Solidarity: The Feminist Transnational Decolonial Route

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I've forgotten what it means to be a woman," says Nada Abdelsalam, 34, who sits beside her children in front of their tent, baking bread over a wood fire. "Here I am, sitting on the street in a tent, deprived of life's basic necessities. No water, no electricity, no bathrooms, no sanitation. Nothing," she adds. Nada was forced to flee from the Maghazi refugee camp in Gaza City to Deir el-Balah in central Gaza due to Israeli evacuation orders early in the war. Her home was bombed and destroyed. Nada is one of countless women in Gaza enduring similar exhaustion and heightened responsibilities during the ongoing conflict. In her final words, she summed up the situation painfully: "It's a suffering I wouldn't wish upon any woman.

—Maram Humaid 2024

Thousands of women whose lives were shattered can recount similar experiences. Those thousands belong to a category of people whose experiences, existence, aspirations, and wishes are often disregarded entirely. The genocide that is going on is also disregarded by the international community, and some parties even find it justifiable. Certainly, a genocide does not differentiate gender; yet, in wars women definitely pay a double price. A decade ago, in his article "We are Sure that Palestine is a Feminist Issue," David Lloyd explains that:

Israel's war against the continuance of Palestinian life targets women in every sphere. Certainly, it targets women as potential or actual agents of the reproduction of life itself, as mothers and as caretakers, but it also targets women as reproducers of social and cultural life, as if the targeting of women—as so often in colonial regimes—were understood to be the royal road to the destruction of indigenous social and political life. (Lloyd 2014)

In November 2023, Senegalese activist and academic Rama Salla Dieng recalls in her feminist piece "Why Palestine is a Feminist and Anti-colonial Issue" the genocide in Rwanda, stressing that paving the way for any genocide

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begins with the dehumanization of the other party in order to achieve social death, followed by physical annihilation; and if women capable of procreating and reproducing are targeted, the goal is achieved. She declares that the genocide in Palestine is "a political issue, a feminist issue, a reproductive justice issue, an economic issue, an environmental justice issue, an agricultural justice issue, a moral issue, and a sovereignty issue". This position is the point of departure of this article as it paves the way to pose the core of the argument: what is the politically correct form of solidarity? How far have feminist collectives managed to produce a solidarity discourse that goes beyond rhetorical practices to incite revolutionary and transnational action that exposes the intersection of power relations and highlights capitalism as a global sustainer of oppression? To explain, the argument seeks to investigate how the discursive practices of feminist collectives from the global North and global South could challenge the coloniality of power where the world is bifurcated into two zones: human/non-human, and subject/object. Employing decolonial feminist thought as a methodological framework, the paper explores the meaning of transnational solidarity as manifested in various statements. However, engaging with this issue requires first highlighting the epistemological framework that legitimizes the systemic racist annihilation of Palestinian women's lives. Once this framework is clarified, the discourse of feminist solidarity that could make an effect, in the sense of breaking the cycle of attack and self-defense, is to be dealt with from a decolonial approach.

Annihilating the 'reproduction of life' in its various forms is emphasized by Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian. She notes that if the occupation aims to eliminate Palestinian society, women, as they have the ability to procreate and the ability to reproduce culture, must be eliminated. Therefore, she calls for "building a cognitive vision and feminist practice" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2014) which requires an acute awareness of power dynamics. In particular, "it involves understanding the nature and importance of solidarity with the underprivileged, something that global feminism, international law and Israeli feminism have failed at" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2014). Recently, the Palestinian Feminist Collective issued a statement entitled "Palestine is a Feminist Struggle: U.S. Feminist Organizations Call for Permanent Ceasefire Now" that offers a comprehensive gendered analysis of the situation and lists the arms of violence: "gendered and sexual violence are central to settler colonialism, apartheid, and genocide. These systems are inextricably linked and rely on patriarchy, global white supremacy, and colonialism: all of which mobilize gendered and sexual violence in times of genocide."

These underprivileged Palestinian women (and men) are the individuals Franz Fanon described in *Black Skin*, *White Masks* as existing in the "zone of non-being, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region" (Fanon [1967] 1986, 10). Arundhati Roy, in her novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, refers to them

as the "surplus people", viewed by the current military regime of coloniality as "disposable" people, a burden that should be 'transferred' elsewhere (Roy 2017, 98). It is a situation of calamity and human tragedy that naturally calls for solidarity.

The zone of non-being is a corollary of Western modernity, aptly labeled by the decolonial critic Walter Mignolo as the darker side of modernity (2011). This leads to a hierarchical dichotomy between colonizer and colonized, even more consolidated by the inseparability of capitalism and racism (Mignolo 2011). Coloniality, a broad and multi-layered term, transcends physical status to infiltrate visions, discourses, and actions epistemically and ontologically. Most decolonial thinkers posit that Western modernity (and its discontents) has historically marginalized non-Western voices and imposed oppressive systems on their lives, (Mignolo 2011). In light of this and considering the recent genocide in Gaza, Nada could have said, 'I've forgotten what it means to be a human being.' The whole calamity calls for solidarity that is founded epistemically on decoloniality.

Decolonial thought, as opposed to the colonial stand, provides an epistemic shift from the hegemony of modernity to the acknowledgement of difference. Instead of denying difference, it could be, in the words of Audre Lorde, "a springboard for creative change" (1984, 115). This framework is crucial for feminist studies as it interrogates the interlocking systems of capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and coloniality. Envisioning Palestine as a feminist issue underscores this interconnectedness, recognizing the need to address the roots of systemic oppression. The Palestinian struggle highlights how gender oppression is compounded by military occupation and colonial violence, affecting women profoundly and pushing them to the zone of non-being. According to Maria Lugones the coloniality of gender is "the process of active reduction of people, the dehumanization that fits them for classification, the process of subjectification, the attempt to turn the colonized into less than human beings" (Lugones 2010, 745). Lugones notices that "the semantic consequence of the coloniality of gender is that 'colonized woman' is an empty category: no women are colonized; no colonized females are women. Thus, the colonial answer to Sojourner Truth is clearly, 'no" (Lugones 2010, 745). At the 1851 Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, Sojourner Truth delivered one of the most famous abolitionist and women's rights speeches in American history, boldly asking, "Ain't I a Woman?" (McKissack 1992). In 2024, one might reply: No.

Françoise Vergès defines decolonial feminism as a way of seeing the world, a path that leads to "de-patriarchalizing revolutionary struggles" (2021, 10). It is a commitment to fight the coloniality of power and the toxic interrelatedness of capitalism, racism, class, and gender. Vergès states that spotting these entanglements means that "decolonial feminism must remain as close as

possible to a method that pulls all the threads that simultaneously" (2021, viii). Yet, decolonial feminism, as a practice, does not aspire to become the only theory; rather it aims to "to facilitate transborder and international alliances" (Vergès viii). Therefore, adopting an intersectional approach is a must to be able to combat all forms of oppression. Decolonial feminisms, in general, are aware of the various struggles and do not waste the past. They "draw on the theories and practices that women have forged over time in anti-racist, anti-capitalist, and anti-colonial struggles, helping to expand theories of liberation and emancipation around the world" (Vergès 24).

Thus, decolonial feminism is "a new path that is not an imposition or prescription, but a worldview, a way of seeing and doing and understanding gender that emanates from marginalized women in the Global South" (Manning 2021, 1204). In light of all this, any solidarity with Palestinian women should aim at transforming the racialized gendered discourse that supports and equally departs from a patriarchal capitalist mindset. In other words, decolonial feminism is not just about adding voices of women from the global South but about transforming the epistemologies and methodologies that have historically marginalized them. From within the framework of decolonial thinking, Aaron Montenegro notes that solidarity "is a form of social relationship that connects global communities through an empathetic discourse of interconnectivity against the exploitive geo-political economy instilled through the colonial matrix of power (CMP)" (Montenegro 2022).

What is the desired form of feminist solidarity with Palestine that can, through accumulation, bring feminist alliances closer and revolutionize the development nature of the term 'empowerment'? Recalling and drawing upon the Afro-American feminist struggle is essential in this context, as it offers a politically grounded trajectory that emphasizes the intersection of racism and feminism.

1970 is usually perceived as a watershed moment in the history of American feminism. It is when Robin Morgan published her famous anthology *Sisterhood is Powerful* (1970), and it was like throwing a stone in stagnant water. Morgan's controversial anthology triggered strong debates about the meaning of feminism and the feasibility of defining it from a monolithic (white) point of view. With the appearance of the term "sisterhood", the chasm between white feminism and black feminism widened. An intellectual dispute broke out and it appeared that the agenda of white feminism did not endorse challenging racism, which prompted black and colored feminists to produce knowledge stemming from their lives, experiences and their vision of the path that feminism should adopt if it wants to build a real revolutionary movement free of contradictions and based on the recognition of the existence of racism.

In 1984, bell hooks presented a clear definition of solidarity in "sisterhood: political solidarity among women" in *Feminist Theory: From Margin to*

Center. She refuted the intellectual obstacles and practices that turn sisterhood into just a superficial bourgeois social behavior that declines from engaging with racism or capitalism. She declares that "the hegemonic policies manifested in imperialist, capitalist, racist and sexist repression must be challenged "in order to bring about a new social order (hooks 1984, 126). hooks explains that socialist feminists should formulate an emancipatory socialist theory that engages with "compatible systems of oppression such as sexism, racism, class oppression, imperialism...etc." (126). hooks also takes issue with the definition of sisterhood as put forward by Morgan, where sexism is the common denominator among women, a concept that hides the reality of women's lives (127). As I see it, it is the agenda that should be endorsed by any feminist committed to any revolutionary decolonial change. In light of this, any charitable solidarity that does not engage with a rigorous theoretical analysis that exposes how the Palestinian society is exterminated serves nothing. Radical solidarity requires revealing the foundations that produce oppression and the toxic interconnectedness of capitalism, racism and gender.

hooks posits that solidarity is not "the same as support. To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood. Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment" (hooks 1984, 64). In the same line, Chandra T. Mohanty defines solidarity "in terms of mutuality, accountability, and the recognition of common interests as the basis for relationships among diverse communities" (Mohanty 2003, 7). Yet, she highlights the fact that "assuming an enforced commonality of oppression" does not generate a solid form of solidarity, rather "the practice of solidarity foregrounds communities of people who have chosen to work and fight together. Diversity and difference are central values here-to be acknowledged and respected, not erased in the building of alliances" (Mohanty 2003, 7).

Because the feminist Afro-American discourse managed to establish strong foundations supporting anti-racist and anti-colonial strategies, the current genocide in Palestine triggered the whole discourse- in theory and praxisagain. On October 22, the feminist advocacy organization Black Women Radicals hosted the online event, "Black Feminist Writers and Palestine" that focused "on the importance of the Black feminist literary and political canon and the mandate of Black feminist commitments to a free Palestine." Amongst the speakers was Angela Davis. In addition, the struggle of South African women against the apartheid policies cannot go unnoticed in the context of the genocide taking place in Gaza and the West Bank. Therefore, it is no surprise that the solidarity discourse of South African women recalls past experiences

and calls for transnationalism. In a statement issued on October 30 by African feminists, the situation is analyzed as follows:

Under imperialism, colonialism and apartheid, dehumanisation has been the basis to justify the worst atrocities including slavery and genocide. As was the case with apartheid South Africa, the Palestinian struggle is a struggle against racism and imperialism, apartheid, settler colonialism and occupation which calls for transnational solidarity from all anti-racist, anti-colonial and feminist movements, as ours is a common cause.² (African Feminism 2023)

Subverting the violent colonial paradigm of coloniality without reproducing another zone of non-being is a theoretical and epistemic challenge. Yet, this can be supported by forming transnational alliances that are not based on shared womanhood but rather on "a common context for struggle" (Mohanty 2011, 76) which paves the way for 'transnational solidarity'. It is capable of exposing and challenging "the violent, authoritarian nature of states and globalised militarised systems" (Mohanty 76). The rise of global feminist solidarity with Palestine illustrates the diminishing power of borders in the face of liberatory practices. The interconnectedness of various forms of oppression necessitates a transnational feminist approach that transcends these borders, advocating for the liberation of all oppressed peoples. Transnational solidarity recognizes the collaboration between authoritarianism and militarism "in maintaining corruption, fuelling conflicts, and undermining peace initiatives, justice, and democracy" (Jabiri 2019). According to Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander, the elements that could define the term 'transnational' are:

1) a way of thinking about women in similar contexts across the world, in different geographical spaces, rather than as all women across the world; 2) an understanding of a set of unequal relationships among and between peoples, rather than as a set of traits embodied in all non-U.S. citizens (particularly because U.S. citizenship continues to be premised within a white, Eurocentric, masculinist, heretosexist regime); and 3) a consideration of the term international in relation to an analysis of economic, political, and ideological processes that would therefore require taking critical antiracist, anticapitalist positions that would make feminist solidarity work possible. (Alexander and Mohanty 1997, xix)

Therefore, the discourse of the different forms of solidarity is a major axis that guides decolonial thought. In a neoliberal and patriarchal moment par excellence, transnational solidarity can be adopted as a feminist tool and a struggle strategy that derives its strength from the similarity of oppressive and repressive regimes and the dependence of the ruling authorities on promoting the system of privileges in all its manifestations, which puts the feminist struggle at the lowest echelons.

Analyzing the feminist discourse that has emerged in the global statements of solidarity seeks to identify the essence of the politically conscious feminist decolonial tendency which is based on the utter rejection of the settler occupation, imperialism and militarization as all effective arms of patriarchy, racism and capitalism. Lugones (2010) and Vergès (2021) critique the coloniality of power, patriarchy, and capitalism, while also imagining alternative futures that dismantle these oppressive systems. Therefore, decolonial feminism not only critiques existing power structures but also imagines and works towards alternative futures. The paper calls for the need to adopt a decolonial form of solidarity, and to network with it at the level of theory and praxis. This could lead to the formation of a transnational decolonial feminist movement that can demolish the dichotomous binaries between Arab Feminism and what Vergès calls "civilizational feminism" which is born "with the colony, insofar as European feminists develop a discourse of their own oppression by comparing themselves to slaves (2021, 16-17).

From within a feminist decolonial framework, the same question persists: what is the nature of rigorous feminist solidarity with Palestinian people? At the beginning of the Al-Aqsa flood, the feminist Coalition for social change (COFEM) issued a statement of solidarity with "the people of Palestine", and because the coalition's main task is to combat violence against women, immediately in the second paragraph it condemns all violations against women in Palestine. The statement reiterates that these violations were monitored and documented by international organizations such as the International Organization Against Torture and the Committee Against Torture in Israel. The discourse of the statement exhibits a high awareness of the importance of a historical and material analysis of the experience and quotidian life:

In the face of this occupation, it is not just advisable but ethically imperative to value every life, regardless of race, culture, or nationality, and to create equal opportunities for safety, security, and dignified lives for all Palestinians. It is essential to recognize the historical context and current disregard for the plight of Palestinians and resist the narrow, Western-centric lens that often

characterizes this crisis. (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change 2023)

Resisting the narrow Eurocentric vision applied to current affairs, the statement reminds governments that have committed to a feminist foreign policy that "a true feminist foreign policy is inherently anti-imperialist and prioritizes the demilitarization and de-escalation of war" (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change 2023). The statement also emphasizes its rejection of "any stigmatization or skepticism of this resistance". The position of the collective towards resistance is clearly stated:

We recognize it as an unwavering anticolonial liberation struggle, one that can only reach its fruition with the liberation and restoration of the historical land of Palestine and the emancipation of all bodies oppressed under the yoke of Western settler colonialism in Palestine, both militarily and structurally. (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change 2023)

By abandoning the verbose tone of support and adopting a concise decolonial tone, the statement aligns itself with the revolutionary act and does not take the superficial position of defending "women and children" from the perspective of humanitarian sympathy. While the statement strongly denounces antisemitism and recognizes "Jewish people globally who have advocated for the end of Israel's occupation of Palestine," it is also aware that "Dismantling structural racism is an urgent necessity, safeguarding the dignity and freedom of all Palestinians" (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change 2023). The awareness of the "interlinked nature" of the struggle, echoes Lugones belief that the task of the decolonial feminist is to delineate a reading of the situation that

moves against the social-scientific objectifying reading, attempting rather to understand subjects, the active subjectivity emphasized as the reading looks for the fractured locus in resistance to the coloniality of gender at a coalitional starting point. In thinking of the starting point as coalitional because the fractured locus is in common, the histories of resistance at the colonial difference are where we need to dwell, learning about each other. (Lugones 2010, 753)

The 'colonial difference' is a concept that was advanced by Mignolo as the space where "the coloniality of power is enacted" (2000, ix) and it is the key to understanding how the colonized are relegated to a status of non-human. Lugones suggests that dwelling on and in the space of colonial difference is a

way of decolonizing knowledge, hence paving the way for coalitions. Early in October 2023, The Feminist Library, based in the UK, issued a statement that presents a strong stand based on a clear understanding of the colonial difference and how pushing marginalized people to the zone of "non-being" happens:

We understand how gender is utilised during war and we stand with Palestinian Feminist Organisations in their struggle against disinformation and the violently racist tropes targeting Arab men as savages that continue to circulate in mainstream media and online. We understand gender as another mechanism through which states attempt to manufacture consent for forms of violence. (The Feminist Library 2023)

The statement declares its firm conviction of transnational solidarity and confirms that it is written "in the spirit of radical feminist collectives that have come before us ... who took firm stances against apartheid and settler colonialism in South Africa and Palestine and were founded on the principle of transnational solidarity" (The Feminist Library 2023). Elaborating on the meaning of transnational feminist practice, the statement explains that it "requires us to analyse how people in different geographical spaces are subject to unequal power relations and ensure that every person has access to dignified life regardless of the borders that separate us" (The Feminist Library 2023). This discourse recalls Mohanty's vision that "in the context of the incorporation of Third World women into a global economy", political solidarity "offers a basis for cross-cultural comparison and analysis that is grounded in history and social location rather than in an ahistorical notion of culture or experience" (2003, 144-145). Deeply rooted in a decolonial thinking, the statement does not overlook the role of Britain as a colonial matrix of power, "we also cannot ignore Britain's historic role in fuelling this crisis, including the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the role Britain plays today in enabling the destruction and forced displacement of peoples in Gaza" (The Feminist Library 2023).

The statement of the world march of women (WMW) uses a clear-cut feminist discourse to expose the atrocities befalling Palestinian people. It is worth mentioning that the statement expresses the vision of 58 feminist organizations covering the world. In the opening, the statement emphasizes the massacre and the deliberate extermination of the Palestinian people, women and children in Gaza, the Jenin camp and the West Bank, and demands an end to the occupation, as well as condemns attempts to demonize and dehumanize Palestinians as "non-beings" (World March of Women 2023). The statement acknowledges Israel as the colonial matrix of power that derives

its sustainability from other parties. The transnational awareness appears in condemning the suffering of the people of Lebanon and Syria by the Israeli attacks. Then, the statement highlights the failure of international institutions to protect peoples when it comes to colonial and imperialist powers, and the failure of governments to come up with any reaction except to turn the massacre into "just another spectacle in the media co-opted or muzzled by transnational interests" (World March of Women 2023).

Similar to the Feminist Library statement, this statement draws its strength from non-evasive language and analytical discourse that engages with reality without resorting to hiding behind international conventions or laws. The statement confirms that the coalition participates in many spaces that initiate discussions and call for "the urgent need to end the occupation and ensure the freedom of the heroic Palestinian people who have been fighting against the Israeli occupation for 75 years" (World March of Women 2023).

The FRIDA alliance (after the name of the renowned Mexican painter Frida Kahlo), which includes only young women and combats violence against women, issued a statement no less strong than the previous ones. The statement opens with a thorough analysis of what has been happening in Palestine for 75 years, pointing out that what is happening now is a continuation of the Nakba (FRIDA 2023). Vergès emphasizes the importance of understanding historical contexts to fully grasp current gender dynamics and inequalities. She states that the decolonial feminist perspective seeks to focus on "a kaleidoscopic narrative encompassing broad swathes of time and territory and to valorize the unstoppable struggles that challenge the legacies of colonial slavery and racism amid a new age of endless wars" (2021, ix). The statement aligns with the fact that the analysis of the material and historical experience paves the way for holding settler colonialism and racist white supremacy responsible for all the violence. Therefore,

In line with our values and principles of believing in the ability of young feminists to speak to and against violence and oppression, and their ability to envision and carry out their own actions toward liberated and free futures, we affirm the right of all oppressed peoples to self-determine their resistance. (FRIDA 2023)

This statement gains strength from a radically resistant intellectual discourse based on feminist foundations; and like the statement of the world march of women, it condemns the attacks on regions other than Gaza. This broad transnational vision highlights the colonial policies that seek to "control the narrative supporting white supremacy" (FRIDA 2023). The statement then calls for urgent measures, the first of which, of course, is the immediate cessation of the genocide that is taking place. Yet, the demand that reflects a

full understanding of the history of colonialism is the one that calls for alliance and "Intentional allyship and Solidarity" which should be reflected in the ability "to name publicly, to name loudly and to name often the nature of oppressive power" (FRIDA 2023). This demand is reminiscent of Audre Lorde words "If I didn't define myself for myself, I would be crunched into other people's fantasies for me and eaten alive" (1984, 137). To evade and shadow-ban, definitions stand in stark opposition to the decolonial vision of FRIDA's statement, which is clearly reflected in the title: "Act with Transformational Feminist Solidarity with Palestine" (FRIDA 2023). The statement does not call for mere charitable support but rather for solidarity that transforms the status quo by exposing the entanglements of modernity's arms: capitalism, racism, and patriarchy. Any transformation cannot happen without pointing at the origins of the problem: settler colonialism and white supremacy.

The sharp awareness that anything but decoloniality would be a form of reformism is obviously a leitmotif that runs through and weaves these statements together. The Palestinian Feminist Collective, for example, ends its statement with a strong affirmation:

At the forefront of this struggle are decolonial feminists and feminists of the Global South, guiding us with visions of love and transformative change. Decolonization is an act of love, a radical reimagining of a world built on dignity, rights, and freedom for all. In the memory of our feminist forebears and with clear vision toward the future, we say: Stop the Genocide— We demand #Ceasefire NOW. (The Palestinian Feminist Collective)

The close reading of the selected solidarity statements brings to the fore the importance of adopting a decolonial feminist approach. The global feminist solidarity with Palestine is an example of how feminist activists from different parts of the world can come together to challenge settler colonialism, racism, and gendered violence. This solidarity transcends borders and emphasizes the shared nature of various forms of oppression. The decolonial lens is based on addressing intersecting oppressions including colonialism, racism, capitalism, and patriarchy. Vergès argues that building a decolonial transnational solidarity requires being alert to the possibility of connecting through multiple struggles and oppressions. She explains, "It is not a question of connecting elements in a systematic and ultimately abstract way, but of making the efforts to see if and what links exist. A multidimensional approach makes it possible to avoid a hierarchy of struggles based on a scale of urgency whose framework often remains dictated by prejudice" (Vergès 20–21).

The feminist decolonial positionality seeks to center the voices of women (and men) from the global South and challenge the dominance of Eurocentric frameworks. "The task of the decolonial critique is to render visible the structuring force of Western enunciation and re-connect with what has been so far discarded" (Gallien 2020, 38) so that the Palestinian people return to the zone of being. By addressing the legacies of colonialism and recalling the past analytically, these statements create new pathways for genuine liberation and emancipation. Presenting alternative ways of reading the current situation in Palestine, these statements are part of a knowledge production process that resist and combat the epistemicide conducted by the colonizer. It is no surprise that all statements call on the media to revisit and rethink its discourse. The promotion of decolonial feminism is both essential and pressing, as it not only demonstrates solidarity with Palestine but also revitalizes the feminist movement, freeing it from the constraints of neoliberalism and its associated challenges.

The feminist decolonial perspective aims to prioritize the perspectives of individuals from the global South, both women and men, while simultaneously contesting the prevailing Eurocentric paradigms. As articulated by Gallien, the objective of decolonial critique is to illuminate the foundational influence of Western narratives and to reconnect with elements that have been previously marginalized. This approach seeks to restore the Palestinian community to a state of existence by critically engaging with the remnants of colonialism and reflecting on historical contexts, thereby forging new avenues for authentic liberation and emancipation. By offering alternative interpretations of the current circumstances in Palestine, these insights contribute to a process of knowledge creation that actively resists and challenges the epistemic violence perpetrated by colonial powers. Mohanty aptly sums up this kind of solidarity; it "constitutes the most principled way to cross borders-to decolonize knowledge and practice anticapitalist critique" (2003, 7). Exposing capitalism and challenging the concept of the 'surplus people, Rosemary Sayigh, the editor of Becoming Pro-Palestinian: Testimonies from the Global Solidarity Movement (2023), explains that what made her write this book:

A specific event inspired the conception of this book: a demonstration of approximately 180,000 people in London in support of Palestinians in May 2021, concurrent with the latest Israeli attack on Gaza. Though Israeli attacks on Gaza were continual, no such large demonstrations had occurred before. I was curious about the motivations leading to such participation, and though I could not reach the actual demonstrators I decided to invite some 40+ individuals of varying occupations to write a brief "self-story" explaining why and how they had become "pro-Palestinian." (Sayigh 2024)

The genocidal measures taking place in Palestine against Palestinians necessitate an epistemic delinking from the colonial matrix of power. This is a very difficult rather rocky route that requires rigorous scholarship and radical positionality since the line between the decolonial and the postcolonial is very thin and slippery. Put differently, the past forms of solidarity must be put to the test to decide how far they were effective in subverting and disrupting the racist colonial discourse. This is an effort that could yield substantial results if the transnational becomes a main element in the analysis.

Notes

- 1. Peruvian theorist Anibal Quijano articulated the concept of "colonial matrix of power." The colonial matrix of power designates how the hegemonic structures of power and control established during the colonial times are being reproduced and maintained in the present times.... Moreover, the colonial matrix of power precisely describes the set of socio-political circumstances that offer the best environment for functioning of the contemporary neoliberal global capitalism (Quijano 2000).
- 2. https://africanfeminism.com/african-feminists-in-solidarity-with-palestine/

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