



(Denialist) War and (Genocidal) Peace
Anti-Denialist Coalition

In the long compendium of notions, discourses, practices, institutions and ideas which will have to be rethought in the midst of the ongoing *Nakba* and the intensification of its oblitative drive and planetary scope rendered undeniable in Gaza, across all of Palestine, stretching over the region (Lebanon, Syria, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Artsakh, ...) and in every part of our shared earth are the words “war” and “peace”.

For anyone who has been sensitive to language and struggling for freedom with Palestinians, words like ‘conflict’, ‘war’ and ‘peace’ have always been recognized for what they have been, part of a larger arsenal of the terms and terminologies which obscure and mutilate our capacity to perceive this more than 100 year effort to future colonial, imperial impunity, premised on the erasure of Palestinian existence.

If the aims and objectives of *the Nakba* have always been planetary in reach, maintaining, preserving and securing a future for racial, colonial, supremacist, capitalist dominion over the earth; then these fragmentary notes wrestling with the functions, discursively and materially, of ‘war’ and ‘peace’ will have to begin from the experiences of the colonized.

For the colonized, racialized, colored and blackened peoples, abducted, displaced, occupied, ‘the wretched of earth,’

‘peace’ has never simply been pacification and/or submission, swallowing, living with the structured oblivion/denial of the violence that has been committed and continues against them; ‘peace’ and ‘war’ have always been interchangeable, alternating phases of an ongoing process of attempted immiseration, exploitation, enslavement, effacement and extermination.

Rethinking our understanding of ‘war’ from the perspective of *the Nakba*, epicentered on the erasure of a multiplicity of communities and communalities of the ‘Near-East’ including Palestinians *and* as a planetary regime to maintain a colonial, supremacist, capitalist world ordering would neither repeat Carl Von Clausewitz’s dictum, *war is the continuation of politics by other means*; nor uncritically adopt what Michel Foucault claimed in his 1975-76 Lectures at the Collège de France (*Society Must Be Defended*) as a conception preceding and inverted by Clausewitz, namely, *politics as the continuation of war by other means*.

It is true that it is precisely in the ‘after’ math of the Second ‘World War’ and the *regimentation* of ‘peace’ or in the transition to the ‘Cold War’ that the perpetration of *the Nakba*, and the holocaust (sacrifice) of Palestinians as a means of refurbishing imperial dominion, is articulated.

It is also true that a global polity, including its correlated international, institutional, juridical, economic, cultural, discursive programs, conventions, arrangements are reengineered including the establishment of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, United Nations, UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the Marshall Plan, in 1945, GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, predecessor, foundations of the WTO), the 1947 adoption of the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine, adoption of UDHR (the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization April 4, 1949) and the establishment of UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, December 8, 1949) to name a few.

Upon first glance, this would appear to be precisely politics, economics, culture as the continuation of war by other means. But if these initial years of the ‘post’ ‘war’ 1945-1949 mark the intensification of the obliterative violence against Palestinians initially declared by Balfour in 1917, then clearly we see that the establishment of this global polity, including the basis to the ‘Rules Based Order’ previously called the ‘International Liberal Order’ (as synonymous with ‘the Free World’) is not only founded on and inseparable from the continuation of colonial violence but also constitutes *the Nakba* as foundational to a planetary *nomos* (‘international order’) to future it.

In this way, from the purview of *Planetary Nakba*, ‘war’ and ‘politics’ or what comes ‘after,’ would neither be understood as ends nor means, subordinating or privileging one over the other; rather they would be seen as indissociable, together forming part of an incessant effort, enlistment, entrenchment toward denial of the primary, underlying and ongoing genocidal violence that they both – as associated circumscribed fields of activity, notions, temporarilities, precepts, objects of ‘scientific’ and ‘philosophical’ discourses – hide, justify, naturalize.

At the heart of this ‘reconstruction’ effort, with its ‘post’ ‘war’ and ‘after’ ‘auschwitz’ is the perpetration of *the Nakba*. At the heart of the Nazi crime scene are white supremacists, imperialists, capitalists, but like the entire history of racially motivated violence, the ones incriminated and incarcerated will be the ‘colored’ folk. Its ‘peace’ then is this rehabilitation of a colonial international and the various forms of supremacy, racial, patriarchal, class, violence that liberal capitalism had and has always required. Therefore, fascism’s roots in white supremacy, colonial, imperial butchery has to be disavowed, because this same liberal order has never stopped fighting to continue to future them. *The Nakba* is then, among other things, the name for this denialist account and world-making ‘after’ the Nazis, whereby fascism’s *Ursprung*, as origin and as program, can never be acknowledged because that would risk to undo the very matrix of power that this ‘post’ attempted to

shore up. Here lies the basis of why fascism never ended, because racial supremacy and the genocidal violence immanent to it never began with the Nazis and it was never intended to be 'resolved' by *the Nakba* rather futured. Denialist 'war' and genocidal 'peace' have been nothing but its building blocks.

From the perspective of those designated 'undesirables' by the colonial powers, 'war,' 'diplomacy,' 'politics,' 'peace' all act as covers for the oblitative and extractive violence that has and will continue to be exacted upon them in different forms. So it is with little surprise that what precedes and comes 'after' 'war,' is part of a continuous effort to unsee *the Nakba* and the genocidal violence that futuring colonial imperial oversight and ownership has and will always demand.

Whether it is the annihilation of the Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians on the Eastern Front of the Ottoman Empire or Balfour's promissory declaration to unhomed Palestinians in its Western Front ('First World War') or the killing and erasing of millions of anti-capitalists, Jews, Roma from Europe ('Second World War') or the massacres and ethnic 'cleansing' of Palestinians ('1948 Palestine War' '1948 Arab-Israeli War'), *the Nakba's* denial and perpetration have been written not only through 'war' but also by all the imperial machinations 'before' and 'after' temporal and terminological confines of 'war.'

We will never arrest *the Nakba*, in the language of 'war' and 'peace' we will only future it.

What ties these distinct (yet indissociable for the colonized) temporalities and designations of 'war' and 'peace' together is the program for ownership over earth and the obliteration or subjection of the 'brutes' who are in the way. These non-people, or in the case of Balfour's Palestine, 'non' (Jewish) people, will be consigned to sacrifice (or, *Holocaust*), but it is a sacrifice that can never be avowed if this endless campaign of extraction by extermination or education is to be justified.

‘War’ forms part of a larger construction site of conjuring an image, ‘a vast *mise-en-scène*’ of adversarial, *dueling forces* (whether between competing empires or even in the cases designated as asymmetric), when in fact, what undergirds colonial and by extension imperial violence is a brutality premised primarily on the logic of taking from, eradicating, subjecting the designated ‘ab-,’ ‘in-,’ ‘non-,’ ‘other,’ ‘lesser,’ ‘lower,’ ‘backward,’ **human**, by some right or might, whether racial, civilizational, scientific, biological, historical, moral, religious or providential.

The colonized, racialized, dehumanized who are earmarked for elimination *from* or education *into* the colonial world are the unseen or ob-scene (off-scene) of *the Nakba’s mise-en-scène* of ‘war’ and ‘peace.’

What words like ‘war’ and ‘peace’ then serve to occlude, preclude is firstly our capacity to perceive this pervasive interconnected expansive constitutive violence of the colonial or settler colonial enterprise, sewn back together through *the Nakba* – in all its illegitimacy, brutality, coercive and cultural impositions – and secondly, what precedes this violence and remains primary, the very object of its oblitative drive, that is, the colonized’s abilities to exist, subsist, resist and disorder attempts to impose the terms of order.

Witnessing the acceleration of the oblitative drive of *the Nakba* in Gaza and the ‘Great Peace’ which is a ‘next’ designated as ‘after’ – is among other things then a lesson in how words like ‘war,’ ‘conflict,’ ‘ceasefire,’ ‘peace’ have been so instrumental in reproducing and creating the conditions of unthinkability and imperceptibility of an immanent genocidal violence which lies at the heart of the project of ‘White’ ‘Western’ ‘Civilization.’

Furthermore, these temporal and terminological designations have to be understood as absolutely critical in restricting any space to question the imposition or ‘right to existence’

of a supremacist, colonial, militarized, legalized order, which full heartedly funds and arms genocide not only in Palestine, but also on a regional and planetary scale.

That one of the main protagonists of this systematic effort of extermination is an entity imagined and founded in collusion with forces who have never stopped conjuring genocide, denying Jewish belonging in Europe (i.e., *a people without a land*) and an unpeopled Palestine (i.e., *a land without a people*) is thus not an exception, but the rule of 'war' and 'peace' of the imperial, settler or corporate colonies.

For anyone capable of perceiving *the Nakba* in its long durée and duress, what preceded *Tufan Al-Aqsa (Al-Aqsa Flood)* has clearly been a genocide by attrition, siege, collective torture, imprisonment and episodic displacement, massacres. Equally, what proceeded it, as a response, by those committed to maintaining this ongoing *catastrophe*, would be an intensification and unapologetic articulation of its oblitative end point. Palestinians, as one of the structural objects of this oblitative drive have refused to accept this *telos* as perpetual detainees, refugees, victims.

Thus, to refer to the struggle, including the armed resistance of people fighting against genocidal violence, in the language of 'war,' including associated terms like 'ceasefire,' act as material barriers to the perception of and abolition of this regime of death – not just in Palestine but across a planet comprised of manufactured states, 'imagined communities' of oblivion and denial.

In the light of our notes here, even the systematic effort by the perpetrators and enablers of the extermination of life in Gaza to conjure images of the inhumanity of Palestinians refusing their obliteration and to attack those demanding 'ceasefire now,' was not only a refusal to stop the killing, but also a way of delimiting discourse and the perception of the genocide taking place 'before,' 'during' and in whatever would be designated as an 'after.'

Boxing-in the terms of struggle to ‘ceasefire’ – as an extension of vocabularies associated with ‘war,’ ‘warring,’ ‘dueling’ parties – are critical in reproducing the structural denial of the originary scope and ongoing of *the Nakba* as well as the resistance to it. They mutilate perception, as if there would be two sides firing and what would restore ‘peace’ would be to stop this firing, stop ‘the war.’ By associating the cessation of bombing as precursor to whatever could be called ‘peace,’ ‘ceasefire now’ becomes the terms of a death sentence, consigning the colonized to a condition of continued guilt for existing, for resisting; never holding to account, in any way, the perpetrators of this long reign of mass theft, terror and death that *the Nakba* names, futures. This unaccountability is not just in the delimitations of the territory called ‘Gaza Strip’ or ‘Occupied Palestine’ or ‘Historical Palestine’ but across all the sites of ongoing racialized supremacist colonial imperial brutality and thievery including within the pockets of exception inside the otherwise whitened centers of its metropolises.

Here again, the words ‘war,’ ‘ceasefire,’ ‘peace’ become discursive and material activities deployed to regulate, unsee, deny, distort the perception of and prolong the perpetration of the ongoing obliteration of Palestine and the preservation of *the Nakba as a planetary dispositif* of administering, *white* – washing it.

In Gaza and in all parts of the planet still occupied, terrorized, sanctioned by this ‘colonial international’ in-stated on *the Nakba*, there is no ‘before’ or ‘after,’ only an ‘in-cessation of hostilities’ toward the colonized.

In the blackened sites of the colony, the plantation, the reservation, the camp, the settler colony as well as its whitened, enlightened sites of higher education and culture, ‘peace’ and ‘war’ are not used to refer to the subjection or civilizing domestication of the ‘native’ or ‘savage.’ Nor are they used to name civilization’s defense against the ‘barbarian,’ ‘infidel’ or ‘terrorist’ – rather their deployment (as notions as much as material practices) is the very means by which the figure

of ‘native,’ ‘savage,’ ‘barbarian,’ ‘terrorist’ are the sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit figures, axes upon which ‘war’ and ‘peace’ will alternate, oscillate to obliterate any outside or otherwise to the colonizer’s conjured ‘civilization’ thus future.

Abolition and anti-colonial struggle are animated by the perpetual practices of affirming and reclaiming this outside and otherwise of the imposed ‘civilization’ ‘future’ ‘war’ ‘peace’ ‘politics’ ‘prison’ ‘production’ ‘constitution’ ‘culture’ ‘denial’ ‘institution’ ‘terms’ of the colony, the settler colony.

For the racialized and colonized, the revocability and reversibility of these impositions and the coercive, all encompassing – when deemed ‘necessary’ even genocidal – violence its ‘self’ ‘preservation,’ ‘defense,’ ‘right to existence’ purportedly ‘requires,’ is central to whatever could be understood as freedom.

If as Fanon argued, colonialism ‘is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native’ and that this violence is the ‘natural state’ of colonial rule, then the *planetary regime of Nakba* is the naturalization of this state of affairs in the ‘after’ math of the colonies’ supremacist and fascist *chickens coming home to roost*.

The deployments of ‘war’ and ‘peace’ are instruments of that naturalization and the denial of the ongoingness of coloniality. The linguistically illogical ‘war’ on drugs and ‘war’ on terror only find their logic in the ‘demonic grounds’ from which *the Nakba* can be perceived.

In the ob-scene or off-scene of the *Nakba-cene*, there are, as Sylvia Wynter helps us recall *no humans involved*.

Genocide, is thus not understood here as a legal, colonial, imperially adopted juridical category, reserved for those who would be qualified by Western European Man as human, but as the immanent objective of colonial, settler colonial expansion, possession, claim of ownership, dominion, denial, evacuation, obliteration, ‘purification’ of/from a place and/or a peoples.

Genocide is also understood here as the basis and horizon of colonial pedagogy and culture. As long as the colonizer can continue, 'peace' is the trophy of the perpetrators and the catastrophe (literally *the Nakba*) of the survivors.

What we have been made to witness in Gaza is the basis of colonial knowledge and cultural production – what it obliterates is far more consequential than what it produces. It is what lies behind every syllabus, lesson plan, exposition and exhibition. Its dictate, those who seek an otherwise to the imposition of the future of the colony, face the abyss of total annihilation with total impunity, since they who contest this future, this imposition of civilization, are what is to be rendered futureless, what is to be exterminated.

Education and Cultural production, as they are integral to the production of discourse, thought and the denial that genocide is predicated on, fuelled by, are not instruments then of 'war' as much as they are parts of the construction of a monolith 'world order' that facilitates a field and discourse on and production of 'war' or 'wars' whose ultimate aim is to confuse and enlist victims of this foundational violence into partakers in it.

Moreover, knowledge and cultural production attempt to imbricate the 'accepted,' 'chosen,' 'qualified,' the 'educated,' 'acculturated,' 'recognized' of the colonized, in the designated times, conditions of 'peace' to seek 'security,' 'comfort,' 'a standing' in that imposition that *Nakba* names and futures rather than the regime's abolition.

The impositions, institutions, practices of *art* and *education* based epistemically, philosophically, materially on colonial, settler colonial, racial violence, theft, in this sense are not superfluous or external to the genocidal pedagogy of the enablers and perpetrators of the mass killings exhibited in Gaza rather they form the core of what we could call *genocidal culture*.

There is no genocide without a culture that authorizes, rationalizes, normalizes, relativizes, ignores, unsees, occludes,

denies it. *Art* or *education* and their institutions have not simply been playing their part in this genocide by suppressing speech, attacking, vilifying those attempting to stop it. They have been shaping the very architectures of sense deprivation, anesthetization, innocence, disavowal of their intimate role and genesis in genocide and the prolongation of *the Nakba*. What friends have elsewhere called the arts of whiteboxing.

Genocide and denial are inseparable. Where you see genocide, you will find denial. And the denial of that genocidal violence is at the heart of genocidal culture.

Denial is not simply negation. The socialization and the social life of foundational lies such as *a land without a people for a people without a land*, does not just negate or obliterate, it produces facts, institutions, infrastructures, discourses, cultures sewn up to reproduce it.

Whiteboxing is just one way of naming the instituting of forms of denial of that ongoing oblitative violence into the mind of ‘colonizer’ and ‘native’ alike. It names the technologies of unseeing, imperception, distortion within which the conditioning of a ‘post’ of ‘war’ or a ‘peace’ in an ‘after’ only insures that the brutality of unending coloniality, its refurbished, ongoing genocidal campaigns, which we call *the Nakba*, is naturalized and continues.

Studies of ‘war’ and ‘peace,’ ‘violence’ and ‘non-violence,’ even of *the Nakba* itself, in the cross-hairs of the practitioners of *whiteboxing* will only perpetuate the occlusion if not outright denial of its planetary expanse and, most critically, function.

Whiteboxing can be understood as the knowledge and cultural practices associated with what our friends engaged in decolonial thought have called the ‘colonial matrix of power.’ It could be understood as precisely what friends engaged in black study and anti-colonial struggle have

tried to think beyond – from Wynter’s ‘demonic grounds’ of black feminist praxis to Katherine McKittrick’s ‘black methodologies’ including even Aimé Césaire’s exhortations toward a *pensée poétique*.

The exigency to forge this concept comes out of a need to name what the colonized lives, a veritable field of cultural and knowledge ‘production’ which is marked more by what it ignores than what it brings us closer to.

If *blackboxing* is the practice of isolating, enclosing a thing, a process, even a state of affairs to only understanding what input will produce a stable and/or desired outcome, irrespective of what happens ‘inside;’ then *whiteboxing* could be a practice of purporting to know a thing, illuminate it, bring light to it, producing an ‘inside’ [separated from its outside, from other things, a subject, an object, including the manners of approach, the time, the context, the entanglements, the intentions of the one(s) approaching] which not only mutilates the purported known, limits the capacities of the seeker or searcher of knowledge, from sensing, meaning, seeing feeling but also, most importantly, its main function is to help deny, distract, distance, even absence from the scene what needs our most urgent attention, what would be absolutely elemental to any sense making, including of what is being approached. It’s a way of approaching, where the approach is marked more by all that it takes distance from in order to deny any possibility of approaching anything.

Here what is blackened is not a situation, a thing objectified, a context reduced, a process or state of affairs isolated, to a function, a desired end from a repeatable input. No, *whiteboxing* entails practices of ‘bringing to light,’ ‘shedding light,’ en-lightening, explaining, naming, discussing, knowing, perceiving whose main function is avoiding, denying, occluding, radically reducing the field of vision, of perception, of sensation and affection.

Within the confines of the ‘white box,’ whatever ‘war’ and ‘peace’ attempt to describe will be rendered inaccessible not

because the words are void of any signification but rather because of what they hide from view.

In the light of this brief detour into the *whiteboxing* of ‘war’ and its correlated ‘peace’ or ‘civility’ thus ‘politics’ we can return to one of the points of reference in these assembled notes.

Clausewitz thought of ‘war’ as subordinate to ‘politics’ and the effort to impose will in the context of dueling forces, namely between states or even empires; then Foucault argued warfare was a more permanent condition and feature of ‘society.’ It is from here that he can argue that ‘civil war’ is a constant feature of modern ‘politics’ and what it tries to suppress and deny.

If we remain with Foucault and do not dismiss outright his thought – since clearly, he remained largely oblivious to *the Nakba* even as he was able to contribute some critical insights for perceiving it, confronting it – in the purview of *Planetary Nakba*, we would have to resituate the function, sense of ‘civil war.’

On the one hand, Foucault allows us to arrive to an idea that the will to or the production of knowledge is part of larger field of power relations, with discourses having concrete effects, composing part of a subterranean ‘civil war’ and concurrently a denial of that ‘war.’ What seems to elude Foucault is that even still, the discourse on and production of ‘civil war’ as concept, notion, and material fact, just as ‘war’ itself, is an extension of that regime of denial.

What ‘civil war’ produces are ‘sides’ to a ‘war’ in which what is important is not what the ‘warring’ sides believe or stand for, the function is to force and generate an image of violence ‘within’ a ‘society’ in order to delimit that life world. ‘Civil war’ is among other things, discursively and materially the production of an inside, an outside, of an assumed consistent ‘society’ whose main function is to confuse, occlude, normalize, further entrench the colonial racial capitalist world ordering/sundering which *the Nakba* and its continuation attempts to hold together.

Whether it is through a microphysics of power or in generalizing or universalizing it within a global polity, ‘civil war’ does not break open the ‘civility’ (and by inference civilization) that is always in the service of producing and excluding its ‘inhuman’ other. On the contrary, it further entrenches the colonial injunction – *no humanity outside its terms and determinations* – renovated in the ‘political-economic’ doctrines of neo-liberal coloniality – *there is no outside*.

Remaining here close to the region – whether in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and so many worlds, communities held hostage by this planetary scheme – the function and production of ‘civil war’ much like ‘war’ as fact and discourse has been to make more imperceptible, confusing and render more irreversible this monolith ‘world’ that *Nakba* entrenches – including the very terms of society or social life it imposes, homogenizes and universalizes.

It is *the Nakba* and the partitions and borders it imposes which will produce as much the *within* isolated from a *without* (including the nation-state form which the colonial, imperial powers draw, redraw arbitrarily), as it will the violence which will be ‘internalized.’

In some cases, the rift will be produced precisely between those who resist *the Nakba* and those who seek to reconcile, persist, profit in, by its *terms of order* (here the categories of authority, power, leadership explored by Cedric Robinson would just be one of many seminal points of reference). However, the main characteristic of ‘civil war’ will be neither the struggle between those who reconcile with and those who struggle against the *genocidal-denialist futurity* imposed by *the Nakba*; nor, will it be the enlistment of parties to obliterate one another – even if both of these are immanent to whatever goes by that name.

Rather, not unlike ‘war,’ the main aim of ‘civil war’ as process and object of discourse is the obliteration of the

capacity to perceive and to exit *the Nakba*, both in its *historicity* as well as its *futurity*.

Let us then return to the scene of the crime, so to speak, to *the Nakba* and how we might perceive the region outside the sense deprivation imposed by the terms of 'War' – 1948 Palestine 'War', 1948 Arab Israeli 'War', 1949 Syrian 'Coups', 1953 Iranian 'Coups', Baghdad 'Pact', Algerian 'War', 1956 'War' (or Suez 'Crisis'), North Yemen Civil 'War', 1963 Iraq 'Coups', Dhofar 'War', Six Day 'War', 1970 Omani 'Coups', Yom Kippur 'War', Western Sahara 'War', Lebanese 'Civil War', Camp David 'Accords', [Iranian Revolution] Soviet-Afghan 'War', Iran-Iraq 'War', Lebanon 'War', [First Intifada] First Gulf 'War', Oslo 'Accords', Algerian 'Civil War', [Second Intifada] 'War' on Terror, Afghanistan 'War', Second Gulf 'War', 2006 Lebanon 'War', Iraqi 'Civil War', Gaza 'War' (2008, 2012, 2014, 2021, 2023-), Somali 'Civil War', [Arab Revolutions] Syrian 'Civil War', Libyan 'Civil War', Yemeni 'Civil War', Abraham 'Accords', Second Nagorno-Karabakh 'War', Ethiopian 'Civil War', 2023 Azerbaijani 'Offensive', Sudan 'Civil War', 2024 Invasion of Lebanon, Iran-Israel 12 Day 'War', Gaza 'Peace' Plan ...to name just a few of the regional episodes.

Moreover, let us rather begin to consider *the Nakba* as a historically rooted process, strategy, which develops, in the midst of the 'First World War,' to advance alternatively colluding and competing imperial interests, in equal measure conquering, carving up the Ottoman Empire (its 'discovered' resources and the 'under-humans' who were 'in the way') as well as eliminating the threats posed by insurgent anti-capitalist struggles and their potential contagion effect on anti-colonial movements.

The colonization, denial, obliteration of Palestine, as well as the genocide of the Armenians, Pontic Greeks, Assyrians, serves as the fulcrum upon which *the Nakba* is initiated as machination: tacitly positing with the Balfour Declaration

imperial ownership, dominion over the (not yet conquered) Ottoman Empire and its (sacrificable) peoples.

With this declaration, the British also tacitly propagate the eradication/indoctrination of Jewish life in Europe, demarcating the 'good' Jews as those who will agree they do not belong, partake in European culture unless they collaborate with the colonizing, b/ordering, extracting, domesticating ('making the desert bloom') of the region/planet, ideally transplanting themselves in Palestine. This is in full consistency with the anti-Jewish policies of the same 'Lord' Arthur Balfour himself, who in 1905 was critical in the passage of the Aliens Act which specifically attempted to prevent 'undesirable' immigrants, namely Jews, fleeing pogroms in the Russian Empire, from seeking, finding refuge in Britain.

But this is not all, this 'declaration' will tacitly prepare for the witch-hunts against the anti-capitalist insurgencies, giving legitimacy to the deracination and demonization of the 'International Jews' (in the language of Henry Ford, Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler alike) who precisely as anarchist, communist, bundist, socialist threaten 'global white supremacy' and 'colonial civilization.'

Fascisms – as 'internalizations' of this racial/colonial logic and violence, enlisting, enticing working masses, potential proletarians into racial belonging, into supremacist movements, capturing, channeling their discontent toward villifying, then eliminating the 'undersirables' who are the threat to, enemies of purity, of civilization – becoming one of the salient features of *the Nakba*.

By the 'Second World War' and its aftermath of millions killed, including Jews, Roma, Communists, Anarchists, Socialists and others deemed *Untermenschen* in Europe and millions eliminated by forces of Imperial violence crossing earth, by capitalism's counter revolutionary armies, militias, Fascists, Nazis, supremacists of all ilk, including Zionists; a denialist international 'order' is constructed, propelled, including the myth of a 'Year Zero,' whereby a tabula rasa of

international laws, norms, rights, including a United Nations, with various international powers, spheres of influence, declarations, conventions, councils, partitions, sovereignties are recognized. 1948, as the formalization of Apartheid in South Africa. 1948 as the CIA intervention in pre-empting electoral victory by the Communist, Socialist, Popular Front parties in Italy. 1948 whereby CIA supports the ongoing Greek 'Civil War' and the campaign of 'White Terror' to kill and eliminate partisans, communists, anarchists ... 1948 as the mass displacement, theft, 'cleansing,' killing and incarceration of Palestinians, 'sacrificing' Palestinians for the crimes of Germans, Europeans and all those terrorists committed to maintaining imperial impunity, colonial-modernity and the 500 year crime wave of capitalist devastation.

Every 'coup,' every 'regime change,' every 'war' and 'peace' not just in the region, but nearly every corner of earth has been claimed, settled, fought, negotiated over/by the great accumulators of 'power' and 'wealth,' facilitated by their enriched and celebrated collaborators, in the long *durée* of colonial and imperial conquest.

The question remains in the purview of *Nakba* as a Planetary Regime and the denialist 'wars' and genocidal 'peace' it proliferates, whether the underseen and enduring resistance of the colonized can reclaim an otherwise outside the colony's imposed terms, temporalities, sentences, evaluations, determinations, pedagogies, culture and world b/ordering.

If *the Nakba* has sought, as our friend Samera Esmeir reminds us, 'not only to exterminate and destroy, but also to propel a particular kind of movement, psychic and bodily, into the future and away from the land as earth' then 'war' and 'peace' have been two of its primary weapons.

That the very foundations of the word 'war' in English and '*guerre*' in Latin based languages derives from the German '*werre*' and Frankish '*werru*' and the Indo-European (*wers-*), which designate more mixing up, disordering, con-

fusing, putting into disarray rather than combat, is one of the more enigmatic and instructive points of orientation toward an anti-denialist approach to perceiving and disactivating its uses and functions in futuring *the Nakba*.

In this sense, if we are to ever abolish all that has and continues to perpetrate *the Nakba*, we will have to reclaim our languages and imaginaries of struggle *beyond* their designated 'inside' and 'outside,' 'before' and 'after,' 'for' and 'against' of 'war' and 'peace.'

Maybe then the only 'after' we can dream and struggle toward is the *after Planetary Nakba*, before the colonial supremacist racial patriarchal capitalist world's long unending night of 'self' declared 'war' and proclaimed 'peace' in the name of pillaging, possessing and profiteering on the destruction of our worlds.

If return is our compass for *after Nakba*, then it can never be exercised by the permission or spatial-temporal determinations of the colonizer, including a 'here' and 'there' – 'then' and 'now' – it is rather enacted through the daily practices of abolition of the colony, including its regimentation and incarceration of earth and time.