

# **PALESTINE SOLIDARITY FOR THE LONG TERM**

**FOR FRIENDS, ALLIES, AND COMRADES**

[bit.ly/PalSolidaritiesLT](https://bit.ly/PalSolidaritiesLT)



*Gaza Lives by Josh MacPhee  
as part of the Just Seeds' Free  
Palestine collection*

There are various ways to enact solidarity. In fact, many groups have already laid out clear, important actions: Direct action. Contact your elected officials. Donate. Read and learn and so on – you probably already know this. If not, you can find immediate action items in this resource database: [Bit.ly/SoliRes4Pal](https://bit.ly/SoliRes4Pal).

To supplement this needed work, we wanted to take this opportunity to think together on **what solidarity looks like in the long run**. Right now, everyone is on high alert, driven by urgency, and operating in a crisis mode. Inevitably, the urgency will fade. Protests will diminish in size. Fundraisers will stagnate. This diminution is not necessarily a reflection of fading solidarity; organising moves in ebbs and flows.

What, then, does solidarity look like in the long term? Learning from the long and rich tradition of Palestinian resistance, it looks like work: asking the difficult questions, building coalitions, and showing up consistently, with humility and patience. It includes direct action and indirect action; immediate and sustained; individual and at scale. **We challenge**

**you to think creatively, expansively, and boldly about what solidarity looks like from where you stand.** Oppression operates through an all-encompassing and extensive apparatus.

What power do you bring with you? What skill sets, experiences, and resources can you offer? What risks and inconveniences are you willing to take? And how will these change over time?

**NO SOUNDBITE.**

**NO SOUNDBITE.**

**NO SOUNDBITE WILL FIX THIS.**

**WE TEACH LIFE, SIR.**

**WE TEACH LIFE, SIR.**

**WE, PALESTINIANS, WAKE UP  
EVERY MORNING TO TEACH THE  
REST OF THE WORLD LIFE, SIR**

**- RAFEEF ZIADAH**

Our Palestinian comrades have taught us, over and over again, that solidarity is about life. In spite of the silence and violence, we have life. We celebrate the life we have in hopes for a just and free world. If not today, then tomorrow. **From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.**

# HOW TO USE THIS GUIDE

This guide is structured in five parts. In developing this guide, we are informed by the movement building traditions of Southern Solidarities, Black feminism, and the Palestinian liberation movements. The five parts are loosely chronological and intended as a rubric for the readers to assess **when, where, and how they can enact solidarity in meaningful, sustainable, and impactful ways.**

## 1 PREPARE

What does showing up really mean? We begin by realistically examining what solidarity with Palestine looks like and what is at stake.

## 2 IDENTIFY

Start from where you are. Identify the political power you currently hold in the communities in which you already belong. We all have a part to play.

## ENGAGE

- 3 Examine your community's entanglements with the Zionist project. Do this by naming, de-naturalising, and interrupting the power imbalances perpetuated by the Israeli state. For example, through BDS, interrupting the military-industrial complex, and interrupting financial and political ties to apartheid.

## 4 ORGANISE

Intentionally build communities of solidarity across borders and sectors. Consider how to make movements sustainable and contribute to the unglamorous back-end work of movement building.

## 5 REFLECT AND REPEAT

Solidarity work invites us to reflect on our own positionalities in relation to the free and just world we pursue. Interrogate the relations, vocabularies, and frameworks that entrench oppression. As the conditions of resistance change over time, so, too, should our tactics.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>6</b>	<b>PREPARE YOURSELF</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>IDENTIFY WHERE YOU ARE</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>ENGAGE YOUR COMMUNITY'S ENTANGLEMENTS WITH THE ZIONIST PROJECT</b>
<b>20</b>	<b>ORGANISE CROSS-BORDER/SECTOR SOLIDARITIES</b>
<b>32</b>	<b>REFLECT ON YOUR STRATEGIES, POSITIONALITY, AND THEORY OF CHANGE; AND REPEAT</b>
<b>37</b>	<b>CASE STUDY: #BLOCKTHEBOAT</b>
<b>42</b>	<b>RESOURCES TO HELP YOU ORGANISE</b>
<b>44</b>	<b>ABOUT</b>

## PREPARE YOURSELF

Since the 7 October attack, those speaking publicly about Palestine have faced serious consequences: peaceful protests have been violently suppressed across Europe, students have been suspended, publicly shamed and harassed, assaulted, and fired; journalists, writers, and academics have been harassed, fired, and attacked; public figures, too, have been fired, defamed, and horrifically doxxed. Many have faced arrest already and many more will face legal consequences as the situation unfolds. This is part of a longer history on the suppression and criminalisation of Palestine solidarity, and a longer history of Islamophobia. This disproportionate and reactionary backlash reflects the essence of Palestine solidarity – there is something particularly destabilising about the Palestinian cause. As Palestinian geographer Dr. Hashem Abushama writes:

**“WHEN IT COMES TO PALESTINE, THEIR VIOLENCE IS MOST EXACT AND BRUTAL. AND, THAT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE POWER OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE: IT PUTS IN QUESTION THE ENTIRE WORLD ORDER - IN ITS RACIALIZATION OF BLACK AND BROWN BODIES, ITS DENIAL OF THE CONSTITUTIVE AND ACTIVE ROLE OF COLONIALISM, IN ITS COORDINATION OF VIOLENCE AND EXPLOITATION. IT BRINGS TO THE FOREFRONT THE RACIST, CAPITALIST, AND COLONIAL RELATIONS THAT UNDERPIN TODAY’S WORLD AND THAT EUROPE AND ITS OFFSHOOTS WORK TIRELESSLY TO HIDE.”**

The Palestinian cause provokes such incendiary reactions precisely because it challenges, disentangles, and de-naturalises the fabric of the West as it claims to be. The Zionist project has so thoroughly hijacked the public imagination that the very mention of Palestine invites fury. To put it bluntly, Palestine solidarity comes with costs – interpersonal, legal, professional, economic, and reputational, among others.

**Risks, however, are differentially distributed.** This is not to minimise the very real risk that some people face in voicing their solidarity. Rather, it is to be specific about identifying who amongst us faces outsized risks and putting the right safeguards in place to prepare and protect ourselves and each other. It is no coincidence that individuals who are publicly engaged in knowledge-making, culture work, and activism, especially those from marginalised communities, have been experiencing the most intense backlash. The Zionist project knows all too well the power of language and knowledge, and is employing tactics of intimidation to silence and diffuse a public display of Palestine solidarity.

**Enacting solidarity with Palestine thus requires us to have a candid discussion about our positionality and the risks it presents.** Take a moment to reflect on what actions make you nervous, hesitant, or reluctant. As comrades and allies standing in different positions of power, we face varying degrees of risk. For some, especially those with multiple axes of marginalisation, the risks are tangible: losing employment, having livelihoods destabilised, having risks vis-à-vis immigration, policing, and violent encounters intensified - these are most tangible for Palestinians who have consistently been the targets of lethal attacks or other extremely precarious community members such as undocumented people who attend protests. For those of us who are protected by certain privileges , the risks can be more amorphous: hearing about the ongoing retaliations



make us speculate the bad things that could conceivably happen to us. When they do materialise, they may indeed look like a firing or a series of uncomfortable conversations or deportation. It is hard to know.

Risks are, in fact, “conceptually uncontrollable,” as [Douglas and Wildavsky](#) write. It is up to all of us, individually and collectively, to realistically assess the risks we face and the risks we are willing to absorb. It is through this process of candidly confronting our fears and uncertainties that we begin to see risk as ultimately “a question of futurity.” If risk taking invites the possibility of a better future, then it might be worth taking that chance now rather than sacrificing this possible future.

Solidarity, by definition, is disruptive. Solidarity is the willingness to embrace a shifting tide, an upheaval that interrupts familiar comforts and privileges in our everyday lives, in the name of a better future. And what a luxury that is. As Palestinian artist [Rana Nazzal](#) writes:



Rana Nazzal رنا نزال  
@rananazzalh



It's very lonely to hear people say they're afraid to voice solidarity w Palestinians because of fear of backlash or lost opportunities.

Palestinians don't have that choice & are constantly smeared, gaslit, excluded, policed. If we are brave together we can turn the tide.

4:37 PM · Oct 11, 2023

This is what makes solidarity difficult: **it beckons us to be visible as politicised and political bodies in a shared struggle for liberation.** In making our Palestine solidarity public and visible, we accept individual



risks in service of a collective shift towards a more just, humane, and caring world. The more of us that make ourselves known, the more difficult it becomes for Zionist institutions to squash dissent.

**Be candid and specific in measuring and anticipating the risks you face and are willing to absorb.** Fear works

through vagueness:

its amorphous shape

enables its wide reach, disciplining us by sowing the seeds of doubt and immobilising us from our bodies and each other. We can temper fear's totalising effect by naming our fears and being specific about the power we hold: **especially when more of us take action, the more it dilutes the potential risks. Together, we hold so much power.**

To that end, there are some basic harm reduction and preparation that we should all do as individuals and collectives to put safeguards in place:



---

## DIGITAL SAFETY

Whether we like it or not, social media platforms and other communication technologies are an integral part of organising today.

- Use encrypted platforms and tools to coordinate and mobilise: [Jitsi](#) for videoconferencing, [Proton](#) for email, [RiseUpPad](#) and [CryptPad](#) for note taking, [Signal](#) for messaging
- Purchase a [privacy screen](#) for your devices, especially your smartphones.
- Remove your personally identifiable information (PII), such as address and pictures, from public listings.
- Consult digital safety guides. There are many, and some require jurisdiction-specific resources (especially around data brokers). Some resources below:
  - [The Tech Workers Handbook](#) contains detailed guides for assessing risks
  - AccessNow digital security [helpline](#)
  - Harm reduction [walkthrough](#) from sex worker collective hacking/hustling on doxxing
  - Digital Defenders Partnership's [short- and long-term training sessions](#)
  - Digital safety guide for students and academics: <https://bit.ly/DigSafetyGuide>
- Be wary of digital footprint left from payment transactions and GPS signals

---

## KNOW YOUR RIGHTS: WORKPLACE/AFFILIATED INSTITUTION

Perhaps one of the most immediate sites of backlash is the workplace. In many jurisdictions, there are no clear provisions within employment law to protect those who express their political beliefs at work, or indeed, even in their free time. At the same time, workplaces, universities, and other institutions (e.g. trade associations) are often key targets for Palestinian activism, as they often have extensive entanglements with the Zionist project (see Sections 3 and 4). Therefore, it is important to understand the parameters of employee and student rights, and to identify the support structures you can call on in case any risks are materialised.

- Review your institution's own guidelines around these issues to help you navigate the specific barriers you might face - and also as a guide on what might be worth pushing back on. For example, many organisations have adopted IHRA's (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) controversial definition of antisemitism which has been criticised by various advocacy groups. For example, the European Legal Support Center has been pushing against the adoption of IHRA's guidelines where they argue it has been used to suppress advocacy for Palestinian rights. Similarly, multiple branches of the University and Colleges Union (UCU) are rejecting IHRA's definition of and advocating for better definitions of antisemitism that do not "dangerously conflate racist views with legitimate political criticism."
- Find out the support available from relevant labour or student unions; this also might be an opportunity to organise in these spaces to push for greater support to be made available to those being targeted for supporting the Palestinian cause.
- For those with precarious immigration statuses tied to employment, it might be worth organising in other domains of life (see Section 2) and being flexible in how you organise.

---

## KNOW YOUR RIGHTS: INTERACTING WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

Law enforcement is one of the most direct ways that the state disciplines its people. With many nation-states supporting the Israeli regime, interacting with law enforcement in any capacity poses a number of immediate and tangible risks. Similar to the workplace, citizens' rights when interacting with law enforcement varies across jurisdictions and is heavily dependent on immigration and visa status.

- [US Know Your Rights Guide](#) by the National Lawyers Guild
- Keep up to date with latest legislative updates
  - [US Senate unanimously](#) passed a resolution this month condemning certain activities in college campuses
  - [UK has tabled an anti-boycott bill](#) which civil society are currently fighting
- If you are an organiser, note the particular risks in being a coordinator but also support available:
  - [European Legal Support Center](#) offers assistance to advocates and groups
  - [Liberty UK](#) on advice to organisers and legal observers

# IDENTIFY WHERE YOU ARE

**Start by understanding what power you currently hold.** We all have power in some shape or form, and we hold that power with our communities. These communities are often structured around the following aspects:

- **By location / jurisdiction:** where you live, where you pay taxes, the language you speak, etc.
- **By kith and kin:** chosen and given friends and families
- **By culture / language / faith**
- **By profession:** schools, offices, labs, cultural institutions, government bodies, etc.
- **By shared interest:** arts, politics, outdoors, sports, etc.

We anticipate that many will find their communities revolving around their workplace or shared interest groups, as many of us structure our lives around wage labour and leisure. Investigate what, if any, has already been done around Palestine liberation. You can do this by asking your community leaders, posing questions during open meetings, and so on. For example, see [Workers in Palestine's](#) resource guide including a template motion for raising this issue in trade union spaces.

Identify your co-conspirators and allies. Who can you rely on to join you? What are past solidarities you can build on? If you are reading this document, you probably already have a few people you have already been in conversation with through the recent events. For example, see [BadSchoolBadSchool's](#) 7 considerations on building community.



# AN APPEAL BY BLACK AMERICANS AGAINST UNITED STATES SUPPORT OF THE ZIONIST GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

**Manibet Ahmed**  
Chairman, African Youth  
Federation  
Madison, New York

**Mohide, Mohammed Ahmed**  
Third World Poets  
Jamaica, N. Y.

**Don Albridge**  
Black African People's Union  
Detroit, Mich.

**S. E. Anderson**  
Black Community College  
Birmingham, N. Y.

**George Banks**  
The Anthony Branch of  
the National Alliance of People  
Scholar, Calif.

**Francis East**  
Third World Women's Alliance  
New York City

**Vince Hanson**  
On-Site Coordinator National  
Association of Black Students  
Washington, D. C.

**Greta Rogers**  
Editorial, Mich.

**James Rogers**  
Writer  
Detroit, Mich.

**Paul R. Ruffell**  
Chairman, C.I.C. & S.A.M.S.  
Hartford, New York

**Ronald C. Russell**  
Editorial, Mich.

**Leo Campbell**  
The Black  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

**Delecia Carr**  
Secretary, Black Family Union  
San Francisco, Calif.

**Gottlieb Hammer**  
President of  
The National Alliance of People  
Hartford, N. Y.

**Ray, Albert B. Clegg**  
Editor of the Black Alliance  
Detroit, Mich.

**Eda Collins**  
Organization of Afro-American  
Hartford, New York

**Clifford, Barbara**  
Student Workers Party candidate  
for Governor of New York State  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

**Richard Davis**  
Black Student Union  
California State College  
Los Angeles, Calif.

**Norman Fagg**  
Student Workers Party candidate

**WE**, the Black American signatories of this advertisement are in complete solidarity with our Palestinian brothers and sisters, who like us, are struggling for self-determination and an end to racist oppression.

The recent bloodbath in Jordan, resulting in tens of thousands of dead and wounded Palestinians, would not have been possible without the encouragement, armaments and financial aid of the United States Government.

America's support for King Hussein's slaughter of Palestinian refugees and freedom-fighters is consistent with its support of reactionary dictatorships throughout the world—from Cambodia and Vietnam to South Africa, Greece and Iran.

We stand with the Palestinian people in their efforts to preserve their revolution, and oppose its attempted destruction by American Imperialism aided by Zionists and Arab reactionaries.

**WE STATE** that we are not anti-Jewish. We are anti-Zionist and against the Zionist State of Israel, the outpost of American imperialism in the Middle East. Zionism is a reactionary 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 Zionist Organization of America in an ad in the New York Times of Sept. 17, 1970 stated: "It is appropriate for the United States to begin to treat Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East, as a de facto ally for the safeguarding of American interests."

According to the National Observer of May 18, 1970, the world Zionist movement is big business. "When the blood flows, the money flows," observes Gottlieb Hammer, chief Zionist fund collector in this country.

**WE STATE** that the Palestinian Revolution is the vanguard of the Arab Revolution and is part of the anti-colonial revolution which is going on in places such as Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, Brazil, Laos, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Because of its alliance with imperialism, Zionism opposes that anti-colonial revolution and especially revolutionary change in the Middle East.

**WE STATE** that Israel, Rhodesia, and South Africa are three privileged white settler-states that came into existence by displacing indigenous peoples from their lands. Israel and South Africa each have about 4,500 political prisoners—most of whom have not been brought to trial.

J. Weitz, director of the Department of Colonization of the Jewish Agency for Israel, stated . . . "The only possible solution lies in creating a Palestine . . . without Arabs . . . and there is no other way to do this than to transfer all the Arabs to neighboring countries, to move all of them out of here."—Davar (Pub. in Israel), Sept. 29, 1967.

The South African Government supported Israel during the June, 1967, war. Dr. Vorster's government not only permitted South African volunteers to work in civilian and paramilitary capacities in Israel, but more than \$28 million was raised by pro-apartheid South African Zionists and sent to Israel. "After the June 1967 Middle-East war, there was considerable speculation about an Israel-type action against Zambia."

*"An Appeal by Black Americans Against United States Support of the Zionist Government of Israel" (2012)*

There are always connections to be made because our struggles are interconnected. The settler colonial tactics of dehumanisation employed by the Israeli state mirror those of the British Empire, the South African apartheid, and Japanese imperialism. The connection between the devaluing of Palestinian and Arab lives and the call for Black Lives Matter is abundantly clear. Mainstream media coverage of Palestine solidarity that minimises and mischaracterizes the biggest anti-war demonstration in recent history reverberates with the flagrant hypocrisy and theatrics of the ongoing "Campus Culture Wars."



# ENGAGE YOUR COMMUNITY'S ENTANGLEMENTS WITH THE ZIONIST PROJECT

Once you have identified the power you hold, the next step is to **understand your specific community's relationship with the Israeli state**. As campaigns against the apartheid state in South Africa and Palestine have shown us, the settler-colonial project has its reach across multiple sectors and domains. It is thus important to first understand your community's specific interests in and ties to the Israeli state. One such strategy of examining those interests is:

The BDS Movement: BDS stands for Boycott, Divest, and Sanction. It follows the strategies deployed in South Africa to put international pressure on the apartheid state. Specifically, it identifies economic, social, cultural, and political institutions as key actors that normalise, facilitate, and support the workings of an apartheid state:

**B**

## BOYCOTT

Withdraw support from Israel's apartheid regime, complicit Israeli sporting, cultural and academic institutions, and from all Israeli and international companies engaged in violations of Palestinian human rights.

**D**

## DIVEST

Urge banks, local councils, churches, pension funds and universities to withdraw investments from the State of Israel and all Israeli and international companies that sustain Israeli apartheid.

**S**

## SANCTION

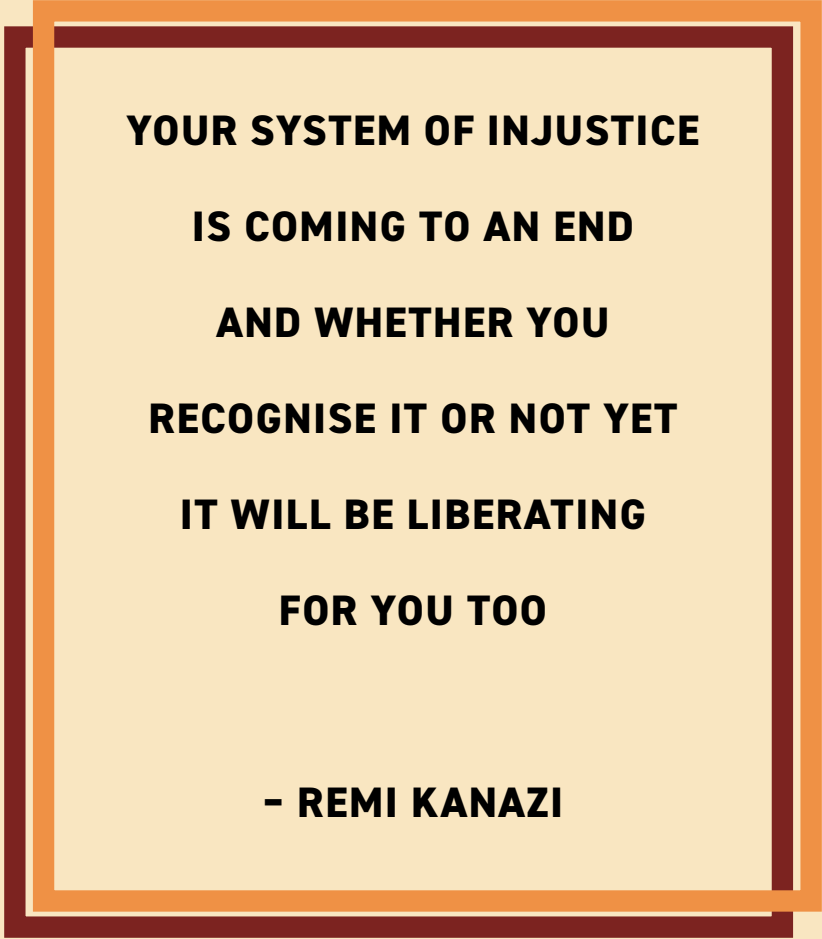
Pressure governments to fulfil their legal obligations to end Israeli apartheid, and not aid or assist its maintenance, by banning business with illegal Israeli settlements, ending military trade and free-trade agreements, as well as suspending Israel's membership in international forums such as UN bodies and FIFA.

**Tracing the Military-Industrial Complex:** Along with BDS, tracing the extensive reach of Israel's military-industrial complex makes explicit the intertwined nature of oppressive forces – across borders, sectors, and geographies.

Israel's military-industrial complex, which exported \$12.5 billion defence exports in 2022, is linked to oppressive conditions across the world. The largest importer of Israeli arms is India, which received nearly 50% of Israeli arms exports between 2013-17 and where these weapons are used by Indian security forces, including in Kashmir where the government have been accused of severe human rights abuses. The second largest importer of Israeli weapons is Azerbaijan, a government that just in September 2023, killed 400 and forcibly displaced 120,000 Armenians, who fled from Artsakh to Armenia. Similarly, the US is one of Israel's biggest clients in terms of defence exports including arms, surveillance systems, and police exchange programmes that have trained thousands of US police where, for years, Amnesty has highlighted the similarities in abusive behaviours between Israeli and American forces.

This is not a recent development. Israel trained and gave \$38 billion worth of arms to the Guatemalan state forces responsible for the murder of over 200,000 Indigenous Mayans during the 1990-1996 civil war. Israel also trained and armed Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's secret police force (1973-1977) responsible for concentration camps, torture centers, and the execution of Chilean civilians; the Hutu militias during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 which saw the massacre of over 1 million Tutsi civilians in 100 days; the Serbian army responsible for the Srebrenica genocide in 1995 where over 8,000 Bosnian muslims were massacred; and the South African apartheid regime to oppress the native Black population and assisted in the creation of nuclear bombs.

Wherever you stand, wherever you look, you will find traces of the militarism that enables and sustains oppressive conditions both near and far.



**YOUR SYSTEM OF INJUSTICE  
IS COMING TO AN END  
AND WHETHER YOU  
RECOGNISE IT OR NOT YET  
IT WILL BE LIBERATING  
FOR YOU TOO**

**- REMI KANAZI**

**Tracing Imperialism through financial and political ties:** Alongside military relationships, another way imperialism persists today is in the ways that world powers intervene financially and politically across the globe. This interventionism often perpetuates uneven economic-political dependencies of colonial pasts. Activists have long made explicit how such imperial ties thread together these seemingly disparate instances of genocide, apartheid, and settler-colonialism; and accordingly, their activism seeks to highlight and break these uneven imperial relations, aiming in the process to join the struggles of oppressed communities around the world.

Activists have long made explicit the imperial ties that thread together ongoing instances of genocide, apartheid, settler-colonialism, and other manifestations of empire; and targeting these financial and political relationships to break the cycle and to join the struggles of seemingly distant communities.

For example, some such efforts make explicit the embeddedness of western interventionism across different sites of oppression. This includes the USA's annual gift of over \$3 billion dollars in military aid to Israel, directly channelling US tax dollars into the ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people for over decades. Furthermore, the US and UK governments and corporations, such as BP and Bae Systems, are collaborating with Israel to claim undeveloped offshore gas fields in Gaza — reserves that are worth billions of dollars. At the same time in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), similar entanglements are seen where the US, UK, and French governments provide Rwanda and Uganda militias significant military and financial support to invade regions in DRC that contain coltan, cobalt and other precious minerals, perpetuating what has been called a silent genocide in the region.

Navigating these legacies of power is a messy task but as the Racial Justice Network contends, we need to find ways to hold these complexities while also centring those who are most impacted by imperialist devastation; to 'stand in solidarity with people who are subject to displacement, apartheid, genocide, ecocide, violence and harm in Palestine, Sudan, Yemen, the Democratic Republic of Congo and others all over the world'. This does not mean conflating struggles which are always contextually specific but rather highlighting the shared roots of injustice that may be stemming from where you are standing because, sometimes, the change that needs to happen is not only where a particular conflict is unfolding, but also at the locus



Tianna, the Writer  
@tiannathewriter



Do you see how once people started talking about Palestine they also started talking about Congo, Sudan, Tigray, the Sami people, Hawai'i and all of the everyone fighting for their right to be free?

Freedom is as infectious as it is just and no one is free until they ALL are.

9:00 AM · Nov 4, 2023

of power located in distant imperial cores. As Ghassan Kanafani writes, “Imperialism has laid its body over the world, the head in Eastern Asia, the heart in the Middle East, its arteries reaching Africa and Latin America. Wherever you strike it, you damage it, and you serve the world revolution.”

# ORGANISE CROSS-BORDER/SECTOR SOLIDARITIES

Organising is the process through which people come together to enact power in pursuit of a shared goal. It is, by definition, collective, and goal-oriented: a series of specific and deliberate actions can bring about powerful collective results. While there is a need for big symbolic gestures in pivotal moments, **much of organising is an exercise in logistics and relationships**. Logistics help us figure out the when, where, how, and why of each action, and how they relate to each other. Relationships of the people coming together create a strong foundation of trust and power.

Organising, of course, does not happen in a vacuum. Many of us are juggling our 9-5's, caring for children, elders, and friends, while trying to squeeze in time for life-affirming hobbies and pursuits. We are all overstretched, overwhelmed, and overworked. The conditions of our everyday lives adds an imperative for organising to be effective and efficient. Reflecting on the organising processes of the feminist second-wave movement, [Jo Freeman](#) recommends **meticulous planning, intentional relationship building, and clear decision-making structure as “a boon to the overworked person.”** Our time is a resource, and a valuable one at that. Below are common phases of organising to help structure your organising. We have included an organising toolkit at the end of this document to guide you further.

- Recruitment and relationship building
- Power mapping and identifying allies/targets
- Goal setting and strategy development
- Decision-making structure and process
- Escalations and timelines



Beyond immediate and visible actions, consider how to make movements sustainable and contribute to the unglamorous back-end of community building. This includes contributing to creating spaces for this work, sticking your neck out, and creating mutual aid networks such as protecting each other (e.g. when someone in your network becomes the victim of targeted attacks). Progressive spaces are often atomised - push back on these isolating tactics by finding the threads of oppression and complicity that run across various struggles.

Below is a list of campaigns across various sectors, fields, and domains. This is a partial and growing list, and we share them as a starting point for building communities with those already engaged in solidarity work. If you find your communities reflected in this list, we encourage you to reach out to build on their ongoing work. If you do not see your communities reflected, we encourage you to build your own. Please email us for any additional links at [rootedsolidarities@protonmail.com](mailto:rootedsolidarities@protonmail.com).

---

## ACADEMIA

Academics and teachers are public servants afforded the privilege of producing and translating truth and knowledge. Educational environments including at primary, secondary, tertiary, and other settings present unique opportunities to speak truth to power through critique, citation, and public scholarship.

- [Palestinian Campaign for the Arts and Academia \(via BDS Movement\)](#)
- [Dutch Academia](#)
- [Sociologists in Solidarity with Gaza](#)
- [Academic boycott \(via BDS Movement\)](#)
- [Call to action from the Accountability Archive](#)
- [Maslaha on how to make a classroom safe for all children](#)
- [Bahujan Economists Solidarity Statement](#)

---

## ART, DESIGN, CULTURE & ENTERTAINMENT

Cultural workers which include artists, architects, writers, curators, actors, publishers, editors, and influencers play an important role in pushing back against the Zionist project, especially in the many cultural and public spheres of contestations.

- [JustSeeds Collective](#): printmakers in solidarity with Palestine
- [Writers Against the War on Gaza](#)
- [Dropbox](#) of Palestine-related artworks
- [Artists for Watermelons](#)
- [Between East](#): entertainment company for Middle Eastern and North African talents worldwide
- [Palestinian Campaign for the Arts and Academia \(via BDS Movement\)](#)

---

## ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE JUSTICE

Greenwashing refers to when an oppressor appeals to environmental rights in order to deflect attention from the violence it perpetuates; a tactic commonly used by the Israeli government. To advocate for climate justice includes advocating against the billion dollar military industrial complex of the Israel state and the ongoing oppression in Palestine.

- It Takes Roots alliance (an alliance with 200 groups in more than 50 territories led by minorities) in solidarity with Palestine
- Indigenous Environmental Network in solidarity with Palestine
- Climate Action Network International
- Michigan Environmental Justice Coalition

---

## RACE-, CASTE-, FAITH-, AND PLACE-BASED GROUPS

There is a long tradition of solidarity with Palestine among communities of colour, faith, displacement, and diaspora.

- [Black Lives Matter UK](#)
- [Jewish Voice of Peace in Solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [South Asian solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [Sikh Solidarity with Palestine Solidarity](#)
- [Hong Kong in solidarity with Palestine liberation](#)
- [Regional Coalition for Women Human Rights Defenders in South West Asia and North Africa](#)
- [Cultural boycott \(via BDS Movement\)](#)
- [Tamil-Palestine Solidarities](#)
- [Marginalised communities in India in Solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [National federation of Dalit Women in India in solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [Solidarity Statement from Jewish members of Showing Up for Racial Justice Bay Area](#)
- [Racial Justice Network Statement](#)
- [Africa4Palestine Solidarity Statement](#)
- [Black Women Radicals Solidarity Statement](#)
- [Black for Palestine Statement](#)
- [Arab Resource & Organizing Center's \(AROC\) statement on Palestine](#)
- [Na'amod, a group of Jewish people in the UK, in Solidarity with Palestine](#)

---

## LABOUR

There is not a single area of life untouched by the working people. Wherever they stand, workers hold an immense power to disrupt the various supply chains that enable apartheid regimes.

- [Belgian transport workers refusing to handle weapons](#)
- [Cultural organisations and workers](#)
- [Palestinian Trade Unions calling on solidarity to end funding, research, labour, and trade related to arming Israel](#)
- [General strike in Germany](#)
- [Trade Union in Italy](#)
- [US Labour for Palestine](#)
- [Sex Workers' Union in solidarity with Palestine](#)



---

## LAW

The current crisis is entangled in legal structures across various scales where legal workers, legal scholars and lawyers play an important role in safeguarding the larger solidarity network, enforcing Palestinian rights to self-determination, prosecuting Zionist war crimes, and challenging legal frameworks that support colonialist and imperialist power structures.

- [Palestine Legal](#)
- [US National Lawyers Guild](#)
- [European Legal Support Center's actions against suppressing Palestinian activism](#)
- [Palestine Legal Referral Service in Canada](#)
- [UK lawyers' open letter concerning Gaza](#)
- [Haldane Society's Statement on Palestine](#)
- [Rabea Eghbariah's Piece: The Ongoing Nakba: Towards a Legal Framework for Palestine](#)

---

## MEDIA AND JOURNALISM

The ongoing disinformation campaign from the Israeli state exposes how corrupt mainstream media institutions are and have become. Palestinian and Arab journalists have been relentlessly combating institution-wide silencing and gaslighting.

- [Electronic Intifada](#)
- [MENA and Palestinian scholars calling on US journalist](#)
- Solidarity and support group via [Twitter](#)
- [Respond Crisis Translation](#) volunteering to assist translating and interpreting for journalist covering Palestine
- [Publishers for Palestine statement of solidarity](#)

---

## PUBLIC HEALTH, DIS/ABILITY

The current crisis in Gaza illustrates how the Zionist state is leveraging public health as a weapon of war by [restricting access](#) to clean water and food, withholding medical resources and services, and [targeting hospitals](#). The Israeli government has furthermore historically employed [deliberate maiming](#) as a strategy of oppressive control, such as through their practice of [“shooting to cripple”](#). There have also been reports of the Israeli military [harvesting](#) and conducting [other forms of illicit organ trade](#). Surviving Palestinians will live in mass debilitation involving severe physical and mental disabilities. Healthcare workers and scholars play an important role, not only as medical aid providers, but also as policymakers and thinkers with an eye toward long-term implications of surviving the apartheid.

- People’s CDC: [Healthcare Workers Against Genocide](#)
- [UK Healthcare professionals in solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [Māori doctors in solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [Gaza Medics: International Team of Medics in Solidarity with Gaza](#)

---

## FEMINIST & QUEER COMMUNITIES

Feminist and queer communities have asserted that anti-colonialism is a feminist and queer issue and have interrogated, in particular, the many feminist/queer intersections in the Zionist project. For example, pinkwashing refers to when an oppressor appeals to queer rights in order to deflect attention from the violence it perpetuates. As a long-standing Zionist PR strategy, it aims to absolve Israel's colonial violence while demonising Palestinian society. However, you cannot have queer liberation while apartheid and other oppressions exist.

- [The Palestinian Feminist Collective's Love Letter to Palestine](#)
- [Liberatory Demand from Queers in Palestine](#)
- [International Queer solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [London Trans Pride in solidarity with Palestine](#)
- [Queers for Palestine](#)
- [Pinko Statement of Solidarity](#)
- [Feminist in solidarity with Palestinian resistance](#)
- [Decolonial Feminist Solidarity](#)

---

## ANTI-POLICING, MILITARY & SURVEILLANCE MOVEMENTS

As discussed, the Zionist project is enabled by the military-industrial complex that spans geographies. Movements have targeted, for example, supply chains of lethal arms and invasive technology systems. For instance, interventions to the Zionist project in tech have primarily focused on the sector's ties to the military through the development, sale, and deployment of surveillance technology. Palestine is being used as a testing ground for new military technology, such as [AI-powered automated weaponry](#). The Israeli state has a long history of trading [military](#) and [surveillance technology](#) to aid fascist governments and [violent law enforcements](#) around the world.

- [No Tech for Apartheid](#)
- [Deadly Exchange](#)
- [Digital Violence](#)
- [Surveillance Technology Oversight Project \(STOP\)](#)
- [Critical Resistance's Abolitionist Statement on Palestine](#)

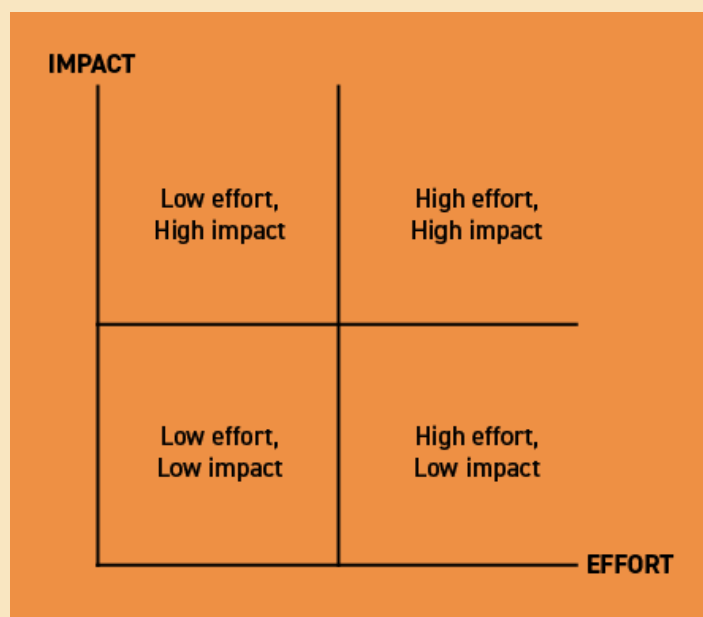
# REFLECT ON YOUR STRATEGIES, POSITIONALITY, AND THEORY OF CHANGE; AND REPEAT

Reflection is an integral part of the organising process. The focus of reflection can vary, from your own positionality and the impact of the actions taken, to your group's theory of change. Below, we break down different ways of engaging in reflection for yourself and your comrades.

## REFLECT ON YOUR STRATEGIES

Debriefing describes the process of reporting on an action/intervention that has already taken place. In debriefing an action, the objective is to evaluate how impactful an action was in actualising your goal.

It is important to have a frank conversation about evaluating the impact of your actions. Interventions take a lot of time and energy and may not always be impactful. The [critique of “slacktivism”](#) in recent years is an example of an individualised and atomised set of actions that are low effort and low impact. Slacktivism may feel satisfactory, but they are not necessarily impactful in reaching its stated goal of raising public awareness. This is not



to discount the necessity of “having wins” in organising. It is important for people to understand and actualise the power they hold, and do so through collective actions. But that sense of power is best actualised when in service of a meaningful outcome.



When debriefing, consider evaluating impact vs. effort. Below are some questions to guide your debriefing sessions:

- What were you hoping to achieve with your action?
- Did your action successfully accomplish that goal?
- What went well? Highlight, recognise, and celebrate the positives and the wins.
- What could have changed? Be descriptive and specific in naming areas for improvement.
- How did the participants of the action feel about the action? What new insights and relationships emerged from this action?

---

## **REFLECT ON YOUR THEORY OF CHANGE**

At the time of writing this document, the world is calling for a ceasefire. For some, their call to action ends with the ceasefire. For the rest of us, our call to action begins and continues with the ceasefire. This brings into focus how our strategies and relationship to the Palestinian cause are informed by our theory of change – the problems you seek to address, desired outcomes, and the strategies needed to get there. To supplement the organising toolkit provided below, we will note just two prompts of reflection:

## **REFLECTING ACROSS BORDERS AND SECTORS**

Section 2 discussed the interconnected nature of the Palestinian struggle for liberation. It follows then, that the long term horizons of your efforts should consider the many connections across borders and communities, as well as the shared roots of injustices. As Robin Kelly writes in From the

River to the Sea to Every Mountain Top, solidarity is more than short-term coalitions, solidarity is worldmaking—a ‘prefigurative politics that demands of us a deeper transformation of society and of our relationships to one another’; not just a condition of shared oppressions but also shared visions and enactments of liberation.

- **The work of the oppressor serves to isolate us, do not let this happen.** What bridges between communities are being fostered, and what are the coalitions that could be made? What is the shared task at hand? Who are the people we have been atomised from in modern capitalist structures? How have colonial legacies of ‘divide and conquer’ persisted in today’s society?
- As you reflect on your strategies and horizons, remember to take into account what work you are drawing from, and the ripples that are made beyond your immediate space. What counts as ‘successes’ in your project, and what foundations and past lessons are you building on? How will the groundwork you build help with the next set of actions?
- Conversely, remember to consider: how do we ensure our work in one place does not undermine oppressed communities elsewhere?

## REFLECTING ON YOUR POSITIONALITY

What is your relationship to Palestine? How might we draw on our relationship to Palestine to reflect on how we contribute to worldmaking? For instance, Afreen Faridi writes that one thing that Palestine teaches us as scholars of politics and law is that we must 'rethink how Western morality, theory and institutions are taught in the classrooms of the Global South [....] We need to re-centre such critiques in our classrooms

and contextualise them against local injustices. At the same time, we need to rethink rights and justice as collaborative regimes by bringing back local knowledge from colonial obscurity'.

Reflecting on your relationship to Palestine is an invitation to examine the entrenched vocabularies and frameworks that our current systems are built on. As Angela Davis reminds, 'Black solidarity with Palestine allows us to understand the nature of contemporary racism more deeply'.

**IF YOU HAVE COME TO HELP ME,  
YOU ARE WASTING YOUR TIME.**

**IF YOU HAVE COME BECAUSE  
YOUR LIBERATION IS BOUND UP  
WITH MINE,  
THEN LET US WORK TOGETHER.**

**- LILLA WATSON**



**dylan saba** · Oct 9, 2023

@shaabiranks

What is the ethical way to climb out of hell?



**dylan saba**

@shaabiranks

We do not have the vocabulary to answer this question so people turn to the law which has no good answers but plenty of vocabulary

7:07 AM · Oct 9, 2023 from Queens, NY



If the Zionist project includes the destruction of cultural, intellectual and epistemologies from Palestinian communities, then part of the resistance is to also counter this in the many ways available to us. Again, as the scholarship and activism on Southern solidarities remind us, this work is not about '[allyship](#)', it is a deep commitment to a world otherwise.

- Are the horizons of your work restricted by certain frameworks? Do you fall back into western or UN foundations of human rights? Are you working within the bounds of liberal, capitalism, and colonialism's logics or do you seek to interrupt them?
- What are the vocabularies you are adopting and translating? As [Moon-Kie Jung](#) writes, 'as Words will fail, but we must fail radically better'.
- Read [The Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question](#) on: [Sumud](#) and [Nakba](#)
- [Students for Justice in Palestine at GWU](#) on the word Martyr
- Khadija Dajani and Sharif Mosa on [Qaher](#) and [Ma'lesh](#)
- [Nazira Bibi](#) on Thekla
- [Respond Crisis Translation](#) on mistranslating the movement and how language can be used to weaponised and Slow Factory on how language enables genocide
- What are we learning, dismantling, and remaking in our work of **solidarity as worldmaking?**

## CASE STUDY: #BLOCKTHEBOAT

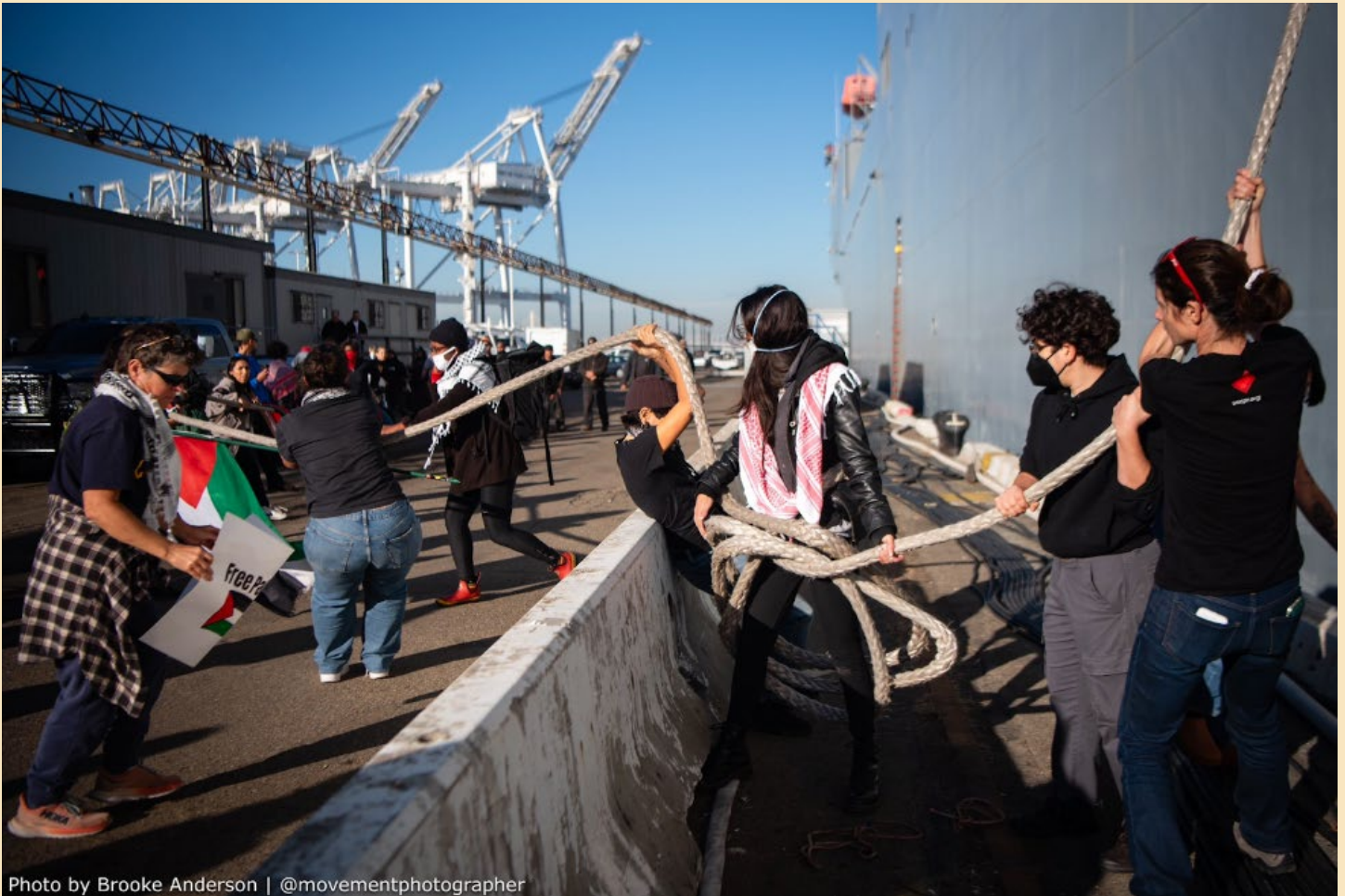


Photo by Brooke Anderson | @movementphotographer

*Bay area activists at the Port of Oakland to protest a US military ship scheduled to take weapons to Israel. November 3, 2023. By Brooke Anderson ([Twitter](#)).*

What does sustained, cross-border, cross-sector solidarities look like in practice? We take #BlocktheBoat as an example.

[#BlocktheBoat campaign](#) emerged from calls to actions across various communities, urging for a concerted effort to halt Israel's supply chain of lethal weapons. As a movement that spanned across time and space, it embodied elements of what was discussed above:



## 1. PREPARE

Behind each action is a series of iterative conversations between workers and organisers that stake out the distribution of risk and successes in this work. See [Workers in Palestine's](#) guide on [organising with trade unions to build solidarity action](#) for these such discussions around the #BlocktheBoat campaign.

In particular, they advise that such actions need to be done in close collaboration with relevant workers (such as dock workers, seafarers, and factory workers), trade unions, and local activists where these communities have important knowledge on protection and risks of potential actions. Workers in Palestine gives the example on how trade unions were able to provide certain legal protections for the protests at the port of Oakland, US, in 2023 by invoking the 'health and safety' clause in its contract. Conversely, there are important legal considerations in different jurisdiction that may place protesters, workers, and unionists at risk where special precautions were taken to protect the minoritised members of the community.

## 2. IDENTIFY

Across geographies, people did the work of untangling their community's entanglement in Zionist projects; making explicit both the complicity of their own systems to colonialism but also the power they held. For example, [trade unions hold enormous amounts of latent power](#) as they represent the work necessary to make things run—an absence of which grinds even the largest machinery of oppression to a grinding halt. Workers, trade unions, and community activists furthermore possess important insider knowledge of industries which can help to identify targets and leverage the timing and location of supply chains.

### 3. ENGAGE

These movements enacted BDS at strategic leverage points exposed through tracing Israel's military-industrial complex. Tipped off by the Israeli boat company's own schedule, worker whistleblowing, port and union authorities, journalistic investigations, as well as satellite tracking and online marine tracking services, the series of strikes returned again and again; each time further embedding a culture of resistance and solidarity. This series of action moreover builds on and learns from the long histories of dock work resistance. This includes Denmark and Sweden (1963), the US (1984) and UK (1988), where workers refused shipping for apartheid South Africa. Likewise, it includes dock workers in South Africa (2008) who refused to unload weapons destined for Zimbabwe's Mugabe regime. Similarly, in the US where workers refused to handle cargo for Nazi Germany in 1934, fascist Italy in 1935, the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile in 1978, and South African Apartheid in 1984.

### 4. ORGANISE

Coalitions were formed across more than a decade and across thousands of miles. In 2009-2010, in response to the devastation during Operation Cast Lead and on the Freedom Flotilla, resistance efforts started targeting docking ports where arms were being transported to Israel. Among the first to instigate these strikes in 2010 were dockworkers and unions in Kerala, which has a long history of worker justice movements, and in South Africa, a place with its own legacies of apartheid and of resistance. Alongside a call to action by the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU), strikes were instigated in Sweden, Turkey, US, Norway, and Malaysia.

In 2014, in response to yet another escalation in Gaza which saw over 600 Palestinians massacred in two weeks, PGFTU issued another call to action which was responded to by many additional trade unions and



thousands of protesters. In the Port of Oakland, community pickets held down the boat transporting arms for five consecutive days, where protests continued for another three months. The actions continued in the ports in California, Seattle, Vancouver, Washington, Florida and supported by protests in urban centres such as New York. In 2021, PGFTU made a call to action in response to yet another escalation of ethnic cleansing in Palestine which saw thousands of protesters return for 2 weeks at Oakland. This continued in Prince Rupert, Canada, where First Nations people and port workers prevented that same ship from Oakland from docking for two days. Meanwhile, communities in Seattle, New York, Texas, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Canada, South Africa and Italy also mobilised in blocking the weapons supply chain to Israel.

Unexpected alliances grew across communities: dock workers, neighbourhood groups, Indigenous communities, journalists, citizens in urban centres, and more.

## **5. REFLECT**

The days, weeks, and months of delays incurred on ships that carried lethal weapons created various immediate setbacks for the Zionist regime at crucial times of heavy escalation by the Israeli state. Furthermore, Zico Tamela, International Secretary of the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union, asserted that these strikes sought for the ‘isolation of Israel in terms of arms embargo, economically, culturally, socially, and otherwise’; a continuation of the resistance from workers against apartheid South Africa. Lara Kiswani, Executive Director of the Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC), similarly stated that this movement is not just an enactment of solidarity, it is an interruption of international commerce and capitalism, and building community and worker solidarity across geographies. The influences of these series of strikes is also contextualised

in the wider landscape of resistance in the [Business of Backlash by the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network](#).

The immediate and slow victories of such actions can be hard to capture; the longer legacies of resistance can often emerge only decades, or perhaps lifetimes, later. Nevertheless, the importance of these strikes is felt and the foundations laid provide solid footing for the work and world that is to come.

As we write this in [2023](#), another series of action is unfolding in [Belgium](#), [Australia](#), as well as back on the port of [Oakland](#), where the same boat from Oakland is currently being blocked by protesters, trade unions, and car jams at the [Port of Tacoma](#) in Washington alongside [Indigenous activists on boats](#) at the shore.

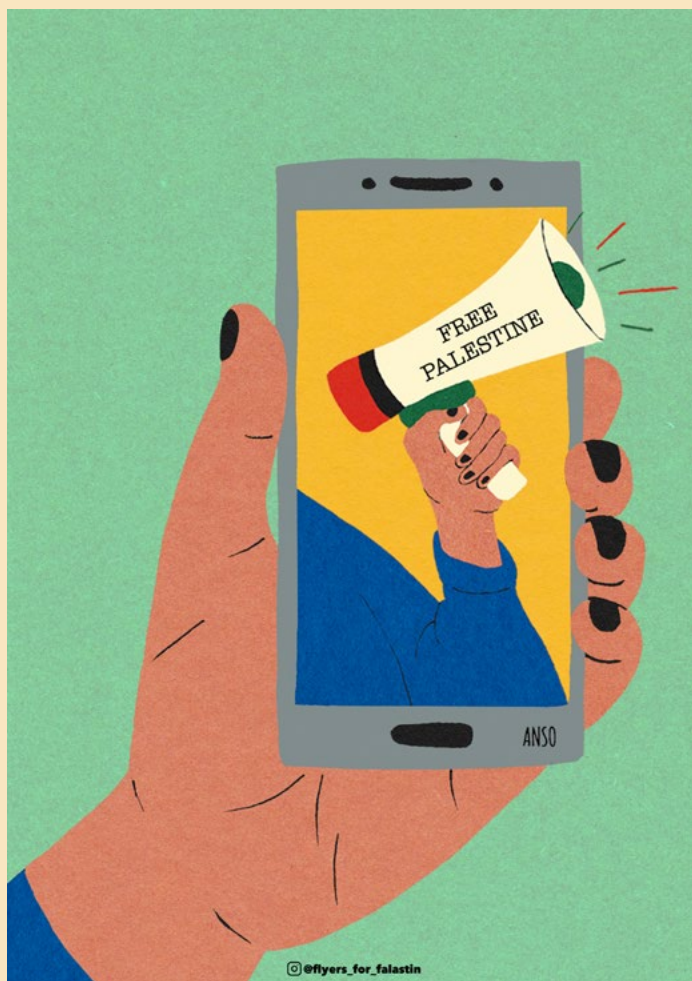
How far will our solidarities take us? We do not yet know what we could be.

# RESOURCES TO HELP YOU ORGANISE

General resources are documented <http://Bit.ly/SoliRes4Pali>.

## ORGANISING TOOLKITS

- [Grassroots Global Justice Alliance resource page](#) includes organising and facilitation guides
- [INCITE! Resources for organising](#)
- [Re:Power organising courses](#)
- [Beautiful Trouble toolbox](#)
- [Toolkits from Shut It Down 4 Palestine including toolkits to engage media workers, students, store keepers, healthcare professionals, and other workers](#)
- [Workers in Palestine's guide on organising with trade unions](#)
- [Posters and art for protests from Flyers for Falastin](#)
- [Dream Defender's Black and Palestinian Solidarity Toolkit](#)
- [Palestinian Feminist Collective's Digital Action Toolkit](#)



---

## ORGANISING REMOTELY

Nearly four years into the COVID pandemic, many of us are accustomed to interacting with each other remotely. Even so, remote organising poses unique opportunities and challenges. On one hand, it creates an opportunity to bring together people who may otherwise be restricted due to distance, ability, mobility, etc. It also presents some challenges for sustaining momentum, engaging in deep conversation, and concretising tasks. Consult the resources below to think about leveraging the remote format to your advantage:

- [Remote Culture Club](#)
- Collective Action in Tech's [zine on remote organising](#)

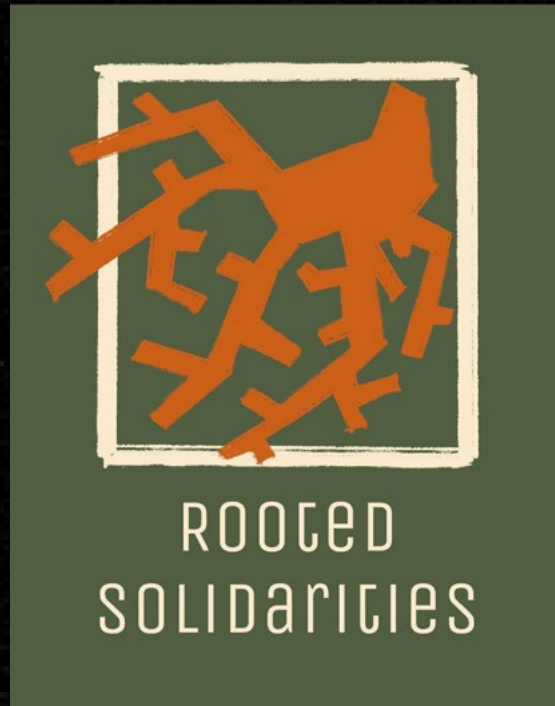
## ABOUT

This document emerged from a series of conversations between friends as the current crisis in Gaza was unfolding. We are all women of colour and identify as diaspora, immigrants or straddling in-between spaces in some way. We were brought together through our pursuits in academia, a site that is more often than not extremely constrictive, but somehow managed to help us find each other. It is astonishing how these spaces exist in spite of themselves.

These discussions were often difficult, at times nebulous, but always generative – particularly when in collaboration with our wider communities who fed back into this document: activists, artists, organisers, workers, researchers, and scholars who were exceedingly generous and thoughtful in sharing their expertise even during such trying times. We are grateful to our solidarity networks who have challenged us to think creatively, expansively, and boldly about the current moment. How it came about, how it will evolve, and what will become of it. We share this document in an attempt to invite and challenge others to be intentional about the solidarity we enact.

We use the name rooted solidarities as a reminder to keep ourselves rooted in the lived experiences, dreams, and demands of today's oppressed, and as well in the histories and lessons of liberation struggles that came before this moment. The name is also a call to action that is central to this project, to build links between disparate ideas, conversations, and movements. Finally, it is an invocation to ourselves and others engaged in long-term solidarity to stay grounded and anchored in each other, especially during times when the world seems to be coming apart at the seams.

There is a liberated Palestine in the future. We hope to bear witness to it. Until then, in solidarity.



Written by the Rooted Solidarities Collective

[rootedsolidarities@protonmail.com](mailto:rootedsolidarities@protonmail.com)

**Instagram:** [@rootedsolidarities](https://www.instagram.com/rootedsolidarities) | **Twitter:** [@rootedsolid](https://twitter.com/rootedsolid)