our rights, our lives, and our dignity. We must not allow this institution, or any institution, to hide behind the shield of neutrality or academic freedom when human lives are at stake.



Neutrality in the face of genocide is itself a moral failing. It is complicity.

So I ask you, how does a system committed to our ultimate destruction make the unacceptable gradually tolerable? It does so by normalizing oppression, by dehumanizing the oppressed, by desensitizing us to violence, by making us believe that this is the status quo—that this is the way things have always been and the way they will always be.

But we cannot accept this. We cannot allow ourselves to become numb to the suffering of Palestinians. We cannot let the world convince us that this is too complicated to resolve, that we should look away, that we should be silent. Silence is complicity.

To those who remain silent, to those who refuse to speak the truth: history will not absolve you. History will remember who stood with the oppressed and who chose to look away. The question is not whether you can afford to speak up—the question is whether you

can afford to stay silent.

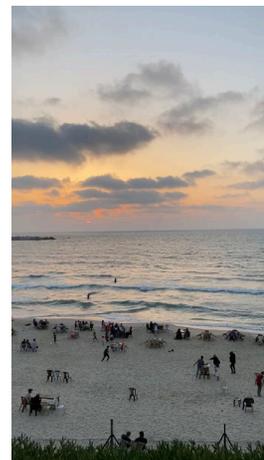
It is not just Palestine that is at stake here. This is a fight for justice, for dignity, for the fundamental right of every human being to live free from occupation and oppression. The Palestinian struggle is a symbol of a global fight against colonialism, apartheid,

and genocide. It represents every oppressed people who have ever been told they are lesser, who have been denied their right to exist.

MIT, like many other institutions, must decide where it stands. Will it continue to its research ties with Israeli Ministry of Defense and Israeli institutions committing and complicit in genocide? Will it continue to turn a blind eye to the suffering of Palestinians in the name of neutrality? Or will it stand with justice, with truth, and with the oppressed?

We must be loud. We must read, we must learn, and we must act. There is no neutral ground in the face of genocide. To stand on the sidelines is to side with the oppressor.

The Zionist entity must cease to exist in its form of apartheid, occupation, and terror. The world cannot afford to tolerate the gradual normalization of this terror. The Palestinian people deserve justice, they deserve freedom, and they deserve to live.

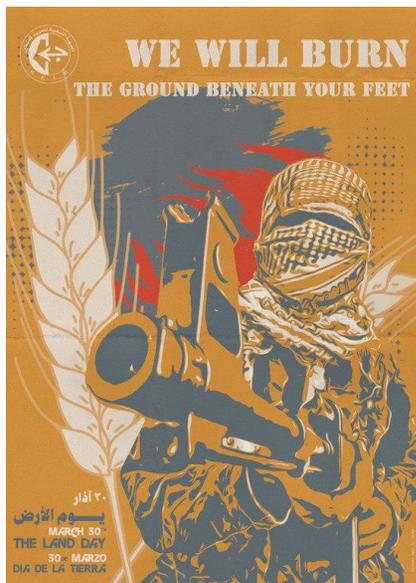


# ON PACIFISM

— Prahlad Iyengar

The past year of genocide waged against the Palestinian people has led to protest around the world. At first blush, these protests may remind one of the protests against the genocide waged against the Vietnamese in the mid to late 20th century, or the protests against the South African apartheid state in the 1980s. It is true that the movement for Palestinian liberation today owes much to the liberation struggles of decades past, both in terms of tactics as well as overall strategy. However, many of today's protests emphasize a principle which seems to have shaken the imperial American regime and its Zionist colony to their core. This principle is enshrined in international law, and can be stated simply as follows: an occupied people have the right to resist their occupation by any means necessary.

This principle is not new - activists during Apartheid South Africa, the Vietnam genocide, and plenty of other historical atrocities against the indigenous have supported the indigenous right to resist. But in today's protest landscape this sentiment feels more prevalent. It has led many to support the axis of resistance, a loose coalition of Arab, North African, and West Asian regimes and groups which have defended Palestine and supplied the Palestinian resistance with material assistance, as they continue to challenge American and Israeli military actions which have thus far claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, according to even conservative medical estimates. That this ideological support for true resistance to imperial and co-



lonial regimes is so instilled within the Palestine movement is a testament to the political education that has been achieved both in the decades since the American invasion and genocide in Iraq as well as in the past year of heartbreaking struggle for Palestinians. The movement has grown in this regard, and it will continue to grow.

But now, one year since the beginning of the accelerated phase of genocide, it is incumbent upon us all to remind ourselves of this commitment. That is to say, we must remind ourselves not just what that commitment means in the context of the resistance within the colonies, but also what it implies for our actions here in the imperial core. In our reflection, let us consider the methods that have defined the current movement for the liberation of Palestine.

Throughout cities across the world, we have been fortunate enough to observe a diversity of tactics, one of the signs of a healthy movement. In many major cities across Turtle Island, coalitions have formed under vanguard parties in order to lead city-wide protest events, including marches, rallies, and pickets. More specialized groups such as BDS and PYM have adopted specific targets (Elbit Systems and now Maersk, respectively) and have even recently achieved success in driving the Zionist-supporting companies out of town here in Cambridge. National SJP has helped coordinate the development of SJPs across thousands of campuses, and during the spring of 2024, we witnessed an old tactic develop new wings at many universities: continuous reclamation of liberated zones. Some groups have taken things further during the “Summer of Rage” for Palestine, escalating to building occupations, property damage, destruction of surveillance and police equipment, and further tactics. Many of these examples have been documented under the media of Unity of Fields, formerly Palestine Action, which is another reference to the axis of resistance calling for a unity of the fields on which they fight the Zionist and the American regimes.

Diversity of tactics, broad participation with targeted escalation, everything seems to be going swimmingly - except one major issue. To date, the movement on Turtle Island has seen virtually no success towards its main demands - ending the genocide, ending the apartheid, and dismantling the occupation. Fundamentally, a movement which is not nearer to achieving its goals one year later cannot be considered a success. Here, I argue that the root of the problem is not merely the vastness of the ene-

my we have before us - American imperialism and Zionist occupation - but in fact in our own strategic decision to embrace nonviolence as our primary vehicle of change. One year into a horrific genocide, it is time for the movement to begin wreaking havoc, or else, as we've seen, business will indeed go on as usual.

The analysis below is heavily influenced by Ward Churchill's seminal essay “Pacifism as Pathology”. This discussion echoes mere fragments of Churchill's argument and applies his analysis to the current mass movement for Palestine; I would highly recommend reading “Pacifism as Pathology” for a more thorough review of the history of pacifist movements and their ideological flaws.

Essential to this discussion will be the non-interchangeable use of the terms “tactics” and “strategy”. In layman's English, these two terms seem reasonably close together, so as to be perceived identically; however, as we will explore, there is an essential difference between them. In the context of my argument below, the “strategy” of a movement refers to directional decisions made on the basis of underlying, principled commitments. “Tactics”, on the other hand, are directional decisions which, while remaining consistent with and working towards the underlying principles and goals of the movement, may deviate from their suggested course of action due in part to contextual conditions. Put succinctly: *strategic* pacifism seeks pacifism as an end in itself, whereas tactical pacifism uses pacifism as a means toward a goal *without the exclusion of non-pacifist means*.

A quintessential example of *strategic* pacifism, familiar to the American

audience, is the Civil Rights movement, which relied heavily on the notion of “civil disobedience”. This mass movement saw broad participation and mass actions including sit-ins, boycotts, and marches, culminating with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Along this path to liberation, many Black organizers in the American South braved extreme hardship and violence, including beatings, firehosing, and lynchings at the hands of racist citizens and police. Sacrifices were made, and people persevered through the struggle.

A source of inspiration for this strategically pacifist movement, and one which its leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., often cited, was the nonviolent arm of the Indian struggle for liberation from British colonialism, led by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi famously created a broad coalition across South Asia, including the indigenous Pashtun people of Afghanistan, though he was not immune to the casteism that the British used to indoctrinate the Indian population during their occupation. This nonviolent movement used similar strategies, most famously hunger strikes and the world-renowned “salt march” tax resistance campaign. South Asian nonviolent protestors were massacred in the thousands and routinely subjugated to inhumane treatment.

By no means am I suggesting that these pacifist movements were counter-revolutionary; in fact, their ideological commitments to pacifism can be seen as a fundamental rejection of the doctrines of violence against Black and Brown colonized peoples which followed from the status quo.

A shocking and historic example of *tactical* pacifism was the 1963

self-immolation of Thích Quang Đức, a Vietnamese Bhikku (Mahayana Buddhist monk), in protest against the religious persecution faced by the Buddhist majority under the Catholic president Ngô Đình Diem, whose regime was propped up by the US government’s Indochina policy as a supposed bulwark against communism. This striking image was shared around the world and brought significant attention to the horrors that the US was wreaking upon Indochina. I call this tactical and not *strategic* pacifism because Thích Quang Đức’s act was a response to the particular conditions of oppression his community faced, rather than an attempt to inspire a movement centered around ideological nonviolence. His last words are translated as:

“I call the venerables, reverends, members of the sangha and the lay Buddhists to organize in solidarity to *make sacrifices* to protect Buddhism” [emphasis my own]



In the wake of the heightened awareness around the occupation of and ongoing genocide against Palestine by the Israeli settler-colonial state, this pacifist tactic has been repeated by several individuals, including Aaron Bushnell, a former US Air Force member who self-immolated in front of the Israeli embassy in the nation’s capital while on active duty. His last words were:

“I will no longer be complicit in genocide. I’m about to engage in an extreme act of protest but, compared to what people have been experiencing in Palestine at the hands of their colonizers, it’s not extreme at all. This is what our ruling class has decided will be normal.”

The self-immolation of an active-duty Air Force soldier highlights the *tactical* rather than *strategic* act of such an act. While it could be claimed that Thích Quang Đức’s monastic lifestyle reflects a personal commitment to nonviolence that indicates a strategic pursuit, Aaron Bushnell’s very vocation was antithetical to such a commitment. Both acts were done to draw attention to a particular struggle in a particular context, and both acts served the broader goal toward liberation without inherently excluding non-pacifist actions. Moreover, both acts are fully compatible with the simultaneous existence of armed resistance against the oppressor, and may even have been a tacit indication of support for such resistance.

Having defined these terms and even while acknowledging that both forms of pacifism are compatible with truly revolutionary praxis, I now seek to show that pacifism as a *strategic* commitment is a grave mistake in the context of colonial oppression. In fact, the theory of change I call for would see *tactical* pacifism take on a supplementary role within a cradle of widespread resistance. I will extend this analysis to the student movement, arguing that we have a particular responsibility to seek this diversification of our tactics due to our positionality.

Central to the concept of pacifist action is the intention of sacrifice. It is clear in the tactical examples noted

above, but also evident in both Dr. King’s and Gandhi’s pacifist movements. In the latter cases, the sacrifice is inherent to the status quo – Black and Brown nonviolent protestors faced extreme suppression, imprisonment, and often lethal violence at the hands of the state. The centrality of sacrifice is key, for while pacifism requires nonviolence on the part of the activist, it does not impose any such restriction on their oppressor. Instead, its main vehicle for generating mass outrage and therefore spurring on its movement is by inviting that violence upon its adherents to hold up as a manifestation of the contradictions which run rampant in their oppressor’s world. Exposing these contradictions is crucial to dialectic change which drives revolution.

But not all pacifists are so committed. The most prominent proponents of pacifism tend to be organizers whose risk aversion and unwillingness to receive the violence of the oppressor truly drives their action. As Churchill notes:

“The question central to the emergence and maintenance of nonviolence as the oppositional foundation of American activism has not been the truly pacifist formulation, ‘How can we forge a revolutionary politics within which we can avoid inflicting violence on others?’ On the contrary, a more accurate guiding question has been, ‘What sort of politics might I engage in which will both allow me to posture as a progressive and allow me to avoid incurring harm to *myself*?’” (Churchill, 73)

This can be seen most evidently in the types of mass actions we have seen around the Palestine movement in greater Boston. A typical rally features “hundreds, sometimes thou-

sands, assembled in orderly fashion, listening to elected speakers calling for an end to this or that aspect of lethal state activity, carrying signs ‘demanding’ the same thing ... as well as [highlighting] the plight of the various victims they are there to ‘defend’, and – typically – the whole thing is quietly disbanded with exhortations to the assembled to ‘keep working’ on the matter...’ (Churchill, 73-74).

Churchill characterizes this aspect of protest as a “charade”, an example of political theater that does more to assuage the consciences of its attendees than it does to exact a cost from the entity which is enacting the very oppression they protest. He goes on to note an even more chilling fact: “it will be noticed that the state is represented by a uniformed police presence keeping a discreet distance and not interfering with the activities. And why should they?... Surrounding the larger mass of demonstrators can be seen others—an elite. Adorned with green [vests], their function is to ensure that the demonstrators remain ‘responsible,’ not deviating from the state-sanctioned plan of protest” (Churchill, 74). He observes that those “who attempt to spin off from the main body... [f]or some other unapproved activity are headed off by these [vested] ‘marshals’ who argue—pointing to the nearby police—that ‘troublemaking’ will only ‘exacerbate an already tense situation’ and ‘provoke violence’ thereby ‘alienating those we are attempting to reach’”(ibid).

When I first read these words, I felt attacked and betrayed. Over the past year, I have not only engaged in but even helped plan this very charade. In doing so, I had not intended to dilute my political message or undermine the very value of truly rev-

olutionary pacifist protest. And yet I found myself questioning the intention, direction, and purpose of my actions, reconsidering the types of actions I had encouraged, or tacitly discouraged, by engaging in protest in this way. But surely, I thought, our willingness to put our bodies on the line and even be arrested for our cause would stand apart? After all, as we know too well, MIT and the city of Cambridge have sicced their fascist militias, the police, on student protestors at plenty of our actions, especially in recent months.

Alas, Churchill has anticipated this objection and issues a cutting response. Just a page later, he analyzes what he calls “symbolic actions,” which are a meager attempt of movement organizers to salvage a “credible self-image as something other than just one more variation of accommodation to state power” (Churchill, 75) via so-called “militant” actions. He notes that “the centerpiece of such activity usually involves an arrest, either of a token figurehead of the movement (or a small, selected group of them) or a mass arrest of some sort.” These actions are usually preceded by Know Your Rights or arrest training to ensure that no participant receives escalated charges or injuries, which would inconvenience both them as well as the legal-carceral state. He lists the following types of “symbolic actions”: sit-ins in restricted areas, “stepping across an imaginary line drawn on the ground by a police representative” (Churchill, 76), refusal to disperse, and chaining oneself to the doors of a public or private building. In the case of self-proclaimed “militant” actions, protestors will also “go limp” so as to maximally inconvenience the arresting officer, usually under the watchful eye of a legal observer who notes

any uses of excessive force for the subsequent trial process which ends in pre-arraignment deals and light charges like trespass or disturbing the peace. Painstaking care is taken

(Churchill, 77).

I want to make something clear. I am not trying to trivialize the level of trauma that being arrested at a protest has caused our community, nor am I suggesting that the experience of police violence is somehow illegitimate. Members of our community have been brutally arrested. We have faced an excessive use of force even without arrest. We have also faced profiling, intimidation, and threats by the police and by Zionists on campus. All of that is real. MIT’s willingness to subject its students to MITPD violence, and MITPD’s reliance on Cambridge PD to do its dirty arrest work, needs to be confronted head-on and stopped in its tracks.

And yet Churchill’s message is clear: despite the suffering we have faced at the hands of the state—and its institutional extension, the administration—our actions are in some sense part of the state’s inherent notion of protest. Yes, oppression breeds resistance, but resistance of this form is already accounted for within the state’s logic—we are, in a sense, *culturally pacified*, not *wilfully pacifist*.

to ensure that the protestors do not receive charges such as resisting arrest or assault and battery of an officer, and even if our heroes face these charges, they are almost always due to police misconduct and a broken penal system. As for the charges, “It is almost unheard of for arrestees to be sentenced to jail time for the simple reason that most jails are already overflowing with less ‘principled’ individuals, most of them rather unpacifist in nature, and many of whom have caused the state a considerably greater degree of displeasure than the nonviolent movement, which claims to seek its radical alteration”

During my arrest at the Scientists Against Genocide Encampment, I recalled my first experience with arrest, when I witnessed a Black man get tackled while walking between platforms by at least six officers and put in several limb-locks and a head-lock, all while his partner sobbed in hysteria next to him. He became in that moment a thing tackled, a thing restrained, no longer in possession of his humanity due to the criminal robbery of the latter by the fascist state. I thought I was lucky to not have experienced that level of violence, although I had experienced some on various occasions. But after reading



“Pacifism as Pathology,” I have come to realize that this was not luck—it was, in some sense, by the design of the state. For despite my protest and despite my staunch opposition to the state through my actions, I was still a cog in its system, merely the rust which develops on the gears in order to beckon for more grease. I had not clogged the system—I had fed it.

During my time in holding, I and others who were arrested with me met a man—a kid, really—who was brought in a bit disheveled and clearly sleep-deprived. When he awoke after hours in the cell, he told us that he had been on the streets since he was sixteen, after being kicked out by his abusive stepfather. He had spent the next three years living in shelters, sleeping on bus stop benches, and squatting in houses—he quickly learned which were the ones that were abandoned and would remain unchecked for a time. Before we spoke, one of the guards came by and it was clear they knew each other—the kid asked for a meal, and the guard said he would get it. He told us that these officers would play games with his life—they knew he was on the street, would let him stay out for days or weeks at a stretch, then find him in whichever abandoned property he had found for shelter and arrest him. They wouldn’t charge him with much, and he’d be out without bail, only to repeat the cycle over and over and over. Suffice to say, the guard never came back with his meal.

As people of conscience in the world, we have a duty to Palestine and to all the globally oppressed. We have a mandate to exact a cost from the institutions that have contributed to the growth and proliferation of colonialism, racism, and all oppressive systems. We have a duty to escalate

for Palestine, and as I hope I’ve argued, the traditional pacifist strategies aren’t working because they are “designed into” the system we fight against. The state has had decades since the Civil Rights movement to perfect its carceral craft, and it has created accountability pathways that ignore strategically pacifist movements—it is happy to let us back out into our worlds, patting ourselves on the back for our actions, because we have already committed to compliance. Strategic pacifism commits itself to pacifism as an end in itself, and the state has used that commitment to monopolize its control of violence.

As students, even when committed to pacifist strategy, we still feel like we are sacrificing. This is primarily due to the institution’s heavy reliance on discipline and sanctions. Many of the US citizens in our community understood this subconsciously last year—if we put aside for the moment the existential question of police violence and brutality (which I recognize that many of us fundamentally *cannot* put aside owing to our overpoliced identities, but bear with me) and consider merely the on-paper consequences of arrest vs. suspension, we would certainly recognize that institutional discipline is a more worrying prospect than an arrest for the lesser charges we have come to expect. So when we face discipline, including possible suspension or expulsion, we are risking something important which is acknowledged by our supporters in the community, both local and global. But although this is a real sacrifice, it does not change the content and cost of our actions. Instead, I believe that this extra layer of sacrifice is dangerously illusory. The material and social value of a degree from MIT is derived from whatever legitimacy we, as a broad society, give

to the institution. The potential delay or loss of the degree is only a sacrifice insofar as MIT, and academia as a whole, have created their own market of scarcity and elitism wherein the value of this degree is high. If we remove that degree and strip away the structural elitism, our actions may become exactly what Churchill suggests: a charade.

That isn’t entirely fair, perhaps because I have yet to acknowledge that MIT is itself part of the state. MIT is a military contractor. MIT does research for genocide. MIT contributes to the fascist vision of American empire; we’ve developed radar technology for war, WiFi-based object detection for policing, and spun out Raytheon. We are the state, and to the extent that our Coalition can exact a cost at MIT, we can claim that we are exacting a cost to the state.

But we also exist in a microcosm of the real community of Boston and Cambridge. We students will only remain here for four to eight years before leaving the community, having used its resources and land for our labor, without a thought for the thousands of Black folks who have been economically displaced by rent hikes driven by MIT’s expansion and gentrification nor for the indigenous communities from whom all of this land was stolen and who still need restitution via land ownership. As we continue to organize for Palestine, our actions draw the police and prime them for the beatings they so desire to mete out yet cannot on “innocent and peaceful” students. So they will turn to the real community and exert their authority over them. As we fight for food security on campus, we ignore the deep food insecurity in Roxbury; as we create networks of inter-university solidari-

ty, we leave out key members of the community whose efforts could use our support, and vice versa. As we get arrested and require bail or jail support or community help, we pull those resources from the community of activists in Boston and leave the community under-resourced and over-policed. And as we commit to strategic pacifism, we create a false contrast which endangers local community members whose actions do not conform to the “designed-in” models of protest or being, thus making them targets for repression and oppression.

One year into the accelerated phase of genocide, many years into MIT’s activism failing to connect deeply with the community, we need to rethink our model for action. We need to start viewing pacifism as a tactical choice made in a contextual sphere. We need to connect with the community and build root-mycelial networks of mutual aid. And we must act now.



# SUSTAINING YOURSELF THROUGH A REVOLUTION

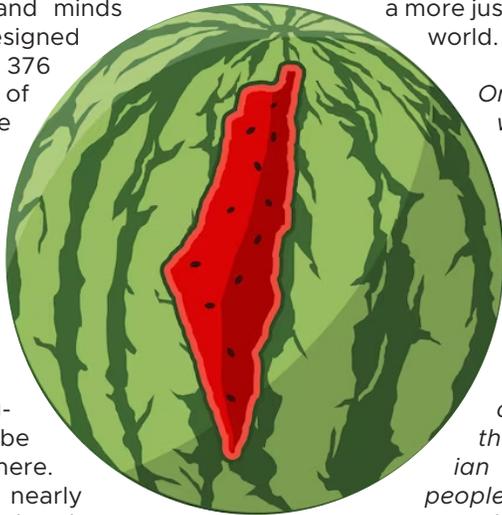
## COMMUNAL CARE AS IT FEEDS THE MOVEMENT | Rin Desikan & Kaitlyn Gee

*This piece is a love letter to the future of the movement, and to the power of communal care in feeding and nurturing our next generation of leaders.*

Our bodies and minds are not designed to withstand 376 horrific days of genocide. The emotional, psychological, mental, social and physical burdens of Israel's atrocities, compounded with global oppression struggles, must be held somewhere.

Although not nearly to the same level as those resisting on the ground in Palestine, nevertheless these weights are heavy on our community. We write here today to highlight the importance of communal care within the student intifada, and to remind us that sustaining the movement and exacting costs requires us to take care of ourselves and each other. We have a responsibility to the people of Palestine, to the people of Congo and Sudan, to marginalized communities in the United States, to all those struggling for

liberation, and to ourselves to care-take for the movement, so we can keep up the good fight. In positioning our well-being as a cornerstone of our capacity to make change, we will move ever-closer to building a more just, more humane world.



*On positionality, we acknowledge that we have unique privilege in not actively undergoing genocide and not experiencing the unique and acute distress that the Palestinian and Lebanese people face now. It is not our place to police or*

*judge how someone would cope with such atrocities.*

Community care is not an old concept to activists and those fighting global oppression. For example, the Black Panther Party, in addition to its militant and radical political activism, also worked to uplift care for marginalized Black communities in the 1960s and 70s. The party pioneered programs such as the Free Breakfast for Children program and free medical clinics

to address the immediate needs of Black families. The tenets of community care and mutual aid are the legacy of the BPP. Moreover, Indigenous activism centers community at the heart of its work: it is specifically through upholding our cultural values and collective well-being that we ensure further goals of self-determination, environmental protections and social justice.

**Caring for myself is not self-indulgent. It is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare.**  
– Audre Lorde, 1988

In this way, caring for ourselves and each other is not a luxury that we hope to afford: it is a necessity to sustain the fight. As we live in systems that were not built to be tenable, we must find a way to overcome the persistent burdens and feed our will to build a better world. Activism in itself – the act of saying I do not stand for this, and I am willing to do something about it – is a form of care, of affirming to ourselves that our hearts are still soft. In this way, revolution is care. Allowing us to dream of a better way of doing things, is care. Surrounding ourselves with people who dream of the same, is care. Sustainability is also one of our core organizing principles:

**Sustainability** – We understand that our power comes from our community, and that in order to create a sustainable movement, we must support the wellbeing of each other and of ourselves. We must be accommodating to all abilities of participation such that members of our community know how to contribute while also feeling safe and encouraged to take care of themselves. While we open

space for every kind of community need (social, emotional, mental, financial, physical, etc.) and encourage people to share their needs, we specifically also recognize that community care can be a more quiet and personal act, and that we can take care of ourselves while continuing to center the communities we are fighting for. We seek to critically and proactively care for those most in need, particularly when the burdens of our fight are acutely shouldered by specific individuals. In committing ourselves to caring for one another in radical and meaningful ways, we strive to not only prevent organizer burnout long before it comes critical, but also to nourish the well-being of our community.

We would like to highlight three aspects of communal care that may be less apparent: (1) mutual aid, (2) refusal, and (3) resting and re-homing in our bodies. We have chosen these three as cornerstones of sustainable organizing. As organizers, we recognize the difference between mobilizing (getting large amounts of people doing political actions such as rallying or signing petitions), and organizing (building a long-term movement). As the Coalition for Palestine moves into its next chapter, sustaining a strong base of organizers committed to communal care and fighting to build a strong movement through reciprocal care will be critical. Looking ahead to the prolonged struggle towards divestment, a free Palestine, and the liberation of our comrades in Congo, Sudan, the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, and across the oppressed/imperialized world, our capacity for communal care will nurture the next generation of leaders.

## Mutual Aid As Survival And Sustainability

Activism is disabling. At this point in the protracted struggle, a year into the most accelerated stage of genocide, it's important to recognize that. We are being literal when we say that our bodies are not built to handle this much grief or this much rage. We are being literal when we say that the systems are beating our bodies down. How many concussions, injuries have we sustained as a movement from the violent brutality of the police? How many times have we literally been physically sick for months because our immune systems are no longer strong enough to fight anything off? How many times have we been lying in bed, dissociating and crying and literally unable to do anything productive because of the trauma and the grief of watching a genocide unfold?

And at the same time, what we here face is nothing, absolutely nothing compared to the reality Palestinians and Lebanese people are facing right now. So it is our duty to figure out how to move forward, how to work with our bodies to keep resisting as effectively as possible. We don't get to be hopeless, we don't get to let the systems destroy our bodies — we have to figure out how to sustain ourselves so we can keep fighting.

Mutual aid has been a cornerstone of community care forever, and it has been a means of survival for disabled BIPOC elders for millennia. It is not glamorous or something to be romanticized, but it is so, so necessary. In her piece "How Disabled Mutual Aid is Different From Abled Mutual Aid", Leah-Lakshmi Piepza-Sarasimha writes "It means hav-



ing to figure out what your limits are about what you have the spoons to do, and where you draw the line. It means knowing that people who have needs that need to be met are often in a bad mood and will ask you to do some ridiculous shit. It means having to figure out time and again the line between support and saving, between interdependence and codependence. I'm still figuring it out."

None of us know how to draw these lines. How do we most effectively support our comrades while keeping up the work we are doing? How do we meet our community's needs when they conflict with our own needs? How do we most effectively support ourselves while staying centered and focused on the people in Palestine? How do we prepare our bodies and minds for the protracted struggle, while also never losing sight of the urgency, that we need liberation right now?

But unfortunately, they are things we need to think about, lines we

need to draw. We draw on the resistance of our disabled, BIPOC elders, who refused to die off despite it all, who kept resisting despite it all, who are still resisting. We are a community, and we must move forward as one, even when it isn't glamorous, even when it isn't fun, even when it is ugly, even when it is bone-crushingly exhausting, because at the end of the day it is together that we carry our strength and power, it is together that we will most effectively be able to resist.

## Refusal

In colonial and oppressive systems, we are often asked to put our bodies, time, energy, minds, and psychological well-being on the line. In these contexts, refusal is a powerful form of resistance: to refuse to play into the extractive narratives of productivity and capitalism, to refuse to engage with bad-faither counter protests, to refuse to center the oppressor or pander to unjust systems. We practice refusal within the movement by centering the Palestinian resistance, people, and culture, instead of oppressive responses from administration or Zionists, for example.

Moving deeper, though, we believe that this refusal can operate at the personal level. As an activist,

we must know our own personal boundaries and risk-levels, and refuse to push ourselves past them. We must refuse to work on something alone or carry the burden individually when that burden could be shared amongst the community (for example, food insecurity or planning a complicated event). We must refuse to conduct a movement that requires us to compromise on our values, or mistakenly centers colonial or oppressive thought. In a society whose values often do not align with ours, we must always be in the process of un-learning what those systems instilled in us.



Resisting burn-out on an individual level, and resisting colonization and genocide on a communal level, is self care. For Indigenous communities, we know this deeply: resisting colonization, environmental devastation, and cultural erasure is a daily necessity and reality for many of us. This resistance becomes core to who we are and how we thrive: resisting erasure, reclaiming sovereignty, and living in accordance to our own decolonial ontologies and epistemologies is our highest form of self-love.

## Resting and re-homing in our bodies

Oppression and activism both take their own tolls on our bodies. It is

hard to envision where all the grief, anger, frustration, adrenaline, loneliness, isolation, shock, anxiety, and stress goes as we live through months, years, and decades of heartbreak. Indeed, throughout the year, many of us felt like we were living through continual emergencies: seeing gut-wrenching news of atrocities being committed on the ground in Gaza, witnessing our government's complicity and the media's gross negligence, and bearing the immediate pressures and consequences of MIT administration as they clamped down on our movement.

And as we all know, these feelings are so, so demobilizing. How are we supposed to act when our brains are on fire?

So when we can, we have to try to slow down, and re-center in our bodies. We speak as people who are not Palestinian or Arab — due to our positionality, we have the responsibility to center ourselves. It is, in fact, our duty first and foremost. We must have healthy outlets to process all of the big feelings, and build a practice of checking in with ourselves. We have to take care of our bodies, eat, sleep, shower, etc. This may look different from person to person (meditating, journaling, talking with friends, etc.), but the end goal remains the same — to build an oasis of peace that exists from within ourselves, insulated from the injustices of the external systems we are fighting. Regardless of how messed up the world is, we must build inner strength from within to emotionally regulate.

For those of us who are oppressed or whose people have undergone

a genocide, we literally embody the future our ancestors have dreamed of. Our joys, strengths, and everyday accomplishments carry the sacrifices and resilience of our people who resisted. In resting, in relentlessly pursuing a better life for ourselves and those around us, in centering our own ways of living a life of happiness and fulfillment outside of colonial, Western, and capitalist value systems, we become the resistance that our oppressors have always feared.

How to make the movement sustainable (or our best guess):

1. Develop *mutual aid* as a cornerstone
2. *Refuse* to pander to unjust systems, and to exploit ourselves and our well-being
3. *Re-home into our bodies* and build our own mental, emotional, and physical places of peace

Sustainability as we've outlined here is a practice and a continual, intentional choice — not an end state. We must organize, mobilize, protest, and plan in ways that are sustainable. We are more than bodies.

We don't have the answers. We just don't. Beyond us being young and new organizers, there are no answers right now. What words are left over a year into this accelerated stage of genocide, as we see Jabalia under complete siege? But that doesn't mean we get to give up — we have to keep trying. And we must always endeavor to sustain the movement in all the ways we know how.

Much love,  
Rin and Kaitlyn



# WHO SHOULD I SAVE?

— V Longe

Who should I save?

That's what we're asking this election cycle.

That's what Sha'ban al-Dalou's father asked himself before rescuing two of his children from the burning hospital. Sha'ban was awake, so his father thought he could rescue himself. Instead, he burned alive, and his mother next to him burned to death as well.

The difference between us and Sha'ban's father is that we have more than two hands. We are three hundred million.

I've been entreated to be careful--not to fuck up the bag, to put it crassly. I cry out about the people Kamala Harris has forsaken to pursue theoretical centrist independents. The jailed asylum seekers. The persecuted immigrants. Lebanon. Palestine. Gaza. Rafah. Al Aqsa hospital.

I have vacillated between 'I'll vote for her but



I won't like it,' 'I'll vote for Jill Stein and campaign against her,' and resigned silence.

People beg me not to fuck up the bag because of all the people here that Donald Trump threatens. I argue that we lose our rights regardless of whether he's in power, and that it's only by pressuring and castigating Harris and Biden that we attain what we need.

But, after being late to the video, as is my privilege: after watching Sha'ban burn to death, and his father plead his forgiveness and pray he enjoys his 20th birthday in heaven, I have a new understanding of what's happening.

Who should we save?

That's the question. I'm told not to be a single issue voter, because people want to save abortion rights. I'm told not to embrace a culture of death, because people want to save the unborn. We're told fanciful stories of "migrants," immigrants like our parents or not so far back ancestors, because those people want to save themselves.

Who should we save?

I don't even care about the election right now. I can't. Money that I have earned, and given to Uncle Sam with my two hands is burning people alive.



Did you know Sha'ban memorized the Qur'an? I haven't even read my bible all the way through. Every time I have to make the argument against Christian Zionism, I'm pleading that Palestinian lives matter. Lebanese lives matter.

Who should we save?

We killed a God fearing, aspiring software engineer. He was reciting the Qur'an in a mosque when he fell asleep near midnight. The mosque was bombed, and he got out with stitches. I sit here wondering if God saved him just so people could wake up to the horrors we're doing in Gaza.

And it's absurd that I should even think that. Sha'ban was a whole world. A beautiful human being. Listening to his father talk about him, I see that he and his father are like me and my mother. As we say in Yoruba land: like five and six. Extremely close. Sha'ban had dreams. Instead he was immolated. Alive.

I'm writing today to say that I reject the self serving election framing. When I go in to vote, I honestly don't know who I'm voting for. Kamala Harris performs rhetorical tricks on stage to get as many votes as possible and abandons the people we're killing in the meantime. Her campaign is the first Democratic campaign to drop death penalty abolition in more than a decade. She adopts right wing framing and solutions to an immigration problem of our own making. She kills. Lebanese people. Palestinians. Day and night. And refuses to acknowledge what we have done.

And I don't even care. I don't. I'm here to ask you: who should we save?

Kamala's sins are between her and God, just like my own are between me and God. However, she has power. We have power. Unlike Sha'ban's father, we are many, and we can stand up and tell her, we can stand up and even tell her opponent, we can stand up and tell Joe Biden right now: stop. the. genocide. Do not send another bomb.



Joe Biden gives Israel thirty days--THIRTY days! They have thirty days to stop their embargo of aid to Gaza before military aid to Israel could be impacted.

Sha'ban burned alive three days ago.

A surgeon working with Medical aid for Palestine is telling us about young people dying to treatable bombing wounds because of malnutrition. Their bodies just won't heal. And that story happened who knows how long ago.

Who do you want to save?

We are a nation of people. We have many more than two hands. We can do more than one thing at once. So you decide. Saving Palestinians doesn't require additional action. Saving Lebanese people doesn't require additional action. It is just the refusal to send the weapons used to burn them and bury them right now.

Who do you save?

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## Editors

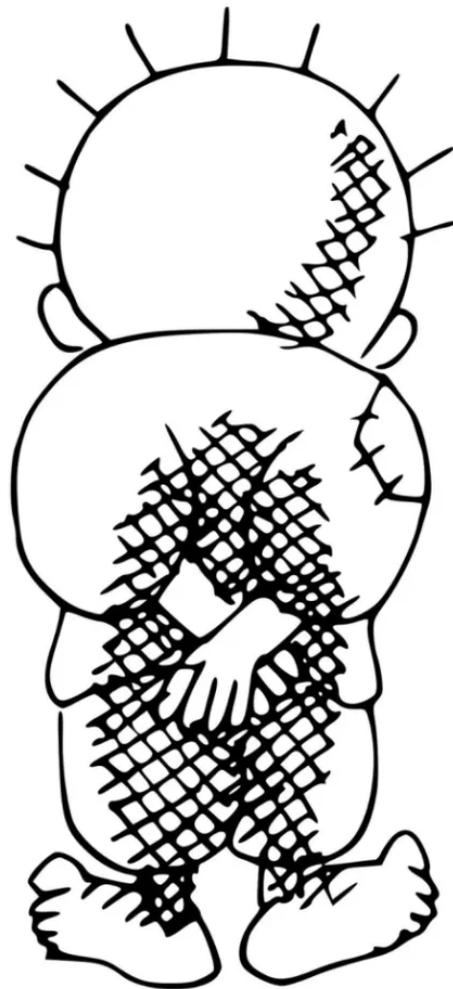
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Ellie Montemayor

Written Revolution is a community publication. If you would like to get involved with this community, whether it be through updates on future distributions, submitting pieces, or production and operations, please fill out the form at the QR code (see: front inside cover) and our team will get in touch.

## Cover Art by Nadine Zaza

This illustration, Blood and Rubble, confronts the violent consequences of technological advancements when weaponized to perpetuate genocide. Inspired by Picasso's Guernica, it stands as a protest against drone research at MIT's CSAIL under Professor Daniela Rus, funded by the Israeli Occupation Forces. Through raw imagery, it captures the suffering and resilience of Palestinian lives, challenging MIT to face the ethical cost of innovation in service of violence.

**WRITTEN  
REVOLUTION**



*Handala, created by Naji al-Ali in 1969, is a young refugee symbolizing Palestinian defiance. Depicted facing away, he vows to turn only when Palestine is free—a lasting emblem of resistance.*

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# LONG LIVE THE STUDENT INTIFADA

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WHAT HISTORY REALLY SHOWS IS THAT  
**TODAY'S  
EMPIRE IS  
TOMORROW'S  
ASHES.**

**MUMIA ABU-JAMAL**

