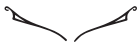


THE UNAVOWABLE HOLOCAUST

by The Anti-Denialist Coalition

This text emerges out of an invitation by friends to think with and respond to a short fragment written by Giorgio Agamben entitled *The End of Judaism*. Rather than writing an introduction or even a response, we suggested writing something we could call an *accanto*, a text beside, next to, para-, with.

Both Agamben's text as well as our own are initiated as notes, even footnotes, preparatory remarks toward what we could imagine as a collective unworking. We are called to this unworking before the urgencies and in the wake of what is being committed, denied, and remains unseen in Palestine; what continues to hover over the planet and the region, more intensely in Lebanon, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Iran, yesterday in Artsakh and most acutely today in Gaza.

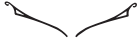


At the heart of the many unspeakable crimes which are being and have been perpetrated in the ongoing Nakba by Zionists and their enablers is a violent insistence on conflating Zionism and all its associated forms of supremacist violence with Judaism.

The willingness to be complicit with this conflation on the part of many Jewish communities and intellectuals after the Second World War – including survivors who settled inside the genocidal entity – has led to a devastating evisceration of Judaism, of the Jewish radical traditions, and since the Holocaust, the memory of all the Jewish communities and life worlds obliterated by Nazis and Fascists in Europe.

We assert that the genocidal entity and the entire architecture of sanctified violence that it relies on and supports on a regional and planetary scale will not be stopped without directly confronting the violence it has also perpetrated on 'Jewishness'; not only in its modes of conflating Zionism with Judaism but also in its systematic efforts to equate resistance to its supremacist aims – including the imposition of a 'Jewish state' premised on the denial and obliteration of Palestine/Palestinians – with anti-semitism.¹

At the same time, we would argue that an effort to delink and reclaim Judaism from the genocidal entity, without accounting for the aforementioned complicities and eviscerations after decades of an ongoing Nakba, would be akin to overlooking and ignoring the violence that the near 130 years of this specific configuration of Zionism – not withstanding the longer life of Zionist ideations over preceding centuries – has enacted in the name of Judaism and *Jewishness*.



It is undeniable that a great majority of Jewish communities in the first decades of the twentieth century saw Zionism as a threat to their existence. Their resistance took on different forms and was argued on religious, moral, ethical, philosophical, economic, social and political grounds.^{2 3 4} Yet one of the underlying points of convergence for this resistance was the Zionists' ideological alignment and fulfilment of many of the precepts and wishes of antisemites, Christian Zionists, racialisists, supremacists, Nazis and fascists.⁵ The most existentially threatening of these fantasies was the presupposition that Jewish life is not part of Europe, and should leave somewhere, to 'another land,' ideally the biblically fantasized 'homeland' (i.e. 'Żydzi do Palestyny' or 'Jews to Palestine'). Without such a displacement, forced or voluntary, for the proponents of this line of thinking, Jewish life in Europe was and would remain sickly and parasitic. And in the last instance, according to the Nazis, *Untermensch* (underhuman), *life that is unworthy of 'human life'*.⁶

We can also understand that most Jewish people who died at the hands of Nazis, did so refusing Zionism and the Fascist idea that they did not *belong* in Europe. In fact, their ideas and practices of belonging – including but not limited to their involvement in the development

We began to share this text in the Fall of 2024. Through readings and responses from friends/comrades, there emerged a potential desire for further commentary. What we share here in the margins are thus not footnotes but attempts to pull together some of the materials which attended to the questions raised.

1 As the historian Joseph Massad has consistently retorted: do such absurd accusations actually claim that the only real problem Palestinians have is not with colonization, ethnic 'cleansing,' theft, abduction, erasure, torture, starvation, justification and denial of genocide, but with the fact that those perpetrating it are Jewish? Is the suggestion that if their colonizers had been Christian or Muslim then it would be acceptable? As we will attend to here, part of the violence Zionists have perpetrated has been to retool anti-semitism as an effective weapon (drawing ideas, legitimacy, support and momentum from anti-semites and then reshaping its meaning to primarily signify anyone who would oppose them) in order to realize their aims and to deny, deflect away from their genocidal crimes. Furthermore, he goes on to say that this refashioned definition of anti-semitism operatively means anyone 'who refuses to uphold the absolute right of Israel to be a racist Jewish state'. In the purview of our study, one would have to understand how such a farcical and obvious cover for genocide/denial has continued to be so 'successfully' deployed. But Massad has been a vigilant historian who cautions us on the dangers of conflating histories of anti-Jewishness with anti-semitism, since the category of semite and even the notion of 'anti-semite' bear the trace of a European, German biological, philological, racial/racist theories of which Arabs were disparagingly a part. In short, culminating centuries of anti-Jewish theories, the scientific variant argues that Jews were a 'semitic race' descendants of the ancient Hebrews. For Massad, the Zionists embraced this essentialist homogenizing image of a rootless Jewish race, lacking a country (thus a 'country-based loyalty') obliterating all the differences and specificities of the multiplicity of Jewish worlds, life forms, practices, futurities. In this adoption, he argues that the Zionist project has been an attempt to turn Jews 'into anti-semites' by adopting the same world view and racial 'vision' – i.e. ways of un/seeing – of the anti-semites. And he argues this adoption can be traced in the way Zionists saw Jews and Jewish life: "It was in evidence early on when Jewish Haskala thinkers, or Maskilim (like Smolenskin, among others), who had much influence on Zionist thinkers, accepted anti-Semitic characterizations of Jews as 'dirty', 'medieval', 'superstitious', and 'effeminate'. Herzl himself described French Jews in his diaries in the following way: 'I took a look at the Paris Jews and saw a family likeness in their faces: bold, misshapen noses; furtive and cunning eyes' (Herzl 1960: 11). To transform Jews from the 'effeminate schlemiels' that anti-Semitism and Zionism thought they were into manly men modeled after anti-Semites, turn-of-the-century Zionist ideologue Max Nordau set up gymnastic clubs for Jewish men. Nordau's 'Bar Kochba clubs' were engineered to physically 'restore' male Jews physically to the condition of their alleged Hebrew forefathers who were athletic fighters like the Greeks, as he believed his contemporary male Jews to be as 'effeminate' as anti-Semitic claims had made them out to be."

This embrace of racist, 'anti-semitic' visual culture, including uncritically adopting the racial notion of semite, adopting white-sight, to borrow a phrase from Nicholas Mirzoeff, was and is manifested in all its forms in Gaza: from the supremacist selfie culture of the genocidaires; to the enablers including governors of museums and universities who un/see genocide; to those who throng to the viewing decks, built on the perimeters of the death camp, to cheer and spectate the obliteration of Palestinian Life – the racialism/ racism fueling these murderous acts, these histories, these attempts to deny them a future, are blinding.

2 Reading through historical records which contain relevant documentation of the breadth and forms of this widespread resistance to Zionism is not an easy task, particularly when so many who have taken on this effort have been to a greater or lesser degree complicit in an effort to soften if not entirely justify Zionism. Thus, accordingly, when entering these accounts of history, one is compelled often to read against the grain. Consider, as a not unrelated example, the effort for decades by most Turkish historians and many Ottoman historians (in departments often funded by Turkey) to deny, ignore or erase the Armenian genocide, including the preconditions leading to it as well as its afterlives. Consider further all the historians who ignore (at their peril) this massive crime contemporary with the Balfour Declaration, that shaped the entire region and its post-war b/ordering. Stefan Ihrig in a series of books has outlined the immense role of anti-Armenian violence in German imperial/colonial and later Nazi ideations. Thus, the breadth of denialist practices which interests us are not simply acts of outright falsification or disavowal, they include knowledge practices which actively distort or twist historical records as much as they are the social life of those distortions and falsifications once the lies have been accepted as unquestionable truths. Hence, we propose that something of a similar denialist/revisionist framework has colored studies of this period and of Jewish life and history. Especially if you imagine that by default those involved in such studies within the entity, as well as the many outside who have been sympathetic to it, have clearly

accepted a future premised on denying or rationalizing the Nakba. And though these historians would not necessarily be outright fabricators of the past or even deny that the Nakba has 'happened', they would nevertheless find ways to justify, acceptpost-hoc, and silently or explicitly unsee the immense scale of violence committed against Palestinians. Thus, you will have historians devoted to these very subjects explain away such collaborations and rationalize them. See for instance Ezra Mendelsohn's *On Modern Jewish Politics* in which he naturalizes and un/consciously imbricates Zionism into Jewishness, even going so far as to see "a perfectly natural 'community of interest' between Zionists and anti-semites" stating: 'The attainment of this classic aim of Herzlean, mainstream Zionism suggested another potentially valuable ally, namely, right-wing or even overtly anti-semitic forces. After all, anti-semites were interested in getting rid of the Jews, and the Zionists were interested in the transfer of Jews to Palestine. There existed, at least in theory, a perfectly natural "community of interest" between them. It would be absurd to argue (as some have) that the Zionists wished to incite pogroms; but given the fact that there were pogroms, that antisemitism was such a powerful force, and that the Zionists believed that only a Jewish state could adequately protect the Jewish people from the dangers of antisemitism, why not come to terms with the anti-semites so as to benefit Zionism? It made perfect sense, therefore, for Zionist leaders to negotiate with representatives of anti-semitic regimes in Eastern Europe in the 1930s, hoping for support for Zionism's demand to facilitate mass Jewish aliyah.' From our vantage point, much of this history will have to be re-approached openly confronting the horrors of Zionism in continuity with fascism, avoiding the tireless efforts to redeem "good" from "bad" Zionisms. What could be useful is to better understand how well meaning, even oppressed people could be pulled toward very reactive or even fascistic movements. Further still, to understand how such people could be enlisted to provide cover for genocide. Certainly liberal strands of Zionism continue to fight for a more civil supremacist state. Or even those who wish to end the apartheid state, but have no idea of accounting for the mass theft and the destruction of Palestinian life worlds (yet alone what we witness today in Gaza). The problem grows even more with the question of the more explicitly left strands of Zionism as they seem to elucidate rather than exonerate the general racial and colonial limits of a Euro-centered Left. This coloniality is another central question and part of the larger set of questions we feel compelled to think through. Part of seeing Nakba as a *Planetary Regime* also involves reappraising the colonial, racial patriarchal residues of many Left movements. The kibbutz is only one glaring example of the contradictions, the racisms of imagining to construct a commune or an egalitarian social life on land, whether acquired "honestly" or by force or trickery, which is part of a larger process of erasing its inhabitants.

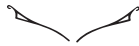
3 We would like to suggest that the cultures and infrastructures produced in the name or shadow of what is commonly thought of as "*After Auschwitz*" was and remains an integral part of a denialist and revisionist cultural arm for perpetrating, unseeing, downplaying the "*Undergoing Nakba*." Clearly, given the scope of what we are arguing, this was not then simply a culture and infrastructure tooled to deny, to unsee Palestine and Palestinians, but through it, to unsee and maintain the hierarchies/horrors of the entire global racial, colonial matrix of power and the basis for ongoing capital accumulation. Consequently, much more than historical practice has been effected by this planetary regime.

4 Despite these distortions of cultural forms and memory production, the occasions, petitions, struggles as well as studies devoted to Jewish communities resisting Zionism are abundant. To think that the very first Zionist congress, which was originally planned in Munich, Germany was hastily moved to Basel on account of resistance from a sustained effort by Jewish community organizations refusing it is not just an irony of history. To think that Edwin Samuel Montagu, the only Jewish member of the British cabinet during the time of the Balfour Declaration, was against it and even wrote a memo accusing his government, in colluding with Zionists, of being "anti-semitic." There are countless groups who by their very ideological, organizational, theological, ethical, existential, political commitments were not only indifferent to but repulsed, felt threatened by the Zionist program to colonize Palestine or any other land for the establishment of a Jewish state. Which community would feel comfortable if ostensibly members of their "own" group would agree or collude with those who see them as a problem, a question, needing a solution – which would ultimately result in voluntary displacement or annihilation? Not surprisingly, that resistance included the Jewish communities of Palestine. In Germany, one of the epicenters of international fascism, the largest Jewish organization, the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens) which promoted Jewish symbiosis yet non-assimilation was supported by many if not most German Jews, "vehemently resisted" Zionism. Imagine the literal absurdity and absolute violence of the efforts to conflate anti-zionism with anti-semitism when the largest German organization, the direct victims of Nazism, were anti-zionist! Going toward Eastern

and spread of Bundist, socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, communist anti-capitalist movements – were precisely what Fascism emerged to destroy and what made them a central target!⁷ From its inception, Zionists were prepared to support many forms of violence to realize their ethnonationalist, religious, colonial or racial state, including violence against Jewish life in Europe.⁸ And it is well documented that key figures in the movement even saw the rise of National Socialism as an opportunity rather than a calamity. We did not need Gaza to see the vicious, cruel, opportunistic, genocidally inclined dimension of this movement.⁹ Here it is important to note that Zionist ideations of colonizing Palestine, establishing an ethnonationalist quasi-religious state and embracing a racialized, if not outright supremacist, self formation project all belong much more to European ailments than to Judaism. The lengths its proponents went to court Sultan Abdul Hamid, offering their services to clean his reputation in Europe after the Hamidian massacres against Armenians in the 1890’s – as well as similar attempts courting the Young Turk architects of the Armenian genocide in 1915 – speak volumes for not only their acceptance of genocidal violence, but also their proclivity to use it opportunistically in order to materialize further their own colonial, genocidal fantasies.¹⁰

The fact that one of the first modern English uses of the word Holocaust is deployed to describe the late 19th century genocidal violence directed by the Ottoman Empire against Armenians, and that this coincides with Theodor Herzl’s desire to assist in denying these ‘crimes’ (that is, Holocaust), is one of the more enigmatic and emblematic keys to understanding Zionism’s position toward genocide as a means to an end.¹¹

Those same tendencies would emerge decades later during the periods that saw the crimes of the Nazis. It was, after all, in the 1930s that Zionist terror groups, in the same period as National Socialism, were training agents to intimidate Palestinians and systematically spy on and map the Palestinian communities that they intended to ethnically ‘cleanse’ from Palestine. Thus, during this most textbook phase of genocide perpetration in Gaza today, it is not a matter of proving the link between the Zionist project/entity and genocide. Rather, part of what is called of us today, as this horrific and undeniable realization becomes unarguable, is to assess: how it came to be that such a process of falsification of the relation between Zionism and genocide came to pass; what distortions it created; what forms of denialist futurities it gave rise to; and how we will combat, delink and actively exit from reproducing them?



Agamben is one of the century’s most critical philosophers and possibly one of the few European thinkers who attempted to prevent the whiteboxing of the Holocaust.¹² In other words, he remains one of the thinkers belonging to that post-war tradition who did not look at the Nazi extermination camps as exceptions. If they were exceptions, then as he argued, the exception has been the rule. And if the rule, then it is paradigmatic of modernity and even such, as he would claim in his seminal series *Homo Sacer*, in whatever could be called a democratic tradition. For Agamben that democratic and political tradition which traces itself to Greek antiquity had at its heart an ambiguity in its notion of life, separating the cultured, political, qualified idea (*bios*) from its biological, vegetal one (*zoe*). It would at once rely upon *zoe*, through its invocation of birth, to underwrite and render distinct the life with rights not belonging to all but reserved for the citizen. This subterranean yet operative severing of life from life – a hierarchically determined distinction between a politically and socially recognized subject and a lesser remnant of biological life – would according to Agamben recurrently haunt even the most emancipatory modern political projects with an exclusionary if not outright supremacist understructure.

In *Remnants of Auschwitz* one of the studies in that series that is close to our concerns here, Agamben even questions the use of the term Holocaust. He suggests that, among its other problems, the notion of sacrifice designated by the word Holocaust itself carries with it unanticipated implications and dangers. Among these implications, Agamben elucidates, are the implicit sense that the term suggests “a supreme sacrifice in the sphere of a complete devotion to sacred and superior motives.”¹³ Among the troubling and unthought questions behind the word are just who or what has been sacrificed, and in devotion to what sacred or superior motive? Today, in the face of an ever expanding region of devastation, decades of orchestrated coups, dictatorships, puppet regimes, assassinations, wars, mass displacements and killings, we can see more clearly what Agamben may have had in mind. Here you apprehend a supremacist and genocidal entity that sees and has never stopped seeing opportunity, in seizing, instrumentalizing and committing genocide in the name of the victims of genocide.¹⁴

For the Zionists, the Jewish tradition, Arab and African Jewish life, European Jewish life, its Nazi victims, the meaning and history of anti-semitism, the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Jordanians, the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Ethiopians, the Algerians, the Sudanese, the Tunisians, the Somali, the Yemenis, the Iraqis, the Iranians, the Kurds, the Druze, the Yezidis, the Alawites, the Coptic, the Assyrians, the Armenians, and all the communities they have affected, even destroyed by collaborating with, or propping up globally oppressive regimes hungry for their weapons and technologies of counterinsurgency developed to conquer Palestine, are subject to this logic of sacrifice. The truth of all of these historical experiences, processes, peoples and more are merely small sacrifices at the altar of their sacred ‘Eretz Israel.’¹⁵

What is left of Judaism in the undeniable and genocidal effort to conflate and render it indistinct with/from Zionism over the last century remains, for us all – especially those of us who remain committed to whatever else Judaism or the Jewish radical tradition could mean – a question to answer and a problem to confront.¹⁶

At the same time it must be stated that from the vantage point of Palestinians, this question is clearly not the most urgent. After all, a victim or survivor of the Holocaust or an institution created to preserve its memory, which turns into a body that justifies, unsees and secures a future for the ongoing Nakba and genocide against Palestinians is a perpetrator.

Europe, one finds again the largest Jewish party, the Bund, absolutely opposing Zionism.

For a critique of Zionism that remarkably echoes some of the ideas explored within this text, we encourage people to read Henryk Ehrlich’s 1938 essay “Is Zionism a Liberating Democratic Movement?” In this seminal response to his father-in-law, Simon Dubnow, a highly regarded Jewish historian, himself ultimately a victim of a Nazi massacre in Riga, Ehrlich, one of the leaders of the Bund, leaves us in 1938 with not only an undeniably lucid record of the complicities and affinities between Zionists and fascists but also his party’s reasons for their continued anti-Zionism as an integral part of their anti-fascism. His are not simply ideological reasons, but as Ehrlich we rightly believe argues, based upon factors that will determine the future of Jewish life in Europe. As he writes: “Zionism has always regarded the law of force, of nationalist reactionism, as the normal law of history, and on this law it has built its interpretations of Jewish life. Throughout its 40 years of existence, Zionism has always appeared lost and helpless in front of any victorious liberation movement. Oh, certainly: if the future of humanity should indeed belong to fascism, then the historical perspective painted by Zionism will be proven correct, and then what awaits us in *galuth* is really only death and annihilation. But then, death and annihilation will be the fate of tens of millions, maybe hundreds of millions of others aside from us; then death and annihilation would be the fate of the entire human civilization and culture. Would Zionism be able to save us alone from the fascist deluge? It is ridiculous to even think about it! But if so, their only “historical achievement” will remain their “theoretical” justification of anti-Semitism.” In the face of what has transpired after Auschwitz and the ongoing Nakba, with all its masks and civil, democratic pretenses removed in Gaza, we cannot deny this prognosis and understand that indeed the future of humanity has not been wrestled away from the fascists. The fascists, the supremacists, clearly existed long before Zionism, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese... Fascism, German Nazism, they have only solidified and enlisted people to find their salvation in an idea of humanity that requires, produces and when necessary kills/ sacrifices its inhuman others, as a general program of ‘survival of the fittest’ insisting on the right to colonize, own, extract and plunder earth. See, Henryk Ehrlich, “Is Zionism a Liberating Democratic Movement” (1938), translated by Foroys, edited by Philadelphia Jewish Labor Bund for Der Spekter, 2025.

5 Ehrlich: “Zionism has all along been a Siamese twin of anti-Semitism and every kind of nationalist chauvinism.” It is well known that aside from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who consolidated a denialist Turkish nation/volk atop genocide, one of the heroes of Hitler was none other than the ‘great’ American capitalist, white supremacist, anti-semite Henry Ford. Besides being an inspiration for his ideas – entire passages of Mein Kampf were lifted from The International Jew. T.I.J. was published by Ford in collaboration with Ernest Liebold and William J. Cameron – the publication shows the degree to which ‘pre-eminent’ anti-semites and racialists were also Zionist. Cameron, often credited with synthesizing Ford’s ideas in writing, not ironically was raised within and attempted to establish in the US, a chapter of the British-Israelite movement. That movement not only served to identify British and Aryans as part of a lost tribe of Israel, it also justified ‘manifest destiny’, for British imperialism and American settler colonialism. T.I.J. outlines in many ways the fascist ‘genocidal game plan’: bolster an international movement in support of ongoing imperial, colonial, capitalist class violence, appealing to racial supremacy and blaming ‘International Jews’ and other ‘untermensch’ for the ills of capitalism and for the movements against it. The pattern repeats up till today, the ‘good’ Jew is the rooted Zionist and those who recognize its right to dominate/kill/imprison Palestinians and all other Jews are rootless, dangerous, or not even ‘deserving’ to be Jewish. The following passage, supports Ehrlich’s claim, encapsulating how Zionists and their mantra, of a land without a people ... was and remains anti-Semitic and Fascist — “The Jews’ dispersion among the nations temporarily (that is, for more than 25 centuries now) changed the program which their scriptures declare was divinely planned, and that dispersion continues until today. There are spiritual leaders in modern Judaism who still claim that Israel’s mission to the nations is spiritual, but their assertions that Israel is today fulfilling that mission are not as convincing as they might be if accompanied by more evidence. Israel throughout the modern centuries is still looking at the Gentile world and estimating what its man-power can be made to yield. But the discipline upon Israel still holds; he is an exile from his own land, condemned to be discriminated against wherever he goes, until the time when exile and homelessness shall end in a re-established Palestine, and Jerusalem again become the moral center of the earth, even as the elder prophets have declared.”

6 Ehrlich again: “But the things that Zionists do on the international arena are the same as what they do in the countries that the Jewish masses inhabit. I can cite examples from various places, but I’d like to limit myself to facts from Poland alone. Who doesn’t remember Yitzhak Gruenbaum’s [a leader of the Zionist movement in interwar Poland, later Israeli Minister of Internal Affairs] infamous comment from 1927 about the “million extra Jews” that must be

removed from Poland? Who doesn’t remember his no less infamous words from 1928, that “the Jews pollute the air in Poland”? The Polish anti-Semites remember these words excellently, and from time to time, even these days, refresh the memory of their readers and listeners about it.” It should also be noted that *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under-man* by American white supremacist, polemist, advocate of eugenics Lothrop Stoddard is credited with having brought the notion into Nazi ideology. The 1925 German translation of the title was *Der Kulturumsturz: Die Drohung des Untermenschen*. It should also be noted that the title of Mr. Stoddard’s 1920, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* speaks volumes toward the larger ‘ecology’ for racial, supremacist ideologies feeding Klansmen, Fascists, Nazis, Zionists alike. As part of that wider ‘ecology of supremacy’ Poles and Germans (in parallel with Zionists in Palestine), well before the ‘Final Solution’ were actively planning ethnic cleansing and deportation (of Jews) since this was their ultimate aim. These plans sometimes even had names like the Nisko Plan or the Madagascar Plan. One particular episode of this imperial/colonial/fascist ideation within that ‘ecology’ is recounted by Henry Morgenthau, US ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in the memoir of his diplomatic work in the midst of the Armenian genocide. There, he recounts his attempt to ask Germany’s ambassador, to stop the Young Turks genocidal campaign. The German’s response: “‘The Armenians,’ said Wangenheim, ‘have shown themselves in this war to be enemies of the Turks. It is quite apparent that the two peoples can never live together in the same country. The Americans should move some of them to the United States, and we Germans will send some to Poland and in their place send Jewish Poles to the Armenian provinces – that is, if they will promise to drop their Zionist schemes.’” As it concerns what Zionists were doing in Palestine in this same time, Ilan Pappé’s *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* gives us an image of a more than decade long preparation of an ‘archive’ for genocide: “The end results of both the topographic and Orientalist efforts were the detailed files the Zionist experts gradually built up for each of Palestine’s villages. By the late 1930s, this ‘archive’ was almost complete. Precise details were recorded about the topographic location of each village, its access roads, quality of land, water springs, main sources of income, its sociopolitical composition, religious affiliations, names of its mukhtars, its relationship with other villages, the age of individual men (sixteen to fifty) and many more. An important category was an index of ‘hostility’ (towards the Zionist project), decided by the level of the village’s participation in the revolt of 1936. There was a list of everyone who had been involved in the revolt and the families of those who had lost someone in the fight against the British. Particular attention was given to people who had allegedly killed Jews. As we shall see, in 1948 these last bits of information fueled the worst atrocities in the villages, leading to mass executions and torture. Regular members of the Hagana who were entrusted with collecting the data on ‘reconnaissance’ journeys into the villages realized, from the start, that this was not a mere academic exercise in geography. One of these was Moshe Pasternak, who joined one of the early excursions and data collection operations in 1940. He recalled many years later: “We had to study the basic structure of the Arab village. This means the structure and how best to attack it. In the military schools, I had been taught how to attack a modern European city, not a primitive village in the Near East. We could not compare it [an Arab village] to a Polish, or an Austrian one. The Arab village, unlike the European ones, was built topographically on hills. That meant we had to find out how best to approach the village from above or enter it from below. We had to train our ‘Arabists’ [the Orientalists who operated a network of collaborators] how best to work with informants.”

7 These movements, including Jewish involvement in them, were not only fundamentally unsettling for notions of belonging and any associated rights which would be premised on national or racial purity, but also at their heart questioning the architectures of supremacy and violence which were the bedrock of capitalist (imperial and colonial) accumulation within and beyond Europe. It should be noted and this is also critical in understanding the underlying motivations for the development of Nakba as a planetary strategy and regime – including the perpetration of the Holocaust – that the targeting of Jewish communities was not simply a strategy developed by Hitler and his cohorts, but something also very much in circulation among the liberal variants of fascism. This would certainly include Winston Churchill and his anti-semitic screed: “ZIONISM versus BOLSHEVISM. A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People” where he argues against anarchists and communists such as Emma Goldman, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky labelling them as “terrorist Jews” and “international Jews” who are part of a “world-wide confederacy for the overthrow of civilization.” But the discursive practices that made Jews convenient targets for mobilizing racist and anti-semitic sentiment against internationalist and communist movements was more pervasive. This strategy preceded and continued after Nazism. Indeed the sacrificial murder of the Rosenbergs is one of many keys to understanding the continuation of the tactics of Holocaust and Nakba precisely at the heart of ‘securing’ the liberal/ democratic, racial/capitalist, dis/ordering. Mr. And the

Yet seen in another light, from the perspective of confronting the perpetrators, their inheritors, as well as the perspective of victims of Nazi, Fascist, colonial, supremacist and now Zionist genocide and all who struggle to resist them – as well as the unimaginable forms of support and denial which Western governments and institutions perform to enable them – the question of how it is that Judaism and the history of Jewish suffering was used to provide a future to supremacist, racial, fascist, colonial, imperial, capitalist violence on a planetary scale, at the ‘cost’ of Palestinian life, will remain a central one.

Could it be that Agamben is asserting that among the many things that had to be ‘sacrificed’ was Judaism itself?

This alone would suffice to end our note. Because it remains a critical question for all who feel implicated in the history of the cultures which formed around it. But we would like to add one of our own by returning to the question of Holocaust as sacrifice, and ask further: *Who after all has been sacrificed and for what? What had and continues to be ‘sacrificed’ in order for this explicitly supremacist and genocidal entity to exist?*

If the memory of Jewish victims and as Agamben asserts, Jewish belonging (as exilic belonging) in Europe and elsewhere is what had to be ‘sacrificed’ through the creation of the Zionist entity: Then where do the Palestinians belong in this sacrificial diagram?

Could it also be that Palestinians are the last and fullest survivors of the Holocaust?

Could it also be the Armenians, whose massacre gave rise to one of the first modern uses of Holocaust in English, whose genocide was co-conspired by Germans, inspired Hitler and the Nazis, but who had to be forgotten to revive the term in its sacred, incomparable form after the Second World War?¹⁷ Could it be all those communities who historically confronted such genocidal crimes including those like the Herero and Nama peoples, who in their hundreds of thousands were massacred by Germans in the same century? What to say of the German genocidal crimes in Cameroon? Or the Roma communities murdered and relegated to footnotes in the Nazi episode? Or was it all of those aforementioned and all the other racialized, dehumanized, enslaved, and colonized peoples who came before and would come after?

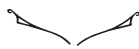
Haven’t they all always and already been the unspoken and thus perpetually denied, undying, unwilling, refusing, resisting and ongoing subjects rendered objects of the Holocaust, of the ‘sacrifice’?

Who and what have been and are being Holocausted, after all, at the hands of European Nazis, Fascists, national capitalists, avowed anti-communists and white supremacists? For what superior motive? In order to maintain or preserve what? These are the kinds of questions those resisting this most horrific episode of the Nakba must be asking.

Seeing this wider field of destruction and sacrifice in order to preserve ongoing imperial, supremacist, racial, colonial, settler colonial and Fascist violence does not in anyway take away from the centrality of the obliteration of Palestine and Palestinians within this matrix. It rather underlines how Zionists have made themselves an indispensable weapon for preserving the colonial, thus capitalist, racial patriarchal matrix of power. Controlling the meaning of the Holocaust and of anti-semitism become critical levers to manage that matrix.

Where they perceive a set of isolated lesser events separated from a sacred, untouchable, unique crime called Holocaust, we see one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage, rendering our worlds into ruin and rubble. Our comrade Walter Benjamin must have sensed this already, risking and finally meeting his own death, rather than succumbing to an idea of salvation in a make believe ‘*heimat*’ superimposed and premised on the erasure of Palestinians.

Thus, if all the protagonists of empire today cower at the sight of Palestine, insist on unseeing Palestinians, it is because Palestine is what threatens to unravel this entire matrix of supremacy, exceptionalism, dominion and domination which that isolated, thus falsified and denialist account, of Holocaust increasingly served to maintain after the Second World War.¹⁸



To continue developing our thinking here, we will have to set aside for another occasion the question and problems with the very notion of Holocaust as ‘sacrifice’ and specifically as it pertains to Palestinians. Entering this could, among other things, invite Agamben to link the diagram he plots so thoroughly of *homo sacer* to how Palestinians, notwithstanding all the aforementioned others, as racialized, uncitizenized, semi-legal, semi-human objects, can be killed and yet never be seen or recognized as ‘sacrifice.’¹⁹

Thus, while acknowledging all the precise concerns Agamben traces with the euphemism Holocaust, and bearing in mind his insistence that *homo sacer* is precisely the figure who ‘can be killed but not sacrificed’: we assert that if there have been a people who have been and continue to be sacrificed for Germany, for Europe, for all the colonial forces, including for Zionists, to consolidate, (re)habilitate, (re)establish, exonerate, vindicate and legitimate themselves after the mass atrocities of the fascists, they have been the Palestinians par excellence.²⁰

In other words, that event, the historical experience called Holocaust – the shape it would take, its construction, manipulation, mutilation, falsification and weaponization – which, by assuming this name, came to implicitly or unconsciously proximate it to a sacrifice made for a superior motive or cause, marks the very process by which the mass killings of Nazis both ends up serving to justify the establishment of an exclusivist Jewish state as well as its protectors. Enablers like post-Nazi West Germany that would be nothing but the

outlining of the very terms of this ‘threat’ posed by rootless Jewish socialists/communists/anarchists was developed long before.

8 In the essayistic letter response cited earlier by Henryk Ehrlich, he summarizes the Zionist position in 1938 in the face of the existential threats posed by Fascism against Jewish life in Europe, stating the following: “And with even more cynicism, the Zionist leaders – Mr. Chaim Weizmann, just like Mr. Moshe Shertok, Mr. Nahum Goldmann, just like Mr. Marc Yarblum – have responded: “It is hopeless: if there is a conflict between the interests of the Jewish state and of the Jews in galuth, the latter must be *sacrificed*.” We have italisized here the idea of *sacrifice*. Ehrlich, Ibid.

9 Once again Ehrlich: “Over the years, Zionism has transmogrified itself into being in an open alliance with our blood-enemy – anti-Semitism. Zionism has practically always derived its inspiration from the persecutions endured by Jewish people, from political reactionism above all. Throughout the 40 years of Zionism’s existence, the following rule has practically always held: the darker the world, the brighter it gets in the Zionist tent; the worse for Jews, the better for Zionists.” Ibid.

10 We use this first occasion of the use of the word genocide in the body of this *accanto* to state that we are using the term not in a strict legal sense, since that legal notion could itself be interpreted as denialist, especially given the manner in which its very codification was already part of what we are attempting to name Nakba (in its planetary sense); in this dimension, forming part of a larger legal apparatus that would insure that former colonial and imperial powers would avoid inculcation by controlling the frameworks and by continuing to determine when, where, for which peoples, laws or conventions applied. We nevertheless use the term to denote the attempt to obliterate in whole or in part, through a multiplicity of means, including epistemic, linguistic, and cultural a people.

11 “The sultan gives us the piece of land, and for that we will put everything in order for him, regulate his finances, and determine public opinion of the entire world in his favor” – Theodore Herzl, excerpted from: Marc David Baer, *Sultanic Saviors and Tolerant Turks*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington (US), 2020. Recognizing this long-standing participation of Zionists in genocidal violence stretching beyond historic Palestine also allows us to perceive how even after 1948, the imposition of its lobbied for supremacist-state has only accelerated and expanded the field in which Zionists have ‘advanced’ their own interests by aiding and collaborating with genocidal processes across the planet. That Armenian life, this time in Artsakh in 2023 will be erased with the direct support of the Zionist entity is one, historically continuing process, parallel to Palestine, of whatever we are attempting to think as the Unavowable Holocaust and Nakba as a Planetary Regime.

12 For more on the theory of whiteboxing, we refer you to: Ayreen Anastas and Rene Gabri, *Fragments For a Theory of Whiteboxing*, Centre Parrhesia, 2021. From our standpoint the concept of whiteboxing is an attempt to touch the violence and denialist underbelly of contemporary colonial culture and knowledge practices as well as its associated regimes of in/visibilization. Moreover, it opens us to consider the way these practices are insinuated through what Palestinian thinker Munir Fasheh calls “knowledge settlements,” that is, universities and we could add other settlements of culture and cultural production.

13 Giorgio Agamben, Trans: Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, Zone Books, NY, 1999, p.30. Agamben also refuses the term “holocaust” due to its anti-semitic origins “as a polemical weapon against the jews” (p.29). In *Homo Sacer* he writes of the “wish to lend a sacrificial aura to the extermination of the jews by use of the term ‘holocaust’” as being an elision of the brutal actuality of bio-political bare life. See Giorgio Agamben, Trans: Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Homo Sacer*, Stanford University Press, Stanford (US), p. 114.

14 In a speech given on February 19th, 2003 at Columbia University, Edward Said inhabits this predicament stating: “How much they [Palestinians] have suffered in an unacknowledged silence even today. As of this moment not a single major Israeli political or intellectual figure has articulated any serious contrition to say nothing of accepting responsibility for the disaster and sustained human suffering of the Palestinian people. I know nothing at all in contemporary history quite like this amazing stone wall of obduracy and denial. And yet I must also say that the legacy of persecution, genocide and anti-Semitism that is so much a part of Israel’s history is a background to be figured in and contended with just the same. ‘Two communities of sufferings’ I’ve called them in the past. But one must, I think, make clear that at the present time, one community has a tremendous balance of power in its favor. The other is so to speak the victim of the former victim.” Here in these two moments we have emphasized with italics you arrive to the crux of the problem with whiteboxing history. Palestinians are not victims of the former victims, nor do they comprise with Israelis “two communities

of suffering.” From the vantage point of a Planetary Nakba and the Unavowable Holocaust this is precisely the type of thinking that will have to be unworked. That one of the great thinkers of Palestine, precisely for his capacity to master the arts of whiteboxing, while remaining unflinching in his commitment to truth and justice for Palestinians, would fall into such a conceptual trap reveals the immensity of the task we are called to commit to. Palestinians and Jewish, Roma victims of fascism as well as all colonized peoples, all peoples racialized, enslaved, subjected to genocide, apartheid, supremacist violence, relegated to oblivion, denial, designated as less than human are certainly part of this imagined ‘community of suffering’. But this unworked, unavowable or coming community is and remains the antithesis to a community and a state founded on Holocaust, not as victim but as beneficiary and perpetrator. Edward Said, “Memory, Inequality, and Power: Palestine and the Universality of Human Rights,” Columbia University, February, 2003.

15 Within such a process of confronting the forms of falsifications, instituted denials, especially after the Second World War, there would have to be among other things a sustained effort to both: account for how it is that certain Jewish communities – increasingly identified with the genocidal entity or became avowed or unavowed accomplices to producing, hiding, rationalizing, relativizing, shielding, apologizing for, brushing aside, funding, glorifying, enabling, distorting, occluding, unseeing the Nakba [in its most horrific crimes perpetrated against Palestinians and in its no less genocidal, planetary dimensions fomenting civil strife, suppressing struggles for autonomy, aiding supremacist, authoritarian, colonial, counter-revolutionary, imperial elements, regimes across the planet (e.g., U.S.A, Australia, Canada, Britain, European Union, South Africa, Iran, Nicaragua, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Zimbabwe erstwhile ‘Rhodesia’, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Honduras, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Columbia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinean-Bissau, Zaire, Malawi, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Benin, Cameroon, Senegal, Togo, Uganda, Morocco, Nigeria, El Salvador, Haiti, Thailand, Rwanda, Serbia, Uruguay, Indonesia, Equatorial Guinea, Philippines, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, India, Azerbaijan, ...) in the service of Empire and as a means of consolidating its central place in maintaining an imperial colonial sundering of worlds] – search for those currents within the radical Jewish traditions who were and have been able to refuse complicity and to offer paths of thought, of action, of an ethics not only resisting Zionism, but also providing us with horizons, languages, resources for confronting the immense violence and countless victims it has and continues to produce.

16 Here we are reminded of our late comrade David Graeber who was compelled to speak as a Jew to defend Jeremy Corbyn in the midst of the Zionist led campaign to purge Corbyn from Labor leadership by labelling him – and anyone else from the party who would dare to defend Palestinians – as anti-semitic. David did so precisely by invoking that radical tradition he felt an affinity with: Jesus, Baruch Spinoza, Karl Marx, Emma Goldman, Rosa Luxemburg among them. David Graeber, *The Weaponisation of Labour Antisemitism*, Double Down News, 2020. From our vantage point, it is telling that in this same interview, he refers to his mother as a Zionist and maintains what we argue here is a central blindspot to the supremacist, colonial and genocidal proclivities that have been the chassis of the Zionist movement, even within its left variants. Even a superficial survey of the history of Kibbutzim reveals how “leftists” or “socialists” were deeply imbricated in the attempt to erase Palestine. The tendency to associate all the ills of Zionism with a particular party or political figure is a parallel risk to that of isolating Hitler from the larger phenomena of Nazism, and worse, isolating Nazism from the broader history of colonial and supremacist violence.

17 Like many notes in this note of notes, there are extensive relations to trace between Zionism or what we could call Jewish fascism and other forms of fascism including the many forms of White Supremacist violence. The genocide of Armenians, Assyrians, Pontic Greeks by the Young Turks under cover of the First World War (including the nefarious forms of denial developed by not only Germans and Turks but also internationally in the decades after) comprise one of the many keys linking Zionism, the region, imperial, colonial interests, mandates, b/ ordering of the region, including ‘Turkey’, genocidal-denialist futurity, German colonial and fascist violence. Moreover, it is one of the keys to what we are calling the Nakba as a Planetary Regime. That contemporary accounts in Arabic referred to the Hamidian massacres also as Nakba is one of many threads tying these fates together. In addition to the forms of denial, the very means of total war, genocidal war, where ‘every ground could be made a battlefield,’ where military victory requires total mobilization and a refusal to distinguish between combatants and civilians; has as one of its forebears, the Prussian, German General and key Ottoman Adviser Colmar Freiherr von Der Goltz or Pasha Goltz. Goltz not only lobbied for the purchase of Krupp and Mauser weapons for ‘modernizing’ the Ottoman armies, but he is also said to have ‘persuaded the Sultan toward a once and for all solution to the Armenian question’. He

rehabilitation and reintegration of Nazis only now avowing their unquestionable support for not only the “right to exist” of this Jewish state, but also the unavowable “right to sacrifice” Palestine and Palestinian life for its existence.

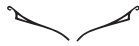
So rather than resist, as Agamben justifiably does, the notion of sacrifice that the word implies, if we for one moment follow Holocaust's sacrificial sense, its unavowable yet philological sense, then we can only understand that this word, can only make sense, if it is understood as the ‘sacrifice’ of Jews, Roma, African Germans, Queer Germans, those with physical, mental ‘disabilities,’ and others, targeted by Nazis, in order to create a ‘cleansed and pure’ Europe. And with equal measure, it names the sacrifice of Palestinians in order to create a ‘cleansed and pure’ Jewish state.²¹

What we see unfolding today is that relentless but unavowable aim of all genocides which is to ‘purify’ and ‘clean it for good.’

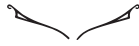
No less important, it names their sacrifice together, one implicitly avowed (Jewish) in its very naming and one structurally unavowable (Palestinian) for the noble cause of maintaining the imperial colonial capitalist ordering – during and in the post ‘First World War’ years as a brutal drive to eradicate anti-capitalist, anti-colonial insurgencies and after the ‘Second War World’ as part of a military, legal, cultural and global regime to preserve Western supremacy (albeit with vestments of righteousness, civility, authority), which was and remains one of the aims and *Ursprünge* of all fascisms.²²

So as we see the countless images of a relentless and demonstrative brutality punishing Palestinians accompanied by the sullyng and instrumentalization of Jewish suffering as justification, we cannot but be reminded of all those other communities designated as under-human, today and yesterday, who resist, who refuse to continue to be sacrificed to maintain a world, premised on claims of superiority, that continues to obliterate worlds.

This is what we are called to grasp the magnitude of in this conjuncture – what is being revealed is precisely where Nakba, Holocaust and Shoah collide, where they become interchangeable and interwoven.²³



After such a flurry of thoughts maybe we should close by reuniting Agamben’s question with our own. It is worth speculating that one of the ‘great’ – the same ‘great’ as ‘make America great again’ in other words, supremacist, racist, genocidal – slogans of Zionists (Christian and Jewish), that is “a land without a people for a people without a land”, contains within it the roots of both the denial, ‘cleansing’ and genocide of Jews from Europe and Palestinians from Palestine. Here is the scene of the head-on collision, here is where we will have to stay, hold steadfast, to awaken the dead, carefully decomposing that world, constructed on forms of genocide, supremacy, denial, if we are to recompose our worlds again.



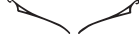
And if all of what we have outlined above is not enough to counter the denialist discourses we are confronted by and forced to ingest today, as we witness the unspeakable sickness of a world structurally constructed to unsee and sanction the most brutal acts of supremacist violence shared daily in front of our eyes – then we will emphasize the following and possibly most critical caveat.

From our vantage point, the Nakba predates and towers over the Holocaust, because it does not only bring to light the question of Palestine and the ongoing genocidal violence Palestinians have been subjected to since at least 1917, then more so from 1948, even more from 1967, and with a further intensification still from 2023.

Today Nakba names a planetary process through which all of this was done, including the mutilation of Judaism and near total obliteration of Jewish life from Europe, in order to maintain for the inheritor-states of racial, colonial, imperial, capitalist brutality, theft and accumulation – through the sacrifice of Palestinian life – a future for their criminal sovereignties.

Thus returning to the spirit of dialogue with Agamben’s text, we could further ask, if Zionism is the most fascistic, supremacist, literal and genocidal interpretation of Jews being a “chosen people”: the question begs itself, in the cross-hairs of Holocaust and a planetary Nakba, what if not “chosen” for genocide – either as victim, perpetrator, denier, enabler, resistor, ignorer – have Jewish people, or any people, especially those who have historically survived the destruction of and displacement from their life-worlds, been called, been chosen to do and to undo?

If Judaism has reached an end, as Agamben asserts, the task would be to understand if this is not a moment for anyone who has identified or been identified with Jewishness to search for other paths by radically, and in an anti-denialist manner, recognizing the Palestinians as the victims and survivors of the Holocaust and the Jewish people, especially those killed by Nazis, those who never identified with and actively resisted Zionism, as one of the multitude of ongoing victims of the Nakba.



If the Holocaust did not stop in Europe, in 1945, and the Nakba did not begin in Palestine, in 1948, our only chance of arresting their futurity is by tearing away from the cultures of denial which have hitherto deprived us from seeing Zionism and Nazism as products and manifest destinies of ‘communities of interest’, premised on supremacy and preserving a colonial-racial dis/ordering of worlds.

would later reconnect with the Young Turks, involving himself in both setting up academies which insured all the Ottoman military leaders were trained by Germans but also in the planning of deportations which served as a choreography to commit the Genocide. The Ottoman Turkish translation of Goltz’ ‘Nation in Arms’ was published in Turkish before the English 1885/86. According to Goltz historian Carl Alexander Krethlow, for Ismail Enver Pasha, one of the architects of the Armenian genocide and the military attaché to Germany between 1909-11, Goltz’ Nation in Arms was his ‘alphabet dans mon métier’. Goltz was also, not surprisingly, an inspiration for the Nazis. It is said that Hitler likened Nazi atrocities in Eastern Europe to the scorched earth policies of Goltz during the First World War in Belgium.

18 Who continues to support unquestionably this entity and its lobbied for nation-state built atop a genocidal violence that today surpasses the Nazis by even denying their victims’ existence as a people – for the entity and its most ardent adherents, Palestinians do not and have never existed: if not designated as ‘human-animal’ or ‘Amaleks’; they are at best, ‘Muslims’ (since like all good orientlists the Christians of the East do not exist) or ‘Arabs.’ This is not merely a question of a few officials who have been elected and make these genocidal proclivities more manifest. What is transpiring today involves the colonial imposition of a nation-state and a world order premised if not on the outright denial of the existence of Palestine and Palestinians, then as we emphasize in this text, on sacrificing them. Thus unseeing Palestine and denying the ongoing Nakba continues to be at the center, we argue, of a relentless effort, an adaptive, and when necessary, genocidal strategy, to assert, to prolong colonial and capitalist control of the region and the planet.

19 The questions for Agamben within this domain are many, they include one we have often thought about, whether the plantation would not have served as a more decisive if not parallel paradigm of the modern? Another, more radical question would be how to reapproach the questions laid out in Remnants of Auschwitz avowing an understanding of the Holocaust as sacrifice, as the operative, decisive, even if unavoweable, drive for what was and is being perpetrated in that name? And further still, especially in the perspective of Nakba as a Planetary Regime, how to resituate the figure of homo sacer as underwriting a sovereignty above, beyond, exceeding any state and superseding ‘international’ law? How to reappraise homo sacer in the cross-hairs of competing imperial, colonial regimes for maintaining supremacy and sovereignty?

20 Further questions emerge: Which imperial and colonial forces benefitted in the severing of fascist mass violence from other moments of colonial, imperial mass violence? Beyond the Zionists themselves, who and what forms of thought enabled the building of these denialist futurities, which unsaw and helped break ground for today’s genocide? What were the cultural and political processes that have created this entity and its adherents that rival the Nazis in brutality, blind pride, self-righteousness, unashamed rape, torture, incarceration, starvation, bombing, mutilation, killing of its designated others, Arabs, Muslims, Eastern Christians, subhumans ... “Amaleks.”

21 It should be noted that Zionists have used the word *tihur* (purification, cleansing) for ‘transfer’ on ever order to the units executing the plan for ethnically ‘cleansing’ Palestine. If racial purification and cleansing has been at the heart of the plan for Palestine, then in the anti-denialist account of “the Holocaust” that we propose in this short text, the overlaps between the fascist violence perpetrated against Jewish, Roma and many others and the Zionist violence perpetrated against Palestinians and many others are no less sickening but certainly much more consistent. The Holocaust did not end in Europe, in fact, as argued in the main body of this text, we are witnessing its most horrific phase today in Gaza.

22 To rethink and relink the genocidal violence of imperial, colonial, racial capitalist forces – evolving for centuries, in Asia, the Americas, Africa, the Island Nations, expanding in the latter half of the 19th century, resulting in further mass violence. Vladimir Lenin’s 1915 tract Socialism and War, offers us a contemporary attempt to name the conditions which give rise to this Unavowable Holocaust. Lenin writes: “From 1876 to 1914, six ‘Great’ Powers grabbed 25 million square kilometers, i.e., an area two and a half times that of Europe! Six Powers have enslaved 523 million people in the colonies. For every four inhabitants in the ‘Great’ Powers there are five in ‘their’ colonies. It is common knowledge that colonies are conquered with fire and sword, that the populations of the colonies are brutally treated, and that they are exploited in a thousand ways (by exporting capital, through concessions, etc., cheating in the sale of goods, submission to the authorities of the ‘ruling’ nation, and so on and so forth). The Anglo-French bourgeoisie are deceiving the people when they say that they are waging a war for the freedom of nations and of Belgium; in fact they are waging a war for the purpose of retaining the colonies they have grabbed and robbed. The German imperialists would free Belgium, etc., at once if the British and French would agree to ‘fairly’ share their colonies with d-0.org

them. A feature of the situation is that in this war the fate of the colonies is being decided by a war on the Continent.”

But within a span of two years, only considering the Armenian Genocide in 1915, the Russian Revolution in 1917 and then the Balfour Declaration, one sees that this ‘fate of the colonies was being decided’ once again through a sacrificial matrix of Europe’s ‘others’. Vladimir Lenin, Socialism and War, originally Published in pamphlet form in the autumn of 1915 by the Sotsial-Demokrat Editorial Board in Geneva.

23 Clearly this dictum can equally encompass the effort by Zionists to detach Jewish life from many of its existential territories including but not limited to the Arabic speaking worlds. To consider the means which were used by Zionists, including the staging of attacks or even assassinations to foment fear and distrust among communities is just one of the many unwritten chapters of whatever we are attempting to think through as the Unavowable Holocaust and the Nakba in its planetary expanse. Jacob Israël de Haan’s tale of a Dutch Jewish queer poet, educator, lawyer, Zionist turned a formidable Anti-Zionist, assassinated in 1924 by the Haganah – his murder blamed on ‘Arabs’ for decades by the perpetrators, deceiving even other Zionists, is just one startling example of the lies, manipulations, killings, sacrifices, large and small, which have been perpetrated or opportunistically seized on to institute this genocidal state/futurity. And yet, it may require a very different understanding of Holocaust including its millions of unavowed, untold, ongoing victims, de Haan among them, for us to be able to finally stop it. That understanding of Holocaust is the opposite of the exceptional crime which is today yielded as a weapon, justifying and sanctioning the unspeakable crimes of this entity, which we are compelled to both see and deny lest we be called anti-semites. As asserted in this text, there is no way to exit this sacrificial matrix without understanding who and what has been sacrificed and in the name of what? With this understanding, Holocaust names the crime perpetrated against Palestinians and Jews in the same matrix and drive to preserve a régime of world-scale white supremacy, for which Zionism has and continues to play its pivotal part. And it is within such a matrix that the pashkevelim commemorating de Haan’s murder “to be brothers in misfortune alongside the Arab people” receives its fullest meaning, and in whatever could mean Jewishness in the face of Gaza. And here we will not disavow the nomination of ‘Arab,’ even if for Zionists and white supremacists alike, it has often served as a means of negating, unseeing, denying not only Palestinian existence but also the multiplicity of existences, including Jewish, who have shaped the Arabic speaking worlds and its associated cultures. Here, however, what the designation of ‘Arab’ reminds us of is that this strategy and regime of Nakba has always been racially engineered, regionally plotted, religiously mythologized, economically (capitalist) motivated and planetary in scope, scale. In a quatrain entitled Unrest, de Haal writes:

*I read poems from Guttering and Perk.
They died. When I die, who will read me?
To what avail? The Song is human work,
Now or later: it will be forgotten.*

– We read you, to the avail of the songs and stories which we will have to re-cite if we are to delink Jewishness from the racist, Zionist program for ongoing Holocaust. Recalling such stories, as we have attempted here, brings us to an understanding of the Nakba as the patching together by competing, sometimes tactically divergent interests of a planetary ‘strategy’ and ‘regime’ for ongoing sacrificial acts (including genocide), as the ‘realist’ and necessary ‘costs’ for adhering to and maintaining a supremacist, western, colonial, imperial, racial, patriarchal, nation-statist, modern, enlightened, ‘high educated’, ‘high art’, ‘high tech’, oblivious, denialist and ultimately capitalist faith, understanding of life, of history, of progress, of politics, of futurity, of freedom, of self, of human, of world. Our re-collected song will orient toward the abolition, the unworking of all of that, including the image, practice, idea of a human which has never stopped working to produce its racialized, gendered, underhuman others (targeted for exploitation, destruction and/or development) as the means of its fulfilment, enrichment, ‘passing’, of self-validation, qualification, fabrication, elevation, defense and determination.



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