

# THE HARVARD CRIMESON

OPINION

The View From Harvard's Liberated Zone



ANALYSIS

The Ongoing Nakba: A Legal Framework for Palestine



من المية للمية | VOLUME I, NO. 1 | CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS | THURSDAY, MAY 23, 2024

**THERE ARE NO UNIVERSITIES LEFT IN GAZA  
FOUR DEAD STUDENTS PER HARVARD GRADUATING SENIOR  
5,000 STUDENTS MARTYRED—700,000 STUDENTS OUT OF SCHOOL—FREE PALESTINE**



COURTESY OF INTERIM PRESIDENT ALAN GARBER

BUSINESS

Harvard Invests Hundreds of Millions in Genocide

**PAGE 2.** No one could have done anything to stop this. That's just the free market, baby! President Garber refuses to even consider disclosing the scope of Harvard's endowment, presumably because he has nothing to hide.



MEDIA

The Crimson Refuses to Talk About Palestine

**PAGE 6.** But no judgment. You also wouldn't want to jeopardize your relationship with your legacy media journalist father, or your exclusive access to Alan Garber, or your \$500,000 annual budget, or ...



# NOT ANOTHER NICKEL, NOT ANOTHER DIME: Harvard's Material Complicity in Israeli Occupation

Harvard's endowment seems a black box of colossal proportion. It is nearly \$50 billion worth of opaque investments and undisclosed financial ties. In conversations with student activists, Harvard administration acts as a proxy for the Harvard Management Company, dismissing demands for disclosure and divestment with retorts of "infeasibility."

Harvard's financial dealings were somewhat more transparent before the 2008 financial crash. The HMC used to rely more heavily on direct investments into securities that were traded — and, thus, viewed — publicly. Post-2008, the HMC restructured their investment model, shifting investments from public to secretive private equity and hedge fund vehicles, a move that has, in part, made the endowment the concealed and contested entity that it is today.

What information we do have about most of Harvard's current holdings shows nondescript firms in tax havens like Delaware and the Cayman Islands, which further conceal financial decisions behind another set of confidentiality agreements.

The Chief Executive Officer of the HMC released these classifications of endowment assets:

Asset Class	Allocation
Public Equity	11%
Private Equity	39%
Hedge Funds	31%
Real Estate	5%
Natural Resources	1%
Bonds/TIPS	6%
Other Real Assets	2%
Cash and Other	5%
<b>ENDOWMENT</b>	<b>100%</b>

Among the 11 percent of the endowment in public equity, which refers to publicly traded stocks, only three percent consists of direct investments by the HMC — that is, investments that must be publicly disclosed on Harvard's own financial filings. This three percent — \$1.5 billion in its own right — serves as a partial window into Harvard's financial abyss.

By investigating how Harvard chooses to invest in direct investments that it knows are subject to public scrutiny, we can form reasoned approximations as to where money is flowing out-

side of our view. And still, these would only be "best guesses." As pro-Palestine organizers and the Harvard Out Of Occupied Palestine coalition have reiterated time and time again, Harvard itself can and must disclose all investments in Israel, its genocide in Gaza, and its occupation of Palestine.

We can take, for example, one of the largest recipients of Harvard's direct public investments — Google. As of November 2023, Harvard's holdings in Alphabet Inc. (GOOGL) total more than \$227 million. In 2021, Google signed a contract to assist in Israel's Project Nimbus, a cloud computing project and artificial intelligence project for the Israeli government and military.

Harvard also has \$21,875,000 in direct public investment in the chipmaker and trillion-dollar-tech company NVDA/NVIDIA. NVIDIA partners with Siemens, a corporation placed on the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions list for enabling "illegal settlements on stolen Palestinian land to benefit from Israel-European Union trade of electricity produced from fossil gas." In May 2023, NVIDIA announced that it would invest millions in developing an AI supercomputer for the Israeli government, and their CEO reaffirmed this March that NVIDIA has no plans to halt its investments in Israel. Harvard publicly invests tens of millions in a corporation that will stop at nothing — not even the most well-documented genocide of the modern age — in pursuit of profit.

Furthermore, the AI Google and NVIDIA provide is a weapon of mass destruction in the hands of the Israeli Occupation Forces. AI allows Israel to collect data on and surveil Palestinians more closely than ever before. Using Google Photos, the IOF has instituted systems of facial recognition which restrict Palestinians' movement across checkpoints, like those of the West Bank. Most recently, technologies developed by companies like Google and NVIDIA have enabled Israel's deployment of AI systems like Lavender AI and "the Gospel" that automate ongoing bombings in Gaza.

Google and NVIDIA are



Hundreds of students set up an encampment in Harvard Yard on April 24, 2024.



A sign in the Gaza Solidarity Encampment.

just two examples of Harvard's investments in — and profiting from — not just the rigid surveillance of Palestinian lives but the routinization of mass Palestinian death in this ongoing genocide.

These two companies are just the start of fathoming just how deep Harvard's ties to Israeli occupation and settler violence run. Due to the opaqueness of Harvard's investments that convolute their ties to bloodshed, calls for transparency through endowment disclosure are more important now than

ever. Once we have a fuller account of Harvard's investments, we demand that the HMC immediately divest.

There is significant precedent at Harvard for divesting as a result of societal harms and human rights abuses. Harvard's "Sustainable Investing Policy" stresses that the HMC "is committed to considering environmental, social, and governance factors in the course of underwriting, analyzing, and monitoring investments." Such commitment was applied to the

tobacco industry in 1990, when Harvard justified divesting as a result of the industry's "substantial and unjustified risk of harm to human health." In 2005, Harvard divested from the oil industry in Sudan, selling its shares of PetroChina, as a result of its close association to the Sudanese government, which had "been found to be complicit in ... 'genocide' in Darfur."

After years of protests, including the 1986 construction of a mock shantytown in Harvard Yard, Harvard

carried out a "selective divestment" from South Africa, kickstarting a broader wave of divestment from South Africa that contributed to the end of apartheid. There is ample precedent for Harvard to divest from companies and countries perpetrating human rights abuses — and yet Interim President Garber considers divestment an idea he "will not entertain." In disclosing and divesting, Harvard would mark a turning point, relocating itself on the side of Palestinian liberation.

## Distorted Rhetoric: A Dictionary for Discussing Palestine

Within the movement for Palestinian liberation, language is incessantly distorted in bad faith campaigns to depict the movement as violent, inflammatory, and antisemitic. In most cases, these distortions rely on lies and invented meanings that flatten Palestinian history through racist caricature. Why not ask Palestinians and protestors ourselves what our language means — and instead focus the concern for "hateful language" on the lawmakers who openly carry out mass murder?

**Intifada** derives from the Arabic root nafada: "to shake off." An intifada is an uprising or resistance movement against oppression. In the context of Israel-Palestine, "intifada" refers to mass uprisings against Israeli occupation, including the First Intifada (1987-1993), which began in the Jabalia refugee camp after an Israeli truck driver collided with a civilian car, killing four Palestinian workers; and the Second Intifada (2000-2005), which was triggered by the failure of the 2000 Camp David Summit, the anticipated final agreement of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in July 2000.

In attempting to depict the intifadas as intrinsically murderous, critics fixate upon violent elements of

the campaigns and ignore the mass, nonviolent demonstrations that characterized the intifadas for the vast majority of Palestinians. Within the occupied territories, communities organized demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts to protest the growth of Israeli settlements and the expansion of the apartheid wall. All such actions were met with excessive violence by Israeli forces, culminating in the deaths of thousands of Palestinians. The suggestion that the word intifada calls for murder, let alone annihilation, is rooted in a racist distortion regarding what Palestinians believe and why they choose to resist occupation.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3



## The Crimson's Commitment to Objectivity Stops at Palestine

In 2022, Harvard student groups invited the Palestinian writer Mohammed el-Kurd to give a talk about state violence. Here is the beginning of the Harvard Crimson article about his visit. Some phrases are underlined for emphasis:

### Student Groups Host Event with Palestinian Activist Mohammed El-Kurd, Drawing Protest from Pro-Israel Students

Harvard student organizations hosted a Monday discussion on divestment and youth activism with Black Lives Matter organizer Marcus McDonald and Palestinian writer Mohammed El-Kurd — who drew protest from some pro-Israel students who criticized his rhetoric as antisemitic.

What we are witnessing is The Crimson's astonishing willingness to represent Zionists in good faith, even as it refuses to extend the same grace to Palestinians. In The Crimson's news coverage, description of pro-Palestinian speech has to be preemptively qualified with allegations that said speech is antisemitic. In this article, there are three such qualifications before el-Kurd's own words appear. Even then, el-Kurd is only quoted at length once, and not in reference to the actual topic of his talk — Israel's ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah — but in apparent response to the allegations of antisemitism against him.

It is hard to tell from The Crimson's coverage that el-Kurd is not just any "activist and outspoken critic of Israel's occupation of Palestine" but also a widely acclaimed journalist, organizer, and poet who was named one of TIME Magazine's 100 most influential people in 2021. It is also hard to tell which part of el-Kurd's speech was actually criticized as antisemitic. Pro-Israel students are quoted as saying that el-Kurd's rhetoric has "crossed the line," and that it often "slips from anti-Israel, anti-Zionist sentiment into antisemitism." But there are, if you can believe it, no examples of this rhetoric in the article itself. Now look what just happened! Through The Crimson's framing — the idea that discourse *about* a

topic is as newsworthy as the topic itself — the reader has shifted their focus from the material, violent evictions of Palestinian families in occupied East Jerusalem to the abstract notion that discussing those evictions might be antisemitic.

This pattern repeats without fail in The Crimson's coverage of pro-Palestinian speech, and it has only escalated since October 7. Earlier this month, The Crimson covered a rally held at Harvard's Gaza Solidarity Encampment to protest Israel's invasion of Rafah. The article described a speech given by a student protestor, whose name has been omitted here, like this:

[NAME], a Palestinian third-year student at Harvard Law School, spoke about the wave of campus protests in the U.S. and its perception in Palestine.

"People in Palestine are calling this the 'student intifada,'" [NAME] said. The term "intifada" — Arabic for "shaking off" — refers to Palestinian uprisings against Israel and is viewed by many Jews as antisemitic.

This is poor reporting on several counts. The most obvious charge — that this is a simplistic, bad-faith understanding of the word "intifada" — has already been thoroughly documented, including in the very speech described in the article, although the article does not mention this. On a procedural level, this is an obvious bit of editorializing that reproduces a racist stereotype about Arab and Palestinian speech. The Crimson did not interview Jewish students who alleged that the term "student intifada" was antisemitic; the reporters added that all on their own. More broadly, the above excerpt is the *only* representation of the Palestinian student's speech: a nine-word quote followed by a rebuttal that dismisses her language to avoid engaging with her argument. As with the coverage of el-Kurd, someone reading this article would have no idea that the student was protesting Israel's invasion of Rafah — or even that the invasion was happening at all.

Compare those articles to one published by The Crimson on May 15, about a

pro-Israel counterprotest at Harvard's Gaza Solidarity Encampment:

### Columbia Professor Shai Davidai Says Harvard Failed to Protect Jewish Students at Monday Counterprotest

Columbia Business School assistant professor Shai Davidai accused Harvard of failing to protect its Jewish and Israeli students in a Monday afternoon counterprotest outside Johnston Gate.

Like el-Kurd, Shai Davidai has also been the subject of significant criticism. Since October 7, Davidai has used social media to harass and slander Palestinian and pro-Palestinian students at Columbia and other New York schools, leading to those students receiving death threats, rape threats, and being doxxed. Davidai has called some of these student protesters "Brainwashed Hitler Youth," "mini-Nazis," and "terror supporters." His actions have led to a petition calling for his firing, which has collected nearly 13,000 signatures. But The Crimson's coverage of his visit to the Harvard encampment does not mention any of this, noting only that he "rose to prominence for criticizing pro-Palestine student protesters." The article about el-Kurd's speech contains not one but *three* interviews with pro-Israel protestors; it's not clear that The Crimson reached out to any voices critical of Davidai at all.

Of course, this is not to say that el-Kurd and Davidai should be treated equivalently just because they are both controversial; only one of them is running cover for a genocide. But The Crimson is not failing *our* standard of objectivity — it is failing its own. Harvard's paper of record commits to "honest and fair coverage of the news," including by accurately quoting sources and representing criticized parties fairly. But when it cannot make good on its commitment — when it comes to Palestine — we learn these policies may not matter all that much.

## 'This moment felt different': A Conversation with Writers Against the War on Gaza

Writers Against the War on Gaza (WAWOG) is a coalition of writers, editors and other cultural workers committed to solidarity with and the liberation of the Palestinian people. This interview with a member of WAWOG has been edited for length and clarity.

### How did WAWOG come to be?

WAWOG started very soon after October 7. It was largely a group of media workers who were disturbed by the events happening in Palestine after October 7, and the war on Gaza that began as a result. In the past, writers and journalists have attempted to organize around Palestine, but I think this moment felt different in that folks were pretty politically aligned in terms of showing solidarity with Palestinians and not trying to water down what they wanted to say.

The organizing came about first as publishing a statement that would be signed by writers writ large expressing solidarity. Beyond the statement, there were questions like, "What can we do moving forward? Is this something that just ends with publishing a statement? Or is this an ongoing organizing effort?" Drawing on connections in the industry, people began identifying what the arms of organizing could look like, whether that was in the media space, in organizing cultural institutions to commit to the cultural boycott of Israel, et cetera.

**During moments of crisis, for better or for worse, people turn to art to capture complicated feelings that are otherwise difficult to put into words. What is the responsibility of the artist during a genocide?**

Culture has the power to change hearts, minds, and beliefs. It allows us to shape and reinterpret reality. Culture is weaponized by the state and by empire to shape the terrain of domination and imperialism. It's used to manufacture consent for genocide, to make people passive, and to assuage the masses. If culture is

able to be used in that way, I think our responsibility as cultural workers of conscience is to use culture to resist that. It doesn't stop at the work itself. We produce for this purpose, but I think we also need to see ourselves as part of the larger resistance movement. That means actually being in the streets.

**The past few months have exposed the emptiness of many mainstream, left-of-center cultural institutions — PEN America and The New York Times are two that WAWOG has critiqued directly. Something unfortunate about these institutions is their massive audience and their unmatched prestige; people are going to believe what The New York Times has to say. Do you think there's a way for activists to leverage these platforms from the inside?**

For a long time, people have attempted to leverage the validity that these institutions offer, in order to try and platform resistant messages. But I think what we've seen is that no matter how much people try to organize from the inside, these institutions are behemoths that are going to operate in service of empire and capital. If someone is trying to publish in the New York Times, their pieces will often be edited to death, or defanged to the point that they no longer serve the purpose that they aim to serve.

Part of our efforts in resisting these organizations is actually to combat the stature that they carry in these spaces. When we try to use them as platforms for ourselves, we give them the validity that they desire and function off of. Part of our work is actually to invalidate them and expose that they aren't these objective institutions. They're actually very reactionary and harmful institutions. That's why we're committed to this boycott and divestment campaign against places like New York Times. By withholding our own work from them, and trying to organize others to do the same, we resist the notion that we're going to buy into what they're doing.

**One thing that struck me about the New York War Crimes is the fact that it's print first, digital**

**second — it ran a couple print issues before the website even went up.**

The trajectory of the New York War Crimes has been really interesting. It began as a form of agitprop more so than a publication. For our first couple of issues, we were literally just printing the names of victims who were killed by Israel in Palestine. It was mirroring the New York Crimes, which was published during the AIDS crisis, but also mirroring the front page [of the New York Times] that was published during Covid-19 of the names of the dead. In that sense, as a physical object, it was intended to be less of an educational resource and more of something that used the power of that double take — you're looking at this artifact that you think is a certain publication, and then you realize that it's not, and you look closer and contend with what it's showing you. The first couple of issues were published in conjunction with actions that were taking place in the city, outside in the New York Times' building. It was very rooted in that physical space of being at a protest.

We've seen how much people respond to the print copy. We'll take it to protests, we'll take it to jail support — seeing people hand them out and pass them around and read them, it's a very powerful thing.

**What can the student movement learn from the cultural movement for Palestinian liberation, and vice versa?**

Despite attempts to try and view these sorts of organizing movements as separate — like, people talking about the student encampments as their own thing — I think they are in conversation with each other. The students came to these encampments from the streets, where they were organizing first, and they brought it to their campuses. Now that encampments are being swept, they're returning to the streets, they're returning to the cultural spaces where they organize. I think we can learn from each other in terms of how we escalate, how we disrupt, and how we leverage our organizing to put pressure on our institutions. Those things exist across the board.

## Palestine Dictionary

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

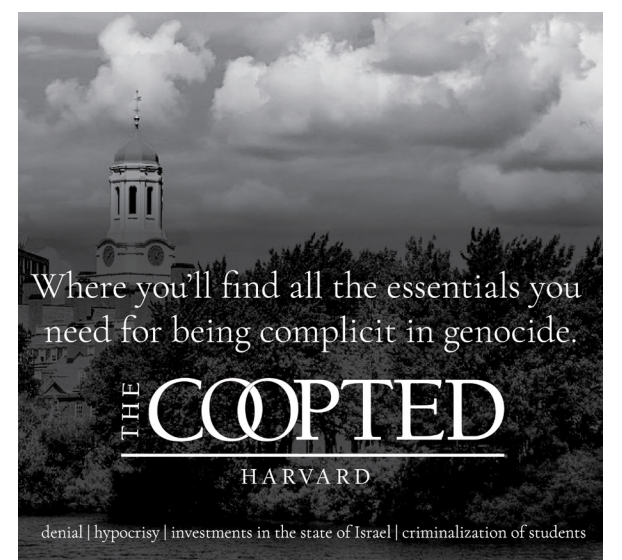
Read more at  
THECRIMESON.COM



**From the river to the sea** calls for freedom, liberty, and dignity for all who live between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. That means the ability for Palestinians throughout all of Palestine — whether in the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem, or Yaffa — to be able to live free of discrimination, on the land of their people, which they have inhabited for centuries.

**Min al mayyah lil-mayah, falasteen hurriyeh** represents the above chant in Arabic. It translates to "From the water to the water, Palestine freedom." It calls for the liberation of all in the historical region that is Palestine.

**Min al mayyah lil-mayyah, falasteen arabiyah** translates to "From the water to the water, Palestine is Arab." The chant counters the official Israeli government posture that all of historic Palestine has an "exclusive" Jewish character. Arab Palestinians have inhabited the entirety of Palestine for over a millennium — the land cannot be divorced from its Arab character. Moreover, Arab and Jewish identities have not always been perceived as diametrically opposed — historically, Jewish communities in Palestine and across the region were woven into the fabric of Arab societies. This chant thus stands in defiance of Zionism and its forced decoupling of Arab and Jewish identities.





# Vertigo: To Be Palestinian at Harvard

In this speech, three Palestinian Harvard Law students addressed Harvard's Spring 2024 Arab Commencement with a tribute to the 15 students barred from graduation for participating in the Gaza Solidarity Encampment.

**Lea Kayali:** Marhaba, good evening.

I have to admit I'm surprised to find myself here, addressing you all. In part because I am surprised they're letting the three of us graduate, but also because for most of my time at Harvard, I didn't feel like I had the sense of community that this gathering represents. Harvard was always a place where to me, up was down and down was up, especially this year. I was told my cries for ceasefire and divestment were violent — but those egging on a genocide were platformed and celebrated. The twisted logic of power can give you a sense of vertigo. As every university in Gaza was obliterated while this one stood unbothered by Palestinian catastrophe, I often felt nauseous walking these halls.

**Israa Alzamli:** We have seen some of the most violent iterations of the Nakba unfold in Palestine over the last seven months. We watched as neighborhoods were reduced to rubble. As spaces of life became sites of mass death.

I watched as my own family was annihilated. The scenes they described are burned into my memory forever: a home toppled on my uncle and his family. Only three young children survived. Another house completely flattened. Seventeen were killed — one a pregnant mother. The photos of their body bags made the rounds on Twitter. Images of my last name inked on white plastic bags haunt me.

I think of my 15-year-old cousin who was shot while he was looking for food. I think of my aunt who went blind without her blood pressure medication. I think of the 120 people who began sheltering in Rafah with my family back in October. I think about how the house they sheltered in is now empty — those who were inside it are either displaced or dead.

As we watched the hor-

rific destruction in Gaza on our phone screens, we looked up and saw the cold, cruel complacency of those in our University.

**Tala Alfoqaha:** To be Palestinian is to understand betrayal: to have it inscribed into our land and onto our backs, to watch how those holding the knives have been

“

**Just when it felt like our movement had petered out, when the public outrage had quieted, the roaring cry of the student intifada shook this University right-side-up.**

both foreigners and people borne from our own soil. No reflection on the pain of this year is complete without a reflection on the pain inflicted by our own community — from the ongoing normalization of Zionism by Arab states to the deafening silence in the face of it here in Cambridge. In the earliest days of genocide, as buses bearing my name and face roamed the campus, as I lost my job, as Harvard admin-

istrators and U.S. politicians drummed up the hysteria that legitimized the mass elimination campaign we see today, I felt most abandoned by some of my Arab siblings — Arab siblings who conformed to the racism of the political moment, who tripped over themselves to distance their politic from

that of those 'radical Palestinians,' and who cozied up to Western liberalism at the expense of the people back home suffering under its destructive logic.

**Kayali:** But there was a shift, an inflection point this semester. Just when it felt like our movement had petered out, when the public outrage had quieted, the roaring cry of the student intifada shook this University right-side-up. The Liber-

ated Zone became all which was missing in my Harvard education. Here was a place where our heroes' stories could be told — not in classrooms, but in teach-ins, sitting cross legged on the grass. We reclaimed this space and rewrote it in the names of our people. Harvard's centuries-old buildings took on the names of Hind Rajab, Sidra Hassouna, and Shireen Abu Akleh. My vertigo subsided. For the first time here, I felt at home.

Students, most notably the 15 Harvard is refusing to let graduate alongside us, righted the disorientation of this place. These students, most of whom had not spoken a word of Arabic in their lives, never, for a moment, let Gaza leave their mouth. These students, the samidoun, are undoing 76 years of betrayal. By refusing complacency, by sacrificing their diplomas, by steadfastly insisting on building a better world, they have pledged their loyalty to Palestinian life. They have forged their place on the right side of history.

**Alzamli:** As the political tide has shifted, I believe that many people previous-

ly scared into silence have since found their voice. But solidarity is most needed when it is hardest.

When it was hardest, it was these students who showed up. It was these students who took care of each other. Every one of these 15 students — every suspended student — every disciplined student — has exhibited more clarity, more moral courage, more bravery than any Harvard administrator ever could.

**Alfoqaha:** In the long road to freedom — freedom from Western imperialism, freedom from authoritarianism — stop asking yourself what you may lose for speaking up. Ask yourself what we could gain.

We can all learn from these students. They know what we stand to gain — liberation, freedom, justice. And when we gain it, we will have the brave, the courageous, the unflinching, the morally clear, the people who resisted — at personal cost, against the odds — to thank.

To the 15 students, us Palestinians bestow upon you the highest honor — that of giving us hope.

## THE ONGOING NAKBA: Toward a Legal Framework for Palestine

The following excerpts are from a piece titled "The Ongoing Nakba: Toward a Legal Framework for Palestine" by Palestinian lawyer and legal scholar Rabea Eghbariah. This article was originally solicited, edited, fact-checked, contracted, and slated for publication with the Harvard Law Review in November 2023. However, as revealed by The Intercept, the Law Review president intervened to prevent its publication, a decision that was ultimately upheld by the board of editors. The article was published by The Nation on November 21st, 2023. To date, the Harvard Law Review has not issued an apology, and its discriminatory conduct underscores the pervasive Palestine exception at Harvard.

Genocide is a crime. It is a legal framework. It is unfolding in Gaza. And yet, the inertia of legal academia, especially in the United States, has been chilling. Clearly, it is much easier to dissect the case law rather than navigate the reality of death. It is much easier to consider genocide in the past tense rather than contend with it in the present. Legal scholars tend to sharpen their pens after the smell of death has dissipated and moral clarity is no longer urgent.

Some may claim that the invocation of genocide, especially in Gaza, is fraught. But does one have to wait for a genocide to be successfully completed to name it? This logic contributes to the politics of denial. When it comes to Gaza, there is a sense of moral hypocrisy that undergirds Western epistemological approaches, one which mutes the ability to name the violence inflicted upon Palestinians. But naming injustice is crucial to claim-

ing justice. If the international community takes its crimes seriously, then the discussion about the unfolding genocide in Gaza is not a matter of mere semantics. [...]

Numerous statements made by top Israeli politicians affirm their intentions. [...] More importantly, genocide is the material reality of Palestinians in Gaza: an entrapped, displaced, starved, water-deprived population of 2.3 million facing massive bombardments and a carnage in one of the most densely populated areas in the world. [...]

And yet, leading law schools and legal scholars in the United States still fashion their silence as impartiality and their denial as nuance. Is genocide really the crime of all crimes if it is committed by Western allies against non-Western people?

This is the most important question that Palestine continues to pose to the international legal order. Palestine brings to legal anal-

ysis an unmasking force: It unveils and reminds us of the ongoing colonial condition that underpins Western legal institutions. In Palestine, there are two categories: mournable civilians and savage human-animals. Palestine helps us rediscover that these categories remain racialized along colonial lines in the 21st century: the first is reserved for Israelis, the latter for Palestinians. [...]

Palestinians simply cannot be innocent. They are innately guilty; potential "terrorists" to be "neutralized" or, at best, "human shields" obliterated as "collateral damage". [...] Palestine is where genocide can be performed as a fight of "the civilized world" against the "enemies of civilization itself." Indeed, a fight between the "children of light" versus the "children of darkness."

What do you call this ongoing colonial condition? Just as the Holocaust introduced the term "Genocide" into the global and legal consciousness, the South African experience brought "Apartheid" into the global and legal lexicon. It is due to the work and sacrifice of far too many lives that genocide and apartheid have globalized, transcending these historical calamities. These terms became legal frameworks, crimes enshrined in international law, with the hope that their recognition will pre-

vent their repetition. But in the process of abstraction, globalization, and readaptation, something was lost. Is it the affinity between the particular experience and the universalized abstraction of the crime that makes Palestine resistant to existing definitions?

[...] We must consider Palestine through the iterations of Palestinians. If the Holocaust is the paradigmatic case for the crime of genocide and South Africa for that of apartheid, then the crime against the Palestinian people must be called the Nakba.

The term Nakba, meaning "Catastrophe," is often used to refer to the making of the State of Israel in Palestine, a process that entailed the ethnic cleansing of over 750,000 Palestinians from their homes and destroying 531 Palestinian villages between 1947 to 1949. But the Nakba has never ceased; it is a structure not an event. Put shortly, the Nakba is ongoing.

In its most abstract form, the Nakba is a structure that serves to erase the group dynamic: the attempt to incapacitate the Palestinians from exercising their political will as a group. It is the continuous collusion of states and systems to exclude the Palestinians from materializing their right to self-determination. In its most material form, the Nakba is each Palestinian killed or injured, each Pal-

estinian imprisoned or otherwise subjugated, and each Palestinian dispossessed or exiled.

The Nakba is both the material reality and the epistemic framework to understand the crimes committed against the Palestinian people. And these crimes—encapsulated in the framework of Nakba—are the result of the political ideology of Zionism, an ideology that originated in late nineteenth century Europe in response to the notions of nationalism, colonialism, and antisemitism.

As Edward Said reminds us, Zionism must be assessed from the standpoint of its victims, not its beneficiaries. Zionism can be simultaneously understood as a national movement for some Jews and a colonial project for Palestinians. The making of Israel in Palestine took the form of consolidating Jewish national life at the expense of shattering a Palestinian one. For those displaced, misplaced, bombed, and dispossessed, Zionism is never a story of Jewish emancipation; it is a story of Palestinian subjugation.

What is distinctive about the Nakba is that it has extended through the turn of the 21st century and evolved into a sophisticated system of domination that has fragmented and reorganized Palestinians into different legal categories, with each category subject

to a distinctive type of violence. Fragmentation thus became the legal technology underlying the ongoing Nakba. The Nakba has encompassed both apartheid and genocidal violence in a way that makes it fulfill these legal definitions at various points in time while still evading their particular historical frames.

Palestinians have named and theorized the Nakba even in the face of persecution, erasure, and denial. This work has to continue in the legal domain. Gaza has reminded us that the Nakba is now. There are recurring threats by Israeli politicians and other public figures to commit the crime of the Nakba, again. If Israeli politicians are admitting the Nakba in order to perpetuate it, the time has come for the world to also reckon with the Palestinian experience. The Nakba must globalize for it to end.

We must imagine that one day there will be a recognized crime of committing a Nakba, and a disapprobation of Zionism as an ideology based on racial elimination. The road to get there remains long and challenging, but we do not have the privilege to relinquish any legal tools available to name the crimes against the Palestinian people in the present and attempt to stop them. The denial of the genocide in Gaza is rooted in the denial of the Nakba. And both must end, now.





Escorted by Harvard's police force, an administrator strips down and confiscates a banner bearing just some of the names of the 40,000 martyrs of Israel's genocide.

## 'It did not deprive us of the clay ovens of yesterday, but of the mystery of what we could invent tomorrow' On Intellectual and Cultural Destruction in Gaza

Israel is intent on eliminating the Palestinians. This extends beyond acts of physical brutality — the demolition of all Gaza's universities, alongside their archives, libraries, cultural centers and auditoriums, publishing houses and bookstores, museums, churches, mosques, and artworks, amounts to cultural and intellectual annihilation. Harvard University, insistent on the inalienable value of intellectual life, has failed to condemn the scholasticide unfolding in Gaza: The Israeli Occupation Forces's killing of over 5,000 students, 260 teachers, and 95 university professors and systematic targeting of hundreds of schools.

The destruction of educational infrastructure and culture sites and the slaughter of students and teachers is, in effect, the deprivation of life chances for generations of Palestinians. Harvard's moral apathy and material complicity — its feigning of normalcy — betrays the University's purported aim to serve the future.

Below is an original translation, from Arabic, of a profile of the Freedom Theatre, sourced from the online blog of the Institute for Palestine Studies. Established in 2006, the theatre generates cultural resistance through the fields of popular culture and literary study as a catalyst for social change in the occupied Palestinian territories.

### The Freedom Theatre: The Camp between the Resistance and its Culture (reporter: Moayad Taninah)

The IOF has turned the Freedom Theatre, in the heart of the Jenin refugee camp, into a permanent shrine. They constantly storm it, wreaking such havoc that on December 12, 2023, the army arrested the theatre's workers, only to release them shortly thereafter. Only the theatre's di-

rector, 43-year-old Mustafa Shatta, remains imprisoned.

With the escalation of armed resistance in the West Bank since September 2021, the role of cultural and artistic institutions has increased in importance, since they form part of the broader arena of struggle. This is what the Freedom Theatre stands accused of. The occupation has sought to fracture and subjugate the resistance, and with it all of the resistance's possible roots to the camp, conscious and committed cultural action included.

#### *The context for the theatre's emergence*

After the outbreak of the First Intifada (the Stone Intifada), Jewish activist Arna Mer Khamis decided to move and live in the Jenin camp. She is described by those who knew her as a revolutionary who devoted her life to the struggle for freedom. In Jenin, she founded the "Home of Childhood," a space for children to grow up shielded from death, destruction, and abuse. The Home of Childhood would later become the "Stone Theatre," a reference to the stones thrown by Palestinians during the First Intifada. Mer Khamis left Jenin in 1994, but would live through the destruction of the Stone Theatre by Israeli tanks during the 2002 invasion of Gaza. The IOF deliberately destroyed the camp's landmarks and cultural institutions and, in doing so, obliterated the foundation of its people's resilience.

Mer Khamis' vision did not end with her passing; her son, Juliano Mer Khamis, would continue what she had begun. Juliano took it upon himself to carry the cultural struggle forward, producing a film in 2003 entitled *Children of Arna*, which documents his mother's political activities at checkpoints, her advocacy for the women and children of the camp, and the impact of her theatrical work. Juliano then restored

the Stone Theatre, renaming it the Freedom Theatre which reopened in April 2006.

The fact that the theatre had been demolished and rebuilt only made its reach greater. Its call for freedom echoed globally, its plays toured the entire world, and the theatre became a pilgrimage site for all free people of the world. It became an icon of liberationist theatre, embodying the reality of Palestinian suffering and defying the obstacles the occupation put in its path, all this in a vacuum of political leadership and vision. Its work, often critical of society and social reality, exposed its employees to threats — Juliano would, on occasion, receive threats to his life, and the theatre was targeted by multiple attempted arson attacks. Ultimately, Juliano was killed in April 2011.

After Juliano's death, the theatre company began anew, committing to continue what he had started by presenting plays even more critical than before. The theatre's message was once again heard around the world, and its content was a longing for freedom.

#### *When theatre embodies the reality of Palestinian resistance*

"We adhere, by all means, to the struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian people, which is our liberation struggle," Juliano would say. He would often describe himself as a freedom fighter. Juliano understood theatre as a means of struggle, and cultural resistance as a way to involve the individual engaged in theatre into the struggle, thereby becoming an educated individual aware of what is happening around them. Culture and consciousness were to nourish Palestinian steadfastness. The former artistic director of the Freedom Theatre — and one of its founders, Nabil al-Rai — describes theatre as a path towards change, a way of

life oriented around the creation of life. In the dictionary of Palestinian art, life is indissociable from freedom and dignity, the emancipation from occupation, and the rejection of political genocide, which alienates the individual from their reality. The theatre's efforts can therefore be understood as promoting the culture of life, the price of which Palestinians have had to pay for with raids, sabotage, and arrests by the IOF.

The plays produced by the Freedom Theatre tend to embody the reality of Palestinian resistance. In 2015, the theatre produced a play entitled *The Siege*, based on the siege of the Church of the Nativity in 2002. The theatre also rejects grants and conditional foreign funding, remaining keenly aware of its role, duty, and mission.

Perhaps the most prominent challenge that culture and art face in Palestinian society is the belief that their role is complementary rather than foundational. This misconception results from the decline of cultural activity, which necessarily follows the deterioration of the political situation. This results in the restriction of the individual, who lacks the freedom to properly engage in the cultural and artistic sphere, which seems ever-more distant from reality. In this context al-Rai points out, that there's a cultural responsibility placed on the theatre, as "art must aid the spread of consciousness, it must pose questions that arouse controversy, and contribute to real social and political change — the creation of new ground, in other words, for a generation that can believe in the role of culture and art in a free society. Our real endeavor," he adds, "is to transform art and culture into a state of resistance, and to make art and culture a weapon with which and through which we resist, not by offering cultural resistance as an alternative, but rather as part of the general state of resis-

## EDITORIAL SNIPPETS: Reflections from the Gaza Solidarity Encampment

*The students who wrote these testimonials inhabited the encampment through its 20-day tenure and were subject to the University's disciplinary action. The opportunity for self-definition is most necessary as both the University and the media misrepresented the students' experiences and aims.*

The Gaza Solidarity Encampment was built to take up enough physical, visual, and spiritual space in the Yard as needed to continuously remind community members of Harvard's perpetuation of genocide. It was a necessary exposure of how comfortable and skilled the administration had become at neglecting its duty as expressed in the University Rights and Responsibilities Statement to listen to and address the deep concerns of students, and its basic humane duty to condemn and divest from genocide.

I always joked at camp that only this cause could convince me to sleep outdoors. But for all the light complaining I tossed around, I feel gifted to have been a part of such a beautiful community. From renaming buildings to honor martyrs to crowding around maqlubah to learning Sudanese dances to rallying outside Garber's house, every moment was transformative. Even when I was sleep-deprived or on sprinkler duty, I could find a shoulder to lean on and a life to learn about. When the administration involuntarily suspended protestors, we found ways to protect each other. Our camp, sustained by acts of love and service, was able to bloom as a voice for Palestine, in spite of the disproportionate effort Garber and administrators put into demonizing our human rights campaign and attempt to exercise free speech. Even as its proclaimed champion attempts to murder it, Veritas prevails.

On April 27, the third day of the Gaza Solidarity Encampment, we heard drumming from outside Johnston Gate. It was a group of Indigenous women and elders, singing and beating drums. One of our comrades had helped to coordinate their travels; some of them had come to Cambridge from as far as Chumash land, in southern California, to see us and urge us on. We were all singing, some of us cried — we held hands through the gate, exchanged prayers and well wishes. One of the elders implored us to stay steadfast in our commitment to divestment and a free Palestine. "They won't listen to us," she said, "they've never listened to us. You are Harvard students, think of the privilege you have. Maybe they will listen to you." In that moment I felt an emotion that I've only ever felt a few times, usually at protests — an overwhelming, twinned awareness of history and duty. The history of colonialism that links the suffering of Indigenous people in America with the suffering of Palestinians; my duty, as a guest on Native land, as a student at an institution that bankrolls genocide, to be angry, to shout, to protest, never to get complacent, never to go numb.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

stance." Al-Rai also points to how cultural resistance explains the struggle, citing a statement by the political prisoner and leader Zakaria al-Zubaidi: "A weapon that does not carry a culture is a suspicious weapon."

Jenin camp, as a distinctive case of confrontation and effective engagement with the occupation, has created an inspiring model for other camps and cities in the West Bank, especially following the escape of the six prisoners from the Gilboa prison in September 2021, which prompted the IOF to try to rid itself of the camp once and for all. Every act of resistance in the camp has elicited a response from the IOF, up until the start of Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on October 7. The IOF has escalated its aggression towards Jenin, and has resorted to destroying and vandalizing its landmarks, including of course, the Freedom Theatre on December 12, 2023.

*Onwards...*

Despite what the theatre experiences at the hands of

the occupation, it persists in its mission. Its workers have continued touring around the world to present *Gaza Metro*, a play produced by the theatre years ago. The story is about a young Palestinian man who dreams of going from Jenin to Gaza using the metro, and how present realities prevent him from doing so. The theatre is also preparing to produce *Martyrs Return to Ramallah*, a play written from captivity by the thinker and political prisoner Walid Daqqah, which details cases of Palestinian political prisoners whose bodies are held by the IOF after their death.

As the martyr Basil Al-Araj said: "You want to be an intellectual? You have to be an engaged intellectual." Engagement here means engagement with reality through its embodiment, and what the Freedom Theatre does is social-cultural engagement. An engaged culture, that is to say, is one not alienated from reality.

*Translated by Francesco Anselmetti.*



## Voices From the Harvard Encampment

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

I was constantly switching scales from the wider purpose (protesting Harvard's complicity in genocide) to the details (wondering how to get dinner for dozens of campers each night). Higher education often abstracts away the tangible into issues of theory or language; within the encampment, we went the other direction. We turned our outrage and our commitment to justice into a breathing space.

Harvard loves to locate affinity spaces underground. The Hindu prayer space that I attend is a small windowless room with no ventilation in the basement of Canaday Hall, beside the Muslim prayer space and the Women's Center. This decision is indicative of the respect Harvard deems us worthy of. As it tries to hide us from sight, the administration tries to keep us at the margins of decision making, allowing the "serious" people to proceed with policy. The camp allowed us agency. Every time I heard the sunset call to prayer resound through Harvard Yard or saw the rainbow flags fluttering in the breeze, I enjoyed the fact that now, we conveyed a very simple message: we refuse to be below ground again.

Following freshman move-out on May 12, only campers, the proctors, the administration, HUPD, and Securitas remained in Harvard Yard. We slept with headlights from police shining down at our tents; in the mornings, we exited tents to police officers following our morning routines; we saw administrators record our belongings and photograph us for disciplinary proceedings.

The narrative always casts the end as peaceful. But it was anything but peaceful — there were shouts of urgency to alarm campers of dean presence, waves of panic as we rushed to throw on keffiyehs, masks, sunglasses, the constant tightness in our chests as we waited for suspension announcements to upend our lives. The imposition of arbitrary rules and punishments, without precedent or due process. Dean Hopi Hoekstra commended the ending as one "without police action." But the police were heavily involved — not to make arrests but to intimidate us through constant and invasive monitoring, to instill fear and weaken our resolve.

Despite intimidation, the camp provided a sense of community: through art builds, gardens, healthy meals, and a library of texts, we "kept us safe." Campus safety was best represented by the medical and mental health table, frequently attended by at least one fellow camper. I never felt so seen and heard by another student; it made me realize how lacking the University is in true student support.

Watching the camp dismantled, I felt a sense of loss. I am a first-generation immigrant and PhD candidate, and for five years I believed the sense of alienation I felt at Harvard was just imposter syndrome — until now. Alienation isn't an emotion. It's caused by lack of attention to community maintenance, and, more importantly, a commitment to propagating cognitive dissonance that refuses to let the campus core value — veritas — be put into practice.

On campus, I felt disempowered simply due to holding a political opinion that counters that of those that lead the University. I am motivated to protest injustice by my roots and by my familial ties to Indian colonial liberation. This personal closeness to colonialism informs my social engagement, political commitments, and academic thought, and it also provides me with a lens of care: I do not go one day without worrying about reports from Gaza. What separates us from our sisters and brothers in Gaza is luck.

Read more at  
[THECRIMSON.COM](https://www.thecrimson.com)



### STAFF EDITORIAL

# A Palestine Exception to the Crimson's Editorial Board

BY THE CRIMESON  
EDITORIAL BOARD

On April 29, 2022, The Crimson's Editorial Board published a staff editorial titled "In Support of Boycott, Divest, Sanctions and a Free Palestine." Two years, leadership turnovers, and waves of backlash later, today's Editorial Board is a far cry from the one that stood in unequivocal support of Palestine.

This year, executive members of the Board have refused to engage with Palestine on both a geopolitical and campus level, shut down discussions of divestment, and personally harassed Palestinian and pro-Palestine students.

Instead of condemning Israel's genocidal campaign in Gaza, denouncing the congressional witch hunt into campus protests and political speech, and coming to the defense of their peers' right to free speech, the Board has stayed quiet on the slaughter of 35,000 Palestinians, urged Harvard

to capitulate to a bad faith Congress, and cheered on the University's draconian sanctions of student protestors.

Rather than foreground Harvard's recent unprecedented actions for what they reveal — a Palestine exception to free speech — the Board has described the suspension of the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee only as a decision that would "guarantee chaos." It has portrayed interim University President Alan M. Garber '76's creation of new protest guidelines as "the University's rightful prerogative to regulate student protest and, yes, discipline student protestors." And it has reduced the indefinite postponement of a College-wide vote on a divestment resolution to "bureaucratic dysfunction."

The Board's painfully apolitical stance — itself a political act at a time when the question of Palestine is unavoidable — misses the greatest manifestation

of the free speech issue on which it often opines. In failing to publish the word "Palestine," let alone acknowledge the Palestine exception pervasive on Harvard's campus, the Board has invited in a Palestine exception of its own.

And so, as unfathomable violence only intensifies in Palestine, with a 76-year-long occupation erupting into full-fledged genocide, the Board retreats further into complacency.

Per the unilateral decision of the Board's highest-ranking members, in the six weeks following Oct. 7, the Crimson's Editorial page was full of talk of grade inflation, launch grants, and street signs — everything but the genocide in Gaza and its reverberations on our campus. As Palestinians were killed en masse on Harvard's dime and the students who protested this violence were doxxed, threatened, and disciplined, the Board remained silent.

The Crimson — especially the Editorial Board — is an

institution meant to hold those in power accountable. But all it has done is lend legitimacy to a federal government and University administration intent on quashing all dissent. For a body meant to "discuss the biggest campus issues of the moment" and reflect the majority opinion of the student body, the Board has wholly failed.

The Crimson's Editorial Board has lost the spine it once had, at a time when those martyred, bombed, and starved in Gaza — and those on our campus who dare protest this genocide — need it most.

*This staff editorial solely represents the majority view of The Crimson Editorial Board. It is the product of discussions at regular Editorial Board meetings. In order to ensure the impartiality of our journalism, Crimson editors who choose to opine and vote at these meetings are not involved in the reporting of articles on similar topics.*

## 'HOW AM I SUPPOSED TO FEEL SAFE AT A UNIVERSITY THAT BANKROLLS THE SLAUGHTER OF MY PEOPLE?'

This essay was written by a Palestinian student at Harvard College.

I came to this institution eager to learn, ready to soak up all of the opportunities advertised by my Visitas tour guide. On the first day of classes, I outstretched my hand to anyone in a well-pressed suit, hoping to talk to every professor and dean I came across. My conversations with them were wide-ranging, but my response to the inevitable question of where I was from — "I am Palestinian" — always elicited the same reaction: Their college-brochure smiles quickly turning into frowns.

The dissonance only worsened once the genocide in Gaza began.

For Palestinian students, the congratulatory text messages our grandparents had sent us upon our acceptance to Harvard became lists of missing family members and images of our own being massacred — the true "veritas" of our tuition money.

How much does this institution invest in occupation and genocide? Why, last December, did the Managing Director of Investment for the Harvard Management Company go on an exclusive trip to Israel to explore po-

tential areas of investment? Why did he meet with the Israeli Occupation Forces and Israeli government officials? How am I supposed to feel safe at a university that bankrolls the slaughter of my people?

These questions turned into chants that I screamed at protests — and the unprecedented and disproportionate retaliation from University administration confirmed my greatest fears.

When I dropped a banner with the names of thousands of martyrs in Annenberg, professors screamed at me to "release the hostages"; staff members followed me into buildings whenever I wore my keffiyeh; police tailed me as I left protests.

The only semblances of comfort I found on campus were in organizations like the Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee, which saw me as more than my identity while also celebrating it. I organized with the PSC for months, attended their cultural events and ate manakeesh just as my mom makes it, and met comrades who became some of my closest friends. And then, the PSC was suspended by Harvard's draconian administration last month. Just like that, the only official af-



A protestor walks through the encampment draped in a Palestinian flag.

finity space for Palestinians on campus was stolen from us.

Despite the University's McCarthyite crackdown on protests and its constant threats — and actual implementation — of disciplinary action, I draw power from the community of students calling for divestment and fighting for Palestinian liberation. Their solidarity matters so much more than

any last-minute policy or carceral email.

Palestinians at Harvard and on campuses across the nation are taking charge. Whether people like it or not, this University — and this country — have already begun to crumble in the face of the unavoidable compass of liberation.

It is no longer a question of if Palestine will be free — it is a matter of when.



## In Palestine

**UNDATED.** None of this began on October 7. Seventy-six years after the Nakba, as Israeli settlers continue to violently depopulate and destroy villages in the West Bank in violation of international law, Israel occupies Gaza, blockading air, land, and sea routes in and out, crippling Gaza's economy. Through systematic land dispossession, segregation, and the deprivation of economic and social rights, Israel is imposing apartheid rule on Palestinians. Millions of Palestinians lived in exile, most in cramped refugee camps, unable to return to their homes, well before October 7.

**October 28, 2023.** Israel begins a full-scale invasion of Gaza, one of the most densely populated places on earth, where two million Palestinians live.

**November 9, 2023.** Israel agrees to allow daily "four-hour pauses" of airstrikes to allow aid to enter and civilians to evacuate. Some Palestinians are reportedly shot by snipers during these "humanitarian pauses."

**November 15, 2023.** The IOF raids Al-Shifa Hospital. Around 15,000 displaced Palestinians are sheltering in the hospital, as well as 1,500 patients – 700 of whom are in critical care – and 1,500 medical workers. Months later, in April, mass graves containing at least 381 martyrs begin to be uncovered.

**December 1, 2023.** The ceasefire ends after Israel rejects a hostage deal. Israelis begin bombing Khan Younis in the southern Gaza Strip, where many Palestinians have evacuated from Gaza City.

**December 8, 2023.** The U.S. vetoes a second UN resolution for an immediate ceasefire. The Zionist entity has killed 133 UNRWA workers. Eighty-five percent of Palestinians – 1.5 million people – are displaced.

**December 19, 2023.** An Israeli real estate firm releases an advertisement promoting the construction of illegal settlements in areas destroyed by Israeli bombings in Gaza.

**January 26, 2024.** The ICJ issues a ruling there is sufficient evidence to conclude that Israel is committing a "plausible genocide" in Gaza. The ICJ orders Israel to take action to prevent further acts of genocide but falls short of calling for an immediate ceasefire.

**February 7, 2024.** Israel rejects a ceasefire deal.

**March 28, 2024.** The ICJ rules unanimously that Israel must immediately allow the unhindered flow of aid into Gaza.

**May 5, 2024.** Israel shuts down Al Jazeera's operations in the country and raids its offices.

**May 15, 2024.** More than 600,000 displaced Palestinians in Rafah have fled north to Al-Mawasi, displaced yet again. Crammed and over capacity, Al-Mawasi lacks minimal conditions for emergency humanitarian assistance.

**May 20, 2024.** The International Criminal Court files arrest warrants for Israeli and Hamas officials, including Benjamin Netanyahu, Yoav Gallant, and Yahya Sinwar.

**May 23, 2024.** Today. Israel continues its genocidal campaign with near-total impunity. Yet we also know that Palestinian existence cannot be extinguished. Palestine will be free within our lifetime.

**October 7, 2023.** Hamas launches an invasion of Israel, killing 1,200 Israelis and taking 252 captive, according to Israeli intelligence. Despite strong evidence that the Israeli Occupation Forces have known of Hamas's plans for at least a year, they have stationed their troops in other parts of the country, leaving the border with Gaza exposed.

**November 1, 2023.** The IOF bombs the Jabalia refugee camp, killing dozens of refugees. This bombing marks the first of many attacks on the camp, which continue to this day.

**November 12, 2023.** "We're rolling out Nakba 2023" — Israeli minister Avi Dichter.

**November 24, 2023.** A seven-day ceasefire mediated by Qatar takes effect, in a deal between Hamas and Israel. One hundred and fifty Palestinian prisoners are exchanged for 50 Israeli hostages.

**December 7, 2023.** An Israeli airstrike martyrs the Palestinian poet, scholar, and activist Refaat Alareer, who wrote the celebrated poem "If I Must Die."

**December 15, 2023.** Israel admits that it killed three of its own hostages on this day, who were waving a white flag when they were shot.

**December 29, 2023.** South Africa begins to present its case at the International Court of Justice, charging Israel with genocide in Gaza.

**January 27, 2024.** The U.S., along with eight other countries, cuts aid to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the only UN organization providing aid to Palestinian refugees.

**February 29, 2024.** Israel has killed at least 30,000 Palestinians at this point. In the Flour Massacre, Israeli tanks open fire on a crowd of thousands of people waiting for aid trucks, killing at least 112 Palestinians and injuring 760.

**April 1, 2024.** The Israeli military coordinates the route of a World Central Kitchen convoy carrying food into Gaza before drone-striking them, killing seven aid workers. Israel bombs the Iranian consulate complex, killing several Iranian senior officials.

**May 7, 2024.** The IOF begins an offensive in Rafah.

**May 19, 2024.** Settlers continue attacking humanitarian trucks and blocking aid, destroying boxes of food.

**May 21, 2024.** UNRWA is forced to suspend food distribution in Rafah "due to lack of supplies and insecurity." Both are direct consequences of Israeli violence, which, according to Refugees International, has "consistently and groundlessly impeded aid operations within Gaza." By this date, Israel has killed 449 people sheltering in UNRWA facilities and 189 UNRWA colleagues.

## At Harvard

**October 8, 2023.** Harvard's Palestine Solidarity Committee releases a joint statement with Graduate Students for Palestine (GS4P) and cosigned by over 30 student groups, holding the "Israeli regime entirely responsible for unfolding violence."

**October 12, 2023.** The doxxing truck makes the first of many appearances in Harvard Square. It displays the faces and names of students, some of whom were not affiliated with the statement. Gay condemns the "barbaric atrocities perpetrated by Hamas."

**October 18, 2023.** At a PSC protest, a counterprotestor steps over students lying down and records their faces. Two graduate students are accused of using force by shielding his camera with keffiyehs. Harvard retaliates against one, evicting and firing him from his job as a proctor.

**November 1, 2023.** PSC and GS4P extend a formal meeting request to President Gay. The email is ignored.

**November 16, 2023.** Jews for Palestine (J4P) organizes a 24-hour sit-in of University Hall. The sit-in ends without any of the group's demands being met by administration. Nine students face disciplinary action for participation.

**November 29, 2023.** AFRO and HGSU-BDS organize a walkout in the Science Center Plaza. Harvard opens additional disciplinary cases against four students associated with the walkout.

**December 21, 2023.** The Crimson reports that the Managing Director of the Harvard Management Company, Adam Goldstein, went on a five-day trip to Israel that included confidential military and political briefings with Israeli officials.

**January 10, 2024.** PSC and J4P reach out to Interim President Alan Garber to schedule a meeting. They follow up again a week later.

**January 23, 2024.** The Dean of Students Office (DSO) blocks PSC from co-hosting a J4P event, stating that recognized student groups cannot "co-sponsor" activities with unrecognized groups.

**March 29, 2024.** At an Iftar celebration, Garber sidesteps Muslim students' questions, but claims that divestment from the occupation "lacks moral clarity."

**April 10, 2024.** A PSC petition through the Harvard Undergraduate Association (HUA) successfully triggers a nonbinding student referendum on divestment.

**April 19, 2024.** The Harvard Design School student government votes for divestment, the third school to do so.

**April 24, 2024.** The Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine coalition establishes the "Liberated Zone," an encampment at the heart of the University. HOOP's manifesto calls for Harvard to disclose, divest, and drop charges from student protestors.

**May 2, 2024.** HOOP holds an emergency rally calling attention to Rafah and in solidarity with Columbia students being brutalized by police.

**May 8, 2024.** More than 300 faculty and staff sign a letter urging Garber to negotiate with HOOP. The administration is mocked at a faculty meeting. Under pressure, Garber organizes a meeting with students through back channels.

**May 14, 2024.** HOOP ends its encampment on the condition that students placed on involuntary leave are reinstated. Garber says the Ad Board will be encouraged to evaluate cases "under existing practices and precedents."

**May 20, 2024.** Faculty vote to add the 13 disciplined seniors set to graduate in May to the degree conferral list. Three Palestinian law students speak at graduation honoring Arab students. Over 500 faculty and staff condemn the Administrative Board's decisions.

**October 10, 2023.** Members of the PSC and other student groups become victims of threats and doxxing.

**October 13, 2023.** Students meet with College deans to minimal response.

**October 19, 2023.** Gay meets with Muslim undergraduates. Students request her to meet with Palestinian students. She ignores their requests.

**November 10, 2023.** Gay issues a University-wide email condemning "from the river to the sea" as "imply[ing] the eradication of Jews from Israel."

**November 18, 2023.** The board of The Harvard Law Review refuses to publish a piece they had previously solicited from Palestinian human rights lawyer Rabea Egbariah about the ongoing Nakba in Palestine.

**December 5, 2023.** Gay appears before Congress along with the presidents of MIT and UPenn to testify on campus antisemitism. Gay fields a barrage of questions, including whether or not "calling for the genocide of Jews" constitutes a violation of University policy.

**January 2, 2024.** Under mounting pressure, Gay resigns.

**January 19, 2024.** Rather than meeting, Garber amends University policy to restrict student protest.

**March 6, 2024.** The DSO retroactively notifies PSC of its probation status, which had started a week earlier.

**April 5, 2024.** Harvard Divinity School and Harvard Law School vote in a nonbinding referendum to divest from companies complicit in the occupation.

**April 11, 2024.** The HUA refuses to facilitate the referendum, citing internal controversies. The decision is made by just two HUA executives. The HUA suspends all student referenda indefinitely.

**April 23, 2024.** Harvard suspends the PSC for not registering a rally. The American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts (ACLU) calls on Harvard to reinstate PSC's organizational status.

**April 30, 2024.** The Administrative Board, Harvard's disciplinary body, sends charge letters to over 30 student protestors. The encampment continues to expand and hold Jummah prayer, Shabbat services, teach-ins, art builds, and other community events.

**May 7, 2024.** Instead of negotiating, Garber threatens to place all students "perpetuating" the encampment on involuntary leave, a form of suspension. The 5 p.m. deadline HOOP had set for negotiation passes. HOOP leads a march to Garber's house in Cambridge.

**May 10, 2024.** Garber refuses to negotiate. He places at least 20 student protestors on involuntary leave. They face eviction, food insecurity, degree withholding, and deportation. Student protestors rename three buildings in the Yard to honor martyrs.

**May 18, 2024.** College disciplinary proceedings prevent at least 15 seniors from graduating, require five students to withdraw, and place at least 20 more on probation. Two graduate students are facing criminal charges and jail time for the October die-in.

**May 23, 2024. Commencement.** As we celebrate our peers in the heart of the empire, there are no universities left in Gaza, the result of a genocide that Harvard invests in. What are you willing to sacrifice?

**HARVARD OUT OF  
OCCUPIED PALESTINE  
PUBLISHED THIS  
STATEMENT OF VALUES  
AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE 20-DAY  
GAZA SOLIDARITY  
ENCAMPMENT IN  
HARVARD YARD. THE  
FOLLOWING IS AN  
UPDATED VERSION  
OF THE GROUP'S  
DEMANDS.**



Jummah prayer in the middle of Harvard Yard, on the first Friday of the encampment.

**W**e, the Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine coalition, are a group of students and student workers at Harvard University committed to Palestinian liberation. We are part of a rich tradition of students who stood up to U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Iraq, rallied against apartheid in South Africa, fought for Black liberation in the United States, and built national living wage campaigns on university campuses. We understand that all of our historic movements for freedom and justice are intertwined. The Palestinian cause is not for Palestinians alone — it is a cause for people of conscience, concerned with humanity, freedom, and justice.

Over the past seven months, we have witnessed Israel and the United States unleash unimaginable cruelty in Gaza. As we write this, Israel has murdered more than 35,000 Palestinians, including 14,000 children. Every day brings more horrifying images than the last: families facing starvation, people undergoing amputation without anesthesia, newly discovered mass graves, entire neighborhoods reduced to rubble.

These atrocities are not new. Since the original Nakba — Arabic for catastrophe — of 1948, when 750,000 Palestinians were ethnically cleansed from their land, Palestinians have been dispossessed and fragmented by a pernicious apartheid regime, a brutal military occupation, and a suffocating blockade. Zionism, the political project rationalizing this violence, requires the subjugation of Palestinian life and the continued colonization of Palestinian land. There can be no equivocation: Palestine is occupied from the Sinai to the Galilee, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

This oppression is co-signed and co-sponsored by the United States government and its institutions. The U.S. continues to sustain the Zionist colonial regime with billions of dollars in military funding. Since its founding, Israel has been the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign aid, receiving ap-

proximately \$300 billion in economic and military assistance.

As we walk the halls of Harvard, study in its libraries, and sleep in its dormitories, we are acutely aware that there are no universities remaining in the Gaza Strip. Israel has robbed Palestinians of their right to education by systematically destroying academic infrastructures and communities. Professors, teachers, students, and academic workers have been targeted and killed along with the rest of Gaza's population. As students, educators, and graduate workers, we have a duty to fight against this genocide.

Palestine is not only a moral issue. It is an issue that affects our campus, one that fundamentally implicates Harvard University. As of 2019, Harvard had invested at least \$200 million in companies with ties to illegal Israeli settlements, a flagrant violation of international human rights law, and at least \$86,625 worth of investments in the Israeli military. Today, the Harvard Management Company, which oversees the world's largest university endowment of \$51 billion, discloses no information about the scale or nature of its investments in Israel.

On its campus, we have witnessed the university relentlessly suppress voices in its community speaking out against the actions of the Israeli state and for the rights of the Palestinian people. Time and again, we have seen Harvard pioneer and affirm the "Palestine exception to free speech," silencing professors and students when they speak out about Palestine or include Palestinian liberation in their ethic of social justice. The university is also failing to protect its community from violent and racist anti-Palestinian harassment. Just last month, Harvard unilaterally suspended the Palestine Solidarity Committee after months of administrative persecution and discriminatory measures.

Enough is enough. In the past seven months, our protests against the intensifying genocidal campaign in Gaza have been

met with repression, administrative targeting, willfully racist attacks (including from politicians and faculty members), and arbitrary policy changes designed to silence our voices. We will not be deterred. Our commitment to protest Harvard's moral, institutional, and financial complicity in the genocide of Palestinians remains unwavering.

As student governments in schools across Harvard pass resolutions for divestment, the University must contend with the fact that its students will not tolerate its support for genocide, violence, and apartheid. In doing so, we proudly continue Harvard's legacy of anti-war, anti-racist student organizing, from the mock "shanty towns" established in Harvard Yard in 1986 to protest apartheid in South Africa, to the 1969 University Hall occupation protesting against the war on Vietnam.

Our movement is one part of a tapestry of liberation movements. Harvard itself is a product of land theft and indigenous erasure: the initial funds to establish this university were used for the 'education and conversion' of indigenous people. Through our organizing efforts, we hope to begin the work of building the world we want to inhabit: a world free of the shackles of colonialism.

The Palestinian people, like all oppressed peoples, have a right to resist their annihilation. We hold this to be a precondition for Palestinian liberation, as we do the inalienable right of return, a fundamental value that challenges and denaturalizes the colonial fragmentation of the Palestinian community. Our act of civil disobedience here at Harvard is grounded in Palestinian values of *sumoud* — Arabic for steadfastness — and love for life.

We are driven by the belief that a better world is possible: a world free of racism, white supremacy, cishetero-patriarchy, ableism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, and all forms of hatred. It is for this reason that we are compelled to take action.

**As such, we demand that Harvard University:**

**I. Disclose any and all investments — both institutional and financial — in Israel, the ongoing genocide in Gaza, and the occupation of Palestine.**

**II. Divest from all such investments, and reinvest resources in Palestinian academic initiatives, communities, and culture.**

**III. Drop all charges against students for their organizing and activism, and commit to ending the weaponization of disciplinary policy.**

The whole world is watching a genocide unfold before its eyes. We raise our voices to join the chorus of millions demanding an immediate and permanent ceasefire in Gaza, an end to the occupation, and a free Palestine from the river to the sea.