From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top

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From the River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top: Solidarity as Worldmaking

ROBIN D. G. KELLEY

This essay questions a key takeaway from the Ferguson/Gaza convergence that catalyzed the current wave of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity: the idea that "equivalence," or a politics of analogy based on racial or national identity, or racialized or colonial experience, is the sole or primary grounds for solidarity. By revisiting three recent spectacular moments involving Black intellectuals advocating for Palestine—Michelle Alexander's op-ed in the *New York Times* criticizing Israeli policies, CNN's firing of Marc Lamont Hill, and the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute's initial decision to deny Angela Davis its highest honor—this paper suggests that their controversial positions must be traced back to the post-1967 moment. The convergence of Black urban rebellions and the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war birthed the first significant wave of Black-Palestinian solidarity; at the same time, solidarities rooted in anti-imperialism and Left internationalism rivaled the "Black-Jewish alliance," founded on analogy of oppression rather than shared principles of liberation. Third World insurgencies and anti-imperialist movements, not just events in the United States and Palestine, created the conditions for radically reordering political alliances: rather than adopting a politics of analogy or identity, the Black and Palestinian Left embraced a vision of "worldmaking" that was a catalyst for imagining revolution as opposed to plotting coalition.

> I'll exist in a world that / fights against racism / like Martin and Malcolm
> bleeds ghetto tales of Steve Biko / as a song that never dies
> no matter what apartheid / makes of our bodies / feeds mouths in Belfast streets
> and resurrects Bobby Sands' message/ so that we will never / be hungry again
> –Remi Kanazi, "Coexistence"

It is generally agreed that a resurgence of Black-Palestinian transnational solidarity (BPTS) began in the summer of 2014 when a wave of fatal police shootings of unarmed African Americans in the United States coincided with Israel's brutal fifty-one-day assault on Gaza. Much has been written about the expressions of solidarity between Black and Palestinian activists resisting racialized state violence, especially in Ferguson, Missouri, where mass protests erupted

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after police killed unarmed teenager Michael Brown and left his lifeless body in the streets for over four hours.[1] These acts of solidarity were not merely spontaneous responses to coincidental and spectacular violence but the result of years of organizing. In the summer of 2011, for example, Rabab Abdulhadi and Barbara Ransby led a feminists-of-color delegation to Palestine that included Angela Davis, Gina Dent, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ayoka Chenzira, G. Melissa Garcia, Anna Romina Guevarra, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and Premilla Nadasen. “We wanted to see for ourselves,” they explained in a jointly written statement, “the conditions under which Palestinian people live and struggle against what we can now confidently name as the Israeli project of apartheid and ethnic cleansing. Each and every one of us—including those members of our delegation who grew up in the Jim Crow South, in apartheid South Africa, and on Indian reservations in the U.S.—was shocked by what we saw.”[2] The following year, inspired in part by the absence of a coherent Black response to the Arab Spring and Israel’s latest assault on Gaza, veteran labor leader and writer Bill Fletcher Jr., Felicia Eaves of the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, Mark Harrison of Peace with Justice, and the Reverend D. A. Lams formed African Americans for Justice in the Middle East and North Africa (AAJMENA). Fifty-five Black activists and scholars signed its founding solidarity statement in support of “progressive struggles for national liberation, national sovereignty, justice and democracy” throughout the region, and especially for Palestinians, whose struggles they hoped to “more fully integrate . . . into the lives and struggles of the African American people.”[3]

In other words, we might think of the Ferguson-Gaza convergence as catalyzing rather than commencing the resurgence of BPTS. Thus, when Black4Palestine, born of this political firmament, issued its “Black Solidarity Statement with Palestine” in 2015, it garnered over eleven hundred signatures from activists, artists, and scholars. The document unflinchingly endorsed the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and condemned Israeli apartheid based “on ethnic cleansing, land theft . . . the denial of Palestinian humanity and sovereignty,” as well as racist attacks on African asylum seekers.[4] A new generation of young activists from Black Lives Matter, the Dream Defenders, Black Youth Project 100, and many other organizations visited the West Bank to bear witness to the intolerable conditions of Palestinian life under occupation.

Black activists quickly emerged as prominent advocates for Palestine. In August of 2016, the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), a coalition of over sixty organizations, rolled out an ambitious policy statement aimed at dismantling racism, patriarchy, inequality, and militarism that included a forceful statement labeling Israel an “apartheid state” and characterizing the ongoing situation in Gaza and the West Bank as “genocide.” Predictably, conservatives and liberals attacked the statement—especially the charge of genocide—as misleading, incendiary, and anti-Semitic. But even faced with the potential loss of funding, M4BL never backed down. Dream Defenders’ codirector Rachel Gilmer drafted much of the statement after she and other members of her organization visited Palestine in the spring of 2016. Her takeaway: “We are never going to get free in the U.S. if the rest of the world is in chains.”[5] The controversy over applying “genocide” to the condition of Palestinians under occupation generated some soul searching inside the progressive organization Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which not only came out in support of the statement but undertook a deeper interrogation of race and racism in Israel, the United States, and among U.S. Jews. In 2018, JVP launched its Deadly Exchange campaign, exposing and resisting the

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ongoing role of Israeli military and police in training U.S. law enforcement in so-called counterterrorism and other tactics that reinforce racial profiling, hyperpolicing, and militarization.[6]

Charges of Palestinian (or Arab) anti-Black racism soon followed these dramatic acts of BPTS.[7] The tensions surrounding anti-Blackness and, to a lesser degree, Black Islamophobia, often generated productive discussions, forums, debates, self-critique, and even new scholarship, reminding us that BPTS—like any solidarity—must be understood as a contingent political project rather than some kind of natural, essential, transhistorical alliance.[8] Which raises the question: why presume that racial or national identity, or racialized or colonial experience, should constitute the sole or even primary basis for solidarity? We know that there is no uniform Black or Palestinian sensibility, identity, or community. Class, gender, sexuality, location, generation, ideological differences, and so on all dynamically shape and fracture Black and Palestinian identities, making solidarity *within* these communities difficult enough. Palestinian communities across Latin America, for example, have shown strong right-wing proclivities, particularly in El Salvador and Chile. And as I've written elsewhere, Zionism and strident support for Israel have been the default position of most African Americans, especially among elites.[9] Anti-Blackness has never produced a united, uniform, unanimous Black anti-racist response, nor have the depredations of Israeli settler colonialism generated a similarly unified Palestinian response. Hence, we should not be surprised to discover Palestinian anti-Black racism, Black anti-Arab racism and Islamophobia, reluctance to build alliances between these communities, or what is often the most common response: indifference.

Contemporary transnational solidarities are often built on analogies, what Timothy Seidel calls "a chain of equivalence,"[10] which is to say, on identifying equivalent modalities of oppression, exploitation, and resistance. The Ferguson-Gaza convergence is a case in point. Activists highlighted the similarities in state violence, racialized histories of dispossession and enclosure, and tactics of popular resistance as an effective strategy for political mobilization and coalition building. However, it seems to me that analogies or "a chain of equivalence" are not the cement that holds transnational solidarities together. On the contrary, they can lead to historical distortion and muddled political intentions. For example, in 2011, inspired by the fiftieth anniversary of the U.S. Freedom Rides organized by the Congress of Racial Equality to test federal laws prohibiting segregation on interstate bus travel, Palestinian "Freedom Riders" boarded Jewish-only buses in Jerusalem in order to challenge Israeli apartheid and the companies that run the transit system—notably Egged and Veolia—and therefore profit from the illegal occupation. However, by directly invoking parallels with the U.S. civil rights movement, the organizers left some in the U.S. media mistakenly believing that desegregation was the objective. The Palestinian Freedom Riders promptly issued a press release clarifying their goal and explaining the "significant differences" between the African American fight for desegregation and the Palestinian struggle for decolonization. They stated:

> In undertaking this action Palestinians do not seek the desegregation of settler buses, as the presence of these colonizers and the infrastructure that serves them is illegal and must be dismantled. As part of their struggle for freedom, justice and dignity, Palestinians demand the ability . . . to travel freely on their own roads, on their own land, including the right to travel to Jerusalem.
>
> Palestinian activists also aim to expose two of the companies that profit from Israel's apartheid policies and encourage global boycott of and divestment from them.[11]

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And yet, the organizers continued to underscore the parallels between Birmingham, Alabama, in 1961 and Jerusalem in 2011 by emphasizing the structure of racist violence: "Palestinians understand that this act of nonviolent disobedience may result in violent attacks and even death at the hands of Israeli settlers that are to Israel what the Ku Klux Klan was to the Jim Crow South, or [of] the authorities that protect them."[12]

What mattered most to the Palestinian Freedom Riders and the organizers in and around Ferguson was not so much the parallels but their insistence that the struggles were *linked*, not only to each other but to injustice and oppression around the world. Which is to say that they echoed the same basic principles expressed by the women-of-color delegation in 2011, in the AAJMENA and Black4Palestine solidarity statements, in the M4BL policy statement on Palestine, and in JVP's Deadly Exchange campaign: namely, that justice is indivisible and global, that it knows no boundaries, and is founded not on shared experience but shared principles.[13] A commitment to other struggles based on internationalist principles of justice and human rights does not require reciprocity. Solidarity is neither a commodity to be exchanged, collateral to be held, nor a debt requiring repayment.

This more radical perspective that moves beyond analogies and toward a vision of the indivisibility of justice is powerfully and brilliantly illustrated in the three-minute video released in October of 2015, "When I See Them, I See Us." Produced by Noura Erakat and written by Mari Morales-Williams, Remi Kanazi, and Kristian Davis Bailey, it deftly uses photographs, signs, and voice-over narrative to capture the common struggles of Black and Palestinian communities against state-sanctioned violence and oppression, and culminates in a vision of a liberated future founded on "hope, strength, love / a place where our children can dream . . . a place where we can rise and be seen."[14] Cultural studies scholar Olga Solombrino sees the film as establishing a new "geography of anger," as well as a geography of liberation, by linking the United States and Palestine into a single landscape of violence that extends to a larger, global history of anti-racist movements and decolonization. "In the eyes of the activists," Solombrino writes, "the same governing power that disciplines Blackness also disciplines Palestinianness, and unsuspectedly weaves vital connections creating solidarity. It re-activates the old tradition of decolonization and anti-racist movements, allowing them to be read with the same critical look."[15]

What Solombrino identifies as the reactivation of earlier traditions speaks to the ways in which activists seek to build solidarity on the basis of analogy in order to construct *a shared past*. In every catalyzing instance, there is a reckoning with history, a looking backward to understand the present catastrophe, the future possibility, and the deep roots of solidarity. Indeed, behind recent spectacular controversies or interventions involving Black intellectuals advocating for Palestine—namely, CNN's firing of Marc Lamont Hill,* the decision of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI) to deny Angela Davis its highest honor, and Michelle Alexander's op-ed in the *New York Times* criticizing Israeli policies—lay a revisionist history that troubles the politics of analogy as well as the origins of BPTS. Each of these events pulls us back to the era surrounding 1967, when the convergence of Black urban rebellions and the Arab-Israeli war in June of that year birthed the first significant wave of Black-Palestinian solidarity and signaled the demise of the "Black-Jewish alliance" based

* Marc Lamont Hill is a cocurator, along with Noura Erakat, of this *JPS* special issue. –Ed.

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on the notion of shared analogy of oppression rather than shared principles of liberation. Third World insurgencies and anti-imperialist movements, not just events in the United States and Palestine, created the conditions for radically reordering political alliances between 1967 and the mid-1970s.

Indeed, I would argue that what was being reordered was not just political alliances but a vision of the world. We are too quick to dismiss the post-1967 radical insurgencies as nationalist struggles dedicated to the creation of modern nation-states as the path to decolonization. Adom Getachew suggests, however, that the dominant strains of anti-colonial nationalism should be understood as "worldmaking" rather than nation building. "Rather than foreclosing internationalism," she writes in her most recent book, "the effort to achieve national independence propelled a rethinking of state sovereignty, inspired a far-reaching reconstitution of the postwar international order, and grounded the twentieth century's most ambitious vision of global redistribution."[16] I argue that a vision of worldmaking rather than a politics of analogy or identity has been the real cement for BPTS, and that the eruption of post-1967 history into present struggles to end occupation, dispossession, exploitation, and violence in Palestine and the United States has been a catalyst for imagining revolution as opposed to plotting coalition.

Breaking Silence

> It's possible that these men were afraid. You see, the Jericho road is a dangerous road.
> –Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 3 April 1968

The growing strength of BDS and BPTS, the violent and continuing assault on Palestinian protesters taking part in weekly demonstrations under the banner of the Great March of Return, a resurgence of anti-Semitism, the Hill and Davis affairs, and the occasion of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s ninetieth birthday inspired Michelle Alexander's powerful and incisive *New York Times* op-ed, "Time to Break the Silence on Palestine."[17] The essay is a tour de force, invoking King's iconic antiwar speech at Riverside Church on 4 April 1967 as a clarion call to oppose U.S. material support for Israel's illegal occupation, settlement expansion, and violent repression of Gaza; to reject the smear tactic of silencing legitimate criticisms of Israel with charges of anti-Semitism; and to support the nonviolent tactic of BDS to advance justice in Palestine.

Alexander is correct to speculate that had King lived a bit longer, he would not have remained silent in the face of Israel's occupation and subjugation of Palestine. While King's record of support for Zionism is commonly invoked to defend current Israeli policies, his ideals and actions in the shadows of the 1967 war indicate a more complicated stance. King was never fully comfortable with the geopolitics surrounding the modern State of Israel. On Easter Sunday, 1959, King delivered a sermon titled "A Walk through the Holy Land" describing a recent trip he and his wife, Coretta Scott King, had taken to Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron, Nazareth, and other holy sites in what was then the Kingdom of Jordan. He also expressed disappointment that he could not cross into Israel since to have an Israeli stamp on his passport would have barred him from visiting any Arab country. As the rest of the sermon reveals, he wasn't condemning Arab nations so much as expressing his commitment to global justice. He later reflected on this "strange feeling

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to go to the ancient city of God and see the tragedies of man's hate and his evil, which causes him to fight and live in conflict."[18] He described the land with great awe and affection, using his encounter with biblical sites to tell the story of Jesus. When this radical Palestinian carpenter arrived in Jerusalem, he made the consequential decision to move from talking about what he believed to acting on it. King told the congregation, "He was willing to act on truth, and the world considered that a mistake." Jesus's "profound mistake" was to become a revolutionary, for which he was detained and ultimately executed. King then told the story of how a weak and delirious Jesus stumbled while carrying the cross on which he would ultimately die, assisted by a black man, Simon of Cyrene, who willingly helped bear his burden. Simon's act of solidarity, in defiance of law and Roman imperial power, paralleled the current anti-racist and anti-colonial movements in the United States and across the globe. For King, the parable spoke to a living history: "Today there is a struggle, a desperate struggle, going on in this world. Two-thirds of the people of the world are colored people. They have been dominated politically, exploited economically, trampled over, and humiliated. There is a struggle on the part of these people today to gain freedom and human dignity. And I think one day God will remember that it was a black man that helped His son in the darkest and most desolate moment of his life."[19]

King's reading of the parable radically departs from scripture. Simon, after all, was a Libyan pagan who'd been compelled by the Romans to help Jesus complete his march to the site of the crucifixion. He was not breaking the law but abiding by it. King not only turned Simon into a "black man," a symbol of a Black movement helping the oppressed gain "freedom and human dignity," but made a case for the righteousness of being "obedient to the unenforceable"—which is to say, to stand for what is just even if it means violating unjust laws. Later in the sermon, he praised the United Nations as the resurrection of the "crucified" League of Nations. "Before there can ever be peace in this world, we must turn to an instrument like the United Nations to disarm the whole world and develop a world police power so that no nation will possess atomic and hydrogen bombs for destruction." The central point was that justice had been crucified in the past but was being resurrected in a new world order, led by the world's oppressed.[20]

Given his invocation of the UN, one has to wonder whether King or his wife was aware that, only three years earlier, Israel had occupied southern Gaza and slaughtered Palestinian refugees and other civilians in Khan Yunis, Rafah, and near the village of Kafr Kassim in the war launched against Egypt in retaliation for Gamal Abdel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. Did they know that the director of the UN Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) had submitted a damning report to the General Assembly in the same year detailing the massacres in Khan Yunis and Rafah? The answer appears to be no, but King's identification with the international body as the potential arbiter of a higher law as consistent with an "unenforceable" moral and ethical order is illuminating, especially as the UN quickly emerged as a principal villain in the Zionist narrative.

King had planned a second trip to Jerusalem in 1967 but canceled once the Israeli military prevailed and occupation began. He explained to his advisers, "I just think that if I go, the Arab world, and of course Africa and Asia for that matter, would interpret this as endorsing everything that Israel has done, and I do have questions of doubt. . . . Most of it [the pilgrimage] would be

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Jerusalem and they [the Israelis] have annexed Jerusalem, and any way you say it they don't plan to give it up."[21]

King was in an embarrassing position for having lent his name to a collective statement that he had not read. Published as an ad in the *New York Times*, "The Moral Responsibility in the Middle East" called for U.S. support for Israel, suggesting the possibility of military intervention. On one hand, he believed that by signing the statement he was defending Israel's right to exist and advancing peace in the region, but supporting military action was inconsistent with his nonviolent philosophy.[22] He expressed frustration with the press for characterizing his support "as a total endorsement of Israel." On the other hand, he and his closest advisers were unhappy about Israel's occupation of Jerusalem and hoped the United States could help negotiate a fair peace settlement and withdrawal. A day after the ceasefire, King complained to advisers that "now Israel faces the danger of being smug and unyielding."[23]

King was growing more critical of Israel but remained silent so as not to detract from his anti-Vietnam work or further jeopardize what was already a dwindling funding stream. Meanwhile, 1967 marked a significant shift in Black support for Palestinians. The Black Caucus of Chicago's New Politics Convention of 1967 unsuccessfully floated a resolution condemning the "imperialist Zionist war"—a resolution, incidentally, that King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference strongly opposed. Meanwhile, the Black Panther Party pledged its support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) published "Third World Round-Up: The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge," which described Israel as a colonial state backed by U.S. imperialism and Palestinians as victims of racial subjugation.[24] Although a few SNCC members reportedly had been part of a regular study group on Palestine for close to two years under the tutelage of veteran journalist and activist Ethel Minor (who is generally credited as the statement's principal author), much of "Third World Round-Up" was taken almost verbatim from the 1966 pamphlet of the Palestine Research Center (PRC), *Do You Know?: Twenty Basic Facts about the Palestine Problem*.[25] Founded in 1965 as the research and media wing of the PLO, the PRC helped create a pathway for transnational solidarity.[26] However, "Third World Round-Up" was never vetted by SNCC leaders or rank-and-file members, causing some turmoil within the organization—though in principle, the leadership agreed with the statement. Although James Forman, then SNCC's international affairs director, justifiably complained that he had not been consulted in drafting the document, he nevertheless conceded that, "Our position against Israel, as I saw it, took us one step further along the road to revolution. For SNCC to see the struggle against racism, capitalism, and imperialism as being indivisible made it inevitable for SNCC to take a position against the greatest imperialist power in the Middle East, and in favor of liberation and dignity for the Arab people."[27]

King was pressured to publicly rebuke anti-Zionist "Black militants" or risk losing valuable allies and financial support. The Black liberal stances vis-à-vis Israel, in other words, had less to do with foreign policy, or even antiwar or anti-colonial principles, than with maintaining "solidarity"—namely, the historic and much touted "Black/Jewish alliance."[28] Thus, whereas King may have disagreed with Israel's "smug and unyielding" defense of the occupation of East Jerusalem, he nevertheless reiterated his support for Israel's "right to exist [and protect] its territorial integrity" and his view that it constituted "one of the great outposts of democracy in the world." But when

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we dive deeper into the context in which he uttered these words, as Alexander and others have done, we find King far more conflicted than what the current public discourse suggests.

King's words above come from a long, public interview conducted by Rabbi Everett Gendler at the sixty-eighth annual convention of the Rabbinical Society on 25 March 1968—ten days before King's assassination and ten months after the 1967 war.[29] The conversation exposes some fissures between King and the Rabbinical Society, partly with respect to Israel, but most importantly, it exposes what was really at stake—that the survival of the Black/Jewish alliance depended on Black adherence to political "moderation" and fidelity to Zionism. The lion's share of the conversation concentrated on King's critics, the "extremist element" in the Black community, allegations of Black anti-Semitism, the question of Black Power, and the future of the civil rights movement. The spectacular eruption of Black Power in the aftermath of the Watts Rebellion in 1965—an ideological tendency that had long existed within, alongside, and in tension with the civil rights agenda—questioned nonviolence, the saliency of interracial alliance, and the focus on begging the state for basic human rights. Black Power's strident critique of white liberalism and Northern racism was often interpreted as ingratitude, at best, and anti-Semitism, at worst. King found himself having to disavow Black Power for rejecting nonviolence and racial reconciliation, even when he agreed with some of its tenets (building Black economic and political power, for example).[30] Gendler's "interview" was just one of many examples of the sort of pressure King was under to distance himself from Black Power and an emergent Black radical critique of Israel's subjugation of Palestinians. To this end, Gendler peppered King with a string of leading questions:

> What steps have been undertaken and what success has been noted in convincing anti-Semitic and anti-Israel Negroes, such as Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and [Floyd] McKissick, to desist from their anti-Israel activity? What would you say if you were talking to a Negro intellectual, an editor of a national magazine, and were told, as I have been, that he supported the Arabs against Israel because color is all important in this world? In the editor's opinion, the Arabs are colored Asians and the Israelis are white Europeans. Would you point out that more than half of the Israelis are Asian Jews with the same pigmentation as Arabs, or would you suggest that an American Negro should not form judgments on the basis of color?[31]

Such questions made it difficult for King to maneuver, since they presumed that Gendler's rendering of events and attitudes was accurate. Yet, he politely but sternly dismissed the claim that anti-Semitism was rampant in the Black movement: "First let me say that there is absolutely no anti-Semitism in the black community in the historic sense of anti-Semitism."[32] Echoing James Baldwin, he argued that underlying poor urban Black people's antipathy toward Jews were conflicts stemming from economic inequality and exploitation.[33] Attributing the business practices of individual Jews to religion or culture is classic anti-Semitism, King acknowledged, but he also challenged the audience "to condemn injustice wherever it exists," including in the Black and Jewish communities.[34] In other words, King not only insisted on condemning all forms of injustice, he also refused to allow the charge of anti-Semitism to silence legitimate criticism—either of Jews or of the State of Israel.

When asked about the Middle East, he tried unsuccessfully to walk a fine line between solidarity with Israel and with Palestinians as part of a broader Third World struggle to end poverty, inequality,

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and the vestiges of colonialism. For Israel, he said, "peace . . . means security,"[35] though he never specified what security meant in this context. While referring to it as one the world's leading democracies, he qualified this by saying that it was a "desert land" that "*almost* can be transformed into an oasis of brotherhood and democracy."[36] Finally, he addressed what he thought peace meant for the Arabs/Palestinians. "Peace for the Arabs means the kind of economic security that they so desperately need. These nations, as you know, are part of that third world of hunger, of disease, of illiteracy. I think that as long as these conditions exist there will be tensions, there will be the endless quest to find scapegoats."[37] However, his proposed "Marshall Plan" to lift Palestinians out of poverty and insecurity ignored how the dispossession of their land and property, and subjection to Israel's security state, severely limited their mobility, employment, housing, and general welfare or security. But to be fair, King's understanding of Palestine was mediated almost entirely through a Zionist narrative and, like most Americans, he presumed the occupation was temporary.

From the River to the Sea

> Any black person of national stature who speaks against Israel
> must expect a certain isolation from the press.
> –James Forman

On 30 November 2018, the U.S. television conglomerate CNN summarily fired Marc Lamont Hill for making a speech at the United Nations on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, held annually in recognition of the November 1947 partition that resulted in the Nakba and the creation of the modern State of Israel. In his address, Hill suggested that Israeli settlement policies left no alternative but a one-state solution, based either on apartheid or on a democratic model of equality, citizenship, and full political rights for Palestinians. Delivered at the "Special Meeting of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People" as part of the UN's annual commemoration, Hill's speech was powerful, evidence based, and judicious, leaving his critics little with which to level the standard accusation of anti-Semitism. So, they zeroed in on his use of the phrase "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" simply because Hamas uses it. That was all his critics needed to conclude that Hill wasn't just a Jew hater but a Hamas adherent.

Hill survived the attack with his reputation as a noted scholar intact. He received overwhelming international support, and efforts to have him fired from his faculty post at Temple University went nowhere. Nevertheless, the controversy surrounding Hill's speech is instructive. It has been framed in various ways, from an issue of academic freedom, an attack on BDS, an example of the media's pro-Israel bias, to further evidence that Black support for Palestinian rights is motivated by anti-Semitism (not unlike the recent attacks on Black and Muslim leadership of the Women's March). Indeed, less than twenty-four hours after CNN made its announcement, photos of Hill with Minister Louis Farrakhan circulated on the internet as "proof" that the Temple University professor is a closeted Jew hater. But once again, Hill's words and the particularity of the attacks against him demand a reckoning with history.

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First, the odious phrase in question began as a *Zionist* slogan signifying the boundaries of Eretz Israel. The Likud Party's founding charter reinforces this vision in its statement that "between the Sea and the Jordan there will only be Israeli sovereignty." Indeed, as Seraj Assi wryly observed in a comment on Hill's firing, "In a self-fulfilling prophecy, and thanks to Israel's occupation and rapid expansion of settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, a 'free Palestine from the river to the sea' has become a reality on the ground. The tragedy is that, from the river to the sea, only one people is free."[38]

During the mid-1960s, the PLO embraced the slogan, but it meant something altogether different from the Zionist vision of Jewish colonization. Instead, the 1964 and 1968 charters of the Palestine National Council (PNC) demanded "the recovery of the usurped homeland in its entirety" and the restoration of land and rights—including the right of self-determination—to the indigenous population. In other words, the PNC was calling for decolonization, but this did not mean the elimination or exclusion of *all* Jews from a Palestinian nation—only the settlers or colonists. According to the 1964 Charter, "Jews who are of Palestinian origin shall be considered Palestinians if they are willing to live peacefully and loyally in Palestine."[39]

Following the 1967 war, the Arab National Movement, led by Dr. George Habash, merged with Youth for Revenge and the Palestine Liberation Front to form the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The PFLP embraced a Palestinian identity rooted in radical, Third World-oriented nationalism, officially identifying as Marxist-Leninist two years later. It envisioned a single, democratic, potentially socialist Palestinian state in which all peoples would enjoy citizenship. Likewise, Fatah leaders shifted from promoting the expulsion of settlers to embracing all Jews as citizens in a secular, democratic state. As one Fatah leader explained in early 1969, "If we are fighting a Jewish state of a racial kind, which had driven the Arabs out of their lands, it is not so as to replace it with an Arab state which would in turn drive out the Jews. . . . We are ready to look at anything with all our negotiating partners once our right to live in our homeland is recognized."[40] Thus by 1969, "Free Palestine from the river to the sea" came to mean one democratic secular state that would supersede the ethno-religious state of Israel. Moreover, the Palestinian national movement had come to see itself as part of a global anti-imperialist movement in solidarity with other nonaligned or socialist nations, or revolutionary movements like the Black Panthers.

The radicalization of the Palestinian national movement between 1967 and the mid-1970s also influenced the Arab student movement in the United States. At its August 1967 convention, the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) endorsed resolutions declaring solidarity with Black struggles in the United States, Africa, and throughout the diaspora, as well as the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, and the socialist countries supporting global revolutionary insurgencies; calling on Arab states to recognize the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Korea; and redoubling their commitment to Palestinian self-determination and Arab unity. The convention emphasized the indivisibility of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist movements in its opening statement. In that spirit, the OAS passed a resolution defending SNCC from charges of anti-Semitism and pointed to "the underlying similarities between the continuing struggle of the Palestinian Arabs in occupied Palestine against Zionist invasion and exploitation, and the ever-increasing resistance of the Afro-Americans in the United States to a power structure

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of inequality."[41] The following year, the OAS invited Stokely Carmichael to address its convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan. There he vowed that Black revolutionaries would "help the struggle of the Arabs in any way we can, not only financially and morally, but with our very lives."[42]

Carmichael, the leading proponent of Black Power and Third World internationalism, symbolized the deepening ideological divisions in the Black freedom movement—divisions, as we have seen, that left King in turmoil. Black liberals and the mainstream civil rights establishment remained lockstep behind Israel, that is until 1978 after Israel and Egypt signed the Camp David Accords. The treaty normalized relations between the two countries and demilitarized the Sinai Peninsula, but left Palestinians without a key ally. This cleared the way for more aggressive Israeli rule over the occupied territories. But it also opened the door for Black liberals such as Andrew Young, then UN ambassador under U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy, to attempt to open a diplomatic back channel to the PLO, in what was ultimately a failed effort to bring the warring parties to the table. Neither Young nor Fauntroy or their allies saw their actions as "solidarity" with Palestinians, but rather as an effort to bring peace to the region and establish a saner foreign policy in the interests of the United States and Israel. (And for this, they were labeled anti-Semitic and thoroughly rebuked by the mainstream political establishment.)[43]

So, when we talk about this moment as the high point of Black/Palestine solidarity, we must acknowledge that it was the Black Left, a political minority, that extended solidarity to the Palestinian Left based on a radical, anti-imperialist agenda. In fact, Black liberals and conservatives ramped up their support of Israel. On 28 June 1970, civil rights leaders A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin published a full-page ad in the *New York Times* under the title "An Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel." The sixty-four signatories included Whitney Young of the Urban League, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Congressional representatives Charles Diggs, John Conyers Jr., and Shirley Chisholm, as well as Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. While the ad expresses sympathy for Arab refugees displaced by the conflict, it was primarily an appeal for the United States to guarantee the security of "the most democratic country in the Middle East" by "providing Israel with the full number of jet aircraft that it has requested." In good Cold War liberal fashion, the statement warned that ignoring Israel's request would open the door to Soviet intervention. And, anticipating arguments that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was fundamentally racial, the ad read: "We think that this point of view is not only uninformed but dangerously misleading. It ignores the fact that approximately half the Jewish Israeli population consists of immigrants from Asia and Africa. And it also implies that there is an inherent solidarity of nonwhite people." The signatories point to examples of internal conflicts within Africa and then add that Israeli foreign aid has contributed "more than any of its Arab enemies to the development of black African nations."[44]

A few months later, a coalition of Black radicals formed the Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East and published a response in the *New York Times* titled "An Appeal by Black Americans against United States Support of the Zionist Government of Israel." The signatories were a veritable who's who of the Black Left: Frances Beal, Maxine Williams, and Gwen Patton of the Third World Women's Alliance; Detroit's James and Grace

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Lee Boggs; exiled militant Robert F. Williams; Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party; former SNCC leader Phil Hutchings; and the radical attorney Conrad Lynn; as well as poets, artists, student activists, labor organizers, bookstore owners, and the like. The opening sentence establishes the basis of solidarity on a shared struggle "for self-determination and an end to racist oppression." The statement implicates the United States in the slaughter of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, which it links to U.S. proxy wars in Southeast Asia, South Africa, Greece, and Iran. It expresses unrelenting opposition to both anti-Semitism and Zionism, which it characterizes as "a racist ideology that justifies the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes and lands and attempts to enlist the Jewish masses of Israel and elsewhere in the service of imperialism to hold back the Middle East revolution." The statement situated the struggle in Palestine within a broader global anti-colonial revolution, and it called Israel a "white settler state" comparable to South Africa and Rhodesia. What is most striking about the statement, however, is that its conception of solidarity and the indivisibility of justice extended to Sephardic Jews, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and the Israeli Left. It even quotes a 1966 document drafted by members of the Israeli Socialist Organization committed to a "de-Zionized" Israel, the abolition of "Jewish supremacy," and an "anti-imperialist foreign policy, actively supporting the forces struggling for socialism and unification in the Arab world."[45]

Palestinian militants, especially the PFLP, had also begun to reach out directly to African Americans. About a week before the *New York Times* ran Randolph and Rustin's pro-Israel ad, Baltimore's *Afro-American* published a profile of PFLP militant Raad Abdul Wahab, a Palestinian of African descent born in Haifa and displaced by the Nakba to a West Bank refugee camp. Abdul Wahab emphasized that resistance to the occupation was both a struggle against colonialism and racism. He explained that Black Palestinians were on the frontlines of fighting Israeli forces in Jericho, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Gaza, and he talked about the racism they experienced in Israel. Abdul Wahab also acknowledged that he and his brothers, all PFLP members, followed the Black freedom movement in the United States closely: "Our struggle is the same. We, in the PFLP, are fighting racism and religious exclusivism. Our aim is to create a free Palestine in which Arabs and Jews can live as equal citizens with regard to rights and duties, and form an integral part of a national democratic state."[46]

And yet, even the concept of a single democratic state falls short of capturing the worldmaking imagination of the Black and Palestinian Left in this moment, elements of which opposed both nationalist and statist solutions for a free Palestine. As Huey P. Newton explained during a press conference in 1970, national self-determination is impossible under U.S. empire. National sovereignty and real democracy are a chimera in a world where the United States can overthrow regimes it doesn't like and prop up those it does. Our very survival, Newton insisted, depended not on creating new states but on completely transforming society. And creating a capitalist state, he went on, only buttresses imperialism. Newton demanded something more: "After transformation into a socialist society there may be no need for separation. This transformation can only take place by wiping out United States imperialism and establishing a new earth, a new society, and a new world. So politically and strategically, the correct action to take is not separation, but world revolution in order to wipe out imperialism, and then people will be free to decide their destiny."[47]

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What Newton proposed is a variation on a free Palestine "from the river to the sea," except that he envisioned a free world with no boundaries. The old Zionist Left, not surprisingly, was not having any of it. In a response to Newton, Morris U. Schappes, veteran Communist and editor of the left-wing journal *Jewish Currents*, argued that any call to transform the Jewish state into a democratic secular state was a call for the destruction of Israel and therefore anti-Semitic: "As progressive Jews, we support the right of Palestinian Arabs to self-determination, including a state of their own, *but not at the expense of the State of Israel.* As internationalists, we support unreservedly Israel's right to exist and the Palestinian Arab right to self-determination. We invite Huey Newton to consider *this* as his program. Then we can discuss how peace in the Middle East can be achieved, with freedom, equality and guaranteed rights and states for both peoples."[48]

A Matter of Public Record

> I accept it on behalf of those who seek an end to apartheid in South Africa, to Pinochet's fascism in Chile, and to the continued violation of the sacred rights of the Palestinian people.
> –Angela Davis, upon receiving the Lenin Peace Prize, 1 May 1976

A little over a month after Hill's firing in December 2018, the BCRI announced that it would rescind its decision to give Davis its prestigious Fred L. Shuttlesworth Human Rights Award. The institute had named Davis as its 2018 recipient in September of 2018, so the sudden decision to withdraw the award and cancel the February gala was surprising and costly. The official statement of the BCRI's board of directors offered no explanation for the decision. "Upon closer examination of Ms. Davis' statements and public record, we concluded that she unfortunately does not meet all of the criteria on which the award is based. . . . While we recognize Ms. Davis' stature as a scholar and prominent figure in civil rights history, we believe this decision is consistent with the ideals of the award's namesake, Rev. Shuttlesworth."[49]

Although the BCRI board gave no formal explanation for its decision, this followed soon after the publication of an article by Larry Brooks in the December 2018 issue of *Southern Jewish Life* attacking Davis for her critique of Israel's illegal occupation, support for BDS, and defense of former and current political prisoners Rasmea Odeh and Marwan Barghouti. Brooks did not stop there, however; he also included her Communist Party membership and dismissal from her faculty post at UCLA, her membership in the Black Panther Party, and her trial and imprisonment.[50] Complaints started trickling into the BCRI's offices, and in no time the board caved to pressure. Populated primarily by corporate figures rather than civil rights veterans or activists, the board feared that honoring Davis would lead to a hemorrhaging of funds from wealthy donors. However, it all backfired. Instead, regular subscribers as well as big and small donors deluged the institute with letters and emails or quietly withdrew their support. Birmingham residents assembled in the streets to protest what they saw as a terrible injustice toward a native daughter. The BCRI came across as unprincipled, spineless, and petty, while Davis's reputation as a principled scholar-activist committed to human rights remained untarnished. Moreover, the controversy further elevated the question of Palestine, especially in African American communities and civil rights circles. The Birmingham Committee for Truth and Reconciliation, which had been leading demonstrations in

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Birmingham to protest the institute's recision, organized a homecoming event honoring Davis on 16 February (the day she was to receive the Shuttlesworth Award) that not only drew over three thousand people but featured a conversation about Palestine.[51] And as a result of global outrage, the BCRI reversed its decision again, announcing that it would grant Davis the Shuttlesworth Award after all.

The BCRI's initial press release rescinding the award concluded with a promise to "move forward with a keen focus on our mission: to enlighten each generation about civil and human rights by exploring our common past and working together in the present to build a better future." This statement is both curious and ironic because the board based its decision on an interpretation of civil rights history that suppresses histories of transnational solidarities, and the Left that I discuss above, and is beholden to an essentialist understanding of a singular and natural Black-Jewish alliance. As Davis herself pointed out in an interview on Democracy Now!, "I think it's important not to generalize about the Jewish community in Birmingham, just as I would suggest we not generalize about the Black community. . . . There are people representing very different political positions in both communities."[52] Davis is speaking not anecdotally but authoritatively. She knows that in her home state of Alabama, Jewish leftists and labor organizers found common cause with the Black working class, forming a very different "alliance," one that was often antagonistic to the interests of Black and Jewish elites. In 1933, for example, Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein of Montgomery, Alabama's Temple Beth Or synagogue was pressured by his congregation to resign and leave the state because of his support of the Communist-led efforts to defend the "Scottsboro Boys," nine young Black men falsely accused of raping two white women.[53] Moreover, Birmingham's Jewish community was neither unified in its opposition to Davis, nor was it the only source pressuring the BCRI to cut its ties with her. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Christian Zionists and the Far Right played a fundamental role in the institute's decision.[54] One of the letters calling on the BCRI to rescind the award came from former Birmingham-Southern College president Charles Krulak, a retired Marine Corps General who served as deputy director of the White House Military Office during the Reagan administration. He specifically cited Davis's former membership in the Communist Party, her appearance on the FBI's Most Wanted list and subsequent incarceration (on charges for which she was acquitted), and her support for the Black Panthers as evidence that she was unworthy of the Shuttlesworth Award.[55]

It is no accident that Brooks and Krulak laid out the full itinerary of Davis's career, presenting a veritable laundry list of alleged anti-Israel and *anti-American* crimes and misdemeanors in an effort to indict her in the court of public opinion. What is rendered as "a matter of public record" is actually part of a long and ongoing campaign of historical revisionism—or, better yet, antirevisionism. The old Cold War liberal model of civil rights history cannot account for Angela Davis as a central figure in the Black freedom movement because her conception of civil and human rights knows no boundaries. Of course, Davis's internationalism is an expression of her political trajectory. Growing up in post-World War II Birmingham, where Black middle-class homes were regularly firebombed by white supremacists and the notorious Eugene "Bull" Connor ran the police department, Davis was raised by activist parents whose best friends were Communists. In 1959, at the age of sixteen, Davis left for New York City to attend Elisabeth Irwin High School, a hotbed of

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the Jewish Left, where she learned about Socialism and read *The Communist Manifesto*.[56] Her next stop was Brandeis University, where she encountered incisive critiques of anti-Semitism, Jewish critiques of Zionism, and the radical philosopher Herbert Marcuse. She crossed the Atlantic to attend the eighth World Festival for Youth and Students in Helsinki in the summer of 1962, where she met young revolutionaries from every corner of the globe, followed by a year abroad in France. In Paris, Davis witnessed French racism against North Africans and met Algerians and Vietnamese struggling for liberation. And, tragically, it was in France, in September of 1963, that she learned of the bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and the murder of her childhood acquaintances Denise McNair, Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. With Marcuse's support and encouragement, Davis pursued her doctorate in philosophy at Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany, with the intention of studying with Theodor Adorno, but by this time Adorno had little interest in the kind of politically engaged knowledge to which Davis was dedicated. So, in the summer of 1967, she returned to the United States to join the struggle and resume her doctoral studies under Marcuse at the University of California, San Diego.[57]

To be clear, I'm not counterposing Davis's cosmopolitan experiences of internationalism against a presumed parochialism of the American civil rights movement. On the contrary, the old Cold War liberal framework ignores the internationalism that has long been at the core of the Black freedom movement. Decolonization; war; revolution; imperialism; the plight of the world's workers, migrants, refugees, and peasants—these are some of the issues that have occupied the work and imagination of the Black freedom movement.[58] Transnational solidarity is neither new nor marginal to Black movements. To take one example, few accounts of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) move beyond the 1964 showdown at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, when President Lyndon B. Johnson and his acolytes refused to recognize the MFDP as the legitimate representatives of Mississippi's voters. Rarely do we talk about the MFDP's solidarity politics and foreign policy agenda. Its 1968 platform, for example, called for an immediate end to the Vietnam War and the draft; renewed diplomatic ties with Cuba and China; cooperation with the UN "to eradicate tyranny in areas of the world—such as South Africa, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Greece"; and an arms embargo imposed on South Africa and the Middle East.[59]

As a matter of public record, Davis has fought for—and written about—Black liberation and Black lives; abolition democracy and socialism for all; indigenous struggles for sovereignty; feminist struggles for freedom, autonomy, and power to do what they will with their bodies and identities; an end to the caging of human beings; and, of course, the struggles of all oppressed people for self-determination—including in Palestine.

Davis's radical, borderless activism and scholarship represent the highest expression of transnational solidarity, forged in radical political movements, through critical inquiry, via international travel, and under the pressure of state-sanctioned confinement. To her conservative critics and detractors, imprisonment was, at best, a mark of shame, at worst, evidence of criminality. The exposé in *Southern Jewish Life* made a point of the fact that "when she was imprisoned, she was supported by Palestinian political prisoners and Israeli attorneys who were defending Palestinians." But for much of the world as well as the United States, Davis's imprisonment was a symbol of resistance and global solidarity. As an incarcerated political prisoner, she became the center of an

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international movement whose supporters pinned their own freedom to Davis's, concluding that to "Free Angela" was a blow to acts of state violence and racism around the world. And like so many incarcerated revolutionary intellectuals—such as Antonio Gramsci, Malcolm X, Assata Shakur, George Jackson, and Mumia Abu-Jamal—she produced some of the most poignant, critical reflections on freedom and liberation from her jail cell.[60] In fact, Davis's pioneering work to free political prisoners before the Attica uprising (and later as a leading abolitionist) was arguably the main catalyst behind the carceral state having become a core issue of the Black freedom movement and transnational solidarity since the 1970s.[61]

Indeed, whereas sociologist Orlando Patterson described the condition of captivity as "social death,"[62] the work that Davis initiated envisions the condition of captivity also as a basis of solidarity—in this instance, BPTS. In 2013, prisoners at Pelican Bay State Prison in California waged a sixty-day hunger strike to protest indefinite solitary confinement, just as Palestinian prisoners launched their own hunger strike against administrative detention. Three years later, Rabab Abdulhadi convened a U.S. Prisoner, Labor and Academic Solidarity Delegation to Palestine that included several former U.S. political prisoners and prison activists.[63] But the event I want to highlight is the installation of a stunning art exhibit at the Abu Jihad Museum for the Prisoners Movement in Nablus. Curated by Black studies scholar Greg Thomas and Mohammed Jamoos, a lecturer at Al Quds University, "George Jackson in the Sun of Palestine" not only revisits that critical moment in the early 1970s when Black-Palestinian solidarity was an expression of revolutionary global insurgency, but also serves as a powerful example of multiple pasts irrupting into, and shedding new light on, different presents. George Jackson had been in prison for a decade, having been sentenced to one year to life for petty robbery as a teenager. He became radicalized in prison, earned an international reputation as a writer and political thinker, and was appointed field marshal for the Black Panther Party. Regarded as a threat by prison authorities, in January of 1970, Jackson, together with John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo, was falsely charged with murdering a prison guard. The three men were dubbed the Soledad Brothers, and Davis joined their defense campaign and became intimately involved with Jackson and his family.[64] When San Quentin prison guards assassinated Jackson on 21 August 1971, protests erupted in prisons across the country, the most consequential being the Attica Correctional Facility in western New York State.

The exhibit itself, an outgrowth of Thomas's research on Jackson, centers around a generative mistake. After Jackson's death, prison authorities scoured his cell looking for evidence they might use to support the concocted story that he died trying to escape. What they mainly found were books and a fair amount of writing. Among the few things they were willing to release to his mother were two poems written in Jackson's hand, one titled "Enemy of the Sun," which the Black Panther Party newspaper promptly published as part of its George Jackson memorial issue. As it turned out, the author was not Jackson but noted Palestinian poet Samih al-Qasim. "Enemy of the Sun" first appeared in al-Qasim's 1958 debut collection titled *Procession of the Sun*. It was reprinted in 1970 in *Enemy of the Sun: Poetry of Palestinian Resistance*, a collection of poetry edited by Naseer Aruri and Edmund Ghareeb, published by the radical Black-run publishing house, Drum and Spear Press. Jackson had the book and copied the poem by hand, probably to share with others. Thomas makes the profound observation that for years, no one questioned

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Jackson's authorship because Palestinian and Black poetry of resistance, especially in these revolutionary times, share a resemblance that reveals and reinforces the bases of solidarity. In Thomas's words, the exhibition was inspired by "a poetic 'mistake' of radical kinship and solidarity, even a magical 'mistake' that merged the identities of two writers of Black and Palestinian praxes of liberation." He then goes on to illuminate the multiple layers of resemblance and recognition, embedded in a brilliantly nuanced history of Black-Palestinian solidarity.[65]

In March of 2018, I returned to the West Bank with a delegation organized by Abdulhadi around the theme of "teaching Palestine" and the indivisibility of justice. When we arrived in Nablus, we visited the Abu Jihad Museum for the Prisoners Movement where I first encountered "George Jackson in the Sun of Palestine." I had read about the exhibit, but nothing compared to seeing the poetry and the posters inspiring revolution, documenting a movement, and promoting an icon. What struck me most, however, was seeing the Jackson exhibit surrounded by hundreds of images of Palestinian prisoners along with their writings and artwork. I came away from the encounter convinced that it is not the condition of captivity that is the basis of solidarity but the *critique* of captivity from a place of confinement, the shared dreams of liberation, and the mobilizing and planning to fulfill that dream. Here, in a small, underfunded museum in Nablus—a city renowned for its fierce resistance to occupation—we encountered the afterlives of the post-1967 moment in imprisoned men and women who left a record of looking ahead in order to produce a radically different future. This was worldmaking. Solidarity, in other words, is more than short-term alliances or coalitions but a sort of prefigurative politics that demands of us a deeper transformation of society and of our relationships to one another. What brought Palestinian and Black activists together in that moment was not just a recognition of parallel oppressions, humiliations, violence, and carcerality under occupation but a shared vision of liberation—a vision that extended beyond the nation-state and the transnational to the world.

About the Author

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ENDNOTES

1 On the convergence, see Angela Y. Davis, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2016); Kristian Davis Bailey, "Black-Palestinian Solidarity in the Ferguson-Gaza Era," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (December 2015): 1017–26; Robin D. G. Kelley, "Another Freedom Summer," *JPS* 64, no. 1 (Autumn 2014): pp. 29–41; Rana Baker, "Palestinians Express 'Solidarity with the People of Ferguson' in Mike Brown Statement," Electronic Intifada, 15 August 2014, http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/rana-baker/palestinians-express-solidarity-people-ferguson-mike-brown-statement; Jaime Omar Yassin, "The Shortest Distance Between Ferguson and Palestine," *CounterPunch*, 15 August 2014, http://www.counterpunch.org/2014/08/15/the-shortest-distance-between-palestine-and-ferguson/; Dean Obeidallah, "The Ties That Bind: Michael Brown, Gaza, and Muslim Americans," Daily Beast, 20 August 2014, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/08/20/michael-brown-gaza-and-muslim-americans.html; David Gilbert, "Michael Brown Shooting: Gaza Strip Tweets Ferguson about

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3 "African Americans for Justice in the Middle East and North Africa: Solidarity Statement," 26 July 2012, https://www.pambazuka.org/activism/african-americans-justice-middle-east-north-africa-solidarity-statement.

4 "2015 Black Solidarity Statement with Palestine," Black for Palestine, http://www.blackforpalestine.com/read-the-statement.html.

5 Rachel Gilmer as quoted in Barbara Ransby, *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the 21st Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), p. 36; Kristian Davis Bailey, "Members of Dream Defenders' Delegation to Israel/Palestine Talk Segregation, Occupation and That Massive Wall," *ColorLines*, 17 June 2016, https://www.colorlines.com/articles/members-dream-defenders-delegation-israelpalestine-talk-segregation-occupation-and-massive.

6 "About Deadly Exchange," Deadly Exchange, Jewish Voice for Peace Campaign, https://deadlyexchange.org/about-deadly-exchange/; see, also, the Palestine Is Here database, which tracks Israeli military ties to U.S. local government, police departments, corporations, and academic institutions, available at "Palestine Is Here," https://palestineishere.org/.

7 Accusations of Arab/Palestinian anti-Blackness and Black Islamophobia had been part of an ongoing debate long before the Ferguson/Gaza moment, and in fact had begun to resurface in 2013 when professional academic organizations such as the American Studies Association were passing resolutions supporting the academic and cultural boycott of Israel. The popularity of Afro-pessimism and its emphasis on anti-Blackness as the foundational structure of the modern world fueled growing skepticism among some Black intellectuals about solidarity with Palestinians. For a good discussion of the post-Ferguson moment and charges of Arab anti-Blackness, see Maytha Alhassen, "Engaged Witness: A Post-1945 Transnational History of the Grammar and Geopolitics of Black-Arab Solidarity," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2016), especially pp. 277–79. See also, Nicholas Brady, "The Void Speaks Back: Black Suffering as the Unthought of the American Studies Association's Academic Boycott of Israel," *Out of Nowhere* (blog), 23 December 2013, https://outofnowhereblog.wordpress.com/2013/12/23/the-void-speaks-back-black-suffering-as-the-unthought-of-the-american-studies-associations-academic-boycott-of-israel/; *"We're Trying to Destroy the World": Anti-Blackness and Police Violence after Ferguson: An Interview with Frank B. Wilderson, III* (zine), Ill Will Editions, November 2014, http://sfbay-anarchists.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/frank-b-wilderson-iii-were-trying-to-destroy-the-world-antiblackness-police-violence-after-ferguson.pdf; Noura Erakat, "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity," *Jadaliyya*, 3 June 2015, http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32145/Roundtable-on-Anti-Blackness-and-Black-Palestinian-Solidarity. The roundtable participants included Rabab Abdulhadi, Ahmad Abuznaid, Ebony Coletu, Bill Fletcher Jr., Che Gossett, Sarah Ihmoud, Aja Monet, Donna Murch, Nadine Naber, Linda Sarsour, Jared Sexton, Nadera Shalhoub, and Robin D. G. Kelley.

8 See Noura Erakat, "The Nakba and Anti-Blackness," *Jadaliyya*, 19 May 2016, http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/33280/The-Nakba-and-Anti-Blackness; "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness," 3 June 2015; Susan Abulhawa, "Confronting Anti-Black Racism in the Arab World," Al Jazeera, 7 July 2013, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/06/201362472519107286.html. For recent historical works that engage these questions of race, racism, colonialism, and Black-Palestinian solidarity, see, for example: Alex Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013);

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13 Of course, the idea that justice is global and indivisible is an old one: the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) adopted the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" in the early twentieth century. But it is important to acknowledge the work of Rabab Abdulhadi, whose "Teaching Palestine" initiative builds upon and expands "the indivisibility of justice" as a framework for linking global resistance to race, class, gender, and sexual oppressions to opposition to Zionist logic undergirding the founding and management of the State of Israel based on racialization and colonial domination. These principles are best summed up in Martin Luther King's unforgettable words: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly." The full text of King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" can be viewed at Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from a Birmingham Jail [King, Jr.]," African Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html.

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21 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as quoted in "Black-Jewish Relations: Martin Luther King and Israel," Jewish Virtual Library, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/martin-luther-king-and-israel.

22 Martin Kramer, "In the Words of Martin Luther King," in *The War on Error: Israel, Islam, and the Middle East* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2016), pp. 254–57.

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24 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), "Third World Round-up: The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge," *The Movement* 1.2 (July–August 1967), pp. 5–6. Following the political fallout from the article and accompanying graphic images, SNCC later released a more carefully worded document that acknowledged, among other things, the history of the Holocaust. See: SNCC, "1967 Statement on Palestine," Digital SNCC Gateway, https://snccdigital.org/inside-sncc/policy-statements/palestine/. The genesis of this document has been the subject of many, often divergent, accounts. See especially, Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine*, pp. 74–78; Stokely Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael [Kwame Ture]* (New York: Scribner, 2003), pp. 557–59; Clayborn Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 267–69; Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation*, pp. 117–19; Hamza Baig, "A Tidal Wave of Color: Third World Politics, Afro-Arab Revolution, and the Black Radical Imagination, 1954–1975," (PhD diss., Yale University, forthcoming); Pamela E. Pennock, *The Rise of the Arab American Left: Activists, Allies, and Their Fight against Racism and Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 85–86.

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31 King Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here*, pp. 9–10.

32 King Jr., "Conversation with Martin Luther King," p. 10.

33 James Baldwin, "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti-White," *New York Times*, 9 April 1967; see also the widely read collection of essays edited by Baldwin and Nat Hentoff, *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism* (New York: R. W. Baron, 1969).

34 King Jr., "Conversation with Martin Luther King," p. 11.

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36 King Jr., "Conversation with Martin Luther King," p. 12 (emphasis mine).

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