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FOLKS 4...?

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My photo from the banner-making session. 'ESEA FOLKS 4' in black block letters with a white lace background stitched onto a dark banner above 'CEASEFIRE' in white letters, which is partly cut off.

'We are being folded,' said someone behind me, 'like a burrito.' The *r* was beautifully rolled, the voice warm and amused. Our 5 metre long banner was indeed wrapping around us as we tried to position ourselves for the march. Freeing ourselves, we became more of a snake, steadily winding our way through the crowd as we waited for our groups to set off. We were marching with the Palestinian Youth Movement as part of a coalitional bloc; PYM shared the most splendid energy, their chants and drumming rippling through us. Maybe you were there with me, maybe you saw us, maybe you were there in spirit. It seemed everyone was there, but all I could think about was how relatively few Asians were present, Asians like me, or "ESEA" (East and South East Asian). We were marching under the ESEA Sisters flag, an organisation founded in April 2021 and according to their instagram boasts a network of more than 700 sisters, but it seemed that for Palestine the family was rather small.

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We made our banner on a rainy Friday morning. ESEA Sisters co-organised a sewing session with ESEA unseen, a WoC textile artist-activist collective.





It all happened very quickly; I remember everyone's hands in the last hour of making the banner, slow and fast, deft and cautious. About a dozen of us had gathered together to make something for Saturday's march; I noted most people were Asian, most had sewing skills or were creative, some looked a bit more corporate (glossy centre-parted shoulder length bobs, a certain polished enunciation) and others (like myself) more obviously on the artsy-to-unemployed spectrum. We all got on with the same work. We'd been sewing for about three hours; in the beginning, each of us was responsible for a letter, and as the morning went on we took up responsibility for any unsewn bit of fabric. When it was finished, we stood back and looked at our finished piece: a five-metre-long dark green banner that said, in white, black, and red:

#### **ESEA FOLKS 4 CEASEFIRE NOW**

This was not only the first banner-making session I had ever attended, it was also the first ESEA event which did not make me cringe and wonder what the point of anything was. We had finally stood for something in clear and unambiguous terms. A demand for ceasefire originated from Palestinians in Gaza, amplified by diasporic Palestinians as part of the global movement for the liberation of Palestine. We wanted to carry their message into the march.

I overheard one of the organisers of this sewing session say that it had been difficult to find a space for banner making because of—and here was the tiniest pause—‘different political opinions.’ I wondered which places had refused: it seemed unlikely that it would be any of the places I knew, as the groups who run and share these spaces consistently support Palestine. As this global resistance movement grows and strengthens, it necessarily puts pressure on the fault lines in certain groups, clearly distinguishing tedious liberal moralists from those who can grasp basic principles of decolonial struggle.






This moment feels different from #StopAsianHate; in the UK, the post-2020 movement which seemingly sprang from that hashtag and attached itself to the newly popularised “ESEA” identity was largely concerned with increasing representation in white collar jobs, airing every single possible grievance about interpersonal racism, and preventing hate crime through increased policing. These are pretty average (and therefore risible) liberal demands. There were, of course, community groups that existed (in some cases *decades*) before 2020 that served the needs of various Asian migrant communities; they, too, were pulled into the orbit of “ESEA” and its liberal demands.


Whenever I critique liberal ESEAs, I always feel as if I’m misrepresenting their viewpoint, oversimplifying, strawmanning—but that is because their position makes this inevitable. In her 2021 discussion of anti-Asian hate incidents, media discourses, and racist attitudes in Britain, co-founder of *besea.n*, Mai-Anh Vu Peterson has this to offer:

*... this problem is underpinned by a lack of positive representation to balance out the*

*negative attention we have been receiving. Enter *besea.n*, an organisation that carries out advocacy at public and private level, but also works to reclaim the narrative by spotlighting the UK ESEA community on an online platform. Across the country, different ESEA groups are mobilising to speak out about their experiences and push for the visibility they deserve. Ultimately, the work of ESEA orgs in the UK [...] should have garnered much more support and attention than it has.<sup>1</sup>*

Peterson seems to think the numerous issues at hand can be glossed as an imbalance of the attention economy, which I like to imagine is a Rube-Goldberg machine with a pair of opera glasses at the end. In all fairness, Peterson is correctly demanding a UK racial discourse on East and South East Asians—yet she has entirely omitted the work of the now defunct *daikon\**, a zine produced between 2017–2019 by a collective of South East and East Asian women and non-binary people living in a European context. The beautifully produced publications covered a vibrant range of themes and personal stories and was consistently aligned with






leftist causes. Encountering their work was my first experience with a politicised East and South East Asian identity in a UK context. The first time I read one of their zines, I wept lavishly over the pages: I was no longer alone in, yes, my diasporic Asian-ness—but also in the understanding of how my racialisation was intimately connected with my anger, my despair, my desire for a different world.


The daikon\* collective was active across the zine/ queer/migrant solidarity scenes as well as on social media. Between 2020–2022, daikon\* articulated an abolitionist project through Remember & Resist, frequently opposing the mainstream ESEA discourses of positive representation and more police action on hate crime, as exemplified in their sharply written piece, ‘Why Hate Crime Legislation Can’t—And Won’t—Save Us’:

*By redirecting the public’s attention to individual incidents and perpetrators, the state prevents us from interrogating its role in tending the roots of racial violence. In reality, however, there is nothing exceptional about hate crimes against East and Southeast Asian people—they*

*are rooted in the history of the British empire, the systems of racism invented and used by colonisers to justify expropriation of land and peoples, and the longstanding violence that has been continuously inflicted on racialised migrant subjects in the metropole. What the British state does daily through its systems of policing and immigration control is to reinforce these systems of exploitation and oppression, in order to uphold the political and economic relations of colonial white supremacy.<sup>2</sup>*

In their active years, Remember & Resist produced and shared abolitionist knowledge through publications, workshops, protests, and bystander intervention trainings. Although individual liberal ESEAs attended some of these events and seemed receptive to the idea that carceral solutions are not the answer, it has since become clear they do not intend to join the abolitionist struggle. The liberal ESEAs largely won out because their vision aligned with the state’s desire for more policing: On Your Side, a specialist support and reporting service for East and Southeast Asian communities led by Protection Approaches and a consortium of East







and Southeast Asian community organisations, launched in the summer of 2022 with funding from DLUHC.<sup>3</sup> While On Your Side are keen to stress that police reporting only happens through explicit consent (and a data-sharing agreement with the police), they are still keen to collect as much hate crime data as possible. Why? Because this representation will change things. How? Because we need data. For what? To change things (and so on). This may seem like an ungenerous reading of their work, but On Your Side are simply repeating a by now well-worn police line about hate crime. In 2010, hate crime statistics were published for the first time. The National Police Chief's Council released a statement explaining that, while they would like to reduce the incidence of hate crimes, they need to close the gap in under-reporting.<sup>4</sup> Over a decade has passed and the situation has not exactly improved. Let us hope On Your Side produces meaningful results on a shorter timeline—although we should note that, in the years before On Your Side ever existed, stopping immigration raids, training migrants to know their rights, providing support to detainees, assisting migrant workers against exploitation, aiding people with living costs and other

such needs were all initiated without hate crime data collection. Perhaps what On Your Side mainly provides is a specific type of recognition that racist incidents against 'ESEA' are being taken seriously, and representation in numbers also provides validation. Anti-racism is reduced to bureaucratic procedure.

Another recognition of 'ESEA' identity arrived in February 2023 in the form of an invitation to Buckingham Palace. Our Landlord King held a reception to "celebrate British East and South-East Asian Communities," and it looked as if almost everyone in the UK who has ever posted about StopAsian-Hate put on their national costumes and jingled their way to Buckingham Palace like court jesters. As expected, members of the media grifter class were in attendance—but also those I thought should know better, people who built a presence on fearlessly critiquing colonialism or tireless community work. When the night ended and the esteemed guests recounted it all on social media, it seems there were mixed feelings but otherwise there was a general sense that it was all a bit of lark: for those who sincerely thought it was a celebration, it was a







delight; meanwhile, those who were otherwise critical of colonialism explained it away as a kind of ESEA takeover of the palace, as if literally shaking hands with British royalty scored a point against Empire. The most popular line was that they only went to see friends, celebrate “community”, and “raise awareness.” This event took place on the same day that train drivers belonging to Aslef and RMT were striking, so everybody would have had to make a particular effort to attend. Who wouldn’t want to go, after all?

Things were looking pretty good for representarians in 2023. Finally, the community was getting more recognition (Michelle Yeoh won an Oscar!!). But then the first week of October ended, and with it the version of the world we once knew—if you believe in a narrowed view of history. Walid Khalidi observes that a collective ‘historical amnesia’ erases the origin point of the 1897 Basel program at the First Zionist Congress and British rule over Mandatory Palestine between 1917–1947.<sup>5</sup> By allowing the full flow of history to burst forth, we can insist on understanding this “modern conflict” as a continuation of colonialism. ESEA liberals refuse this

clarity. They do not comprehend the British state and its figureheads as straightforwardly repugnant, nor do they challenge how policing is bound to the administration of care. They want to be included within, rather than abolish, the carceral-colonial status quo.

In the aftermath of October 7th 2023, even as I tried to focus on learning what I needed to do during this urgent moment, there was a faint and shameful feeling that persisted somewhere in the back of my skull. It was the anticipation of being annoyed; I was dimly aware that, based on their previous responses to world events and liberation movements, the more liberal ESEA groups might issue some sort of weak, both-sidesing platitude that normalised Israel, or worse, spotlighting the Asian migrant workers among those killed or kidnapped by militants as “Asian hate” and therefore a reason to support Israel. But what followed was mostly silence for several weeks. There have been a couple of ESEA groups who showed early public support through statements and presence at pro-Palestine marches. Several ESEA-focused organisations were among the 100+ groups who signed a strong joint statement






on 10th November 2022 titled, 'Stop the Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine, and End Britain's Colonial Complicity in Crimes Against the Palestinian People.' Who else is heeding calls for solidarity? Why is there so much silence?

ESEA politics consistently deploys words such as "love,» "care,» "joy,» "celebration," and "healing" in their activities. Scholar Diana Yeh describes the ESEA political subjectivity of BEATS (British East Asians in the Theatre and on Screen) as 'shaped by wider racial politics in Britain as well as connected to transatlantic and global imaginings of "Asian" community, which are infused by a dynamics of love.'<sup>6</sup>This is a subjectivity that I feel resonates across various ESEA groups, so why are we allowing limits to be placed on expressions of that love?

'We can't say anything about Palestine because of the Charity Commission guidelines,' is something we've heard repeatedly since October. This is both an explanation of silence and a silencing explanation. (Sometimes it's not even the Charity Commission, but an all-purpose 'government guideline' that's restricting public statements on Palestine.)

The Charity Commission guidelines say, 'You can engage in political activity, but this must support the delivery of your charity's purpose,' and goes on to describe the steps that charities should take to make informed choices.<sup>7</sup> A Ukrainian flag did not prompt such caution—a low-hanging comparison, certainly, and ultimately we're talking about mere symbols rather than meaningful action. Look how many orgs posted a black square and stayed racist for the past 3 years, chewing up and spitting out racialised people (especially Black women) who dared to do anything but scrape and smile for the public eye. In recent years, Black abolitionist calls for urgent action against structural racism were recuperated as bland support for "diversity,» and even this has seen alarming levels of reactionary backlash. So it's no surprise that support for Palestine also exceeds both the limits of institutional PR and the liberals who apply these ways of thinking to their so-called grassroots organising. These were never spaces of true liberation.

People seem to fear they will get into some sort of trouble for posting about Palestine.







I ask us, how will we get in trouble, exactly?

Name it.

**Name all the specific ways in which you will get in trouble for speaking out.**

Who really fears that the Charity Commission will crack down on public pro-Palestinian support? **SILENCE.** How would you know that your organisation had crossed a certain threshold, and what would be the exact nature of this enforcement? **SILENCE.** If there is such a widespread anxiety towards being investigated for and punished for wrongdoings, would it not be wise to organise and share advice, resources, and good practise policies in order to ensure collective protection from enforcement of such guidelines? **SILENCE.**


Furthermore, not every organisation is bound by the Charity Commission. What's their excuse, then? **SILENCE SILENCE SILENCE.** It makes you wonder what's going on behind the scenes. Why is funding bound up with keeping certain people happy? What else is being prevented from spoken aloud?


What else is binding up our eyes, ears, hands? Are we content with a politics and strategy that is based on such ill-defined fears rather than concrete terms and powerful actions?

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This started as an essay about Edward Said's legacy. I was irritated at the number of times I had read the introduction to *Orientalism* quoted in some tepid essay about someone's exhaustingly middle class disappointments, all while ignoring Said's broader political project and body of work. I wanted ESEAs to think about something other than ourselves. Then I realised it was the thin reading of Said that really irritated me, and so humbled myself: it would serve no-one to launch such a critique when my own reading was hardly more voluptuous.

However, I do still think if these ESEAs read *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) they would appreciate Said's facility for reading across genres and geographies, and might benefit from being introduced to dozens of decolonial writers and scholars in each chapter—including direct discussion of East and South East Asia. For example, Said observes,





through Malaysian sociologist S.H. Alatas's *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (1977), the internalisation of colonial control even after the end of direct political control from the West: 'Alatas shows how residues of colonial capitalism remain in the thought of the newly autonomous Malays, confining them—those, that is, who have not become self-conscious in methodology and aware of the class affiliations that affect thought—to the categories of “colonial capitalist thought”.<sup>8</sup> But perhaps it is a mistake to think these liberals are poorly informed; let us recall Aimé Césaire's withering remark in *Discourses on Colonialism*: 'One cannot say that the petty bourgeois has never read anything. On the contrary, he has read everything, devoured everything. Only, his brain functions after the fashion of certain elementary types of digestive systems. It filters. And the filter lets through only what can nourish the thick skin of the bourgeois's clear conscience.'<sup>9</sup> Perhaps this is ungenerous to the organs of simple creatures. Let's return to Said and his much-circulated quote from *Representations of the Intellectual*, with my emphasis: 'For despite the abuse and vilification that any outspoken supporter of Palestinian rights and self-determination earns for him or herself, the

truth deserves to be spoken, **represented by an unafraid and compassionate intellectual.**'<sup>10</sup>


What characterises ESEA liberal politics is a fearful embrace of state violence rather than struggling towards abolition; what ESEAs represent is assimilation. I hope that we can find it in ourselves to be brave instead.


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The call for solidarity between different groups seems to construct itself around shared radical history in an increasingly affirmatory manner, the revolutionary past being an eternal flame that we simply take into the present. We do not have to reckon with how the light was stamped out under the bootheel of imperialism, and how reactionaries hoard the wood that would rekindle our fire.

I wonder at the purpose of placatory histories.

In searching for Asian-Palestinian connections, I read a promising sentence in an opinion piece entitled 'Free Palestine: On Palestinian and Asian Solidarity'. Its author, Kimberley Bajarias, contends that '[t]he Bandung Conference of 1955 was “the first







intercontinental conference of colored peoples in the history of mankind” and was also considered “the first time the rights of Palestinians were acknowledged at an international level.”<sup>11</sup> I follow the citation to a book chapter by Nahed Samour which asks whether Bandung ought to be remembered as such, outlining the conference’s contradictions and tensions.<sup>12</sup> The conference’s final communiqué declared support for Palestinians, calling for a peaceful settlement and the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions.<sup>13</sup> This presumably includes Resolution 181, the partition of Palestine into two separate states, giving 56% of the land to the Zionist state.<sup>14</sup> The year of its adoption was 1948, also known as the Nakba, where a ruined and ethnically cleansed Palestine was violently and officially claimed as the state of Israel.<sup>15</sup> By the time the Israeli occupation forces stopped advancing, they had seized 78% of historic Palestine, far beyond the delineated plan.<sup>16</sup> On the 60th anniversary of the Bandung conference, its Declaration on Palestine reiterated this call for peace, this time explicitly reaffirming support for a two-state solution along 1967 borders.<sup>17</sup> While these Asian and African state representatives were simply supporting

PLO’s position on the two-state solution, this position is still a normalisation of Israel which gives up the majority of historic Palestine to Zionist settlers.

Shifting away from the Bandung conference, we can attempt to find an Asian-Palestinian history which connects the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) to Vietnam, North Korea, and China in the context of Third World Liberationism during the 1960s–80s. The Palestinian resistance situated itself within a global anti-imperialist movement, rich with cultural and intellectual connections beyond armed struggle.<sup>18</sup> There are various examples of Asian-Palestinian contact and exchanges during this period: the PFLP published pamphlets on and studied the Vietnamese revolution, while members of the PLO were given military training in Vietnam.<sup>19</sup> Relations between the People’s Republic of China and the PLO included both military support and the establishment of a community of Palestinian journalists and intellectuals in China.<sup>20</sup> After the closure of the PLO office in Japan in 1995, Japanese activists preserved its film collection for decades before returning the material






to Palestinian filmmakers for restoration and contextualisation.<sup>21</sup> This history is a little closer to the ground, with guerrillas and artists struggling from their specific positions. I would ordinarily be more sceptical about the importance of artists in the revolution, but I am heeding the context of Israel's attempts to liquidate the cultural identity of Palestine by destroying archives, historic sites, and abducting and killing artists and journalists.

As inspiring as these histories are, we must make ourselves look at how recent decades have seen the normalisation of global relations with Israel. We must, as always, take care to distinguish between people and their states. Israel is now the second largest military supplier to Vietnam.<sup>22</sup> In the Philippines, Israeli armed the Duterte regime's anti-insurgency campaign.<sup>23</sup> What Israel also receives from Southeast Asia is workers: there is a demand for cheap labour to "develop" Israel into a rich, thriving state appealing to settlers. Southeast Asian migrant workers prop up this settler colony, notably (but not exclusively) from the Philippines and Thailand; approximately 30,000 workers from each country work in Israel, with Filipinos working in the

caregiving sector and Thais (especially men from the Northeast Isan region) in the agricultural sector.<sup>24</sup> Migrant labour was brought in after the First Intifada in the 1980s to replace Palestinian workers, undermining Palestinian labour organising and increasing their economic isolation. Thailand was chosen for two reasons: firstly, this new workforce could neither be Jewish nor Arab or Muslim in order to preserve the financial and demographic interests of the Israeli state; secondly, the infrastructure for managing migrant worker flow had already been privately established due to Thai military government's interest in settler-colonial know-how.<sup>25</sup> Money binds these workers to the state in the form of exploitative contracts and debt, of remittance and family obligation. Thai agricultural labourers are worked (sometimes quite literally to death) in order to both directly feed Israel and provide enough produce for export.<sup>26</sup> These are the same fruits and vegetables we should of course be boycotting.<sup>27</sup>

It's disturbing to consider how this history of migrant labour is not much older than me, and I find myself dwelling on the fact that the majority of Thai







workers are from the same beautiful and purposely impoverished region as my grandparents and my extended family. The acidic soil and droughty conditions of the Northeast cannot sustain agricultural production, so the chief export of the region is workers. The Northeast supplies Bangkok and the rest of the world with cheap mobile labour. Along with listening to Palestinians narrating their own experiences, understanding the role of Asian migrant labour in maintaining both the colonies and the metropole deepened my solidarity because it clarified where the root of the violence was located: dispossession. I have had to really push to gain this knowledge. My upbringing as a second-generation British Thai was a curious blend of my parents' migrant hopes and reactionary monarchist politics laced through with neoliberal multiculturalism. Such a landscape did not permit criticisms of capitalism, the state, systems of domination: the overall feeling was one of gratitude and acceptance. Anger at interpersonal mistreatment and general injustice was considered ugly, going too far. It was only after leaving my first home that I gradually found the safety and the language to name the experiences of my single self, my family, and our potential

interconnectedness to global struggle against imperialism. I think of Lisa Lowe's writing on the 'politics of the lack of knowledge', how liberalism requires a narrative of 'force[ful] disavow[al] ... erecting a contemporary history that justifies those who rule in the present.'<sup>28</sup> My better-informed friends and comrades may have felt frustrated with me but still believed I could understand and learn with them. I wonder if the representasians will ever be fortunate enough to be loved so well.

When the first batch of hostages was released by the resistance in late November, my friend sent me screenshots from an Israeli Telegram channel. Someone complained that Israel 'released such a quantity of terrorists with blood on their hands for 13 Filipinos and 10 grandmothers.' One sentence that so neatly describes a hierarchy of race, age, and gender. I want to ask the ESEA Israel apologists what they think about this but I know the answer would be hideous.

I recall an image I saw of a protest at the Israeli embassy in Thailand, a man holding a flaming flag with people looking on, and I think that could never






happen here in London without disproportionate consequences. Solidarity between oppressed peoples is powerful and sorely needed, and we are seeing a steady increase of global actions, stalwart in the face of repression. I read reports of continual attempts to materially stop the western war machine. People have mixed success with stopping boats, but rather more with wrecking offices of arms manufacturers (thank you, Palestine Action!). I think, how can so many of us wait until the weekend to voice our dissent? Can my hands not be useful every day? I think of how liberation will come from every angle, but we must understand it will radiate outwards from Palestine itself, on its own terms. We in the west are complicit—but we're not the centre of the world.


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In her essay 'Against Innocence' scholar Jackie Wang cautions against making innocence a precondition for publicly supporting victims of state violence. 'We may fall back on such appeals for strategic reasons [...] but there is a problem when our strategies reinforce a framework in which revolutionary and insurgent politics are unimaginable.' This framework of innocence is one of the main

ideological tenets of ESEA liberal politics, making it difficult for them to meaningfully turn out for Palestine: they cannot readily identify a passive, innocent victim and so fall back on quibbling about language. Wang finishes her essay with this call to action: 'Having the "right line" cannot alter reality if we do not put our bodies where our mouths are. As Spivak says, "it can't become our goal to keep watching our language." Rejecting the politics of innocence is not about assuming a certain theoretical posture or adopting a certain perspective — it is a lived position.'<sup>29</sup>

The abolitionist project is ongoing and interconnected with the struggle to free Palestine. Israel as a settler-colonial project builds itself on the criminalisation of Palestinian existence through a regime of mass-incarceration, surveillance, and brutal force. The Israeli two-tier legal system embeds carcerality in everyday Palestinian life, inventing them as criminals whose rights to hold, work on, and move through their own land must be violently withheld so that settlers can lead frictionless lives.<sup>30</sup> This regime is maintained by Western interests, including the development of anti-insurgency security apparatus—a notable example at the time of writing is Atlanta's





Cop City and its connections with Israel through an international police training program.<sup>31</sup> And yet some of us are still failing to learn from the recent past, still clinging to the so-called safety offered by the police- and military-industrial complexes.

So I ask you: what are you waiting for?


Liberal ESEAs are unhappy with the political turn, and want to stay neutral and keep on doing healing community activities. You could still do that while supporting Palestine, but that's not the point: there is no neutrality in this. Silence is not neutral. Silence is a political position: silence is the normalisation of colonialism, of borders, prisons, and structures of domination.


Are you waiting for the situation to be safer? Safer for whom, and what—your career? If you need more information before making up your mind, what more could you possibly need? How many tens of thousands of martyrs and their grieving loved ones do you have to scroll past on your phone for you to learn something? The cost of our political education should not be brutalised bodies.

You want to show solidarity but you're still holding out for a vision of Palestinian liberation that is free from the label of "terrorism" as you complain about which protest chants that you, safe in your bed at night, personally agree with. You, with your dogmatic nonviolence, insist on "peace" when what you mean is "quiet". Maybe you make noises about positive change but your words and actions reveal that your vision of improvement is simply reinstituting the way things were before: colonial order and control. You don't really have any other beliefs. No wonder intifada frightens you so much!

I own that I feel enmity towards liberal ESEAs which is perhaps disproportionate to their actual threat level. I've been writing through an accusatory 'you' when perhaps I really mean me: ESEA liberals are my past selves that did not listen, selves that tried to own the future through data-driven recommendations, selves with minds like a series of tiny mirrors facing each other.

In their October 31st newsletter, June Bellebono writes a refreshing and thoughtful critique of the various "social justice" movements which have






stayed quiet on Palestine, all while inhabiting the aesthetic of radicalism. They also share something I recognise, a lifetime of being asked if just your family is okay—an asking which is not an extension of empathy but its limit. People inquire after our families as if all this situation requires is social nicety ringed with first world guilt; they are otherwise incurious about the shared roots of this violence. Palestine is connected to the Congo, Sudan, Rwanda, Bosnia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and more—the whole world shaped in ways both specific and common through western geopolitical interests, rendering certain populations closer to state-sanctioned death to secure control over land, labour, and natural resources. Complicity and devastation tangle through our bodies across histories and geographies. It's on our doorstep and a thousand miles away; it's all happening at once, centuries ago. Can we encompass the sheer scale of all this knowledge and bring revolution forth in our daily lives? As Bel-lebono says, 'i think palestinian liberation encourages us to be more ambitious in our efforts for a more just world.'<sup>32</sup> We should heed their words.

We need to grasp it all, get our teeth into it.

If you have just got here, I greet you with a howl of welcome and rage. I wonder where you were before and if you understand how much you are needed.







My protest placard from October featuring the slogan, 'None of us are free until all of us are free' with hands breaking apart chains surrounded by sambac flowers and olive branches.

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