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Abstracts

Jannis Julien Grimm

Solidarity under impossible conditions: Palestine solidarity in Germany between public indifference and state repression

Under what conditions does solidarity enable a common political struggle across differently situated actors? And why does Palestine solidarity protest in Germany meet recruitment limits even though its underlying grievances are viewed favorably by the general population? This contribution examines how mobilisation against colonial violence in Palestine becomes intertwined with contestation of institutional complicity, racialised exclusion and authoritarian tendencies in Germany. To examine the conditions and limits of solidarity protest in Germany, it synthesises findings from original protest event analyses, ethnographic observation at 100+ protest events, several dozen narrative interviews, a survey of Berlin's September 2025 mass mobilisation, and student testimonies collected through consultation sessions and dialogue workshops between 2023 and 2025. Conceptualising solidarity through the interrelated logics of appeal, accountability and belonging, the analysis explores how collective action sustains Palestinian presence and political agency under conditions of repression. Survey findings demonstrate mobilisation beyond established solidarity organisations, alongside democratic commitments and distrust of political and security institutions. Campus research traces how policing, censorship and institutional abandonment connect solidarity with Palestinians to struggles over academic freedom, recognition and the legitimate boundaries of dissent. These dynamics reveal both the possibilities and the limits of constituting common struggle. Repression can generate alliances and shared grievances, but also reinforce internal boundaries, uneven exposure to risk and activist exhaustion. The contribution therefore foregrounds the organisational and relational conditions through which solidarity endures: legal support, mutual aid, collective mourning and sustained practices of listening across difference. It argues that solidarity's emancipatory potential rests on translating shared opposition into durable infrastructures of accountability and care that enable collective action across unequal positions and divergent experiences.

Bram J. De Smet

Decolonial Escalation: How Movements Learn to Refuse Under Pacification

Since October 2023, Palestine solidarity in Finland has filled the streets more than a hundred times, and the structures it names continue largely undisturbed. The marches are permitted because they can be absorbed. This is the condition under which the question has to be answered: whether solidarity remains sympathy with a victim, or becomes protest against the global condition. The paper answers it from within, through ethnographic and auto-ethnographic research among the de-escalation volunteers who protect demonstrations in Helsinki, and proposes decolonial escalation. The protective, relational everyday work these volunteers perform is misread as calming and containment; it is a pedagogy that builds the collective capacity to refuse and teaches a responsibility that crosses borders. Pacification shares its technique and differs only in the direction of the capacity produced. The movement's own continuously revised de-escalation document is read here as theory and as a curriculum a movement has written for itself, not as data to be coded: against an extractivism that mines movements for empirical content while denying their theoretical capacity, activists are treated as theorists of their own practice.

With hope understood as infrastructure rather than optimism, the sustained capacity this pedagogy produces becomes a precondition and not an endpoint. Hope sustains in order to redirect, toward the breadth and durability of participation, sustained non-cooperation and prefigurative building that an absorptive order cannot easily metabolise. A solidarity that sustains only absorbable action has not yet discharged what it owes to those in whose name it is offered.

Yasmeen Jubeh

Historical Formation and Conceptual Transformations of Solidarity

This paper provides an overview of the historical development of the concept of "solidarity", by examining key milestones in its historical and conceptual formation. While various efforts opposing the genocidal war on the Gaza Strip—whether collective or individual, in the public or private sphere—are readily grouped under the banner of "solidarity," defining the precise contours of the concept proves far more elusive. Like many terms circulating within the discourse of development (and sustainable development), "solidarity" has become the latest buzzword. Its broad linguistic application—ranging from climate solidarity, to solidarity with victims of natural disasters, to solidarity with feminist struggles, the Black struggle, the LGBTQ+ movement, the poor, and the Gaza Strip—further deepens its conceptual ambiguity. This reinforces an interpretation that equates solidarity with terms such as empathy, advocacy, or charity.

Consequently, this paper seeks to identify the foundational building blocks of the concept—as established through its historical evolution at various junctures—to better understand the scope and implications of the conceptual shifts it has undergone in its contemporary form. This is particularly relevant as the term enters the realm of humanitarian discourse, amidst the overwhelming rise of individualistic survival strategies in the era of globalized neoliberalism. Finally, the paper raises a question regarding the conceptual horizons of solidarity that are made possible within the current Palestinian and global contexts.

Nimer Sultany

Solidarity and Human Rights Discourse Amid Genocide: A Lever for Liberation?

The discourse of rights has been ingeniously mobilised throughout the history of anti-colonial liberation movements. However, the narrowing of this discourse since the 1970s, accompanied by a shift in the meaning of solidarity and the status accorded to liberation movements, calls for its emancipation from the confines of a restrictive liberal framework in order to revive its emancipatory potential. Yet, notably, since Israel started its genocidal war on Gaza, we have witnessed a renewed centrality of rights-based discourse and legal debate in the analysis of genocide and in the articulation of solidarity against it. This paper examines the need to mobilise the discourse of rights as a framework for articulating and organising solidarity, while also addressing the limitations and potential pitfalls of such an approach. It emphasises, in particular, the intrinsic relationship between the concept of rights and that of solidarity.

Santosh Kumar

From Colonial Exploitation to Global Solidarity: Class, Colonialism and Resistance in Postcolonial Literature from India and Palestine

Postcolonial and anticolonial literature from India and Palestine shows that colonial domination cannot be separated from class, property, labour and dispossession. This paper asks how colonialism shapes class and everyday life, and how oppressed communities recognise shared structures of domination. Together reading Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* and *Coolie*, Mahasweta Devi's "*Draupadi*" and *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, Emile Habibi's *The Secret Life of Saeed the Pessoptimist*, and Sahar Khalifeh's *Wild Thorns*. Anand and Habibi highlight labour exploitation under colonial capitalism, on the one hand. Devi and Khalifeh, on the other hand, trace people's dispossession, state violence, and resistance. Additionally, Habibi and Anand show how colonial power shapes caste-class and identity in Palestinian and Indian life, respectively.

These works keep workers, peasants, refugees, displaced communities and marginalised subjects in the centre. They turn experiences of colonial exploitation into narratives of collective resistance, yet they reveal how colonial power reshapes land and social relations.

Global mobilisation for Palestine raises a question: how can sympathy become a shared struggle? Solidarity cannot rest on shared suffering alone. It needs shared interests, political consciousness and collective action. This paper argues that historically distinct struggles can share a political language of solidarity, but only by attending to class and material interests. It also tests where comparison fails.

Both countries are not identical. Yet both show colonial rule restructuring land and labour. Their literature connects local struggles to wider structures of domination. Reading both works can reveal these connections, which help to imagine global solidarity grounded in shared interests rather than shared pain alone.

Thalia Kruger, Eman AlAsah

Pan-Africanism as Solidarity: The Political Imaginary of Collective Liberation

The Pan-African Movement was a movement by and for people of African descent, starting in the mid-nineteenth century (Brittanica). It brought together people on the African continent as well as persons of African descent in the Americas and in Europe. At the core, it emerged from the realisation that liberation of colonialism could not be achieved through isolated national struggles. In that sense, Pan-Africanism constituted more than a movement for African unity or the formal end to colonisation. It has also been a political and emancipatory imaginary through which different peoples, movements, and political leaders sought to envision collective liberation beyond the divisions and dependencies produced by imperialism in its various forms. In the words of De Bois, the Pan-Africanists realised that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line". In this sense the concern was liberation, and a different thinking about politics and economics.

Drawing on the thought and political projects of Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Muammar Gaddafi, alongside the theoretical insights of Samir Amin, Frantz Fanon and others, this article examines Pan-Africanism as a plural and anti-colonial project, shaped by different imaginaries of unity, sovereignty, and international solidarity.

The article develops a distinction between negative and positive solidarity to examine the possibilities and limitations of this political imaginary. Negative solidarity emerges from the recognition of a common condition of domination and a shared adversary, including imperialism and capitalist economic exploitation. Positive solidarity, by contrast, concerns the construction of alternative political and economic futures through collective self-determination, resource sovereignty, nationalisation, redistribution, and economic cooperation.

The question then arises whether positive solidarity can exist without a common struggle while not becoming mere philanthropy. The article argues that the enduring significance of Pan-Africanism lies in its attempt to move beyond the unity of resistance towards the construction of alternative political, economic, and international arrangements. It ultimately approaches solidarity as an unfinished project of collective liberation and political world-making, not merely as an ethical commitment or temporary alliance against a common enemy.

Sardar Saadi

Solidarity from Below: Kurdish and Palestinian Struggles and the Politics of Liberation

What does it mean to build solidarity beyond expressions of sympathy, national boundaries, and geopolitical alliances? Drawing on Kurdish and Palestinian experiences of resistance, this presentation explores solidarity from below as a political practice rooted in grassroots organizing, shared struggles, and collective aspirations for liberation. It examines both the possibilities and contradictions of building solidarity across different histories of oppression, arguing for forms of political solidarity grounded not simply in shared victimhood, but in mutual recognition, collective action, and the creation of emancipatory futures.

Stefania Vlachou

From the Prison Cells and the Tunnels to Rethinking Human Rights Beyond the Liberal Trap

The colonial project has now reached a genocidal moment in its development. At the same time, an assault on international law, on the international institutions and on the very idea of human rights is also

being perpetrated by the US-Israeli axis with the complicity of its proxies. The paper argues that the global solidarity movement has a major role in envisaging international law as a tool of resistance instead of an instrument of imperial power, but this can only be done by adopting a structural and rooted approach. Amílcar Cabral's concept of "returning to the source," calls for a return to the lived reality of the people on the ground, recognizing resistance as the primary force and solidarity as the force that follows. The reality of Palestinians and Lebanese tells us that late capitalism has entered a new phase of capitalist extraction in which colonial wars are no longer a tool to ensure extraction, but the mechanism for value production through the killing and wounding of our own bodies. The popular masses globally tell us that there is a continuity in colonialism (there is no "neo-colonialism") and that genocide is a formative part in the development of settler colonialism.

I see a parallel between a discourse that claims sympathy by diagnosing the situation as genocidal while simultaneously blaming the resistance for the destruction and declaring it obsolete and a legalistic discourse that turns to the international legal system as a means to address Israeli human rights violations, while leaving untouched the very structural, colonial logics that enable genocide. The historical exigency of the genocide and the voices from the tunnels and the prisons, demand a solidarity that prioritizes resistance, recognizes that the fight against the common structures is shared, that the seeds of the today assault were born in tandem with the creation of the Israeli regime (the same year -1948- that the world witnessed the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the Genocide Convention) and that international law is not a neutral terrain.

Khalida Jarrar

Approaches to Emancipatory Struggle: Global Forms of Solidarity in Experiences of Captivity

The paper addresses the concept of solidarity, its foundations, and how it can become a tool for change, through a reading of approaches to emancipation struggles and global forms of solidarity in experiences of captivity, and of shared engagement in liberation movements opposing the colonial project in Palestine and the project of capitalist hegemony worldwide, as part of an internationalist liberation project that seeks freedom, justice, dignity, and self-determination.

The paper examines the context of global solidarity and the exchange of forms of struggle among oppressed communities through prisons and the history of protest within them worldwide. It argues that these forms of struggle reveal a global dimension that goes beyond the similarity of experiences to the transmission of knowledge and the development of shared means of struggle. In this context, the paper discusses the hunger strikes undertaken by people in solidarity with Palestine during the genocidal war, specifically solidarity activists in the United Kingdom and in Spanish prisons. In doing so, it shows that this long history of protest (and of hunger strikes) offers a lens for analysing intersectional approaches to liberation struggles and global forms of solidarity.

Hasan Ayoub

Solidarity with Palestine: When the Tools of Colonial Repression Turn Inward

Over the past three years— a period marked by an ongoing genocidal war in the Gaza Strip, as well as campaigns of ethnic cleansing and colonial expansion in the West Bank—protests, demonstrations, and acts of internationalist solidarity with the Palestinian people have persisted on a global scale. As many studies and research reports indicate, this growing solidarity with the Palestinian cause reflects a clear expression of a radical anti-colonial and anti-imperialist sentiment. This is evident in the slogans, chants, and other forms of expression that have accompanied these protests, most notably within the student encampments at Western universities.

The continuity of these protest movements, in solidarity with Palestine, suggests that they have evolved beyond mere expressions of outrage against genocide; they are increasingly confronting the global order that has enabled —and continues to enable— Israel to persist in its criminal policies against the Palestinian people. This points to the potential for these protests and solidarity movements to develop into enduring social and political currents, thereby increasing the cost of continued complicity with, and enablement of, "Israel". It is precisely these indicators which have prompted Western governments (the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and, especially, France) to employ various tools and strategies of repression and censorship against these protests and acts of solidarity.

Beyond merely disavowing the principles associated with liberal democracies (political, civil, and individual freedoms), but also actively turning against them to serve the ideologies and interests of political elites and their intricate ties to Israel, evident in their staunch defense of the global system of power, influence, and alliances at the heart of which Israel sits, the manifestations, tools, and forms of repression employed against protest forces indicate that the era of neocolonialism (as a phenomenon persisting across time and space) is reproducing the very same power and hegemonic relations that prevailed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This paper examines the forms, tools, and methods employed by Western states to suppress protest movements in solidarity with the Palestinian people. It highlights a systematic use of tools historically associated with how colonial powers subjugated various peoples. This supports the argument that the solidarity movement with the Palestinian people has evolved into a global uprising against the system of neocolonial hegemony. The acts of repression and persecution reveal a pattern, pointing to a tacit agreement among the governments of these states to prevent these protests from deepening, persisting, or evolving into structural changes within the global order.

Mohammad Allahham

Who Are "the People"? Gendered Exclusion, Self-Determination, and the Limits of Emancipatory Solidarity with Palestine

The global solidarity movement with Palestine today confronts a system of domination waging a war of annihilation against the Palestinian people and targeting the structures of their collective life. This paper argues that among the deepest targets of these structures is the capacity of "the people" to exist as a collective embracing all its members. Externally, the occupation fragments Palestinian geography between Gaza, the West Bank, and Jerusalem, disperses refugees, and prevents institutions from enacting and enforcing gender-equitable legislation, turning commitments such as CEDAW (2014) into obligations without implementation. Internally, and in interaction with this, the paper examines the hypothesis that official nationalist discourse has constructed "the people" as a masculine subject (Massad 1995): while Palestinian women have historically been central partners in the national struggle, their position within official discourse is reduced to reproduction and support, and the "two-stage" logic defers gender justice in the name of prioritising national liberation. The contradiction between women's centrality in practice and their marginality in discourse is the object of inquiry, not evidence of absence. Drawing on Nancy Fraser's (1997, 2009) three dimensions of justice, redistribution, recognition, and representation, the paper shows that answering this question strengthens rather than distracts from the national project and its global solidarity movement.

Aseel Hussain

The Palestine Solidarity Movement and the Questioning of the Legal Form of Human Rights

Some critical approaches trace the crisis of human rights to the detachment of human rights practices from grassroots movements, the professionalization of human rights work and the concentration of expertise and knowledge in the hands of a group of specialists and the separation of human rights work from social and popular movements, and, more broadly, the loss of their political character. Accordingly, these approaches call for the repoliticization of human rights work, its renewed connection with popular movements, and the building of transnational alliances. These proposals, however, raise a question that goes beyond how they might be implemented: can the crisis of human rights be explained by the distancing of human rights practice from its emancipatory horizon, or is there a deeper problem concerning the very form through which rights are constituted?

The global solidarity movement with Palestine offers a case through which to examine this question. Its large-scale mobilizations have connected the Palestinian struggle with the struggles of other societies against injustice, exploitation, and colonialism. They have also expanded the presence of the Palestinian cause in public debate and demonstrated the capacity to build forms of mobilization and collective action across borders. Nevertheless, a significant part of the movement’s demands continues to be directed towards international institutions whose decisions remain unimplemented, while those calling for the enforcement of the law face persecution and repression. This contradiction reveals the limits of relying on "legal legitimacy" as a pathway to political change.

Starting from this problem, the paper examines the relationship between the crisis of human rights and the "legal form" itself. It draws on Evgeny Pashukanis's analysis of the legal form to examine the relationship between the legal form, the legal subject, and relations of commodity exchange, as well as the role of the state in securing the conditions necessary for reproducing these relations. It also asks how this perspective might help us understand the limits of reducing rights to mere claims addressed to the state or the international system, and how rights might instead be understood as social relations constituted through participation and collective action.

Hayat AlTaweel, Islam Nasr

The Right to Health between Genocide and the Market: Towards International Solidarity based on Common Benefit and Emancipatory Human Rights

The genocidal war in Gaza has laid bare the extreme deprivation of the right to health, occurring against a backdrop of an international human rights system that has proven incapable of protecting it. This deprivation is deeply intertwined with the global order; since even within the countries of those expressing solidarity, this same right is being deprived through soft mechanisms—such as privatization, the commodification of the body, and the "medicalization" of everyday life—to create new markets.

The paper posits that solidarity with Palestine serves as a protest against the global status quo. It argues that the right to health represents a clear instance of "shared benefit", which distinguishes solidarity from sympathy. For the logic that renders Palestinian lives expendable is, albeit through different degrees and instruments, the same logic that subjects the lives of the poor and the working class worldwide to the calculus of profit.

This paper draws on critiques of medical capitalism, the frameworks of Wallerstein and Harvey –who interpret neoliberalism as an extension of the colonial relationship between the center and the periphery— and builds on the critique of the commodification of health. It asserts that the market does not merely distribute care; rather, it redefines who is deemed deserving of it and who can be cast aside.

As a case study, the paper examines the mobilizations of healthcare workers and their unions globally in solidarity with their counterparts in Gaza. This serves as a model of solidarity rooted in professional identity and shared interest, linking the defense of hospitals in Gaza with the defense of public health against privatization and austerity. By comparing the discourse of these movements with that of traditional humanitarian aid, the paper highlights the distinction between solidarity that merely seeks to provide relief to victims and solidarity that interrogates the very structures that produce such victimization.

The study employs a qualitative, analytical, and comparative methodology in its pursuit to answer the following questions: How has the genocide exposed the limitations of the liberal human rights framework in safeguarding social and economic rights? Can solidarity with Palestine redefine the right to health—shifting it from a framework of "relief" to one of emancipation that challenges the encroachment of corporations and market forces? Furthermore, what organizational conditions are required to transform solidarity within the health sector from fragmented initiatives into a sustainable global movement?

Yara Al Hindi, Bayan M. Arqawi, and Tareq Sadeq

AI giants and the Annihilation of Gaza

The Israeli annihilation of Gaza reveals a global network of economic and technological interests that transcends the boundaries of any single state—thereby allowing the concept of opposing war to expand from merely objecting to the military use of technology to scrutinising the relations of ownership, investment, and contracting that underpin such use. This paper points to the economic and political agency of major AI companies in the Israeli annihilation of Gaza. It identifies companies involved in contracts with the Israeli government or defence companies, documents the contracts and estimates their economic value, investigates their ownership structure and sources of capital, tracks their stock price performance, financial returns and profits during the annihilation, alongside their political connections and association with influential political figures in the US .By tracing these economic and political relationships, the paper seeks to understand how private economic interests intersect with military power

and the political economy of the annihilation in Gaza and how highlighting these entanglements can foster sustained global anti-war movements and collective action.

Diego Checa Hidalgo

Universities against the genocide: Solidarity with Palestine in the Spanish higher education communities.

This paper explores the response of the Spanish academic communities towards the violence deployed by Israel against the Palestinian population from October 2023 to October 2026. It analyses the trajectory of this solidarity movement to understand its achievements and limitations. It focuses, in particular, on the evolution of the position of the public university system in the face of the genocide in Gaza and the collective actions that some sections of its communities developed to influence the ongoing genocide, apartheid, and military occupation. This research is grounded in a qualitative methodology, encompassing a meticulous documentary analysis of assorted primary and secondary sources and participant observation. The study has enabled the identification of four distinct phases in the evolution of the Spanish academy's position throughout this period. These findings explain the rationality behind its stances, highlight the issues influencing the changes, and demonstrate the impact of collective action for Palestine from university communities. Moreover, it explains the main limitations of this solidarity movement and stresses the intersections of this struggle and the global problems affecting the Spanish society, such as the housing, environmental, militarization, and political crises.

Belén Habboob Martos and Nadia Hindi Mediavilla

Palestine Solidarity Movement at the University of Granada: From Ethical Response to Repoliticisation

This paper analyses the mobilisations of the University of Granada (UGR) community in solidarity with Palestine (2023–2025). It examines how the movement goes beyond mere ethical empathy to become a process of repoliticisation against the global neoliberal condition, or the becoming-Nakba of the world (Karmy Bolton 2024).

The paper analyses how the struggle at the UGR and the University Network for Palestine (Red Universitaria x Palestina) exposed the intricate alliances between colonialism, Zionism, Western imperialism and the global socio-economic agenda. University activism pushed the initial ethical responses, institutional equidistance and false academic neutrality towards the severing of ties and academic boycott. In doing so, it revealed the complicity of public institutions with multinational corporations, the dual-use military industry and armed banking.

From a situated and feminist epistemology, the paper argues that university mobilisation, through Palestine, prefigures and projects itself as a node of internationalist resistance. This node connects genocide and scholasticide with global colonial domination and the dynamics of precarisation, the curtailment of academic freedom and the structural crisis of the neoliberal model in Europe. The UGR experience shows that solidarity with Palestine is not a fleeting reaction to barbarity. It is a critical political articulation that challenges the structures of domination of global Zionist capitalism and looks towards horizons of emancipation shared with other peoples.

Munther Isaac, Rifat Kassis

The Role of Palestinian Christians in Shifting the Stances of Western Churches Toward the Palestinian Cause: The Case of Kairos Palestine

This paper examines significant shifts in the stances of some Western churches toward the Palestinian cause in recent years, specifically regarding theological discourse, official ecclesiastical positions, and advocacy for justice and rights of the Palestinian people. It highlights the role of Palestinian Christians in influencing these transformations, with a focus on the Kairos Palestine movement and its two documents, exploring how they have contributed to reshaping theological and ecclesiastical discourse on Palestine, while mobilizing solidarity and advocacy within Western churches and societies. Furthermore, the paper assesses the impact of these efforts on changing church positions and explores future prospects for further developing and strengthening this role.

Tamara Tamimi

Challenging Israeli Impunity: South–South Solidarity, Grassroots Mobilization and the Limits of Political Change

Gradual shifts in British policy towards Israel, alongside changing electoral dynamics surrounding support for Israel in the United States, raise questions about how solidarity acquires political influence. How has sustained grassroots and organized civil society mobilization contributed to these developments? Have Global South states' legal and diplomatic initiatives generated additional pressures? What constrains the translation of these pressures into substantive challenges to Israeli impunity? This paper examines its questions through two constituent elements of solidarity: Global South state initiatives, grassroots and organized civil society mobilization internationally. Without presuming coordination, it investigates whether and how the effects of these movements reinforce one another in challenging Global North states' support for Israeli settler colonialism. Legal initiatives, boycott and divestment campaigns, organizational withdrawals from commercial relationships, and electoral pressures provide sites for examining how demands travel among individuals, civil society and states.

Drawing on feminist postcolonial critiques of international law and the global distribution of wealth, the paper locates these processes within the context of continuing relations of extraction and dependence. It argues that solidarity's political possibilities are conditioned by the unequal distribution of resources and institutional power, which shapes both the capacity to exert pressure and the capacity to resist it. Within such constraints, international law and human rights offer a globally resonant language that can be leveraged for mobilization efforts. Inspired by international solidarity against apartheid in South Africa, the paper examines the conditions under which distinct pressures can contribute to making shifts in state policy, while distinguishing gradual institutional changes from the radical transformation of the material relationships sustaining Israeli impunity.