

***The Internationalist Vision of Black Theology and Black Power
Toward a Theology of Solidarity with Palestinians***

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Introduction & Thesisⁱ

In the postscript to her autobiography, revolutionary activist and writer Assata Shakur wrote, “Any community seriously concerned with its own freedom has to be concerned about other peoples’ freedom as well. The victory of oppressed people anywhere in the world is a victory for Black people. Each time one of imperialism’s tentacles is cut off we are closer to liberation.”ⁱⁱ

In August 2014, Palestinian activists demonstrated their concern for Black people’s freedom when they tweeted advice to protestors in Ferguson about how to respond to tear gas. After this striking display of solidarity, historians, scholar-activists, and political scientistsⁱⁱⁱ have sought to highlight the international coalition that’s grown, each scholar deploying their own methodological approaches to make sense of it. If the common aim of solidarity is liberation of the parties involved, as Assata Shakur suggests, it is surprising that liberation theologians, particularly black liberation theologians, have remained relatively silent within the emergent discourse on Black/Palestinian solidarity. The humble attempt of this presentation is to give voice to an incipient Black Protestant Christian theology of solidarity^{iv} that takes seriously this internationalist phenomenon. I will argue that the internationalist vision of James Cone’s *Black Theology and Black Power* provides a model theological vision of transnational solidarity. Indeed, an often-overlooked aspect of Cone’s theological project is his internationalism – that is, his emphasis on the connectedness of struggles in the US and abroad. After highlighting the internationalist features of *Black Theology and Black Power*, I argue that its two indispensable aspects – *radical identification* and God’s *liberative* acts – are theological. From this theological basis, I suggest that Cone’s *radical identification* aspect serves as a constitutive piece for solidarity with victims of racist violence, displacement, and ‘imperial theologies,’ aspects uniting Palestinians, Jews, and Black Americans. However, I also argue, that the norms and paradigms of the ‘liberative’ aspect of Cone’s theological internationalism must constantly remain reclarified and reinterpreted in light of their potential to justify ethnic cleansing and colonialism.

Theological Internationalism: The Internationalist Vision of *Black Theology and Black Power*

Although Dwight N. Hopkins writes that, “James H. Cone was the earliest and has been the most consistent dialogue partner in the discussions between U.S. black theology of liberation and Asian theologies,”^v James Cone did not explicitly mention Palestine in *Black Theology and Black Power* nor within his body of work as a whole. However, his internationalist vision stands in continuity with other black radicals who have connected their struggles with others. The black radical tradition has consistently maintained that liberation is an involved, cooperative and international praxis. Black internationalist strategies for liberation underscore that liberation for black people in the United States is not confined to its borders. The Black freedom struggle is merely one front of a global revolution against imperialism and oppression. Liberation for any oppressed community is liberation for all people.^{vi} This is the basic meaning of Black internationalism, and its spirit is directly responsible for the Black/Palestine coalitional praxis we see today.^{vii}

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Black Theology and Black Power is an internationalist text. In it, Cone claimed that “when blacks hear about any injustice, whether it is committed against black or white, blacks know that their existence is being stripped of its meaning.”^{viii} For Cone, black liberation was not exclusive to Black Americans or the Black Diaspora in general. Liberation for Black people meant liberation for everyone fighting for freedom. He believed that when the oppressed anywhere are resisting their tyrants, they are “expressing solidarity with the human race.”^{ix} Of course, this was a common feature of the Black Power movement and it was particularly integral to the thought of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, whom Cone cited frequently in *Black Theology and Black Power*.^x In fact, Michael Fischbach maintains that Malcolm X and “the Nation of Islam’s internationalist emphasis did much to pave the way for Black Power internationalism and support for the Palestinians later in the 1960s.”^{xi} Malcolm X and other internationalists after him have insisted on making connections with other freedom struggles around the world, a feature evident in Cone’s work as well. In a 1959 visit to the Middle East, Malcolm X stated, “What happens to a black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us...”^{xii} Like Malcolm, Cone relates the black freedom struggle to other contemporary and historical struggles since black theology is identified “with the religionists of the Third World.”^{xiii} For example, he connects the oppression of indigenous people to Black Americans, arguing that “genocide is the logical conclusion of racism. It happened to the American Indians, and there is ample reason to believe that America is prepared to do the same for blacks.”^{xiv}

While Cone stands in continuity with the black internationalist tradition, the ground for his internationalism is theological. For Cone, international solidarity is rooted in 1) *radical identification* with one’s neighbor and 2) God’s will to free all people.^{xv} These two inseparable aspects of Cone’s theological internationalism provide the basis of my own theology of solidarity with Palestine. Regarding *radical identification*, Cone writes that our neighbor’s existence, including the non-Christian, becomes one’s own. Radical identification with one’s neighbor, then, is not about understanding one’s pain on a cognitive level. To radically identify with one’s neighbor is to recognize that what is at stake in our neighbor’s liberation is at stake in our own.

To illustrate how Black Christians radically identify with Palestinians, consider how both communities have had to respond to the crisis of racist theologies. One of the most salient features of Cone’s landmark work was its attempt to counter-identify *black theology* from *white theology*.^{xvi} In chapter three of *Black Theology and Black Power*, Cone attempts to narrate the history of the white church in America to demonstrate why it should not surprise anyone that its members would decry “black power.”^{xvii} However, according to Cone’s Black Theology, the message of the gospel itself is liberation, premised on the God “who emancipated [Israel] from Egyptian bondage and subsequently established a covenant with her at Sinai.”^{xviii} Here, Cone’s paradigmatic text and vision for liberation is the Exodus, God’s act within history to free slaves from bondage toward freedom. On the one hand, this is where Palestinian and Black liberation theologians part ways. Palestinians are often placed within the center of Christian Zionism mythology^{xix}, the belief that God has a special relationship with the ethnic descendants of Abraham, whom are divine heirs of the land through covenant.^{xx} Palestinian liberation theologian, Naim Ateek writes,

The Exodus and the conquest of Canaan are, in the minds of many people, a unified and inseparable theme. For to need an exodus, one must have a promised land. To choose the motif of conquest of the promised land is to invite the need for the oppression, assimilation, control, or dispossession of the indigenous population. That is why it is difficult, in a Palestinian theology of liberation, to find the whole of the Exodus event meaningful.^{xxi}

Stated plainly: if the hermeneutical problem of Black Christianity has been slavery in the Bible, the interpretive challenge for Palestinian Christians has been ethnic cleansing, an oft-truncated aspect of Cone’s liberative paradigm. On the other hand, this is also where they both radically identify with one another. Both Palestinians and Black Christians share a tragic

familiarity with what another Palestinian liberation theologian, Mitri Raheb, refers to as ‘imperial theology,’ or ‘the violation of human rights... set within an ideological and theological framework.’^{xxii} Raheb maintains that empires demand religious justification for the violence they inflict upon their subjects. Raheb’s impulse is similar to Cone’s, who connects the theologies of “state church of Germany during the Third Reich” with “the white church in America.”^{xxiii} Whether it is white racist theology or Christian Zionism, exposing and subverting the accompanying logics (read: theologies) of dominating forces are within the intersecting interests for both Palestinians and Black Christians. In any case, a black theology of solidarity must remain critical of its sources and norms for constructing its vision to reach a holistic liberation. In other words, radically identifying with Palestinians is not enough. One must respond by struggling for liberation. Cone writes, “to accept God’s grace means that because God has acted for all, all men are free- free to respond creatively to that act. It thus becomes the act of Christian love to proclaim the Good News of freedom by actively fighting against all those powers which hold men captive.”^{xxvi}

Many Black theologians after Cone carried the liberationist aspect of theological internationalism and made it explicit with Palestinians. For example, during the 1978 conflict in Southern Lebanon, resolutions from the Black Theology Project, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, and the National Black Pastors Conference were all passed to condemn Israel’s crimes against the Palestinians. *The Black Theology Project* grounds their solidarity statement with Palestinians in their commitment “to the fight for liberation of the oppressed” regardless of regional context, continuing the theological internationalism espoused in *Black Theology and Black Power*. The resolution connects the struggle for Palestinian rights with South Africa. It maintained that “the essence of struggle of the Palestinian people [is] the same as the struggle for freedom of our Black Brothers and Sisters in Southern Africa,” arguing that both Israel and South Africa are “twin regimes of racism and imperialism.”^{xxiv}

Conclusion: Toward a Theology of Solidarity with Palestine

At this particular juncture, it is worth considering a common argument marshaled towards black religious intervention in this particular conflict. This particular argument suggests that whereas Black Christian Zionism espouses a more *explicit* form of Black/Jewish solidarity, black theology has often *implicitly* done so. When James Cone published his systematic theology, *God of the Oppressed*, he made it clear that the basis of his Christological claim that “Jesus is Black” has nothing to do with “some cultural or psychological need of black people, but because and only because Christ really enters into our world where the poor, the despised, and the blacks are...” Rather, Cone’s method for understanding the ministry of Jesus is based on an *historical* reading of him. For Cone, Jesus’ *past* historical situation compels one to positively affirm Jesus’ *present* solidarity and identification with poor and oppressed peoples. Cone maintains that this historical reading of Jesus and his “ontological blackness” takes seriously his *Jewishness*.^{xxv} In other words, Cone assumes that there is self-evident continuity between Jewish suffering and black oppression. Given black liberation theology’s emphasis on the *Jewishness* of Jesus and its Exodus paradigm for liberation, the skeptic asks whether it is possible for black Christians to find resources within their tradition to seek solidarity with Palestinians in their oppression while building alliances with progressive Jews? This doubtful assumption often overlooks the relatively fraught history of the Black-Jewish relationship in the United States^{xxvi} and effaces many Jewish perspectives on black appropriation of the exodus story. In *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*, for example, Cheryl Lynn Greenberg notes that Black appropriation of Exodus did not entail Jewish affection, writing “while slave spirituals such as “I am bound for the land of Canaan” suggest a deeply rooted sense of identity with the children of Israel, this was by and large a connection felt with biblical, not actual, Jews, who, after all, had not given any reason for black people to establish a more current sense of commonality.”^{xxvii}

While many theologians have sought to provide theological clarity to the term

‘solidarity,’^{xxxviii} conceptualizing one with Palestinians must take this upset history of Black-Jewish relationships into consideration for a theorization that proves helpful. I argue that a *black* theological intervention toward peace and solidarity in the Holy Land is helpful where a *white* theological intervention may not be.^{xxxix} Of course, anyone who identifies as ‘Christian’ cannot disassociate themselves from its violent, antisemitic history. However, as many scholars have noted, Palestinian oppression is directly related to Black oppression.^{xxx} Therefore, Black people cannot ‘opt’ out since their liberation is at stake. Moreover, people of color, particularly Black people, are often the most criticized for voicing their political concerns regarding Israel/Palestine.^{xxxi} So while it is important to identify and remain honest and humble about our history of anti-Semitism, we must also anti-black racism and islamophobia just as seriously since all three of them are deeply entrenched within our society and psyche.

And this recognition only underscores the importance of a black theological intervention. Muslims, Jews, and *black* Christians are all victims of racist white theologies which have led to their displacement, harm, and exclusion.^{xxxii} All three groups, drawing from their respective traditions, may find common ground in their assaults on ‘imperial theologies.’ However, the norms of Cone’s theological internationalism – particularly, the Exodus paradigm – will need to constantly be clarified and reinterpreted. In his classic work, *Toward a Jewish Theology of Liberation*, Marc Ellis notes how Christian liberation theologians appropriate the story of Exodus and the Jewish scriptures as a paradigm for imagining liberation, “but contemporary Jews are nowhere to be found in the writings of the theologians.” He argues that this “continues an age-old Christian tradition of seeing the Jewish people as bequeathing the ‘Old Testament’ and Jesus and then disappearing from history, their mission accomplished” and that it contributes to Jewish “historical invisibility.” Avoiding Jewish invisibility, Ellis argues, happens when the Jewish community is in dialogue with liberation theological movements.^{xxxiii} Ellis’ intervention is relevant given that the current emphasis on solidarity between Black and Palestinians can lead to an implicit *exclusive* solidarity. If theorizations of solidarity deploy historical myths of Black/Jewish solidarity^{xxxiv} or maintain solidarity with Palestinians at the exclusion of progressive Jewish allies, then its internationalist focus will remain shortsighted.

To conclude, solidarity is *inclusive, mutual liberation*. From a theologically internationalist perspective, liberation from anti-black racism, islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and their accompanying theologies should be understood as battles waged within a wider war. Therefore, new narratives and theologies of solidarity must be theorized that do not reduce solidarity to a one-dimensional, linear framework: from *one* people group to *another one*. Rather, it should be seen – in this instance – in the form of a dynamic, mutually empowering triangle: Black Americans empowering Jews *and* Palestinians who are empowering Black Americans. However, mutuality should not obfuscate the power dynamics involved in Israel’s racist, colonial violence toward Palestinians. Everyone is not ‘equally’ oppressed. Rather, recent attacks on places of worship – black churches, mosques, and synagogues^{xxxv} – place necessary restraints on one-dimensional analyses that interpret anti-black racism, antisemitism and islamophobia as unconnected struggles. And in this way, to quote Cone, “no one is excluded. Every man [sic] necessarily becomes one’s neighbor; his place in existence becomes ours, including the non-Christian.”^{xxxvi}

Notes

ⁱ The number of redactions this paper has undergone should underscore how indebted I am to several readers. I especially grateful to Professor Dwight Hopkins for graciously agreeing to advise an independent study that explored the concept of solidarity, black theology and the Holy Land. Hopkins also graciously allowed me to present this paper at his Ph.D. group, where I received constructive feedback from Hyein Park, Hector Varela-Rios, David Lattimore, and Vinicius Marinho. My spouse, Dominique, graciously listened to me read this paper through its various stages of development and provided critical feedback related to both content and presentation.

ⁱⁱ Assata Shakur. *Assata: An Autobiography* (Westport, Conn.: L. Hill, 1987), 267.

ⁱⁱⁱ See, for example Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California: 2019); Angela Y. Davis (Angela Yvonne), and Frank Barat, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Haymarket Books, Chicago, IL: 2016); and Alex Lubin. *Geographies of Solidarity: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), respectively.

^{iv} I am indebted to Miriam Attia (Ph.D. Candidate – University of Chicago), who pushed me to be more direct about the *kind* of theological vision I am trying to construct. It is *black* in its attempt to distance itself from both the content, sources, and methods of European Christian theology whose sources have proven inadequate in their attempts to intervene in theological discussions on the Holy Land. It is Protestant Christian since roughly 70+% of all Black Americans identify as Protestant Christian and this is the particular religious locale in which I am doing constructive theological work. Insofar as its possible to set aside one’s religious identity for the purpose of interfaith work (a position I land on), I suggest that is up for each interlocutor to decide. I personally do not think one can. However, inasmuch as one *does* see it as intellectually virtuous, I think prudence demands it. Therefore, because I am unable to set aside my religious identity (Christian) while attempting to construct a theology that demands *interfaith* cooperation, I see the tension/paradox as an always-existing one. Black Christians, like myself, can do nothing *but* construct Christian theologies of solidarity, drawing on the resources most familiar to their traditions. Yet, I do not see these as necessarily foreclosing on interfaith cooperation. Furthermore, I do not think that this *necessarily* means that Christians are setting the terms for solidarity qua solidarity or liberation. Rather, they are constructing their own visions of solidarity which should be in conversation with other Jewish/Muslim/etc. visions of solidarity as well.

^v Dwight N. Hopkins, *Introducing Black Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999), 172.

^{vi} For example, Angela Davis maintains that “the Black radical tradition is related not simply to Black people but to all people who are struggling for freedom.” Angela Y. Davis (Angela Yvonne), and Frank Barat, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Haymarket Books, Chicago, IL: 2016), 39.

^{vii} Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California: 2019), 10.

^{viii} James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (Seabury Press, New York: 1969), 25.

^{ix} *Ibid*, 14.

^x For example: see *Ibid*, 16-18.

^{xi} Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California: 2019), 10.

^{xii} Cited in *Ibid*. 12.

^{xiii} *Ibid*, 135.

^{xiv} James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (Seabury Press, New York: 1969), 75.

^{xv} Ibid, 52.

^{xvi} Cone writes, “there is, then, a desperate need for a *black theology*, a theology whose sole purpose is to apply the freeing power of the gospel to black people under white oppression” *Black Theology and Black Power*, 31.

^{xvii} Cone writes, “in light of this history it is not surprising that the white churchmen have either condemned Black Power, or, as is more often the case, joined the other silent intellectuals in our colleges and universities.”

^{xviii} 44

^{xix} Naim Ateek writes, “The events of the biblical Exodus from Egypt, read in light of an uncritically primitive concept of God, have been transposed by many Jewish religious Zionists and Christian fundamentalists into the twentieth century. This is theologically unacceptable from a Christian point of view. For the Jews who came to establish the State of Israel, their journey to Palestine was an exodus from the different nations where they had been living and a return to the promised land. Obviously, for them the imagery has connected the ancient past and the present. This uncritical transposition, however, makes the Palestinians appear to represent the old Canaanites who were in the land at the time and who *at God’s command* needed to be dispossessed.” Naim Stifan Ateek, *Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989), 86-87.

^{xx} See: Gen 12:1-3, 13:14-17, 15:18-21, 17:7-9

^{xxi} Naim Stifan Ateek, *Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989), 87.

^{xxii} Mitri Raheb, *Faith in the Face of Empire: The Bible Through Palestinian Eyes* (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York:, 2014), 64.

^{xxiii} James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (Seabury Press, New York: 1969), 82.

^{xxiv} For more statements and resolutions, see James Zogby and Jack O’Dell, eds. *Afro-Americans Stand Up for Middle East Peace*. Washington: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1980.

Cone writes, “I begin by asserting once more that Jesus was a Jew. It is on the basis of the soteriological meaning of the particularity of his Jewishness that theology must affirm the Christological significance of Jesus’ present blackness. He is black because he was a Jew. The affirmation of the Black Christ can be understood when the significance of his past Jewishness is related dialectically to the significance of his present blackness. On the one hand, the Jewishness of Jesus located him in the context of the Exodus, thereby connecting his appearance in Palestine with God’s liberation of oppressed Israelites from Egypt. Unless Jesus were truly from Jewish ancestry, it would make little theological sense to say that he is the fulfillment of God’s covenant with Israel. But on the other hand, the blackness of Jesus brings out the soteriological meaning of his Jewishness for our contemporary situation when Jesus’ person is understood in the context of cross and resurrection.”^{xxv} James Cone, *God of the Oppressed* (Orbis: Maryknoll, New York:1971), 134.

^{xxvi} See, for example ““On Black-Jewish Relations” in Cornel West *Race Matters* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 71-79.

^{xxvii} Cheryl Lynn Greenberg. *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 16.

^{xxviii} See, for example, M. Shawn Copeland, *Enfleshing Freedom: body, race, and being* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis: 2010), 92-128; and Jon Sobrino and Juan Hernández Pico. *Theology of Christian Solidarity* (Orbis Books: Maryknoll, NY: 1985).

^{xxix} Lest black Christians are scapegoated as the wedge between the divide, it is important to also focus on Palestinian Christian Outreach efforts - both in the United States and

abroad. Whereas organizations such as Christians United for Israel have taken a more proactive effort in strengthening bonds of solidarity with *Black* churches, many Palestinian Christian organizations have sought the support of *white* evangelical or mainline churches. Diplomacy-related events like *Christ at the Checkpoint* (hosted by Bethlehem Bible College) and *Telos Group* are widely known for their outreach efforts among progressive evangelicals and middle-class whites. As recent as 2018, *Christ at the Checkpoint* launched their newest site for their biannual conference in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma - calling it *Christ at the Checkpoint USA*. Of their eighteen speakers and facilitators, only one of them, Bishop Robert Hayes, was black. *Telos Group* is another organization in the United States whose mission is to “form and equip communities of peacemakers to heal intractable conflict.” Of their core team and board of directors (totaling fifteen), only one, Bishop Ronnie Crudup, is black. Of course, the work that both groups are doing to encourage their respective communities to engage Israel/Palestine is courageous and prophetic. But if these organizations foreclose on the possibility of strengthening solidarity between their respective oppressed populations, their visions will remain incomplete. The need to incorporate black Christians in these peace efforts isn’t to meet a liberal diversity standard. Much like the activists in Ferguson or the Palestinian freedom riders in the Holy Land, the purpose is for historically oppressed communities to learn from one another; strengthening solidarity with each other by enriching each other with strategies, encouragement, and support.

^{xxx} Angela Davis, for example, highlights the Israeli Defense Forces’ training of United States Police Departments on techniques of suppression. She writes that “the Israeli police have been involved in the training of US police. So there is a connection between the US military and the Israeli military. And therefore it means that when we try to organize campaigns in solidarity with Palestine, when we try to challenge the Israeli state, it’s not simply about focusing our struggles elsewhere, in another place. It also has to do with what happens in US communities.” Angela Y. Davis (Angela Yvonne), and Frank Barat, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Haymarket Books, Chicago, IL: 2016), 15; Jeff Halper also documents the specific ways in which the NYPD has learned from Israeli counterterrorism. He writes that the NYPD, “established a secret ‘Demographic Unit’ that sent undercover officers, known as ‘rakers,’ to map the ‘human terrain’ of targeted minority neighborhoods—‘modeled, according to an NYPD source, ‘on how Israeli authorities operate in the West Bank.’” Jeff Halper, *War against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification* (London: PlutoPress, 2015) 260-261.

^{xxxi} Earlier in the year, attention was drawn to *The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute* (BCRI) and their decision to rescind an honor to Angela Davis because of her criticism of Israel and public support for the Palestinians. Just a few months earlier, Marc Lamont Hill was fired from CNN after a speech he delivered at the United Nations in which he called for political action toward a “Free Palestine... from the river to the sea.” In 1979, former civil rights leader and ambassador to the UN Andrew Young was forced to resign from the Carter administration for attempting to broker peace with the PLO, a gesture that violated an outdated agreement prohibiting any type of negotiation.

^{xxxii} I am indebted to the work of Alex Lubin who notes that “each of these groups has carried the scar of racial violence, exclusion, and expulsion that seem to animate the practices of modern nation-states.” Alex Lubin. *Geographies of Solidarity: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 7.

^{xxxiii} Mark Ellis, *Toward a Jewish Theology of Liberation* (Orbis: Maryknoll, New York: 1997), 72. Black and Palestinian theologians have also questioned the efficacy of the Exodus narrative as a model for liberation, noting its inextricable ties to colonialism and ethnic cleansing. For example, Taurean Webb is concerned that the Exodus narrative elides its fulfillment in conquest, but he also argues that the deployment of Exodus within

contemporary political discourse serves to bolster Black/Jewish solidarity myths which come at the expense of Palestinians. Thus, he writes that “it helped establish affinity with another plotline within the movement: the unwavering march of U.S. Jews alongside Black Americans for civil rights.” See Taurean Webb, *Troubling Idols: Black Palestinian solidarity in US Christian Spaces*. *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (Summer 2019), p. 33, ISSN: 0377-919X; electronic ISSN: 1533-8614. Delores Williams also writes, “If one reads the Bible identifying with the non-Hebrews who are female and male slaves (“the oppressed of the oppressed”), one quickly discerns a non-liberative thread running through the Bible. In the Genesis stories about Hagar and Sarah, God seems to be (as some Palestinian Christians today suggest about the God of the Hebrew testament) “partial and discriminating.” Delores S. Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-talk* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 128; Naim Stifan Ateek, *Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989), 87.

^{xxxiv} See Taurean Webb, *Troubling Idols: Black Palestinian Solidarity in US Christian Spaces*.

^{xxxv} Angela Davis writes that, “Islamophobic violence is nurtured by histories of anti-Black racist violence.” Angela Y. Davis (Angela Yvonne), and Frank Barat, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Haymarket Books, Chicago, IL: 2016), 39. A 74-page manifesto left behind by an islamophobic, white supremacist terrorist in New Zealand in the aftermath of the March 2019 Christchurch mosque shooting stated that he was following the example of notorious right-wing extremists, including Dylann Roof, who murdered nine black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., in June of 2015. Similarly, a white nationalist anti-Semite, Greg Bowers, was arrested in October 2018 for a Pittsburgh synagogue shooting.

^{xxxvi} James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (Seabury Press, New York: 1969), 52.

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