

A black and white photograph capturing a moment of collective action or protest. In the foreground, several individuals are seen from behind, their long hair and raised fists prominent against the dark background. The fists are clenched and held high, suggesting a gesture of solidarity or defiance. A bright, starburst light source, likely a flare or a spotlight, is positioned to the right, casting a strong glow and creating a lens flare effect. In the background, a building with a clock tower is visible, its details softened by the distance and low light. The overall atmosphere is one of intensity and shared purpose.

THE DARTMOUTH RADICAL



From the Editors

Welcome back to the Dartmouth Radical! We have been dormant since 2015, but now we're back for 185. We are a collection of radical thinkers, constantly learning about the world and in check of ourselves as we critique the world and imagine new alternatives. As the first publication since dormancy, we invited various writers to write their own pieces. We want to grow and continue a radical tradition at Dartmouth, that celebrates community and diversity.

Radicalism has had a long history at Dartmouth, with recent events such as the RealTalk protests and the Freedom Budget. Our aim is not only to keep Dartmouth in check through critical discourse, but to validate and uplift the voices that are so commonly unheard.

Our first issue is a collection of pieces covering various topics produced by a group of authors ranging from all corners of campus and comprising all sorts of identities. However, we do not intend to claim that this publication is comprehensive of all radical thought on Dartmouth's campus and understand that many opinions were inevitably left out in the making of this publication. As a first issue, we want to plant seeds for the publication as we continue to grow and understand what radical praxis looks like in this current political climate. We hope what follows can provide a starting point of what the Radical can look like.

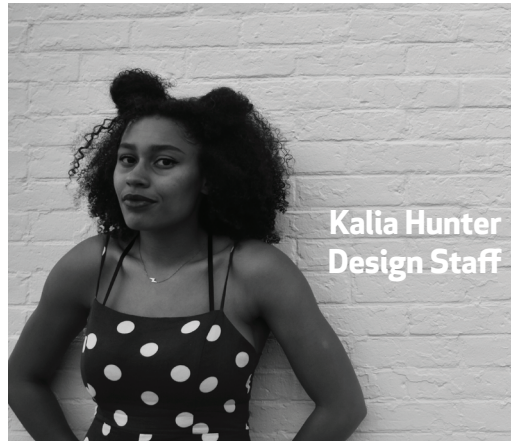
Radicalism can come in many forms, including the production of media and artwork that works to express ideas or spread messages. Our intention is to explore what it means to be a radical thinker, which is not simply a static point of theoretical purity, but a process of constant growing, reflection and reflexivity.

We welcome written and other visual submissions at any point of the year. Submissions may be sent to the.dartmouth.radical@dartmouth.edu.

Mission Statement

The Dartmouth Radical is a publication meant to provide a platform for radical leftist voices on the Dartmouth campus. The Radical seeks to be as intersectional as possible and seeks to highlight BIPOC, queer/trans, disability, and capitalist issues. The Radical centers the voices of the most marginalized in our mission, but welcomes the support and accomplice-ship of those who share in our values. The authors are unapologetic with their opinions and ideas. However, the views expressed by the authors do not necessarily represent the views of the entire editorial board. All pieces are edited for clarity and not content.

OUR PEOPLE



Staff Editors

Todd Huang
Amanda Nee
Jordan McDonald
Zeke Baker

photos by Kalia Hunter and Esther Oluokun



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For the Community:

Distancing ourselves from identity politics

- Todd Huang -

This op-ed was originally published in The Dartmouth

Dartmouth has a problem: it self-segregates. The college has institutionalized affinity houses (Shabazz, LALAC House, Native American House), race-specific OPAL advisors, and academic programs—in addition to the various diversity offices and committees that Dartmouth will forever adore—that divide race into neat food-like groups. In a very essentializing manner, Dartmouth groups together ethnic studies and area studies (as in African and African American Studies, for example), two very separate fields with very different histories and theories. Despite fundamental differences between ethnic and area studies, Dartmouth has grouped them solely based on racial category. Dartmouth is not unique in this multiculturalist logic; much of the current diversity rhetoric centers multiculturalism, and even dominant social justice culture has centered identity politics in its praxis. The Afro-American Society, La Alianza Latina, Native Americans at Dartmouth, the Dartmouth Asian Organization, and Spectra are examples of identitarian groups that operate to “bring the community together” as a form of social justice.

But there is a fundamental issue to this kind of community. These identitarian “communities” often implode or dissolve because of a lack of interest/drive, a clash of politics, or both. What’s the point of creating “communities” based on identities that were highly politicized when there are no politics involved anymore? For example, the term “Asian American” originated from Asian pan-ethnic organizing and was used as a political tool to recognize the common racism that affected Asians in America. Nowadays, the term “Asian” has been depoliticized to refer to “Asian culture,” which doesn’t exist, or just “East Asian,” an essentialist erasure of non-East Asians. Asian (American) people are not bounded by any cultural or even experiential connection, but rather are linked through structural racisms such as militarism and Orientalism. People are not cultural or political monoliths, and the fact that we are trying to force people to come together based on identity alone depoliticizes the radical history of these formations, flattens people’s politics and differences, ignores people’s abusive behaviours, and reduces us to an essentialist identity. If one of our goals is for the liberation of racialized and indigenous peoples, we only reify these essentialisms by not questioning them. One of the main components of identitarian community is political action (and not simply performative feel-good ones) that prioritizes our radical history over a reductive identitarian descriptor.

There are several other consequences to this particular way of thinking about identitarian communities. First, these communities neatly fall into the more insidiously racist multicultural system based in false “equality”. Is it not suspicious how corporations, universities, and even the army have embraced diversity and started spectacularizing how diverse their institutions are? By flattening ourselves to “communities,” we are folding ourselves further into the (diverse) U.S. empire by making race countable and clean-cut rather than destabilizing this idea of community. By reducing ourselves to a homogeneous identity, we are playing into the white liberal perception of us as politically monolithic people rather than actually seeing ourselves as complex, politically diverse people. Second, by attempting



to unite people who look like us, we are erasing the violences committed by people of color, especially rich people of color, because we falsely assume a common connection with people of the same race. For example, when Taiwanese American scientist Wen Ho Lee was accused of stealing U.S. nuclear arsenal secrets (which was not proven by the courts in the end), many Asian American activists organized around this case of anti-Asian racism. But as academic Long Bui notes, the protesters never really questioned Lee’s actual job, in which he simulated nuclear explosions at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, an undoubtedly military and imperial project. When we/they invoked identity politics and “community,” we/they were uncritically using identity politics without questioning the way many people of color uphold U.S. empire.

If we are to maintain these identitarian organizations, we must at least escape this identitarian trap that limits our organizing and alliances. An alternative is a radical organization that returns to our radical roots and centers anti-capitalist and anti-colonial praxis rather than “building community” and reinforcing identity politics. Or in total rejection of identitarian organizing, an interracial group based in people’s radical politics. This would not be a color-blind method to organizing as positionality is still important, but rather one that acknowledges the current political state where people of color can too uphold the empire. Community needs to be redefined so that we are not simply included into the state as diverse subjects.



What you don't know can't hurt you.

- Arviso Alvord -

It's your first year at your new boarding school. You've arrived on campus, and you have already lost your parents in the sea of administrators and teachers. You don't know what to expect— you are young and you've never lived away from home before. Before long, you see a few boys pulling a red wagon behind them. Inside the red wagon is another boy— they call him Omaha. You assume they're playing a game and you approach them to ask if you can join them. As you near the other students, you come to the sudden realization that the wagon was not part of a game— Omaha does not have feet. He is using the wagon as a mode of transportation. You lean over to one of the other young boys and ask what happened to him. The boy explains to you that Omaha lost both of his feet last fall in an attempt to run away: a massive and unexpected blizzard whipped through the country and Omaha, growing weary, cold, and hungry, took refuge in an abandoned car. He woke up in a hospital, one foot shorter and two feet fewer, in the city of Omaha, Nebraska.

"He ran away?"

"Tried to."

"From here?"

"Where else?", the boy looks at you with a critical but piteous eye. You suddenly realize that there is something about this school that's worth running from. You don't know what it is; you don't know when you'll find out; but you are afraid. You wonder where your parents have gone, and whether they'll let you come home with them. You catch a glimpse of them heading back to the car. How can they leave me here?[1]

Federal Native American Residential Schools have been in place since the establishment of the Carlisle Boarding School in 1879. Carlisle Boarding School was founded by Lt. Richard Henry Pratt who often experimented with "education" of his Native American prisoners of war.[2] It was he who coined the Residential School System's unofficial mission statement, "kill

the Indian, save the man." This is an imperial mindset, where an indigenous group of people are the target of assimilationist policies. In this mindset, "the schools were established for the sole purpose of severing the child's cultural and psychological connection to his native heritage." [3] Residential Schools were sources of great suffering for many students due to policies of cultural assimilation, [1] poor health care, frequent starvation conditions, and rampant incidences of torture, forced labor, and sexual predation. Furthermore, children were required by law [2] to attend these schools: The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) forcibly removed children from their families, as Congress had authorized the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1891 to "make and enforce... such rules and regulations as will ensure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health." [4] The BIA withheld rations from families who did not comply; [5] aggression and coercion tactics were commonly used to enforce student attendance [3] . [6] One BIA agent, S.J. Fisher, reported that he had "taken a number of school children by force" and on one occasion even felt compelled to "choke a so-called chief into subjection." [7] Native American children were forced from their homes into traumatic, destructive and dangerous environments for months at a time. The children's suffering drove many to attempt to run away— some were successful, and others were not.

If these schools sound like they should have been illegal, that is because they are. The United Nations made them illegal in 1948 when it outlawed "killing members of [a] group, ... causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of [a] group, ... imposing measures intended to prevent births within [a] group, ... [and] forcibly transferring children of [a] group to another group." [8] Residential Schools have systematically broken each of these laws: they killed members of the "Native American" group indirectly with disease, and directly through "slow death measures,"

as defined by Raphael Lemkin[4] as “subjection to conditions of life which... are likely to result in the debilitation [and] death of individuals.”[9] The slow death measures applied in residential schools include starvation and forced labor. They imposed measures to prevent births within the Native group through the sterilization of Native children,[10] and they forcibly transferred Native children from their homes to residential communities. With the understanding that the United States has done each of the above “outlawed” actions, the reader can be informed that this international law was created by the United Nations and was published in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as explicit definitions of genocide. [11] It is important to remember that the Convention on Genocide was adopted “in response to the [Nazi-perpetrated judeocide] committed during WWII.”[12] [5]

The effects of Residential Schools on indigenous peoples today are ever-present. Genocide did not stop once the last Residential school was shut down—traditions continue to be lost as a result of the effects that these schools had on each of its students. Residential Schools taught students to reject their traditional cultures: students were tortured and raped for simply speaking their own languages or worshipping their own religions. This had a profound effect on descendants of Residential students: their children did not learn traditional languages, songs, or dances, did not attend traditional ceremonies, and often faced abuses inflicted by their parents similar to those of Residential Schools. The lineage carries on; after all, the saying is that the abused tend to become abusers. My family is one example of this loss of tradition: my great-grandmother Grace (renamed by the Residential School staff who could not pronounce her Diné name) was a residential student, as was her son, my grandfather. My grandfather, raised untraditionally, married a white woman and had three daughters before alcoholism took his life in a drunk driving accident. My mother was not raised traditionally at all, and subsequently neither was I. This, my mother tells me, is her biggest regret. Despite ongoing cultural revitalization movements, non-traditional Natives are often looked down upon by those raised traditionally, often preventing collective action to reach its full

potential. In this way, the genocide still pulls out ahead and hurts our Native communities, despite the fact that they are not ongoing today.

No matter how accurately and extensively the American Residential School System embodied the United Nations’ definition of genocide, most non-Native Americans today are unaware of their existence. This is a result of past and present systematic concealments of the government’s crimes against indigenous peoples. (Note: it is important to understand that Canadian and American policies and intentions regarding the establishment, enforcement, and maintenance of residential schools have mirrored each other since the schools’ foundations). The genocide of boarding schools is a crime committed against the indigenous people of North America by both the Canadian and the United States governments. Because of this, I use Canadian and American legislations as interchangeable evidences for non-present arguments—particularly because the United States has hidden its imperial crimes so methodically and with such detail that concrete evidence for imperial crimes is difficult to obtain outside of primary sources and personal narratives.

In 1889, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan first declared his intent to hide the history of imperial crimes of Whites against Native children in his proposition for a System of Education for Indians, stating that Native American children “should hear little to nothing of... the injustice of the white race [and that] if their unhappy history is alluded to, it should be to contrast it with the better future that is within their grasp.”[13] The Commissioner expressed his intent to conceal the history of injustices that the “white race” has committed against these children and their ancestors. This is not uncommon today, as Residential Schools continue to be disacknowledged[14] in public school curricula. How can genocide be hidden within the borders of the country in which it took place? Another example of governmental concealment is their attempts to conceal residential schools’ crimes from the public eye through the disacknowledgement of these crimes: “Details of specific atrocities were frequently reported to BIA or Indian Department [Canada] headquarters, often with the recommendation that the perpetrators should be removed from their positions, no such correlative actions



were ever forthcoming.”[15] The U.S. Government disacknowledged the atrocities committed against Native children in their educational institutions and protected (and sometimes even promoted) the known perpetrators of such crimes. This allowed for, and promoted, the continuation and concealment of such criminal actions against Native American children. Farther north, when Canada’s Department of Indian Affairs (DIAND) was forced to turn over 35 of its sexual assault case reports to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the DIAND insisted that the cases be handled individually, rather than as a ‘facet of a systemic condition’ and this insistence prevented a widespread evaluation of boarding school staff. Had a widespread, systemic evaluation been ordered, many more sexual assault cases would have been uncovered.

Furthermore, “DIAND ‘negotiators’ set out to buy off as many former students as possible among those willing to incur the risks of coming forward, thereby preventing their cases from entering the public record and “unduly” tarnishing the department’s image.”[16] Canada went so far as to pay indigenous prosecutors (who were systematically situated to be of the lowest paid class)[17] to maintain the public silence surrounding indigenous conditions. One more example of the US government’s concealment of its crimes against indigenous peoples is a less obvious one: Do you remember when Barack Obama signed the Apology to Native Peoples of the United States? That’s okay, nobody else does either. That’s because it was buried deep, deep down in the Defense Appropriations Act of 2009 (Section 8113, to be exact). The apology “recognizes” the history of “official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the Federal Government,... apologizes on behalf of the people of the United States [emphasis added] to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native Peoples by citizens of the United States [emphasis added]... [and] urges the President of the United States to acknowledge [these] wrongs... against indian tribes... in order to bring healing to this land.”[18] This apology is not sufficient. If anything it only serves to further anger indigenous people by the inaction of the U.S. Government. Here is the

United States, formally acknowledging that the people (not the government) of the U.S. perpetrated ‘violence, maltreatment, and neglect’ (though no further specifics were given) and apologizing (on behalf of the citizens, not the government) for that history. The U.S. Apology was insufficient because it:

1. did not include a commitment to action or restitution;
2. refused to acknowledge the “violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native Peoples” as genocide;
3. refused to acknowledge the government’s role in these crimes;
4. was published in silence, as part of Defense Appropriations;
5. and was signed by President Obama in silence.

This document openly recognizes U.S. ‘wrongdoings’ yet refuses to commit to any action of restitution. The apology was buried (remember: section 8113) in the annual Department of Defense Appropriations Act, which is not publicly announced. Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the “wrongs against indian tribes” on behalf of the U.S. President took the form of a signature on the bottom of a document. This “acknowledgement” was also done in private. Private releases of recognition and apology do not function to educate the non-Native majority of Americans about the complex (and often horrific) history of Euro-american colonization which has been denied to them; instead these so-called apologies provide excuses to continue to ignore and remain silent about the problems brought by colonialism. This public silence is a crucial contributor to today’s imperial mindset.[6] All of these past concealments and disacknowledgements contribute to the creation of a collective amnesia that functions to allow citizens of both the U.S. and Canada to forget that they live in an imperial nation: memory is necessarily selective—out of the infinite sequence of events... we extract what we see as the crucial ones and organize them into an overall narrative. Social memory is then inscribed in textbooks... As the individual represses [negative] memories that may also reveal a great deal about his identity... so in all societies, especially those structured by domination, the socially recollecting “we” will be divided, and the selection will be guided by different identities, with one group suppressing precisely what



another wishes to commemorate.[19]

Citizens of imperial nations then leave out (of the collective memory) those memories which affect their identity in a way that makes them look bad— such as systematic and institutionalized exterminations. Because of this, citizens of the imperial establishment today have little to no knowledge of, or exposure to, the past and ongoing crimes against indigenous peoples. [7] The U.S. government has used this collective amnesia to its advantage, creating judicially evasive policies to avoid criminal culpability for these crimes without having to worry about facing public dissent. If the public doesn't know about it, why would they care about it?

Two examples of these judicially evasive policies are in the United States' handling of the Genocide Convention and in their refusal to ratify to United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. When the Genocide Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, the United States refused to adopt it: "Failing to adopt the Convention was the American strategy until the end of the Reagan era. When it finally was adopted, the US version made the international law subject to the interpretation of American courts." [20] Imagine you are a survivor of the Jewish Holocaust

and you are trying to prosecute Hitler in a courtroom adjudicated by Nazis. You can see where the problem lies: the American Government will never submit itself to justice for what it did to Native Americans. Why? Because it plans to keep committing these crimes. How do I know? Let's look at the U.S. Government's reaction to the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration was approved by 144 nations, with only 4 opposition votes: the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.[8] The United States continued to oppose it until 2010, when President Barack Obama announced his support for the Declaration. This was seen as a landmark to those who know little about the relationship between Native Americans and the US Government; the Natives, however, knew to read the fine print. The US Government referred to it as an "aspirational document," with which they will look to in dealing with "federally recognized" indigenous peoples (red flag: not all tribes within U.S. borders are federally recognized). They are sure to iterate explicitly that the Declaration is "not legally binding or a statement of current international law," so as to avoid having to actually adhere to the recommendations outlined in the Declaration's articles. Perhaps one of the most concerning provisions in the Announcement of U.S.



Support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is, ironically, in Section III.1, “Strengthening the Government-to-Government Relationship”:

In this regard, the United States recognizes the significance of the Declaration’s provisions on free, prior and informed consent, which the United States understands to call for a process of meaningful consultation with tribal leaders, but not necessarily the agreement of those leaders [emphasis added], before the actions addressed in those consultations are taken. [21]

The announcement clarifies that the US will only accept this Declaration provided that, in each article of the Declaration that calls for the free, prior, and informed consent of tribal leaders, the understanding is that the United States will consult with tribal leaders but does not have to have their agreement prior to

1. forcibly relocating indigenous peoples from their lands or territories, with or without the options of return or compensation (Article 10).
2. adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect [indigenous peoples] (Article 19).
3. approving any project affecting [tribal] lands... and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water, or other resources (Article 32.2).[22]

The United States means to reserve their right to forcibly relocate Native Americans from their own lands. Remember the Trail of Tears? The Long Walk? With this provision, those are still acceptable. The US is saying they want to be able to write their own legislation that could harshly affect Native peoples. They’re saying that it is still acceptable for them to exploit tribal lands for their resources. Does any of this sound familiar to you? I’ll give you a hint: it’s happening in your backyard as we speak.

Perhaps you have heard of the Dakota Access Pipeline. Perhaps you heard about it when the hashtag #FreeShailene showed up in your twitter feeds after Shailene Woodley was arrested on October 10, Indigenous Peoples Day, for “engaging in a riot and criminal trespassing.”[23] News flash, folks: it’s not

a riot until the police decide to call it one. Shailene Woodley livestreamed her arrest, and the several hours leading up to it: as the water protectors sing and dance, you can see the police standing several feet away in their riot gear, batons in hand, just waiting for a water protector to step out of line.[24] Perhaps you heard that Shailene was in a riot and dismissed the whole ordeal. Perhaps you, like many other white americans, have fallen into the trap that the government has used for years to discredit movements like this one: you hear it was a riot, you shrug it off. You don’t bother to look into the situation that the protest was about. Unfortunately I do not have the time or the allowed word-count necessary to explain what the protest was about,[25][26] but what I can tell you is that Dakota Access has decided to build an oil pipeline through tribal lands, without the consent of tribal leaders, and has bulldozed sacred burial and prayer sites which stood in the way of construction, and has forcibly relocated protesters out of the main Oceti Sakowin protest camp, despite the camp being situated on treaty allocated lands. In the course of these actions, the protesters have been pepper sprayed, targeted by water cannons in sub-freezing temperatures, shot with rubber bullets, targeted by police dogs, beaten, and arrested and detained in dog kennels.[27][9] And yet, you did not hear about it. Well, that is an assumption on my part. Perhaps you heard about it, but chose to remain silent. Why? I don’t know. Perhaps you don’t even know. But I can take a guess.

Silence is one of the main contributors to the ignorance of today that allows the government to continue to oppress and mistreat Native American people. Indeed, the US Government functions to perpetuate this silence as well: let’s go back to that Apology to the Native Peoples of the United States. It was released in silence; signed by the president in private. It protects the harmful collective amnesia and ignorant silence of American society. We aren’t taught about Native histories and American imperialism in american history classes, and we consequently have forgotten their existence and occurrence, respectively, and somehow we think this grants us permission to turn a blind eye to imperialism today.

So if the government isn’t going to do anything about this, what can I do to help?

The first step to fixing a problem is being able to identify what's allowing the problem to persist. In this case, it is the collective silence around Native American issues. Consider a passage out of Stanley Cohen's *States of Denial*: Besides collective denials of the past (such as brutalities against indigenous peoples), people may be encouraged to act as if they don't know about the present. Whole societies are based on forms of cruelty, discrimination, repression or exclusion which are "known" about but never openly acknowledged. . . . Indeed, distortions and self-delusions are most often synchronized. . . . Whole societies have mentioned and unmentionable rules about what should not be openly talked about. [28]

Take this for an example: We speak endlessly of Trump's "muslim ban". We know it's horrible. We know it's xenophobic. We discuss this easily. When you see an update on your phone that Trump's "muslim ban" has been repealed yet again, you turn to your friend and tell them; however when you see a headline about the Dakota Access Pipeline being expedited by Donald Trump, do you still lean over to your friend and talk about it? Why not? Perhaps because thinking about the oppression of Native Americans is uncomfortable, because deep down you know that you benefit off of a system that functions to uplift non-natives while oppressing natives. You know that you live on stolen land. You know that the system that functions to benefit you today was founded on the extermination and exploitation of indigenous peoples. There's a word for the feeling that you get when you hear about the oppression of Native Americans; it's called imperial discomfort: Imperial discomfort is the unsettling recognition of colonial wrongs against indigenous peoples that colonial settler societies experience through their everyday relations with indigenous peoples in contemporary colonial states. Outward manifestations of discomfort can be as obvious as... legal machinations denying indigenous peoples their sovereignty. Subtler forms of imperial discomfort are hidden in plain sight—such as the total dismissal or disregard of indigenous peoples in colonial states, the willful ignorance of

colonial histories, and the failure to become informed of the complex histories entangling colonial and indigenous peoples. [29]

The ignorant society that we exist in today allows us to ignore America's imperial past and present. Do we dismiss or disregard indigenous peoples today? Absolutely. Why else would the US government have apologized in private? They wanted American citizens to continue to disregard indigenous peoples, and a public statement apologizing for something that the government has deemed unimportant enough to be skipped over in U.S. History classes would have


"Silence is one of the main contributors to the ignorance of today that allows the government to continue to oppress and mistreat Native American people"

the potential to cause some citizens to try to educate themselves on these histories and subsequently realize that the US government has committed many crimes against indigenous peoples. Not a good look. When you, a scholar, finish reading this paper and are consequently are made aware of a genocide which you previously have heard nothing

about, are you going to text a friend and say, "you'll never guess what I found out"? If your answer is no, then a few men by the names of Smith, Markusen, and Lifton have some words for you which may encourage you to re-evaluate your unmotivated position:

When scholars deny genocide, in the face of decisive evidence that it has occurred, they contribute to a false consciousness that [has] the most dire reverberations. Their message is [that genocide] requires no confrontation, no reflection, but should be ignored, glossed over. In this way, scholars lend their considerable authority to the acceptance of this ultimate human crime... They encourage—indeed invite— a repetition of that crime from virtually any source in the immediate or distant future. By [masking] the truth, that is, scholars contribute to the deadly psychohistorical dynamic in which unopposed genocide begets new genocides. [30]

What can I do to stop ongoing imperialism? There has to be a collective social action, because we know the government will not bring its dark history to



light any time soon. We have to refuse to contribute to the silence. The hope is that, by ending the silence, we can bring these issues to national, or even international, attention. Make them issues that are important to the American people— demand governmental action. If you do not have the time to write letters to your senators, at least partially inform yourself on the histories entangling US government and indigenous peoples. Don't let imperial discomfort stop you— talk to a member of Native Americans at Dartmouth. Take a Native American Studies class. Talk to a Native American Studies professor. Ask them if they have recommendations for books to read for uninformed, but eager, students like yourself.[31] As a Native American student at an institution of higher learning, I can tell you that there is little more comforting than to hear a non-native say, “wow, I didn't know about that, could you tell me more?” Once you are at least partially informed, you can make a stand against colonial silence. It's okay if you don't know everything— nobody really does— what's important is that you raise your voice and help Natives be heard. By breaking open a conversation, you're opening up a forum for future generations to contribute to. Do not let the deaths of Residential students be in vain— let's hold the government accountable for what they've done; force them to acknowledge everything they've done; force them to make reparations for these things. Let's stop denying the struggles of indigenous peoples because you “don't know enough”— that's not enough anymore.

Now you know, now you speak.

Governmental concealment of imperial crimes, such as genocide, and establishments of judicially evasive policies perpetuate and allow for the collective amnesia of past imperial actions in colonial settler-states. This collective amnesia is one of many sociological phenomena that perpetuate colonial ignorance and allow for current and future acts of colonial/imperial oppression. Furthermore, the colonial ignorance in question is destructive to indigenous peoples and should be combated on a social scale. The disacknowledgement of indigenous-colonial history today is fueled by imperial discomfort. Therefore, we can stop the disacknowledgement colonial history by confronting our imperial discomfort and thereby ending the collective ignorance. Today's ignorance is safeguarded by the collective silence which surrounds the effects/existence of cruelty, discrimination, repression, and exclusion against Native Americans. We therefore must break through this collective ignorance by drawing attention to topics of, or related to, cruelty, discrimination, repression, and exclusion. We must break through the collective amnesia that plagues our country, for if we do not recognize the severity of past genocide and oppression then we allow for the continuation of present oppressions, and simultaneously allow for the execution of future genocides and oppressions.

- [1] Story adapted from Tim A. Giago, *Children Left Behind: the Dark Legacy of Indian Mission Boarding Schools* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publ., 2006).
- [2] Lindsay Peterson, ““Kill the Indian, Save the Man,” Americanization through Education: Richard Henry Pratt’s Legacy” (2013). Honors Theses. Paper 696.
- [3] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1997)
- [4] Statutes at Large of the United States, Vol. 26, p. 1014
- [5] Statutes at Large of the United States, Vol 27, p.365, also see “Meriam Report: The Problem of Indian Administration; National Indian Law Library, Native American Rights Fund (NARF).” Meriam Report: The Problem of Indian Administration; National Indian Law Library, Native American Rights Fund (NARF). Accessed March 04, 2017. <http://narf.org/nill/resources/meriam.html>.
- [6] Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2004) 17-18.
- [7] United States. Dept. of the Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 150.
- [8] The United Nations General Assembly, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, 2007.
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A Response to Defensiveness

- Paulina Calcaterra -

I wrote this monologue for Upstaging Stereotypes, a performance exploring the intersection of masculinity and identity. Upstaging is part of V-February, Dartmouth's annual month-long campaign to combat gender-based violence and promote gender equity. I wrote this monologue to de-brief the many moments when men have responded defensively to sexual violence prevention efforts and dialogue. I hope this makes people reconsider the cost and the harm of centering defensive reactions as opposed to putting those feelings aside to focus on violence prevention.

The power of male defensiveness is strong on this campus. In the groups I'm in that work on preventing and responding to sexual violence, I can't tell you how much time we have spent worrying about how men might react to something too radical, too accusatory, or too alienating.

And we keep doing this because of course we need men to participate in prevention efforts, but so many of them do not engage if they feel blamed or criticized, and so many of them see any mention of sexual violence as a kind of personal attack. And so their first instinct is to respond defensively.

But defensiveness is harmful.

Instead of focusing on how people doing prevention and response work can approach defensive people with more kindness and patience, I'm calling on defensive people to own up to the cost of their defensiveness.

Because when I hear someone getting defensive, I can't help but think **"Why is that the stance you're taking? Why is that the only thing you have to say when we're talking about harm and violence?"**

I don't know how you could see the things that go on around here and not be wholeheartedly committed to ending the violence, even if that means the idea of yourself as one of the good guys, as a harmless guy, has to go out the window. Isn't that a fair price for safety? Because what you're telling me by making me become palatable and respectable, by making me explain myself until my voice is hoarse while refusing to devote an ounce of energy to educating yourself, is that your ego, your comfort, are more important than violence prevention.

If you really do have good intentions like you say you do, if violence prevention is really your priority, wouldn't you put your defensiveness aside knowing that it is getting in the way of change and progress?

Maybe the problem is that you haven't actually had to face a survivor, or carry their story and their pain, or help them try to navigate the trauma and frustration of finding justice and starting to heal.

Because when you listen to disclosures of violence over and over again, it radicalizes you. Makes you willing to sacrifice whatever it takes to just make sure no one else ever has to go through this again.

When you see your friends and your peers **groped on dance floors, purposefully incapacitated by predatory**



men, raped by people they thought they could trust, experiencing so many different kinds of trauma and harm, you lose the capacity to entertain the discomfort of defensive men. **This pain is because of you and your brothers (and no don't ask me which house the perpetrator was from because you're all in the same fucked up brotherhood) all benefit from rape culture in the same way, and after you hear about this violence, for you to only care about separating yourself from the perpetrators, and making me admit and disclaim and caveat that you're different, all you've done is make me forget about the survivor, about helping them and stopping this from happening again. So, are you proud of yourself now? Do you feel good about yourself now? Has the guilt finally faded away?**

Don't make me sift through the secondary trauma and put my beliefs and experiences into a neat package for you. If you could just release me of the responsibility of protecting your ego, if you could just stop centering your defensiveness and center survivors, take responsibility, take action, get involved, fund prevention efforts, educate yourself and your friends, without devil's advocate-ing, without whatever the caveat is because look how angry you've made me, look what you've turned me into, you profit off of my pain because you're safe from taking responsibility as long as I am reeling, trying to become some palatable shell of myself so at least fucking own up to it.

Defensiveness wastes time and energy. We can't have people who are responsible for activism or for supporting survivors also have to spend their time and energy begging men to listen, reassuring them that we aren't concerned **with their individual moral fiber but just want them to acknowledge that they are part of systems and benefit from systems that perpetuate violence.**

I guess I should put a caveat in here that all men aren't defensive, that some men don't make others around them cater to their needs instead of focusing on the more important work to be done. But again, why do I have to say that? The men I know who are true allies, and yes they exist, don't need me to say this, they wouldn't ask me to. They would tell me to save my breath. They'd reassure me that no matter how angry my tone is, no matter how much I ask them to question themselves, they aren't going anywhere, they're here for the long haul, they're on my side.

And one more thing. When after the show is over and you go and complain to your brothers about how I said you were all in the same fucked up brotherhood, I hope you realize what you are doing. You are ignoring all of what I have said to focus on one line that made you uncomfortable. You're doing exactly what I want you to stop doing. You are being defensive. You have forgotten survivors. So please, fight the urge to revert to your old defensive habits and instead think about a survivor, think about how you can actually challenge violent norms on this campus because that starts with challenging yourself.

Burn Down the Dartmouth Plantation

- Comrade X -

December 13th 1769. Voices crying out in the wilderness. The Bible. Gunshots. Cannons. Whips.

Deafening silence.

The woods around campus conceal the horrors. No amount of time can wash away the blood, the trauma nor the specters which continue to haunt our present.

Dartmouth the chameleon. Clever. Self-congratulatory at its achievements and “progress.” The bastion of conservatism, white supremacy, heteronormative patriarchy and capitalism veiled under numerous liberal masks. Department of Defense contracts, political insiders, the wealthy elite, financiers, fraternities, sororities, secret societies, hazing, rapes, toxic masculinity, racism, sexism, classism, war, genocide. The list goes on and on.

Are there problems in the world? NGO. We can solve that. Let them eat cake.

The machine grinds away as the cycle of violence continues. MAGA graffiti on the bathroom stall. Antifascism is political violence. Of course we support the state of Israel! Anti-Zionism is Anti-Semitic!

Why do black people burn their neighborhoods? Financial responsibility. Pick yourself up by the bootstraps. Alma Mater.

Money. Power. Cars. Clothes. Phones. JUUL. Anxiety. Depression. “Lets get fucked up!” “Does anyone have any weed I could bum?”

Half white.

Half meat.

One scoop of wheat.

Tibetan prayer flags. Incense. “Is it hot yoga today? I can’t stand hot yoga!” Consuming the corpses of the cultures long since colonized and destroyed.

Brands. Labels. “That is so cute on you!” Canada Goose. Millions of dying animals scream in horror. Blood. Flesh. Exploitation. Social cannibalism.

Fake edgy and alternative. Dying your hair. Piercing your septum. “What is your sign?” Zombies. Even fascists have a space for crossdressing and BDSM.



“What will you do after graduation?” “I sold out, I am going corporate.” Living in Brooklyn. San Francisco. Gentrification.

Skiing. Snowboarding. Ice wars. Winter wars. Naked corpses in the snow.

God bless the USA. NATO. Turkey. Genocide. “Bomb them back to the stone age!” Iraq. Syria. Refugees. Close the borders. “Your papers please!” Build a wall. “We need more police!”

Spiritual entrepreneurs. Everything is for sale! Welcome to the new age of indulgences. Witches. Healers. Tarot. “That is so meta!” Leeches. Parasites. From feudal priests to capitalist priestesses.

Creativity. Music festivals. Burning man. White Phosphorous. Fuck the Police. Black and brown protesters. Death. Making a living off the suffering of the oppressed. “We are artists!”

“We are all comparatively rich!” 42 people hold the same wealth as 3.7 billion people.

Revolution. Divine violence! Hold high the Kalashnikov, comrade!

“Where are all our organic eating, thrift shop wearing, liberal classmates?”

“Running into the arms of the police and the army, shouting ‘Save us!’”

A call to action. “To the barricades!” Fuck Dartmouth. Burn down the Dartmouth plantation. Burn down the American plantation.



Narrative Power and Arts Justice in “Ode to the Sea”

- Steffi Colao -

My cousin and I handed our driver’s licenses to the security guard, who copied down the information before giving us the green light through the gate. We found the elevator off to the side, and when the doors parted on the seventh floor, we were met by a police officer. There were maybe four other people there, but that was enough to make the hallway feel crowded, particularly as administrators continued to pass by, going about their day. I picked up a black-and-white pamphlet—a printed Word document stapled together—and started down the hall. Ode to the Sea was an exhibit in the same sense the paintings in restaurant bathrooms are, except the latter usually has better lighting and labeling. Looking at these paintings, it is almost impossible to tell that not only are these paintings caught up in nearly a decade-long legal battle, they are also considered such a threat to the United States that this exhibit is the first and last time the public will likely get to see them.

Justice in terms of art usually relates to copyright law or museum acquisition. Ode to the Sea, however, inspires a set of questions beyond fraud or theft. The artwork, created by detainees at Guantánamo, necessitates an examination of rights, space, and control. I believe that the exhibit has two functions: first, it clearly encapsulates the power dynamics and methods of dehumanization at play in Guantánamo and second, it reveals a new series of debates and contradictions pertaining to art justice.

Ode to the Sea: Art from Guantánamo Bay represents a small sample of artwork created at the Guantánamo Bay Detention Camp by detainees. Although half of the artists have been since released, their lawyers have fought for years to allow this art to leave Guantánamo. Therefore, as the pamphlet

cautions, it is important to remember that any artwork seen is the work that passed critical inspection, as the U.S. government does not allow any images deemed “overly political or angry”. [1] While the theme of the exhibit is the sea, the artwork does not strictly adhere to this topic, spanning from landscapes to still lifes to overt symbolism (hearts, bars, crying eyes) to the more abstract “Vertigo at Guantánamo” by Ammar Al-Baluchi. That being said, Erin Thompson, the main curator of the exhibit, notes that the “sea” is a particularly salient symbol because of the depth of its meanings. On the surface, many of these paintings exude peace and calmness, as if their main purpose were aesthetics, which Thompson explains is intentional. The artwork produced by detainees in Guantánamo is used in their hearings before the Periodic Review Board and are considered evidence of whether or not the detainee still poses a “significant threat’ to the security of the United States”. [2] Therefore, it is in the detainees’ best interest to produce work that allows for innocuous interpretations. The sea, however, is also a powerful depicter of turmoil, anxiety, freedom, and escape, not to mention the role of water and blue in Islamic art. Beyond that, the repeated depiction of water is subtly ironic, as detainees can hear the sea from within the camp but not see it. [3] Certain paintings use the sea in highly specific ways. Muhammad Ansi’s “Untitled (Alan Kurdi)” depicts Kurdi, the young Syrian refugee who drowned while fleeing conflict. [4] Ansi’s other painting, “Untitled (Titanic),” depicts the Titanic in a seemingly simplistic portrayal but in fact calls upon his interrogation, in which he was shown the movie Titanic while next to his female interrogator, trying to create a friendlier relationship while also manipulating him through the date-like setting. [5] Thus, the sea is central to this exhibit for its ability to pass inspection while

retaining a range of meanings.

The case of Ode to the Sea is particularly interesting because the art itself is almost irrelevant: whether or not these are “good” paintings is not nearly as important as the fact that they exist and are being shown for such a limited amount of time (October 2, 2017 to January 26, 2018). As Thompson writes of Al-Baluchi, he is held in Camp 7, which is much higher security than the main camp and does not officially allow art-making. Therefore, “the simple existence of this work is remarkable”. [6] When I saw the exhibit, I overheard comments like “That’s good—I would hang that in my house,” reflecting this impulse to calculate the value of the piece based on its ability to be consumed. Rather than the aesthetic value, which in some works is quite high, I will evaluate the paintings based on their messages, treating them as a form of speech more than anything. A few paintings in particular stand out for their explicit messages about detainment and politics, making their existence even rarer. “Vertigo at Guantánamo” was created to be used as evidence for Al-Baluchi’s claims that he suffers vertigo after a traumatic brain injury caused by interrogation.[7] Thus, this art is meant to be viewed in the context of the artists’ cases and is almost used as a substitute for speech. It is used as psychological and emotional evidence, as explained above, in the artists’ hearings. In this sense, the art not only has value as a form of speech but legal value as well. Djamel Ameziane’s “Untitled (Shipwrecked Boat)” supplements his statements to his lawyers that he felt like a “boat out at sea, battered by successive storms during its trip towards an unknown destination”. [8] This image seems to capture the culmination of this journey: a shipwrecked boat with no survivors visible, and it holds startling parallels to the conclusion of Ameziane’s case. A refugee from Algeria, he arrived at Guantánamo in 2002 and was cleared for release in 2008. Despite this, he was detained at Guantánamo for five more years and was later involuntarily repatriated to Algeria against his and his lawyers’ requests.[9] Ghaleb

“The destruction of detainees’ art is exclusively an exertion of power meant to dehumanize”

Al-Bihani’s “Untitled (Blue Mosque)” reflects current events rather than his own experience, creating this work after the 2016 terrorist attack on the Blue Mosque, which Thompson interprets as a gesture of solidarity. In this sense, the detainees use visuals as a broader form of political speech, whether that is self-advocacy or as an interjection to international events.

It is also worth noting that many of these paintings are untitled, giving the curators latitude in naming the pieces and indicating both the lack of agency of the artists and the improbability that these paintings would ever be seen in public. These were personal works and very few were intended for an audience. Only “Two Palms” by Ghaleb Al-Bihani was meant for public appeal, hoping that the Center for Constitutional Rights would print it as a postcard.[10] As such, these paintings are often meant to look palatable to increase their chance of release from Guantánamo and further publicity. All artwork is screened for political messages and highly censored,[11]

so the art itself is not even a true expression of freedom but rather a calculated negotiation within constraints. In viewing these paintings, as Thompson cautioned, we must understand the high restrictions in which they were produced and not presume that what is shown is everything the artist wanted to show.

Moath Al-Alwi’s works are especially of note for the relationship captured in the sculptures. His model ships are pure feats of engineering, with marvelous attention to detail, scale, and craftsmanship. Meticulously constructed, these ships are remarkable for their ability to defy the limits of the camp. While the art supplies given to detainees are minimal and regulated, Al-Alwi uses a variety of found objects to create these elaborate and accurate pieces.[12] In this sense, not only is the creation an accomplishment but so is the acquisition of the materials. His use of objects like toothpicks or razors indicate the barriers to being able to express ideas and the intensity of the regulation of these detainees, who, it is worth reiterating, have not been convicted of any criminal wrongdoing. While many of the paintings bear a mark from the USG, the “Approved by U.S. Forces” stamp directly on Al-Alwi’s front sails



clearly show the government's efforts to exert control over these artworks. The intentional disfigurement of Al-Alwi's creations remind both the artist himself and viewers that this art is not freely created. Such a stamp seems like a vain attempt to diminish the true artistic quality of this work and to remind the artist that they are in U.S. custody, and that that custody is enforced over all elements of their existence.

The experience of the exhibit itself also indicates the clear power dynamics at play in the mere existence of this art. Held at John Jay Criminal Justice College in NYC and curated by a self-proclaimed "Art Crime Prof," this artwork is being shown for educational over cultural purposes. The exhibit was open only for a few months with very limited hours, making it a very intentional effort to see the artwork. Instead of being hung in one of the big names of the NYC art world and professionally displayed, this exhibit was tucked away in a college behind two counts of security, and even an internet search doesn't return many of the paintings. By holding the exhibit at John Jay over, say, the Whitney, the curators have situated the art in terms of its political value, almost redefining them as evidence over art. The paintings were not quite treated as a formal exhibit; as said above, they were poorly lit and framed, and the brochure was minimal. It contained the standard elements—size, date, media—but was not even printed in color or brochure format. The experience of going there, with the high security and present police officer (not a security guard), almost reiterated the carceral conditions in which the paintings were produced. Merely attending this exhibit required surveillance because of its proximity to people and topics deemed "dangerous." Holding the exhibit in an office suite, though not to disparage the work Thompson and other members of John Jay put in to make this exhibit possible, also nearly diminishes their importance—they are not considered "high" or "true" art worthy of a formal exhibition and must be minimized to reduce their potential potency.

This exhibit provides a small window into the extent of the rightlessness at Guantánamo. Any new artwork will remain at Guantánamo and be considered property of the U.S. government,

and according to Ramzi Kassem, whose legal clinic represents three of the detainees, all of the artwork will be incinerated, regardless of whether or not the artist is released.[13] He maintains that it isn't the art itself that threatens the U.S. government but rather that it lets "prisoners take control of their own narrative".[14] The question remains then: who owns the art? When I create a piece at my studio at home or at Dartmouth, I own it, regardless of who supplies the place or the materials. In Guantánamo, this right is suspended, as the Pentagon maintains it owns the art given that it operates the camp and classes. By removing the seemingly common sense ownership of the artist over their work, the government in effect takes control of the detainees' narratives and their intellectual property, removing their personhood. It is no great controversy to say that Guantánamo operates in a state of rightlessness, yet this is a very particular case of suspended justice. Works made in prison have been published and remain the property of the creator, as seen most dramatically by Mein Kampf, meaning that Guantánamo is even more of a space of rightlessness than simply prison, although none of these detainees have been convicted. Furthermore, allowing detainees to create art that they cannot keep, that will be marked by the government, and that they are told will be "incinerated" is a tactic to dishearten detainees on a very personal level. As Erin Thompson condemns, "The art poses no security threat: It is screened by experts who study the material for secret messages before it leaves the camp, and no art by current prisoners can be sold. Guantánamo detainees deserve basic human rights as they await trial. Taking away ownership of their art is both incredibly petty and utterly cruel".[15] She goes on to say:

Half of the artists featured in our exhibit, like hundreds of other detainees before them, were released after showing that they pose no threat to the United States. Burning Mr. al-Alwi's ships won't help the war on terror...And restricting and burning detainee art offers another excuse for terrorist groups to encourage their followers by pointing to an irrational exercise of absolute power.[16]

While I would not use the potential threat of retributive terrorism to justify the assurance of basic human rights, as it implies the U.S. must frame all

actions in terms of how it benefits U.S. residents rather than any semblance of justice, Thompson articulates an important point: the destruction of detainees' art is exclusively an exertion of power meant to dehumanize. There is simply no other reason for allowing detainees to create art (while literally shackled to the floor)[17] that will ultimately be destroyed. One source claimed this art might be used for government agents to better understand the detainees, using it in interrogation,[18] but this does not explain its eventual destruction regardless of the detainee's innocence. Withholding this art, which speaks to deeply personal emotions and trauma, causes innate harm. This is not to mention the intense restrictions that go into producing this art: using any sharp object like a pencil is limited, as is metal (including a paintbrush).[19] Before the program, detainees could not even doodle on disposable cups or letters to family without intense security and censorship. [20] Removing very specific elements of a person's humanity is a standard prison tactic, whether that is restricting access to bras or not acknowledging a person's gender identity,[21] and such methods of demoralization ought to be banned as torture (in theory) is.

The exhibit also speaks to much broader political debates and dynamics. While the detainees' have only this short exhibit to present their (highly-regulated) artwork, their narratives have been co-opted by countless others. Al-Baluchi in fact became another artist's subject: the character Ammar in *Zero Dark*

Thirty, who was modeled after Al-Baluchi without his consent. Rather, the filmmakers received information about his torture, which was recreated for the movie, from the CIA rather than Al-Baluchi or his lawyers.[22] All agency has been removed from these detainees, and their unwilling role as subjects in other "art" reveals the extent of this dehumanization.

In a twisted irony, George W. Bush, responsible for the War on Terror and keeping Guantánamo Bay's detention center open, is now painting. His paintings are now for sale as *Portraits of Courage*[23] and have received critical acclaim.[24] I will not comment on the merits of the paintings but rather their ability to exist compared to those of the detainees. *Portraits of Courage* includes many paintings of post-9/11 soldiers and veterans, accompanied by their stories,[25] focusing on "their bravery on the battlefield, their journeys to recovery, and the continued leadership and contributions they are making as civilians".[26] Regardless of these individual soldiers' stories, the facts are pretty straightforward: Bush invented a War on Terror in which many soldiers were injured, and he now paints these veterans and sells books of his paintings of their "recovery." He also tortured detainees at Guantánamo and the U.S. is now facing a potential International Criminal Court trial for its War on Terror. [27] While his artwork receives public acclaim, that of the detainees—the suspects in this War on Terror—are being held from the artists and will be destroyed. Such a blatant double standard exposes the contradictions of the current conversation about art (and terrorism). Both

"It is the proximity of legally innocent people to "terrorists," "radical Islamists," and this generalized Other that renders their art dangerous despite nothing inherent in the art that is politically triggering: just who produced it and the fact that it indicates their personhood"

Bush and the detainees have been accused of crimes (though Bush indirectly), yet Bush retains agency over his paintings, receives public acclaim, and is able to sell his work. Meanwhile, former detainees who have been cleared of all charges and resettled elsewhere cannot even receive their work,[28] and the sale of a few pieces in *Ode to the Sea* resulted in substantial backlash from the Pentagon, which threatened to confiscate and incinerate all works (though they contend is not the case). Detainees still in U.S. government custody are not able to sell their work and have become the victim of this backlash of sales by those cleared for release.[29] What makes these pieces so dangerous is that they affirm the humanity of people written off as terrorists. As Ameziane said he hopes these paintings serve “as a reminder of the terrible things that happened to me at Guantanamo, and a reminder that I am a human being just like you”[30]. If Bush can retain his humanity despite the crimes of which he has been accused, shouldn’t the detainees? There is a question of course that if these detainees are guilty of the charges, should they even have the right to produce art and complain about where it goes? But if the U.S. legal system is based on a tenant of innocent until proven guilty, we cannot criminalize this work as none of these detainees have been convicted. This is not to say those convicted of a crime should not have the right to produce art, but that is not even the argument at hand. The United States is similarly being accused for war crimes, yet the artwork done by the detainees has been discussed in the media as an exhibit “made by suspected terrorists”[31] though Bush is not introduced as “suspected war criminal.” I am not surprised by these contradictions, but they are worth substantively examining. For the cleared and released former detainees, their proximity to “suspected terrorists” criminalizes them even though they have not been found guilty. Though not one of the artists, the case of Mansoor al-Dayfi is telling: he was found clear of all charges but then resettled to Belgrade, where he experiences extreme isolation and profiling. He had no choice of his country of resettlement and is still treated as an “accused terrorist”.[32] Over the

course of his interviews with NPR, “several Serbian men wearing masks had forced their way into his apartment, and pinned him to the floor. While the others searched his apartment, the man holding him down yelled at him, saying things like, “If you want to stay here, you have to keep your mouth shut. You are lying. You are playing games.”[33] He, like the other former and current detainees, are criminalized and stripped of rights despite not being found guilty. The U.S. legal system is so deeply flawed that even being found guilty does not confirm one’s guilt,[34] but that is not even in question here. Rather, it is the proximity of legally innocent people to “terrorists,” “radical Islamists,” and this generalized Other that renders their art dangerous despite nothing inherent in the art that is politically triggering: just who produced it and the fact that it indicates their personhood.

While the case of *Ode to the Sea* is highly specific, it is important to contextualize it within the current New York City art landscape. While the exhibit is no longer up, it is hard not to compare it to more recent events. Armory Week, which was the second week in March, saw a range of notable events from the more boutique fairs with \$15/day passes to the Armory Show costing nearly \$90 (prices have since been taken down).[35] Jeff Koon’s Play-Doh sculpture has been predicted to sell for a “low estimate” of \$20 million at auction at Christie’s in May.[36] And, most notably, the conversation about black art in NYC has become wildly contentious, as seen with the Whitney-Brooklyn Museum exhibits in 2017. After Dana Schutz’s wildly controversial painting of Emmett Till that led to protests at the Whitney blocking her work (and rightfully so),[37] the Brooklyn Museum opened a counter-exhibit celebrating “Black Radical Women, 1965-85” in order to reclaim the narrative and to highlight actually successful, provocative protest art.[38] [39] Disappointingly, the Brooklyn Museum recently hired a white curator of its African Art collection,[40][41] calling into question its earlier political engagement as performative. This is not to explicitly say that a person can only make art about their specific race or experiences (although it’s certainly the best bet) but rather should force museums and the art world in general to consider

more strongly the narratives it privileges. Rather than give white female artists more space to dictate the conversation on the Civil Rights Movement or African art, these museums could be facilitating a public platform for artists to tell their stories, as is the case of *Ode to the Sea*. The current landscape of art is so strongly dictated by money that it inhibits what could be a strong educational mission of museums and shows: to publicize narratives that are not usually mainstream.

This is not even to address the gross injustices of museum curation, as most Western museums are filled with stolen art. The challenge, however, is navigating whether or not art will lose any of its political meaning by becoming mainstream. Worse, an argument that people deserve to see art from groups like the detainees at Guantánamo plays into many large museum's justifications for keeping stolen art: that museums should be cosmopolitan and allow anyone to see art of the world. The Victoria and Albert Museum made this case as to why it can only loan Ethiopia its stolen art without fully returning it, claiming that they needed to retain it in England so more of the international public could see it.^[42] Ensuring justice in art is complicated in the sense that many of those in the art world want art to be apolitical: something that does not produce power or is produced by power dynamics. However, it is impossible to separate art from the powers that control the narratives and govern the art itself. To be in full control of your narrative and to have that widely seen is what *Ode to the Sea* works at attaining for these detainees without full success. It attempts to offer a counternarrative or a counterhistory to the government-dictated portrayal of these detainees but it is constrained by both its location and the limited art even allowed to leave Guantánamo.

Of course, we must also interrogate ourselves as the audience—the consumers—of such an exhibit. It would be easy to use *Ode to the Sea* as another

badge of liberalism, some sort of symbol of our open-mindedness to see art produced from a horrible place by potentially horrible people who are temporarily exonerated by our ability to view their art and their humanity. Such exhibits risk having the same effects as favela tours or other types of “poverty porn,” reflecting a voyeurism for the terrible. Much like reading a biography of Charles Manson, these artworks could become a sort of guilty pleasure in the sense that the viewer has a fascination for what is perceived to be dark and takes brief taboo delight in humanizing a person socially known to be “bad.” The opposite could also occur: a paternalistic impulse to “save” this art for these helpless detainees and discussing the art in an infantile manner, the same way you’d tell a child all of their artwork is great regardless of its success. It is important to view the pieces in a way that recognizes their assertion of agency in face of rightlessness and that allows the detainees to retain control of their narratives. This is truly the one instance in which detainees have been able to vocalize their experiences to the public, some still within Guantánamo, and it would negate the purpose of the work to overanalyze its meaning or to turn it into some “noir” fetish. Rather than overwrite the art with our interpretations of the artists as criminals or innocent victims, the best way to view the work is one that gives it the most room to speak for itself, which is what I suppose the simplicity of the exhibit did allow. This is what art should do at its core: allow people to listen to an expression of voice. Some of these paintings did speak to the abuses at Guantánamo or larger political themes, but others spoke of bold colors, fantastical landscapes, and elaborate ships, and it would be unfair to try to write one coherent political narrative over all the work. This paper attempts to explore the critical debates of politics and justice the art inspires without daring to speak for the art itself, and we should work to enable both more artist control over art and to use art as a medium to publicize more narratives.

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[5] Id.

[6] Id.



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- [8] Id.
- [9] Id.
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The Name of the Game

- Cecilia Lopez -

The name of the game is
too fast so you better keep up
couldn't catch that?
Better scratch that
lotto 649
repeat and rewind
repeat and unwind
in time, in time
the cash will be mine.

The name of the game is
in and out so shut your mouth
wear a dress, don't pout
you put out, he'll pull out,
cross your heart you hope you die
that night and every night
too tight, too tight
the dress your mom said you looked nice in
the space this body lies in
your mouth was butchered so you couldn't cry sin.

The name of the game is
too bright so cover your eyes

intensify, reflect, revise
old man be wise
Neil Young was a lot like you were
wrote a lot like you Sir
sure, not sure
about the pink or the blue
I'm a lot like you, were.

The name of the game is
fidget spinner.
She'd fidget and you'd spin her
on your fingers
like a basketball
she'd bounce and you'd pounce
she lives when you blink
do you think, drink, think, drink, think
of your toxicity
drink, think, drink
do you see the complicity?

The name of the game is
survival.



Artwork courtesy of Arviso Alvord

Toxic heteromascularity in the humanitarian aid sector

The real issue behind the Oxfam sex abuse scandal

- Lucía Caballero -

The past couple of months have been plagued by headlines outlining the intricate details of Oxfam's efforts to cover up allegations of sexual misconduct committed by some of their staff workers involved in the earthquake relief effort in Haiti in 2011. These allegations include exchanging humanitarian aid for sex and are said to involve dozens of Haitian victims. Learning about this has thrown into question everything I thought I knew about the organization that I have so adamantly advocated for the past year. It has dismantled my belief in the goodness of a social justice organization that claims to value grassroots, sustainable, local solutions to real human problems and lumped it together with the rest of the monster non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that act on so-called "Third World" countries in ways that serve to benefit the interests of donors rather than the interests of those who they are supposedly there to help. However, after a week of talking to other Oxfam affiliates, I have come to realize that the danger in villainizing an institution for committing a vile act is overseeing the larger issue at hand here: heteromascularity in the humanitarian aid sector.

My position in this matter is particularly relevant. I am a CHANGE Leader for Oxfam America, a program that selects college students from around the country on an annual basis and trains them to become campus advocates for Oxfam. For me, this has involved being the president of the Oxfam Club at Dartmouth, attending a training program with other CHANGE Leaders and continuously advocating for Oxfam at the Oxfam Boston headquarters, and pursuing an independent Geography Department that is striving for campaigns throughout the year. At the same time, I am pursuing an independent research project with the Dartmouth Department that is striving to uncover the ways in which images of trauma and suffering of "others" are commodified by humanitarian aid agencies in order to produce capital in the form of donations from spectators. In the paper that I am currently producing and working towards submitting for publication, I argue that the racialized feminization of poverty causes black and brown women to be exploited through affective labor in order to sustain the humanitarian market. In order to further this argument, I use Haiti as a case study, since it is a perfect exemplar for the worst characteristics of NGO culture and has a centuries-long history of abuse by Western powers.

"Poverty is feminized and saviorism is masculinized"

It isn't hard to see the irony in this situation. As I pursue extensive research with the aim of incriminating the various NGOs that have committed abuses of power in Haiti, the very organization that I work with and advocate for gets accused of doing just that. As I said before, my initial reaction was to be disgusted with and ashamed of my affiliation Oxfam. After a conversation with my independent research advisor, Professor Garnet Kindervater, however, I came to the conclusion that my time would be better spent confronting the real issue behind this scandal.

Poverty is feminized and saviorism is masculinized and that creates a culture of heteromascularity in humanitarian work. The conception of the "innocent", "helpless" woman in need of a savior is often the way in which humanitarian agencies will exploit images of trauma and suffering in order to maximize the affective response from the spectator. The humanitarian market is embedded in capitalism just as much as any other market is, and so, organizations must appeal to consumers in order to produce capital. The image of the



woman in need of saving and the man as the savior is a lot easier to sell than the reverse. Appropriating already-established gendered stigma is a lot easier than fighting for a change in discourse that focuses on empowerment and reparation rather than charity and saviorism. This is further amplified by the ideal of the Western, white savior coming to deliver not only humanitarian aid but also the discipline of human rights itself. The power dynamic implied here has catastrophic implications for the relationships between humanitarian workers and the victims of disasters.

These conceptions of social hierarchies of power are reproduced and, consequently, internalized. The only reason why the men implicated in the Oxfam scandal felt that they had the right to commit such an act is precisely because of these internalized hierarchies of power, confirming their superiority as men of the Western world coming into a black female space. This is also why Oxfam felt that it was unnecessary to persecute the perpetrators at the time of the original investigation, back in 2011.

I am not angry at Oxfam. I am angry at the patriarchy. That's nothing new, but this case has made it even more clear to me that toxic heteromascularity is embedded in every aspect of capitalist society, even the humanitarian sector which is often seen as the exception to the rule. It is not possible to separate a charitable venture from the patriarchy without disrupting the assumptions upon which the concept of humanitarianism is based, which imply a giving savior and a needy "other". Stricter vetting of fieldwork staff and clearer paths of investigation and consequence regarding these crimes are necessary, but nothing will really change without a reconfiguration of the entire NGO sector and what it stands for. In the meantime, although nothing can be done to reparate the trauma that the victims of these despicable abuses have faced, they deserve to tell their own stories and be granted the reparations necessary.



Whither the Nation-State

- Christopher Helali -
photography courtesy of author

In 1914, V. I. Lenin completed *The Rights of Nations to Self-Determination*. Years before Woodrow Wilson addressed the issue, Lenin spoke of the necessity and right to national self-determination which was to be linked with a critique of nationalism and “bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness.”[1] Likewise, the working class needed to strive for the “unity of the proletarian struggle” and thus to build internationalism. [2] Lenin concludes the text saying, “complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teach the workers.”[3]

Nearly four years later, on January 8th 1918, the 28th President of the United States of America, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, addressed a joint session of Congress to outline the “Conditions of Peace” which would bring an end to the First World War.[4] This speech, later known as the “Fourteen Points,” enshrined the right of self-determination. “It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in,” Wilson states, “and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world[...].”[5] The international political order(s) would have to subscribe to a notion of justice which, for Wilson, was embodied in the principle “unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.”[6]

Yet, both Wilson and Lenin arrived at the issue of self-determination from two radically different perspectives. For Wilson, self-determination meant the creation of new nation-states within an already existing capitalist world-

system which was slowly shifting its center of power and domination to the United States from the United Kingdom.[7] For Lenin, as well as other Marxists like Rosa Luxemburg, rights did not exist as absolutes. [8] Rather, Lenin believed that oppressed minorities deserved their liberation but this had to always be seen within the larger struggle of the working class.[9] New nations, whether small or large, would only strengthen the eventual workers’ state which would span the whole world.[10] There needed to be cultural and linguistic freedom for different nationalities while simultaneously combating bourgeois nationalism.[11] Contradictions and tensions in the implementation of these ideas would create divisions in the Soviet Union throughout its early years.

World War I and II radically transformed the world system. The term “total war” fails to encapsulate the desolation and carnage wreaked upon nations in Asia, Europe, and beyond. Tens of millions were killed, maimed and traumatized. Within these traumatic historical ruptures, oppressed peoples from around the world became increasingly self-conscious of their own identities and their yearnings for national liberation. The collapsing multinational empires paved the way for communities long colonized and oppressed to break out of their chains and win their freedom and independence. Liberals and conservatives often point to the concept of “self-determination” which, for both Lenin and Wilson, in radically different interpretations, were a prerequisite of a more just and peaceful world.

Yet, the golden rule for nation-states would not be enough to gain the independence and justice that the oppressed peoples around the world yearned for. The first step in the process of gaining a nation-state requires recognition. The very process of self-determination is inextricably linked to the authority and power of recognition. Thus, recognition would only



have value and weight if at least one major international power supported it. One of the major issues is that self-determination and national liberation struggles contain particular spatial claims. These claims oftentimes run counter to geopolitical orders and strategic interests of hegemonic nation-states who seek to increase their own spheres of influence.

Lauded in the West and paid lip service by politicians on both the left and the right, the self-determination of certain oppressed peoples is always carefully balanced with the geopolitical and strategic considerations of a nation-state. The primary factor in whether a claim of self-determination would be recognized as legitimate by a nation-state is its strategic importance. Double standards emerge from the different blocs and centers of power in an increasingly multi-polar world. The United States and its allies continue to praise democracy and self-determination but only if it is beneficial for their national security, economic and geostrategic interests. Self-determination is but another vehicle used by hegemonic powers both in their spheres of interest and beyond to increase their power and strategic reach.

These considerations also shaped the foreign policy considerations of the Soviet Union and China.

While national liberation struggles were on the whole supported far more by the entire socialist bloc than by the United States and its allies, who were concerned with maintaining traditional ruling elites and military dictators who were loyal to Washington, the Soviet Union also suffered from the ills of nationalism, ethnic chauvinism and imperialism. From 1917, the Soviet Union under Lenin, produced a document, the “Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia,” which recognized and enshrined in law the principles of self-determination and secession for peoples within Russia to form their own separate states.[12] The Soviet Union then recognized the independence of Finland as well as many other states and entities over the course of its history that were fighting for their self-determination.[13]

Recognition of strategic national liberation struggles comprised part of the larger internationalist and revolutionary foundation of the Soviet Union. While the Marxist position changed throughout the course of the 20th Century, Stalin’s rise to power after Lenin’s death complicated matters. The Soviet Union under Stalin moved to the policy of “socialism in one country,” which was theorized by both Bukharin and Stalin.[14] Under Stalin, greater

emphasis was placed on the Russian SFSR and on Russian national identity, language and culture.[15] The internationalist character of the early Soviet Union thus faded into the opportunist foreign policy of Stalin and those who followed. National liberation struggles were supported by the Soviet Union with the caveat that they would take orders from Moscow. Third world national liberation struggles found themselves between Scylla and Charybdis. Starting in the late 1950's, the Soviet Union was openly criticized, most notably from Chairman Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party.[16] Beijing sought to break the hegemony of Moscow over the international communist movement, charging it with revisionism and social imperialism.[17] Those in third world national liberation struggles who were inspired by Mao followed suit, viewing the USSR as an imperialist power and Soviet satellite states as semi-colonial vassal states.[18]

Chinese condemnations of the Soviet Union for revisionism and social imperialism could not prevent the growing criticisms from below of the bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party. The explosive struggles during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) led to "ultra-left" formations which called for the abolition of the bureaucratic party and state.[19] One such group was Shengwulian who advocated the "overthrow of the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, thorough smashing of the old state machinery, realization of social revolution, realization of a redistribution of assets and power, and establishment of a new society – [the] 'People's Commune of China.'" [20] Similar to the anarchist position, primary importance was placed on the abolition of the state.[21] Therefore, the issue of oppressed minorities could only be addressed within the larger struggles for the abolition of the state, capitalism and authority. Détente and the warming of relations with the United States along with the failure of the GPCR led to criticisms of China for having abandoned third world liberation movements and taking the road of revisionism.[22]

What this brief history reveals is that the paradigm of the nation-state is fraught with

contradictions. The dream of millions of minorities in multi-ethnic states around the world is to have the freedom to self-organize and self-govern. Yet, as history has revealed, this comes at a cost. Political actors tend to limit the imagination of revolutionaries, recasting them in the reformist language of political rights, international norms and the principle of self-determination. While these are certainly advances, they are not revolutionary in the sense that they do not challenge the hegemonic powers which govern the international system. Should the oppressed national groups be unable to provide what hegemonic nation-state actors want, they will neither be recognized nor supported. Today, examples of imperialist and (neo)colonial nation-states include the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, China, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, India and Iran, to name just a few. What will help illustrate the dynamics of the nation-state recognition process is to look at some case studies of self-determination and national liberation struggles over the past few decades.

Case studies of partially recognized and unrecognized states reveal the strategic and ideological interests of the powers which have or have not recognized them as legitimate. One of the most cited examples is the breakup of Yugoslavia.[23] The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact provided the United States and NATO carte blanche to begin a process of balkanization which dismantled the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The inter-ethnic conflict that ensued led to war crimes including the Bosnian genocide, ethnic cleansing and systematic, weaponized rape.[24] By the end of the conflict, over 100,000 people were killed and Croatia, Slovenia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina would emerge as independent nation-states.

The United States and NATO would continue to maintain troops in the region along with United Nations peacekeeping forces. The 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia was condemned around the world. Humanitarian intervention, which was the narrative given in the West, simply was a justification of U.S. hegemony. [25] The Russian Federation viewed the interventionism as hostile, illegal and aggressive.[26] Montenegro would then declare independence from Serbia in 2006. The

declaration of independence by the Republic of Kosovo in 2008 was instantly met with recognition and international support by the United States and much of the European Union, while Russia, the People’s Republic of China and over a dozen other nation-states rejected the claim.[27] Today, only 114 out of 193 United Nations member states and 23 out of 28 European Union member states recognize the nation-state of Kosovo.[28]

Likewise, the Russian Federation seized on the instability of its neighbors to support various independence and separatist movements. The push to recognize independence movements in former Soviet republics and most recently, its moves into Ukraine (Donbass Region – Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts) and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 have been met with condemnation from the United States, the European Union and NATO. The Russian Federation recognizes and supports the independence of the Republic of Abkhazia and the Republic of South Ossetia, both of which are

considered by Georgia as part of its sovereign territory. [29] Russia went to war with Georgia in 2008 to protect Abkhazia and stop NATO enlargement into the caucuses region. Additionally, the Russian Federation tacitly supports the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, also known as “Transnistria”, which is not recognized by any UN member state.[30] While, these moves are often interpreted by Western pundits as Russia’s desire to expand its sphere of influence and regain much of the power it previously held as the USSR, an alternate reading is Russia pushing back against the encroaching presence of NATO forces on its borders from the Nordic countries to Central Asia.

Other case studies include Armenia’s support (however not its recognition) for the Republic of Artsakh, formerly the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, which Azerbaijan claims as part of its sovereign territory. [31] The Republic of China (Taiwan) continues to be at odds with the People’s Republic of China, as it has for all of its history, and the international community has shifted over time regarding its status and legitimacy.





Inside China, Tibet and Xinjiang continue to push for their autonomy.[32] The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus which declared statehood in 1983 following the Turkish military invasion of the island of Cyprus in 1974 is only recognized by the Turkish state today.[33] The State of Palestine continues to struggle for its independence and claims to statehood while the state of Israel was recognized overnight in 1947 by the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries who quickly followed suit. Palestine recently attained the status of “non-member UN observer state” in 2012. The national liberation struggle in Western Sahara in Morocco led to the creation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic which declared independence in 1976.

[34] The Republic of Somaliland declared independence from Somalia in 1991 and as of today is not recognized as legitimate by any UN member state.[35] In the Americas, indigenous communities from Canada and the United States all the way down to Chile and Argentina continue to fight for their autonomy and independence.

What these case studies reveal is the power (or lack thereof) of recognition. Recognition is a tool used by hegemonic powers as a tool for their strategic interests, whether they be dogmatic or pragmatic in relation to their ideological positions. Military force that can defend (or oppose) that recognition is also critical given the geostrategic considerations. Thus, self-determination is an empty force, just like justice and rights are, if they lack the sovereign power(s) needed to enforce them. Nancy Fraser writes that “movements struggling for recognition increasingly look beyond the territorial state...disputes about justice are exploding the Keynesian-Westphalian frame.”[36] National liberation and self-determination movements are caught within this web of power relations. Some have chosen to move beyond the nation-state model. However, like the Lenin and Wilson comparison, there are competing ideological reasons for seeking to go beyond nation-states. While new borders

are erected across the world to keep out refugees and migrants, the capitalist world-economy with its multinational corporations, financial system and demand for resources, production and labor, tries to destroy borders to accumulate even more.

In 2017, we witnessed two regions in the world, South Kurdistan (Başûrê Kurdistanê) under the rule of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Northern Iraq, and Catalonia (Catalunya) in Spain both hold successful, open and free democratic elections to proceed with their self-determination in creating independent nation-states. In both cases, the yes vote won with over 90% voting for independence.[37] Thus, South Kurdistan (KRG) in Northern Iraq and Catalonia in Spain had succeeded where Scotland

“Liberation struggles today must transcend the paradigm of the nation-state”

had failed just a few years before in 2014. Yet, while the elections in South Kurdistan were peaceful, the elections in Catalonia were declared illegal by Spain’s Constitutional Court and police were ordered to close

polling stations and seize ballots and “propaganda” in support of the referendum.[38] On election day, police beat peaceful voters and demonstrators in images which hearkened back to the dark days of the fascist dictatorship of Fransisco Franco.[39] This was in Europe, the supposed continent where liberal values reign supreme and lip service is paid daily to freedom and democracy in relation to the barbarians at the doorstep (Muslims, refugees etc).[40]

Yet, while the EU was so willing and eager to recognize the previously mentioned case of Kosovo in a move of aggression against Russia and its allies, Catalonia’s referendum was not even recognized by the EU or its member states as legitimate.[41] Spain as a nation-state is seen as an integral part of the EU as both a member state and a member of NATO. Even with the legitimate claims to self-determination from not only Catalonia but (historically) from the Basque Country (ex. ETA), Galicia, Valencia, the Canary Islands and others, the EU and other UN member states were not willing to recognize a free, open and democratic vote that was violently suppressed by one of its own member states.



Likewise, the Kurdish peoples, have been subjected to brutal policies and even genocide by the four nation-states of Iran, Syria, Iraq and Turkey. At the same time, the Kurdistan Regional Government and its military force, the Peshmerga, has been a staunch US ally in the war against Saddam Hussein and ISIS.[42] South Kurdistan was also told by the international community that now was not the time for independence and no UN member state recognized the vote as legitimate except Israel in a move seen as strategic to their geopolitical interests (note that Israel recognizes the PKK as a terrorist organization).[43] What followed were mobilizations, advances and attacks by the Iraqi armed forces with the support of Hashd al-Shaabi (Popular Mobilization Forces/ Units – PMF/U), the Iranian regime and its forces and allies as well as the Turkish military. Within a month, the Kurdish forces had lost Kirkuk and vast swaths of territory which were disputed with the Iraqi regime. Tens of thousands were displaced and Masoud Barzani stepped down as President of Iraqi Kurdistan Region.[44]

For both Catalonia and South Kurdistan, the aspirations for independence and self-determination, done according to the liberal democratic playbook, backfired, leading to armed conflict, arrests, intimidations and beatings. For the Kurds, the old proverb “the Kurds have no friends but the mountains” rings true once more and Samuel Beckett’s *Worstward Ho* offers us the opportunity to “try again. Fail again. Fail better.”[45]

In the final analysis, what I have tried to outline here in brief is how self-determination is neither simple, romantic, nor revolutionary on its own. The claims that people can practice some form of democracy and self-organization, attaining a level of autonomy as equal partners on the global stage is not only unsubstantiated in history but reveals the true nature of the international political order, the bankruptcy of the nation-state model and the deceit of liberal ideals. The vision of oppressed peoples winning their wars for liberation and/or voting for independence is meaningless if not recognized

by hegemonic nation-states and international organizations. I can think of no better parallel than a classic scene from St. Augustine of Hippo’s *City of God*. In it, Augustine recounts one scene in which a pirate is captured by Alexander the Great who, on seizing him, demands to know why he keeps “hostile possession of the sea.” The pirate responds to Alexander the Great saying, “what thou meanest by seizing the whole earth; but because I do it with a petty ship, I am called a robber, whilst thou who dost it with a great fleet art styled emperor.”[46]

“Imperial powers fight modern nationalism because it threatens them, and because it can and quite often is defeated,” writes Michael Neumann. [47] Since nation-states cannot survive in the capitalist world-system without alliances, the support of their claims necessitates recognition by regional and/or international hegemonic power(s). This does not mean that the struggle for national liberation and self-determination is futile. On the contrary, I would argue that the struggle for liberation is not only timely but of critical importance given the realities of (neo)colonial and (neo)imperialist regimes, global climate change and the capitalist world-economy.

Yet, I would caution against repeating the mistakes of the past. Liberation struggles today must transcend the paradigm of the nation-state. Indigenous and oppressed peoples around the world are recognizing the inequality and injustices of a system built by and for the powerful and wealthy ruling class of capitalism. Millions of people around the world have taken on the historic responsibility and burden of liberation in meaningful and transformative ways. Projects for autonomy, women’s liberation, ecology and horizontal self-organization are ongoing around the world. From the EZLN (Zapatistas) in Chiapas, Mexico to the KCK (PKK) in Northern Syria (Rojava) and in other parts of Kurdistan, the flames of freedom burn bright in mountains, jungles and inner cities around the world.[48] The struggle for liberation is simultaneously the struggle against hegemonic structures of oppression, domination and exploitation in the form of nation-states, capitalism, patriarchy and international organizations, institutions and alliances that seek to stifle the horizontal self-organization and autonomy of

people around the world.

In the past months we have seen the attack on Afrin in Northern Syria by the fascist Turkish state and its FSA jihadist proxies once again reveal what self-organization is up against when not recognized by international powers.[49] The free hands of both women and men holding Kalashnikov's and PKM's against NATO's second largest army using its air superiority to destroy a nascent revolutionary movement will never succeed. Even if the Turkish state wins the battle and the war, the cause remains a just one. History will absolve us. The clarion call for liberated, horizontal, self-organized communities echoes around the world. The need to move beyond the nation-state and to challenge the many manifestations of oppressive structures of power and exploitation are a necessity for our individual and collective liberation. The withering of the (nation-)state is the first step on the road to freedom.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Rights of Nations to Self-Determination" in V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol. 20: December 1913 – August 1914 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 454.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 39-40

[5] "President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points," Yale Law School, accessed May 1, 2018, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Giovanni Arrighi identifies the United States as the "Fourth (US) Systemic Cycle of Accumulation." The other three (in order from first to third) are the Genoese (15th-early 17th Century), the Dutch (early 17th to late 18th Century), the British (late 18th to early 20th Century). The United States regime begins in the early 20th Century and continues at present. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (New York: Verso, 2010), 220.

[8] Horace B. Davis, *Toward a Marxist Theory of Nationalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 58.

[9] *Ibid.*, 60.

[10] *Ibid.*, 61.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1993), 66-67.

[13] Horace B. Davis, *Toward a Marxist Theory of Nationalism*, 68-69.

[14] Erik Van Ree, "Socialism in One Country: A Reassessment," *Studies in East European Thought* Vol. 50, no. 2 (1988), 104-107.

[15] Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 108.

[16] Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1999), 162-165.

[17] *Ibid.*, 377-378.

[18] The Maoist Kurdish party Kawa, founded in 1976, declared that the Soviet Union was a colonizer, like the United States, since different national groups, like the Kurds, were also oppressed within Soviet territory. "Sömürgecilik ve Milli Mesele", Kawa, Volume: 1, December 1978: 9-17. Cited in: Ali Balci, *The PKK-Kurdistan Workers' Party's Regional Politics: During and After the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 116, 128.

[19] For more see: *The 70's Group, China: The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977); Yiching Wu, *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Yiching Wu, "How State Enumeration Spoiled Mao's Last Revolution," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* Vol. 7, no. 2 (2013), 200-217; Yiching Wu, "Coping with Crisis in the Wake of the Cultural Revolution: Rehistoricizing Chinese Postsocialism," *Historical Materialism* Vol. 21, no. 4 (2013), 145-176; Hongsheng Jiang, "The Paris Commune in Shanghai: the Masses, the State, and Dynamics of 'Continuous Revolution'" (Doctoral Dissertation, Duke University, 2010).

[20] Shengwulian, "Whither China?," *Chinese Law and Government*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1970), 341.

[21] For anarchism in China see: Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991); John A. Rapp, *Daoism and Anarchism: Critiques of State Autonomy in Ancient and Modern China* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2012). For general anarchist introduction, see: Michael Bakunin, *God and the State* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970); Emma Goldman, *Emma Goldman, Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969).

[22] These critiques were mostly leveled at China from Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of Peru, as well as other Maoist guerrilla groups like TKP/ML and MKP. For more see: Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China* Vol. I 1962-1972: Extracts from the Political Diary (Tirana: The "8 Nëntori" Publishing House, 1979); Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China* Vol. II 1973-1977: Extracts from the Political Diary (Tirana: The "8 Nëntori" Publishing House, 1979).

[23] Catherine Samary, *Yugoslavia Dismembered* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1995). For more on the Balkans, see: Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[24] Tom Gallagher, *The Balkans After the Cold War: From Tyranny to Tragedy* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 82.

[25] David N. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009), 43-44. For more see: Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003); Jean Bricmont, *Humanitarian Imperialism: Using Human Rights to Sell War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2006); Tariq Ali, ed., *Masters of the Universe?: NATO's Balkan Crusade* (New York: Verso, 2000); Jean Bricmont, *Humanitarian Imperialism: Using Human Rights to Sell War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2006).

[26] "Russia condemns NATO at UN," BBC News, March 25, 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/303127.stm>.

[27] "Statement by Ambassador MA Zhaoxu at the Security Council Briefing on UNMIK," Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of



China to the UN, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.china-un.org/eng/chinaandun/securitycouncil/regionalhotspots/europe/ksw/t1534600.htm>; Steve Gutterman, "Russia Denounces Kosovo Declaration," *Washington Post*, February 17, 2008, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/17/AR2008021700714.html?tid=a_mentx; Yoshiaki Sakaguchi and Katsuhiko Mayama, "Significance of the War in Kosovo for China and Russia," *NIDS Security Reports*, No. 3 (2002), 1-23.

[28] "International recognitions of the Republic of Kosovo," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,224>.

[29] James Ker-Lindsay, *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 47-53.

[30] *Ibid.*, 53-55.

[31] *Ibid.*, 56.

[32] Ben Hillman and Gray Tuttle, *Ethnic Conflict and Protest in Tibet and Xinjiang: Unrest in China's West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

[33] Yael Navaro-Yashin, "De-ethnicizing the Ethnography of Cyprus: Political and Social Conflict between Turkish Cypriots and Settlers from Turkey," in Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, eds., *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 93.

[34] "Sahrawis," in James Minahan, *Encyclopedia of the Stateless Nations: Ethnic and National Groups Around the World Vol. IV S-Z* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 1623-1629.

[35] John Rabuogi Ahere, *The Paradox that is Diplomatic Recognition: Unpacking the Somaliland Situation* (Hamburg: Anchor Academic Publishing, 2013).

[36] Nancy Fraser, "Re-framing Justice in a Globalizing World," in Terry Lovell, (Mis)recognition, Social Inequality and Social Justice: Nancy Fraser and Pierre Bourdieu (New York: Routledge, 2007), 18-19.

[37] David Meseguer, "Catalans and Kurds: Different Worlds, Same Dreams of Independence," *Middle East Eye*, October 7, 2017, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-catalonia-kurdistan-back-each-other-independence-vote-spain-iraq-254066159>.

[38] "Spanish police confiscate Catalan referendum material," *Al Jazeera*, September 18, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/09/spanish-police-confiscate-catalan-referendum-material-170918080656349.html>.

[39] Robert Mackey, "Spanish Police Beat Catalan Voters, Deepening the Divide That Threatens Spain," *The Intercept*, October 1, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/10/01/spanish-police-beat-catalan-voters-deepening-divide-threatens-spain/>.

[40] Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek was criticized for this when he wrote; "Many of the refugees want to have a cake and eat it: They basically expect the best of the Western welfare-state while retaining their specific way of life, though in some of its key features their way of life is incompatible with the ideological foundations of the Western welfare-state." Excerpt from: "Slavoj Žižek: In the Wake of Paris Attacks the Left Must Embrace Its Radical Western Roots," *In These Times*, November 16, 2016, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/18605/breaking-the-taboos-in-the-wake-of-paris-attacks-the-left-must-embrace-its>. Also see: Slavoj Žižek, "The Non-Existence of Norway," *London Review of Books*, September 9, 2015, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/2015/09/09/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway>. The rebuttals to Žižek's views are well worth a read: Sam Kriss, "Why Slavoj Žižek Is



- Wrong About the Syrian Refugee Crisis—And Psychoanalysis,” In *These Times*, November 17, 2015, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/18615/in-defense-of-fantasy-a-response-to-slavoj-zizek>. Also see: Nick Riemer, “How to Justify a Crisis,” *Jacobin*, October 5, 2015, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/10/refugee-crisis-europe-zizek-habermas-singer-greece-syria-academia/>.
- [41] For a comparative analysis of Kosovo and Catalonia, see: Kaloyan Metodiev, “Catalonia and Kosovo Cases (Comparative Analysis),” in Dušan Proroković, ed., *Kosovo: Sui Generis or Precedent in International Relations* (Belgrade: Institute of International Politics and Economics, 2018), 273-298.
- [42] Simon Tisdall, “The Kurds of Iraq have been loyal allies. The west must repay its debt,” *The Guardian*, September 27, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/27/curds-iraq-loyal-allies-independence>.
- [43] Lamis Adonis, “Why is Israel supporting Kurdish secession from Iraq?,” *Al Jazeera*, October 7, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/israel-supporting-kurdish-secession-iraq-171006105039473.html>.
- [44] Raya Jalabi, “Kurdish leader departs, leaving nephew faced with reconciliation,” *Reuters*, November 1, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-kurds-barzani/kurdish-leader-departs-leaving-nephew-faced-with-reconciliation-idUSKBN1D14FJ>.
- [45] Samuel Beckett, *Nohow on: Company, Ill Seen Ill Said, Worstward Ho* (London: John Calder, 1989), 101.
- [46] Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series I, Vol. II: St. Augustine’s City of God and Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, MI: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), 66.
- [47] Michael Neumann, “Ignatieff, Apostle of He-manitarianism,” *Counterpunch*, December 8, 2003, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2003/12/08/ignatieff-apostle-of-he-manitarianism/>.
- [48] The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) or the Zapatista Army of National Liberation is a left-wing revolutionary movement (anarcho-communist, liberatarian marxist) in Chiapas, Mexico. For more see: Subcomandante Marcos, *Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings*, Juana Ponce de León, ed. (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001); Aufheben, “A Commune in Chiapas? Mexico and the Zapatista Rebellion, 1994-2000,” libcom.org, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://libcom.org/library/commune-chiapas-zapatista-mexico>; Tom Hayden, ed., *The Zapatista Reader* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002). The Koma Civakên Kurdistan (KCK) or Kurdistan Communities Union is a political structure initiated by the Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (PKK) or Kurdistan Workers’ Party which adheres to the principles of Democratic Confederalism (anarchist inspired) as theorized by Abdullah Öcalan. For more see: Abdullah Öcalan, *Democratic Confederalism* (Cologne: International Initiative Edition, 2017); Abdullah Öcalan, *The Political Thought of Abdullah Öcalan: Kurdistan, Women’s Revolution and Democratic Confederalism* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2017); Paul White, *The PKK: Coming Down from the Mountains* (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2015); Paul J. White, *Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey* (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2000); Ali Kemal Özcan, *Turkey’s Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010); Aliza Marcus, *Blood and Belief: The PKK and the Kurdish Fight for Independence* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007); Ali Balci, *The PKK-Kurdistan Workers’ Party’s Regional Politics: During and After the Cold War* (New York, NY: Springer, 2016). House Organ, “Rojava,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (2015), 1-15.; Dilar Dirik, David Levi Strauss et al., *To Dare Imagining: Rojava Revolution* (New York City, NY: Autonomedia, 2016); Michael Knapp, Ercan Ayboga, Anja Flach and Janet Biehl, *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women’s Liberation in the Syrian Kurdistan* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2016)
- [49] David Graeber, “Why are world leaders backing this brutal attack against Kurdish Afrin?,” *The Guardian*, February 23, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/23/world-leaders-brutal-attack-kurdish-afrin-turkish-army>.

On Asian American American-ness

- Todd Huang -

The traditional “awakening” of the Asian American usually begins with recognition of the Model Minority Myth and the Perpetual Foreigner trope. The perpetual foreigner trope is a common Asian stereotype characterised by portrayals of Asians (of all kinds) with accents, caricaturised phenotypical features, submissiveness, immorality, and other Orientalist and non-white characteristics. It has manifested in internment/incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, the murder of Vincent Chin and Balbir Singh Sodhi, Asian anchor baby fears, anti-refugee rhetoric, Islamophobic attacks on Muslim and Sikh people, assumptions of lack of English fluency, and the dreaded question, “Where are you really from?” In response, many Asian Americans insist on their non-foreign-ness, their American-ness, belonging in this “country”, being a liberal right-bearing citizen, being born on the land (if applicable). Many critical indigenous and race thinkers have argued that this struggle to “belong” reinforces the settler colonial project of so-called “America”, and erases indigenous peoples and epistemologies. Ironically, in this seemingly anti-racist reclaiming of Asian American-ness, we simply become folded further into the U.S. empire. We reinforce our position as settlers as we attempt to re-nativise ourselves in the U.S. The U.S., as we should know, is founded and continues to thrive on the genocide of and power over black/indigenous people. We, as Asian settlers, should not be including ourselves or demanding inclusion into the settler colonial state, but rather, working to decolonise Turtle Island (since we’re here already) by returning land to native peoples, and leveraging our racialisation for justice work with other marginalised people. Indeed, maybe we should be embracing/reappropriating our position as weird foreigner and working against American capitalism and hegemony as foreign aliens.



The Crisis in Palestine and Zionism's Weakening Grip

- Dan Korff-Korn -

Since March 30th, tens of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza have gathered along the border fence with Israel. Coming together under the banner of the 'Great March of Return,' the Palestinians of Gaza—most of whom are descendants of refugees of the 1948 and 1967 exoduses—are demanding the right to return to their lands in what is now Israel-proper. But perhaps more critically, the demonstrations are an appeal to the world for freedom from Israel's unrelenting siege on the cramped coastal enclave.

Israel's response to the protests exhibits its unswerving commitment to suppressing Palestinian expressions of sovereignty and political agency. On the other side of the fence, Israeli snipers, stationed on elevated sand mounds, gun down demonstrators who come within a kilometer of the border. So far, at least 40 Palestinians have been killed and over 5,500 have been injured, including more than 1,500 with live ammunition. Among the dead are at least three minors and two journalists, and at least 500 minors are among the wounded.[1] The Israeli response to the largely nonviolent protests—already restricted by the border fence and the kilometer-plus buffer zone—shows a blatant disregard for human life.

For the two million Palestinians living in Gaza, the Israeli blockade, which is enforced by Egypt, means that they are trapped in place, severed from their families in the West Bank and cut off from the world. For Palestinians in Gaza, there is no way to escape. There are no seaports, airports, or roads to the outside, and the Israeli military oversees all that enters and leaves. Israel surveils and controls the population from land, air, and sea.

Approximately 70 percent of Palestinians in Gaza rely on humanitarian aid.[2] In terms of population per square mile, Gaza is one of the densest places on earth; the situation is worsened by infrastructure that is barebones and crumbling. Blackouts are regular – residents receive at most eight hours of electricity each day, on average less.[3] The sewage and water systems are nonfunctional. Human excrement flows freely into the sea and a recent report found that 97% of drinking water is contaminated by sewage waste.[4] A number of factors are responsible for the perpetual misery – the ceaseless violence between Hamas and the Israeli army, Hamas's devotion to militancy over governance, and Israel's economic and military blockade have left Gaza in shambles.

On April 2nd, actress Natalie Portman cancelled her visit to the Genesis Prize ceremony in Israel.[5] Portman, who was born in Jerusalem and holds American and Israeli citizenship, was granted the prestigious \$2 million award (sometimes referred to as the 'Jewish Nobel'). Yet after the outbreak of protests along the Gaza Border and Israel's appalling response, Portman rightfully declined the invitation. Portman still accepted the prize money and intends to channel it to various charities devoted to women's rights. Since then, Portman has been vilified by Israeli lawmakers, the media, and the public. Outrageously, although not surprisingly, Portman's decision was labeled as anti-Semitic—particularly by Israel's Minister of Energy, who is a close ally of Prime Minister Netanyahu.

This incident is jarring, but not surprising. Portman is a Zionist and is publicly proud of her Jewish and Israeli roots. After all, she did win the Genesis Prize. Portman has also been vocal about the apparent upsurge in global anti-Semitism, particularly in France where she lives. And like many liberal Zionists, Portman's ongoing differences with Israel do not stem from the State's foundations in and continuing adherence to an ideology of exclusivism and Jewish supremacy. Rather, Portman seeks issue with the particular leaders and policies she

sees as antithetical to her vision, arguably unattainable, of an Israel that is both ‘democratic’ and ‘Jewish.’ In her public statement, Portman stressed that her disagreements are with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his leadership, and not with the State and its driving ideology of Zionism. Portman also made it clear that she is opposed to the BDS movement, and that her actions by no means constitute a boycott of the Israeli state.

I have no intention to compare and contrast ‘anti-Zionism’ and ‘anti-Semitism.’ It has become apparent that the two terms are easily conflated, and that people are capable of employing either ideological force to propel and lend license to the other. In short, a non-Jew can be opposed to Israeli policy and the overarching ideology of Zionism without sourcing their disapproval in a racialized, ad hominem, discriminatory, or one-sided condemnation of the Jews. However, exclusively criticizing Israel (its Jewish character, and the Jews who compose the state’s leadership) while failing to condemn oppression and oppressive regimes elsewhere runs the risk of perpetuating anti-Zionism that is at least implicitly anti-Semitic. There is a huge gap between the facts and reality on the ground and how Zionists perceive that reality. Labeling any detractor of Israeli policy as anti-Semitic is a tactic often employed by defenders of Zionism and their institutions (Israeli or otherwise). The attack is a kneejerk and reflexive response, and it has been rendered meaningless with repeated use. Yet there is something effective in the automatic accusation – it deflects attention away from the objective problems the alleged ‘anti-Semite’ is critiquing. By casting detractors as anti-Semitic, Zionism’s proponents shrewdly censor and shift the conversation away from addressing the moral evils of (and their support for) military brutality, blockade, and occupation. The dynamic is only more absurd when the detractor is a Jew. It seems like a logical fallacy to contend that a Jew who is critical of or opposed to Zionism and/or Israeli policy—a perspective often deeply ingrained in the Jew’s commitment to their identity and its ethos of justice and compassion—is an anti-Semite.

Finally, there is something to be said about liberal Zionists who occasionally critique Israeli policy. In this case, Portman is disturbed by the assault on the demonstrators in Gaza. Yet where are her criticisms of Israel’s apartheid-like occupation of the West Bank? Or the rampant Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism that infects Israeli society from public attitudes on the street to political decisions in the Knesset? And what about the regime of constant airstrikes and drone surveillance (not to mention the blockade at large) that Israel maintains over the Gaza Strip!? If it is evident that Portman is a Zionist, how can she possibly be an anti-Semite? Enough of distracting from the real issues at hand.

For the time being, it might be that Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank are no closer to freedom. But Zionism’s grip on reality, attentiveness to justice, and moral rectitude are weaker than ever. And the Palestinian cause is more compelling and more noticed than ever.

“A non-Jew can be opposed to Israeli policy and the overarching ideology of Zionism without sourcing their disapproval in a racialized, ad hominem, discriminatory, or one-sided condemnation of the Jews”

[1] Jack Khoury, “40 Dead, 5,511 Wounded: UN Releases Figures on Palestinian Casualties in Gaza’s Mass Protests on Israel Border,” Haaretz.com, April 26, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/40-dead-5-511-wounded-un-figures-on-casualties-in-gaza-mass-protests-1.6030556>.

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[5] Isabel Kershner and Megan Specia, “Natalie Portman Backs Out of Israeli Award Ceremony,” The New York Times, April 20, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/20/world/middleeast/natalie-portman-genesis-prize.html>.

Last Word

The cover art for this publication is a photograph taken by Cecilia Torres during the 2017 Homecoming Protest. This protest was organized by Co-FIRED (Coalition for Immigration Reform, Equality and DREAMers) and the Inter-Community Council (ICC) to fight for the rights of undocumented students at Dartmouth. We chose this art for the cover and throughout the publication because we believe that it represents what collective resistance looks like at Dartmouth. The Homecoming Protest brought together students from all corners of campus to fight for a common cause: injustice perpetrated by the administration. The ideals of collaboration and comradery in the face of struggle are exactly what we, as The Dartmouth Radical, hope to represent and further in the Dartmouth community, making it the perfect visual aid to the overall theme of our publication.





