Communication, Culture and Critique, 2025, **18**, 3–8
https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcae050
Advance access publication 17 January 2025
Forum

A statement on the ongoing genocide in Gaza

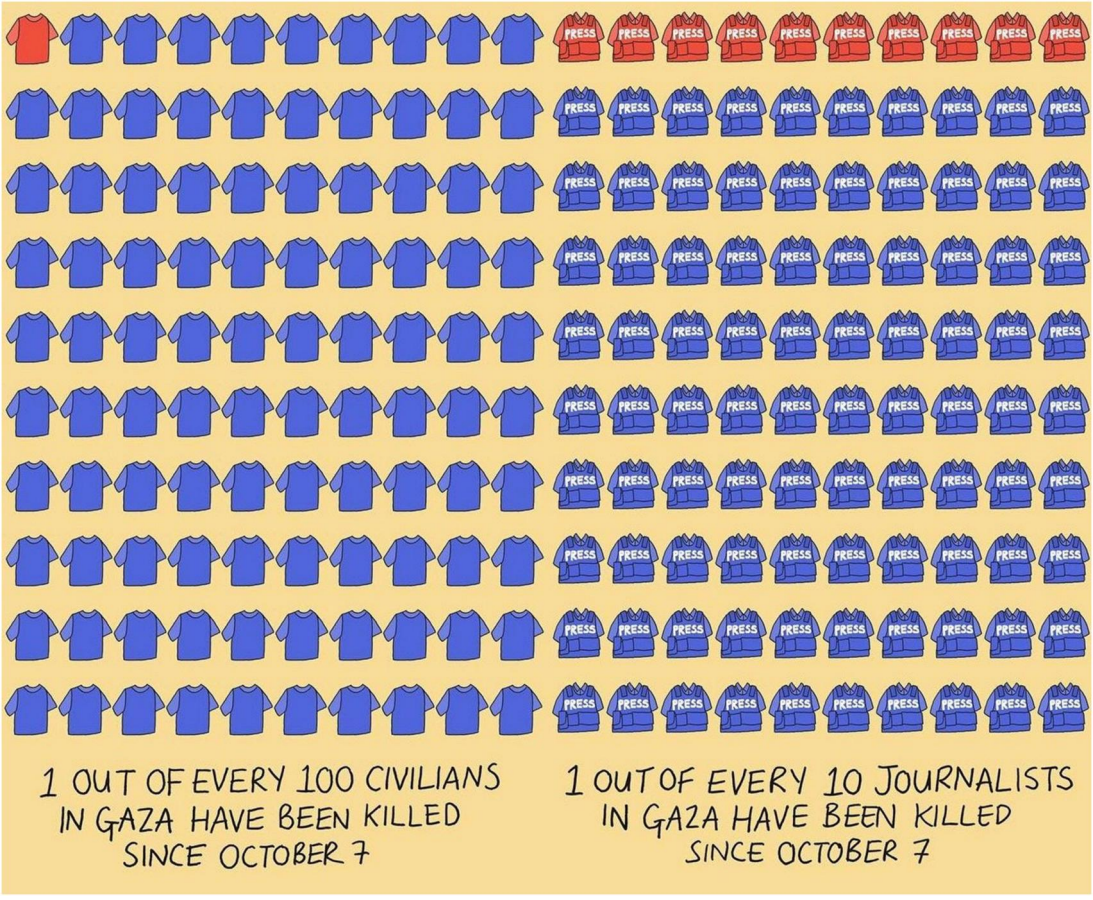
The CCC Editorial Collective*

*Corresponding author: Paula Chakravartty. Email: ccceditorialcollective@gmail.com

Abstract

Communication, Culture and Critique has been the leading venue for critical approaches to communication and media studies. This issue marks the first guided by a newly formed Editorial Collective, which seeks to rekindle the politically engaged scholarship epitomized by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University in the 1970s, then under the leadership of Stuart Hall. As we assume our responsibility to guide this journal and impact our fields, we would be remiss to ignore the glaring epicenter of the prevailing global order's efforts to reproduce itself: the State of Israel's ongoing campaign of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza and its gradual expansion into the West Bank. As scholars of communication, media, culture, and technology, we cannot remain silent nor neutral in the face of livestreamed genocidal violence. We invite scholars of conscience to join us in calls for ceasefire and divestment against Israeli apartheid.

Keywords: Anticolonial, Apartheid, Genocide, Gaza, Journalism.



Permission to Use Illustration by Mona Chalabi (January 8, 2024) @monachalabi Instagram. "Gaza is the most dangerous place in the world to be a journalist. Sources: Gaza's Ministry of Health, CPJ, United Nations population data and the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate."

Since its founding in 2008, *Communication, Culture and Critique* has been the leading venue for critical approaches to communication and media studies. This issue marks the first guided by a newly formed Editorial Collective, which seeks to rekindle the politically engaged scholarship epitomized by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University in the 1970s, then under the leadership of Stuart Hall. Hall's vision of Cultural Studies and conjunctural analysis

Received: 19 November 2024. **Revised:** 19 November 2024. **Accepted:** 3 December 2024
© The Author(s) 2025. Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of International Communication Association. All rights reserved. For commercial re-use, please contact reprints@oup.com for reprints and translation rights for reprints. All other permissions can be obtained through our RightsLink service via the Permissions link on the article page on our site—for further information please contact journals.permissions@oup.com.

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

of capitalism was a response to crises in political legitimacy that would pave the way for decades of criminalization of racially subjugated populations and the hegemony of neoliberalism. Reflecting on her own experience of collective feminist praxis of research linking prison abolition and anti-militarism, Angela Davis reminds us that Hall's collaborative approach to critical research attended to, "(…) the circuits that lead from the intimate to the institutional."[1] It is in the spirit of such collective alertness to the balance of forces in our present conjuncture—characterized, as it is, by myriad political, social, economic and environmental crises—that we set out to imagine how things might be otherwise.

As we assume our responsibility to guide this journal and impact our fields, we would be remiss to ignore the glaring epicenter of the prevailing global order's efforts to reproduce itself: the State of Israel's ongoing campaign of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza and its gradual expansion into the West Bank.

As of December 2024, the Israeli military invasion and occupation of Gaza has displaced millions and resulted in at least 45,000 Palestinian deaths, more than half women and children. Tens of thousands more have been killed by starvation, neglect, and lack of access to adequate healthcare.[2] Despite repeated votes in support of ceasefire by the vast majority of nations in the UN, the State of Israel's collective punishment of the people of Gaza for attacks against Israeli civilians on October 7, 2023, has only intensified thanks to the unmitigated political support of the United States and many of its Western European allies, who have provided crucial funding, weapons, and diplomatic support.

These powers strongly deny the charge of genocide in Gaza which has been recognized as plausible by the International Court of Justice.[3]

As Isabella Hammad poignantly writes: "It is a novel horror in human history to watch a genocidal war on our phones."[4] Western legacy media outlets have actively censored the genocide in Gaza while dutifully reporting the horrors of Russian occupation and war in Ukraine.[5] Despite unprecedented journalistic censorship, most of the world has borne witness to genocide's grim hallmarks in Gaza: the mass displacement and killing of civilians, and the wanton destruction of civilian and cultural infrastructures including mosques, churches, and hospitals. This is thanks to the heroic documentation efforts of journalists and Palestinian civilians, often equipped with little more than smartphones and fleeting social media accounts. As educators, we are particularly attuned to the ongoing "scholasticide" in Gaza, the targeted arrests and killings of students, teachers, and professors, as well as the razing of libraries, museums, schools, and universities. The Israeli military has "systematically obliterated" the educational system in Gaza with impunity.[6]

Far from its disputed claims as the "only democracy in the Middle East," the Israeli military has engaged in the targeted killings of journalists and media workers in Palestine and Lebanon.[7] It has raided and shuttered newsrooms in the West Bank.[8] The Israeli state has also censored and threatened Israeli journalists as well as academics, activists, filmmakers and other artists who have expressed solidarity with Palestinians or criticism of the Israeli military's ruthless campaign against civilians in Gaza.[9] Journalists and scholars have documented frequent telecommunication and internet blackouts in Gaza. Israel, hailed as a "start-up nation," hones techniques of surveillance, targeting, spatial control, and cyber-warfare, documented for two decades by scholars of Israeli digital occupation and enclosures.[10] More recently, an AI called "Lavender" has rapidly processed massive data to generate kill lists, also calculating the collateral murder according to the desirability of the targeted person.[11] In this sense, AI is the latest iteration of colonial technologies of war that rationalize lowering the threshold of risk for killing civilians. These "innovations" in colonial war and policing are rapidly exported around the world in the service of targeting racially subjugated populations and imposing border controls from China to India, Türkiye to the UAE, and of course across Australia, Canada, Europe, and the US.

As critical scholars of media, communication, culture, and technology, we reject the notion that our fields of study are disconnected (or separable) from the violent colonial conditions on the ground in Gaza. Hegemonic notions of scholarly impartiality, journalistic objectivity, technological neutrality, and disinformation have all been enlisted by the State of Israel and its allies to erase the Palestinian people, to distort collective understanding of their lived realities and struggles, and to discredit anyone willing to affirm their humanity. Scholars and journalists applying otherwise well-established critical frameworks—rooted in feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial and decolonial critique, Black studies, critical legal?studies, etc.—to criticize the State of Israel, its allies, and their coordinated dehumanization of the Palestinian people, have faced varying degrees of personal and professional retaliation and precarity.[12] *Communication, Culture and Critique* rejects the Israeli exceptionalism at the heart of the ongoing "Palestine Scare."[13]

The mediation of high-tech genocide as critical to communication studies

What does it mean to "see" genocide in Gaza within the long history of colonial violence and within the context of less-mediated forms of genocidal violence both historically and in the present? As Edward Said once wrote: "Facts do not at all speak for themselves, but require a socially acceptable narrative to absorb, sustain and circulate them. Such a narrative has to have a beginning and end: in the Palestinian case, a homeland for the resolution of its exile since 1948."[14] Anti-colonial and feminist critics of excessive violence in the name of empire have long challenged the warped humanism of nominally impartial professional journalism based on seemingly neutral facts and legitimate visual evidence. So-called "free" media dutifully occlude and obscure mass violence, enabling and reproducing liberal democracies by justifying some lives grievable and others not quite human enough, and therefore dispensable.[15]

This is by no means unique to the context of Israeli settler colonialism. Media outlets around the globe spanning liberal and authoritarian divides, including those committed to professional notions of objectivity like the *New York Times* and the *BBC*, mimic such biased politics of representation of both settler colonial and imperial violence.[16] For much of the 21st century, internationally-oriented commercial media outlets have gamely participated in the cultivation of a "War on Terror" discourse, mobilizing Islamophobia to justify violence against Afghans, Iraqis, Syrians, Somalis, Pakistanis and Yemenis.[17] Those same outlets have, by and large, normalized the mass civilian slaughter of racially marked Palestinians.

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

Israel has killed at least 188 journalists and media workers in the past year—the vast majority of them Palestinian.[18] And at least five were deliberately targeted: Issam Abdallah, Hamza Al Dahdouh, Mustafa Thuraya, Ismail Al Ghoul, and Rami Al Refee.[19] These deaths amount to a kind of epistemic necropolitics akin to scholasticide in which those who produce public facts must be silenced. In parallel, Israeli cyber-intelligence companies like Pegasus and global technology giants like Alphabet, Amazon, Meta, and Microsoft have made themselves central infrastructural actors of the genocide through both technology provision and media censorship. Just as prominent writers, artists and journalists of conscience have resigned in protest against their employers' coverage of Gaza, dozens of workers at Microsoft and Google have been fired for protesting their employers' essential support in the digital logistics of war, including artificial intelligence targeting.[20] Within the tech industry, this repression exposes how ideals of corporate innovation as putatively liberal, non-hierarchical and race neutral, have given way to colonial military contracts as part of profit expansion.

The targeted killing of media and cultural workers in Gaza and the refusal by technologists and media workers around the world to be complicit in genocide exemplify the need for scholars of communication, media, and technology to challenge the foundational myths of the European "public sphere" and Silicon Valley's corporate innovation cultures through anticolonial analytic strategies.[21]

As a journal, we will serve as a dedicated venue for critical communication and cultural studies research and analysis challenging global regimes of empire. We invite scholarship that contributes to our collective understanding of the present conjuncture, including foremost, the ongoing US and European-backed Israeli state violence against Palestinians. We also encourage critical scholarship on U.S.-supported colonial and corporate violence and resistance, whether in the Congo, Haiti or elsewhere, and U.S. settler colonial extractive and racial violence within its own national borders. We welcome critical anti-colonial analysis of ethno-nationalist and extractive violence and opposition, including the Chinese state's targeting of the Uighur minority; the Indian state's occupation of Kashmir and ongoing dehumanization of Muslims and oppressed religious and caste communities; the Turkish state's repression against the Kurds; the Ethiopian ethnic cleansing of Tigrayans, and so on. As anthropologist Nisrin Elamin writes, student-led solidarity campaigns have exposed the common threads between Israeli mass violence in Gaza and the United Arab Emirates' funding and support of mass violence in the Sudan: "The same British colonizers set the stage for this counterrevolutionary state violence in both Sudan and Palestine through colonial agreements and betrayals, creating the fertile soil for ethno-nationalist, violent, extractive states to emerge; states for which the supremacy of some is predicated on the dehumanization and dispossession of others."[22]

Our aim then is to push beyond stale Cold War divides—and recognize the present of settler colonialism, whether in the Americas or in Israel. Gaza is a lens that allows us to re-assess the relationship between the largest global anti-war movement in our lifetimes, and global South states, including the majority in the Arab world and much of Asia and Africa, where states have largely stayed silent in the face of genocide. And even when countries like Egypt, Iran, China, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia and the UAE speak out for Palestine, they adopt the very same strategies of violence within their own territorial boundaries. These disruptions of "Third World Solidarity" and the distorted legacy media coverage of the high-tech genocide in Gaza push us to challenge our foundational normative theories, whether of media and democracy or technological innovation and "freedom" in and well beyond Palestine.

The university's role in the suppression of global solidarity movements

As critical media, cultural and technology scholars, we must situate our objects of analysis within their appropriate historical and contemporary contexts. The term "apartheid," though contentious, is apt when identifying the contemporary struggles of Palestinians with historically similar struggles, such as those faced by South Africans in the 20th century.[23] South Africans themselves readily see these parallels. When protestors there chant "freedom from Salt River to the sea," they draw a chain of equivalence between Israeli settler colonialism in Palestine and the colonial legacies in black working-class neighborhoods in Cape Town (like Salt River) in contrast with wealthy coastal areas.

Tareq Baconi has noted that "apartheid" enriches our understanding of a global settler project by connecting protests for political rights "from Sharpeville to Selma."[24] These connections are also salient for critical cultural analysis. Where protestors see themselves in common struggle, we can and should identify their shared social and cultural conditions. As anti-colonial movements fought and gained national political sovereignty across much of Africa and Asia in the post-World War II order, South Africa was on a reverse course implementing apartheid as a settler colonial and racial project of political segregation and domination in 1948. In the same year and for years to come, the British, alongside the US, would provide the geopolitical support for the establishment of the ethno-state of Israel based on the nationalist political ideology of Zionism, rendering the rights of the majority of the Arab Palestinian population who lived in what was now Israel as "non-Jews." As Saree Makdisi (2024) puts it, "Zionism as practiced is not an abstraction (…) It happened in the land of Palestine. It happened at the expense—and it is happening at the expense—of the Palestinian people."[25]

The conditions in 20th-century South Africa ultimately resulted in decades of worldwide condemnation. So too, we should condemn apartheid in 21st-century Israel, not just in relation to the diminished political rights of "Non-Jewish" citizens of Israel who live within the 1948 borders, but also of its control over and domination of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza.[26]

During the late-1980s anti-apartheid protests in the global North, university administrators were publicly shamed for aligning with the White apartheid state of South Africa in the face of calls for divestment on university campuses.[27] Today, in the US, Canada, the UK, Germany and elsewhere, university administrators are fielding similar calls for boycotts of study abroad programs in Israel and divestment from companies that profit from Israeli apartheid. This time, administrators are attempting to cast shame and punishment on the students, faculty, and staff calling for a permanent ceasefire in Gaza—painting protesters with the brush of antisemitism. But there are important and necessary distinctions to be drawn between the scourge of antisemitism and criticizing and opposing Zionism as enacted by the State of Israel as a

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

racist political reality. Criticisms of the political project of Zionism as implemented by the State of Israel, must not be conflated with racism against the Jewish people.[28]

This distinction is increasingly lost on academic institutions in the global North, who, despite claiming to value academic freedom and free expression, have become spaces where faculty, staff, and students, including growing numbers of young anti-Zionist Jewish students and faculty, are repressed and punished for condemning the State of Israel's genocidal actions. Global solidarity anti-war protests for Palestinian liberation emerged across campuses in the spring of 2024, with some 175 encampments in more than 35 countries calling for ceasefire and divestment.[29] These activists made connections to other abolitionist and anti-colonial efforts with messages like "Solidarity from Ferguson to Palestine," and "From Palestine to Mexico, all the walls have got to go!" Universities swiftly condemned, arrested, suspended, fired, and banned students, faculty, and staff who have participated in these solidarity actions. Administrators called the police on their own students and employees, many of whom were people of color, flagrantly contradicting institutional commitments to anti-racism and "police off campuses" that followed the George Floyd uprisings of 2020.[30]

The flagrant and erroneous conflation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism has been used to justify doxing, threatening, criminalizing, and silencing speech and dissent critical of the State of Israel's well-documented actions in Gaza and the West Bank.[31] Pro-Israel activists and nominally objective journalists have variously relied on this confusion to demonize and vilify students and faculty. These developments have had a chilling effect within academic and pedagogical spaces.[32] As educational institutions, media organizations and tech corporations wield accusations of "antisemitism" as part of a targeted disinformation and manipulation campaign to quell critique of Israeli state violence—this politically expedient strategy is one that is rapidly being adopted by ethnonationalist political agendas.[33]

As critical scholars in our present conjuncture, we have a responsibility to hold space for dissent, uncomfortable discussions, and support movements whose calls for justice are being silenced.

The imperative for critical scholarly interventions

The long tradition of Palestinian political resistance is deeply intertwined with politically engaged critical theory. Palestinian thinkers have played a crucial role in anti-colonial and feminist critique globally, including our own field's critical understandings of media, culture and technology.[34] As such, the history and present of the mediated Palestinian struggle should more prominently inform our scholarship and pedagogy.

Beyond research and teaching, calls for ceasefire and divestment and boycott of cultural and academic institutions complicit in Israeli apartheid have been issued by numerous scholarly associations and organizations.[35] In October of 2024, some 1,000 authors signed a pledge to boycott Israeli cultural institutions complicit in Israeli occupation, apartheid, and genocide.[36]

The professional associations that structure our fields of study—including the historically progressive International Association of Mass Communication Research, established to promote "humanistic ideals about world peace"—have responded shamefully with resounding silence.[37] Elsewhere, 11 editors of communication and rhetoric journals published a joint statement in the front pages of an issue of their respective journals, condemning the U.S.-based National Communication Association's (NCA's) banning of Palestinian scholar Ahlam Muhtaseb from speaking during the presidential session, which was organized by NCA's first Palestinian president, Walid Afifi. They also published in full Dr. Muhtaseb's remarks in their respective journals. In addition to asking readers to "join the call for a permanent ceasefire and an end to the occupation in Palestinian territories," they remind us that: "Speaking out matters. Communication matters. Media framing matters. Words matter. Stories matter. Visuals matter."[38]

Here, we call for journals across our multiple professional associations to do much more than speak out against censorship of academic speech and neutral calls for academic freedom. We call on our associations, including the International Association of Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), and the International Communication Association (ICA) that publishes this journal, along with others associated with Communication, Film and Media Studies, Cultural Studies, and Science and Technology Studies (STS), to join critical scholars across disciplines who have heeded the century-long call to "educate, organize, agitate." This means demanding that our professional associations at minimum take a stance on calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza. We also call for our Schools of Journalism, Departments of Communication, Media and Film Studies, Information Studies, and all relevant professional associations to vociferously support the protection of Palestinian journalists, film and media makers, artists and scholars, while at the same time protect academic freedom for those who speak out against genocide and occupation of Palestine within our own universities.

Our resistance and interventions can take many forms, from explicit agitation to subversive acts appropriate to our respective locations: resistance campaigns in our workplaces and our professional institutions against censorship and repression; working on ensuring that our universities and professional associations divest from weapons, research funds or initiatives that contribute to the ongoing project of Israeli apartheid; resourcing Palestinian scholars, journalists, media makers, tech activists and artists; and furthering our collective objectives to decolonize our pedagogic and research practice. We can support scholars and students fleeing violence. We can insist that our academic institutions refuse to collude with corporations or state agencies that benefit from apartheid and genocide. We should encourage all critical scholars of communication, culture, and technology to engage in such interventions wherever and however they can.

The Editorial Collective of *Communication, Culture and Critique* stands in solidarity with all subjugated peoples who continue to suffer under the violence of colonial/racial, capitalist and fascist regimes including the people of Palestine. As scholars of communication, media, culture, and technology, we cannot remain silent nor neutral in the face of live-streamed genocidal violence. We invite all scholars of conscience in our fields of study to join us with your own collective efforts for ceasefire, divestment and boycott against Israeli apartheid, and to support justice in Palestine.

We conclude by reiterating a question posed by Palestinian scholars Alia Al-Sabi and Amany Khalifa: what can words do

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

amid genocide? To that they answered, "We write because this is how we carry our dead with us. Even when we do not know their names, even when they are too broken to be embraced, even when they are too buried in the rubble to recover. We write so that our dead can continue living in our words."[39]

Conflicts of interest: None declared.

Acknowledgments

The CCC Editorial Collective includes: A.J. Bauer, University of Alabama; Miriyam Aouragh, University of Westminster; Paula Chakravartty, NYU; Deborah Cowen, University of Toronto; Ezekiel J. Dixon-Román, Columbia University; Gil Hochberg, Columbia University; Karma R. Chávez, University of Texas, Austin; Natalie Fenton, Goldsmiths, University of London; Verónica Gago, University of Buenos Aires and the National University of San Martin; Rachel Kuo, University of Wisconsin Madison; Dina Matar, SOAS; Wunpini Fatimata Mohammed, Cornell University; Fernanda Pinto de Almeida, University of the Western Cape; Srirupa Roy, University of Göttingen; Jonathan Sterne, McGill University.[40]

NOTES

1. Goldsmiths, University of London. (2014, November 29). *Professor Angela Davis: Policing the crisis today* [video]. Vimeo. https://vimeo.com/113119921
2. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (December 31st, 2024) "Reported Casualties." https://www.ochaopt.org/content/reported-impact-snapshot-gaza-strip-31-december-2024
3. International Court of Justice (ICJ). (2024). Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel). https://www.icj-cij.org/case/192
4. Hammad, I. (2024). *Recognizing the stranger: On Palestine and narrative* (First Grove Atlantic paperback edition). Black Cat: 70.
5. Johnson, A. & Ali, O. (2024, October 14). A Study Reveals CNN and MSNBC's Glaring Gaza Double Standard. *The Nation*. https://www.thenation.com/article/society/cnn-msnbc-gaza-media-bias-study
6. UN Special Procedures. (2024, April 18). *Gaza: UN experts decry 'systemic obliteration' of education system*. UN News. https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/04/1148716
7. 160 journalists and media workers have been recorded as killed in Gaza by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)'s preliminary invitations as of January 8th, 2025. Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). (2025, January 8) *Journalist casualties in the Israel-Gaza war*. https://cpj.org/2025/01/journalist-casualties-in-the-israel-gaza-conflict/; According to CPJ, this has been the "deadliest period for journalists" since CPJ began data collection in 1992. Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). (2024, November 5) Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory. https://cpj.org/mideast/israel-and-the-occupied-palestinian-territory/
8. Al Jazeera Staff. (2024, September 22). *Israel closes Al Jazeera bureau in Ramallah: All you need to know*. Al Jazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/9/22/israel-closes-al-jazeera-bureau-in-ramallah-all-you-need-to-know
9. Reporters Without Borders (RSF). (2024, October 4). *Pressure, intimidation, and censorship: Israeli journalists have faced growing repression in the past year*. https://rsf.org/en/pressure-intimidation-and-censorship-israeli-journalists-have-faced-growing-repression-past-year
10. Aouragh, M. (2018). Palestine Online: Occupation and Liberation in the Digital Age. In Meikle, G. (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Media and Activism*. (pp. 223–232). Routledge; Aouragh, M. (2016). Hasbara 2.0: Israel's public diplomacy in the digital age. *Middle East Critique*, *25*(3), 271–297; Helga Tawil-Souri. (2012). Digital occupation: Gaza's high-tech enclosure. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *41*(2), 27–43; Kuntsman, A., & Stein, R. L. (2015). *Digital militarism: Israel's occupation in the social media age*. Stanford University Press.
11. Loewenstein, A. (2023) *The Palestine laboratory: How Israel exports the technology of occupation around the world*. New York: Verso; Abraham, Y. (2024, April 3) 'Lavender': The AI machine directing Israel's Bombing Spree in Gaza. *+972Magazine*. https://www.972mag.com/lavender-ai-israeli-army-gaza/
12. Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge, Centre for Lebanese Studies & UNRWA (2024). *Palestinian education under attack in Gaza: Restoration, recovery, rights and responsibilities in and through education*. Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge.
13. Bauer, A.J. (2024, January 25) The myth of the liberal dupe: What the second red scare can teach us about the ongoing Palestine scare. *The Abusable Past*. https://abusablepast.org/the-myth-of-the-liberal-dupe-what-the-second-red-scare-can-teach-us-about-the-ongoing-palestine-scare/
14. Said, E. (1984, February 16). Permission to narrate. *London Review of Books*, Vol 6, No. 3. https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v06/n03/edward-said/permission-to-narrate
15. Butler, J., & Salih, S. (2004). *The Judith Butler reader*. Blackwell Pub.; Césaire, A., & Pinkham, J. (2000). *Discourse on colonialism*. NYU Press; Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press; Ferreira da Silva, D. (2009). No-bodies: Law, raciality and violence. *Griffith Law Review*, *18*(2), 212–236; Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (2014). *Unthinking Eurocentrism multiculturalism and the media* (Second edition). Routledge; Wynter, S. (2003). Unsettling the coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the human, after man, its overrepresentation—An argument. *CR (East Lansing, Mich.)*, *3*(3), 257–337;
16. Johnson, A. & Ali, O. (2024, January 9). *Coverage of Gaza War in the* New York Times *and other major newspapers heavily favored Israel, analysis shows*. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2024/01/09/newspapers-israel-palestine-bias-new-york-times/; MEE Staff. (2024, Nov 3) *Over 100 BBC staff accuse network of pro-Israel bias in Gaza coverage*. Middle East Eye. https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uk-more-100-staff-accuse-bbc-giving-israel-favourable-coverage-over-gaza-war
17. Kumar, D. (2021). *Islamophobia and the politics of empire: Twenty years after 9/11*. Verso Books; Puar, J. K. (2018). *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*. Duke University Press.
18. This is the figure given by the Gaza Media Office as November 11th, 2024: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/number-of-journalists-killed-in-israeli-attacks-on-gaza-rises-to-188/3389506
19. https://cpj.org/2024/11/journalist-casualties-in-the-israel-gaza-conflict/
20. Kerr, D. (2024, April 19). *Google worker says the company is 'silencing our voices' after dozens are fired*. National Public Radio (NPR). https://www.npr.org/2024/04/19/1245757317/google-worker-fired-israel-project-nimbus-cloud-protestor; Sainato, M. (2024, November 2). *Microsoft workers fired over Gaza vigil say company 'crumbled under pressure'*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/nov/02/microsoft-workers-fired-gaza-vigil; Haskins, C. (2024, July 15) *The hidden ties between Google and Amazon's Project Nimbus and Israel's military*. Wired. https://www.wired.com/story/amazon-google-project-nimbus-israel-idf/
21. See A. Bayat's response to Habermas: https://newlinesmag.com/argument/juergen-habermas-contradicts-his-own-ideas-when-it-comes-to-gaza/
22. Elamin, N. (2024). From Palestine to Sudan: Solidarity with our students. *American Anthropologist*. https://www.americananthropologist.org/online-content/from-palestine-to-sudan
23. Baconi, T. (2021, November 5) What apartheid means for Israel. *The New York Review*. https://www-nybooks-com.proxy.library.nyu.edu/online/2021/11/05/what-apartheid-means-for-israel/?srsltid=AfmBOorObgc6mk0bkzdFUNRGsTjMDTxhxryUmKUogL7QR2nLl81lsYQQ; Soske, J., & Jacobs, S. (Eds.). (2015). *Apartheid Israel: The politics of an analogy*. Haymarket Books.
24. Baconi, T. (2018, May 15) What the Gaza protests portend. *The New York Review*. https://www-nybooks-com.proxy.library.nyu.edu/online/2018/05/15/what-the-gaza-protests-portend/?srsltid=AfmBOopym3AxQwrKIw03E5eSkm0-oBmJTgWXTwWm8yGKXMO2OZoBYlNr
25. Guyer, J. (2024, May 12). *How 'Zionist' became a slur on the US left*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/12/how-zionist-became-a-slur-on-the-us-left; Erakat, N. (2019). *Justice for some: law and the question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.
26. Erakat, N., Li, D., & Reynolds, J. (2023). Race, Palestine, and international law. *AJIL Unbound*, *117*, 77–81. Hochberg, G. (2017, Dec 20). This city that isn't one: Fragments on a fragmented city. *Contending Modernities*. https://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/global-currents/fragmented-city/; Hochberg, G. Z. (2015). *Visual occupations: Violence and visibility in a conflict zone*. Duke University Press; Zreik, R., & Dakwar, A. (2020). What's in the apartheid analogy? Palestine/Israel refracted. *Theory & Event*, *23*(3), 664–705; Yiftachel, O. (2023). Deepening apartheid: The political geography of colonizing Israel/Palestine. *Frontiers in Political Science*, *4*.
27. Barghouti, O., Jones, T., & Ransby B. (2024, May 3). *Let us remember the last time students occupied Columbia University*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/article/2024/may/03/columbia-pro-palestinian-protest-south-africa-divestment; Hall A.J. (2024, May 23). *Calls for divestment from apartheid South Africa gave today's pro-Palestinian student activists a blueprint to follow*. The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/calls-for-divestment-from-apartheid-south-africa-gave-todays-pro-palestinian-student-activists-a-blueprint-to-follow-229591

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

28. Jewish Voices for Peace (JVP). (2024). *Our Approach to Zionism*. https://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/resource/zionism/
29. Romero, G. (2024, October 2). *Recommendations for universities worldwide for the second semester of 2024: Safeguarding the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association on campuses in the context of international solidarity with the Palestinian people and victims*. United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures. https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2024/10/universities-must-respect-peaceful-activism-and-revise-repressive-policies
30. New York Times (NYT). (2024, July 22). *Where protesters on U.S. campuses have been arrested or detained*. New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/pro-palestinian-college-protests-encampments.html; Davis, A. (2024) *Angela Davis: Standing with Palestinians*. Hammer & Hope. https://hammerandhope.org/article/angela-davis-palestinians-gaza
31. Palestine Legal & Center for Constitutional Rights (2015). *The Palestine exception to free speech: A movement under attack in the US*. https://palestinelegal.org/the-palestine-exception; American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (2023, November 1). *Open letter to colleges and university leaders: Reject efforts to restrict constitutionally protected speech on campuses*. https://www.aclu.org/documents/open-letter-to-colleges-and-university-leaders-reject-efforts-to-restrict-constitutionally-protected-speech-on-campuses; American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (2018, June 4) *Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2018*. https://www.aclu.org/documents/anti-semitism-awareness-act-2018; IJV Canada. (2020, Sept 4). *IHRA definition at work*. https://www.ijvcanada.org/ihra-definition-at-work/; Stern-Weiner, J. (2021, April) *The politics of a definition: How the IHRA working definition of anti-semitism is being misrepresented*. Free Speech on Israel. https://freespeechonisrael.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/The-Politics-of-a-Definition.pdf
32. Farida Shaheed, (2024, April 25). *Academic freedom: Report of the special rapporteur on the right to education*. Human Rights Council, United Nations. https://www.un.org/unispal/document/academic-freedom-report-250424/
33. For example, in the US and UK, Hindu nationalist organizations will deploy claims of "Hinduphobia" to challenge activism against dominant caste or religious supremacy or critical discussions about Kashmir. Essa, A. (2023). *Hostile homelands: The new alliance between India and Israel*. Pluto Press; Grover, R., & Kuo, R. (2023). Destabilizing race in political communication: Social movements as sites of political imagination. *Political Communication*, *40*(4), 484–503.
34. See for example: Palestinian Feminist Reading List Collective. (2024). *Palestinian feminist reading list*. https://palestinianfeministreading.org/list/
35. American Sociological Association (ASA). (2024). *Resolution for justice in Palestine*. https://www.asanet.org/about/governance-and-leadership/election/resolution-for-justice-in-palestine/; American Studies Association. (2024). *Statement on campus protests and movement for Palestinian freedom*. https://www.theasa.net/about/campus-protest statement; Association for Asian American Studies (AAAS). (2023, Nov 3). *AAAS endorsement of solidarity with Palestine statement*. https://aaastudies.org/endorsements/endorsement-of-solidarity-with-palestine-statement/; American Anthropological Association (AAA). (2024, June 14). *AAA Sections statement on Gaza, Palestine*. https://mes.americananthro.org/category/uncategorized; American Historical Association (AHA). (2025, January 6) *Resolution to Oppose Scholasticide in Gaza*, https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/resolution-for-consideration-at-the-january-2025-business-meeting/
36. Palestine Festival of Literature. (2024, October 28). *1000+ Authors refuse collaboration with complicit Israeli publishers in mass declaration* [Press Release]. https://www.palfest.org/press-release-refusing-complicity
37. Hamelink, C. & Nordenstreng, K. (2022, September). *Basics of IAMCR History*. International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), p. 37. https://iamcr.org/sites/default/files/basics_of_iamcr_1.pdf.
38. Editor's Collective. (2023, December 12). On the censoring of Dr Ahlam Muhtaseb. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *52*(2), 151–152. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00909882.2024.2333090
39. Al-Sabi, A., & Khalifa, A. (2024). Passage: Rehearsals in linguistic returns. *Journal for the Anthropology of North America*.
40. The statement was written by the newly formed Editorial Collective (which includes the Editor of the Journal). This statement *does not* reflect the perspective of the journal's larger editorial board; nor does it reflect the perspective of Oxford University Press, which publishes the journal; nor does it reflect the perspective of the International Communication Association, which sponsors the journal.

Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/ccc/article/18/1/3/7959797 by uwcdentistry user on 26 May 2025

© The Author(s) 2025. Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of International Communication Association. All rights reserved. For commercial re-use, please contact reprints@oup.com for reprints and translation rights for reprints. All other permissions can be obtained through our RightsLink service via the Permissions link on the article page on our site—for further information please contact journals.permissions@oup.com.
Communication, Culture and Critique, 2025, 18, 3–8
https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcae050
Forum