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*By Arundhati Roy* 23.01.2024

## India has lost its moral compass



**Sources:** The Journey

I'm not going to talk about the end of the free press in India. Those of us who are here are aware of that. Nor am I going to talk about what has happened to the institutions that are supposed to act as a system of checks and balances in the functioning of our democracy. I've been doing that for 20 years and I'm sure everyone here knows my views.

Coming from North India to Kerala, or pretty much any of the In the southern states, at times it calms me down and at others it puts me on the spot. anxious than the terror with which many of us live in the north, being here It seems far away. It's not as far away as we imagine. If the current regime He returns to power next year, in 2026, the delimitation exercise it will probably disempower all of South India as it will shrink the number of

Members of Parliament to which it is entitled. The Delimitation is not the only threat we face. Federalism, The essential strength of our diverse country is up for auction. The government Central Bank grants itself vast powers, and while this is happening, We are witnessing the painful spectacle of being proudly elected Senior ministers of opposition-ruled states forced to literally beg for the part of the public budget that it corresponds to your state. The most recent blow to federalism was the Supreme Court ruling upholding the repeal of Section 370, which granted semi-autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It is not the only state in India that has special status. It's a serious It is a mistake to imagine that this sentence is only about Kashmir. It affects the fundamental structure of our governmental system.

But today I want to talk about something more urgent. Our country has lost his moral compass. The most heinous crimes, the most horrible Statements calling for genocide and ethnic cleansing are received with applause and political awards. Wealth is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, but, at the same time, by throwing crumbs at the poor, the same powers that impoverish them get their support.

Around the world, the most perplexing enigma of our time is that people seem to be voting to be disempowered. They do it with based on the information they receive. What information it is and who it is Control, that's the poisoned chalice of the modern world. Who's in control Technology controls the world. But, eventually, I think people It cannot and will not be controlled. I think a new generation is Rebel. There will be a revolution. Excuse me, let me rephrase that. There will be Revolutions. Plural.

I said that we, as a country, lost our moral compass. In everything the world, millions of people – Jews, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, communists, atheists, agnostics – march, call for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza. But the streets of our country (which once He was a true friend of the colonized peoples, a true friend of the Palestine, which would once have seen millions marching too) They are silent today. And what a sad display of shortsightedness. While we are witnessing the systematic dismantling of our democracy, and Our land, with its incredible diversity, is forcibly forced into a spurious and narrow idea of nationalism, at least those who intellectuals should know that our country too it could explode.

If we don't speak out about the brazen massacre of Palestinians, we still while being broadcast live, even in the most private breaks of our personal lives, we are complicit in it. Some of our moral beings will be forever altered. Are we just going to stay Standing and watching as homes, hospitals, refugee camps are bombed. refugees, schools, universities

and archives; How they displace millions of people and how they pull dead children out from under the rubble? Gaza's borders are sealed. People don't have Where to go. He has no shelter, no food, no water. United Nations Says that more than half of the population is starving. And yet This is how they bombard them relentlessly. Are we going to stare again how they dehumanize an entire people, to the point that their annihilation does not Matter? The project to dehumanize the Palestinians began not with Benjamin Netanyahu and his team, but decades ago.

In 2002, in the United States, on the first anniversary of 9/11, In September 2001, I gave a lecture called Come, September, at the which I talked about other anniversaries of 9/11 – the coup d'état CIA-backed state in 1973, on that auspicious date, against the President Salvador Allende of Chile; And then the speech, on the 11th of September 1990, George W. Bush Sr., then president of the United States. The United States, before a joint session of Congress, announcing the his government's decision to go to war against Iraq. And then I talked about Palestine. I'll read that section and you'll see that if I hadn't told you it was Written 21 years ago, you'd think it's about today.

9/11 also has a tragic resonance in the Middle East. On September 11, 1922, ignoring Arab fury, the British government proclaimed a mandate in Palestine, following the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which imperial Britain had issued, while its army was massed outside the gates of Gaza. The Balfour Declaration promised European Zionists a national home for the Jews. (At the time, the empire on which the sun never sets was free to snatch and bequeath land, just as a bully at a school distributes marbles.) How irresponsibly the imperial power vivisected ancient civilizations. Palestine and Kashmir are the gifts to the modern world, bitter and soaked in blood. Both are geological faults in today's intense international conflicts.

In 1937 Winston Churchill said of the Palestinians, and I quote: "I do not agree that the dog has the final right to the bowl, even if it has been in it for a long time. I do not accept that right. I do not admit, for example, that great harm has been done to the Red Indians of the United States or to the Negroes of Australia. I do not admit that any harm has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a superior race, a more cosmopolitan race, so to speak, has come and taken their place." That set the tone for the attitude of the State of Israel toward the Palestinians. In 1969, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir said, "Palestinians don't exist." His successor, Prime Minister Levi Eschol said: "What are the Palestinians? When I arrived (in Palestine), there were 250,000 non-Jews, mostly Arabs and Bedouins. It was a desert, more than undeveloped. Nothing." Prime Minister

Menachem Begin called the Palestinians "two-legged beasts." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called them "grasshoppers" who could be crushed. This is the language of heads of state, not the words of ordinary people.

Thus began that terrible myth about the land without a people for a people without land. In 1947 the United Nations formally divided Palestine and allocated 55 percent of Palestine's land to the Zionists. Within a year, they had captured 76 percent. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was declared. Minutes after the statement, the U.S. recognized Israel. The west bank was annexed by Jordan. The Gaza Strip came under Egyptian military control and Palestine formally ceased to exist, except in the minds and hearts of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who became refugees. In 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Over the decades there have been uprisings, wars, intifadas. Tens of thousands of people have lost their lives. Agreements and treaties have been signed. Ceasefires have been declared and violated. But the bloodshed does not stop. Palestine remains illegally occupied. Its people live in inhumane conditions, in virtual Bantustans, where they are subjected to collective punishment, 24-hour curfews, and are humiliated and brutalized on a daily basis. They never know when their homes might be demolished, when their children might be shot, when their precious trees might be cut down, when their roads would be closed, when they would be allowed to walk to the market and buy food and medicine. And when it doesn't. They live without a glimmer of dignity. Not much hope in sight. They have no control over their land, their security, their movements, their communications, their water supply. So when agreements are signed, and words like "autonomy" and even "state" are thrown around, it's always worth asking: What kind of autonomy? What kind of state? What kind of rights will its citizens have? Young Palestinians, who cannot control their anger, transform themselves into human bombs and prowl the streets and public places of Israel, blowing themselves up and killing ordinary people, inject terror into daily life and, over time, reinforce suspicion between the two societies and mutual hatred. Each bombing invites merciless retaliation and even more adversity for the Palestinian people. But, hey, a suicide bomb is an act of individual desperation, not a revolutionary tactic. While Palestinian attacks strike terror into Israeli citizens, they provide the perfect pretext for the Israeli government's daily incursions into Palestinian territory, the perfect excuse for an outdated, 19th-century colonialism masquerading as the latest fashionable "war" of the 21st century. The staunch political and military ally is and always will be the United States.

The U.S. government, along with Israel, has blocked virtually all U.N. resolutions seeking a peaceful and equitable solution to the conflict. It has supported virtually every war Israel has fought. When Israel attacks Palestine, the missiles that destroy Palestinian homes are American. And every year, Israel receives several billion dollars from the United States, taxpayers' money.

Today, all the bombs that Israel drops on civilians, every tank and each bullet, bears the name of the United States. None of this would happen if the U.S. wasn't backing him unconditionally. We all saw what happened at the Council meeting on December 8, when 13 states Members voted for a cease-fire, and the U.S. voted against it. The disturbing video of the deputy U.S. ambassador, a An African-American, raising his hand to veto the resolution, stayed impregnated in our minds. Some bitter commentators on social media They call it intersectional imperialism.

What the U.S. seemed to be saying was: finish the job. But do it with kindness.

What lessons should we draw from this tragic conflict? Is it really impossible for the Jews, who suffered so cruelly themselves, perhaps more cruelly than any other people in history, to comprehend the vulnerability and longing of those who have been displaced? Does extreme suffering always arouse cruelty? What hope does this leave for the human race? What will happen to the Palestinian people in the event of a victory? When a stateless nation finally proclaims a state, what kind of state will it be? What horrors will be perpetrated under their banner? Should we be fighting for a separate state or for the rights to a life of liberty and dignity for all, regardless of ethnicity or religion? Palestine was a secular stronghold in the Middle East. But now, the weak and undemocratic, corrupt, but openly nonsectarian PLO is losing ground to Hamas, which supports an overtly sectarian ideology and fights on behalf of Islam. I quote from his manifesto: "We will be his soldiers and the fuel of his fire, which will set fire to the enemies." The world is called upon to condemn suicide bombings. But can we ignore the long road they've traveled before reaching this destination? From September 11, 1922 to September 11, 2002, 80 years is a long time to fight a war. Is there any advice the world can give to the Palestinian people? Should they just take Golda Meir's recommendation and make a real effort not to exist?

The idea of erasing, of annihilating the Palestinians, is clearly articulated by political and military officials. An Attorney U.S. citizen who filed a lawsuit against the Biden administration for its "failure to prevent genocide" (which in itself is a crime) talked about how rare it is for an attempted genocide to be articulated so clearly and publicly. Once

you've achieved that Goal, maybe the plan is to have museums showcasing culture and crafts Palestine, restaurants that offer ethnic Palestinian food, perhaps a light and sound show showing how lively the Old Man was Gaza, in the new Port of Gaza, at the head of the Ben Gurion, which they supposedly plan, to compete with the Suez. Exploration contracts are reportedly already being signed oil companies at sea.

Twenty-one years ago, when I read Come, September, in New Mexico, there was a kind of omertà in the United States with regard to Palestine. Those who spoke out on the subject paid a huge price for doing so. Today, young people are in the streets, led by Jews and Jews. Palestinians, furious with what their government, the U.S. government, is doing. Universities, even the most elite ones, are seething with wrath. Capitalism is moving fast to silence them. Donors threaten to withhold the funds, and, in this way, decide what the U.S. students may or may not say, or how they may or may not think. A shot to the heart of the call's founding principles liberal education. Farewell to any pretense of postcolonialism, multiculturalism, international law, the Geneva Conventions, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Goodbye to any pretense of free expression or public morality. A "war" than lawyers and academics specializing in law say that it has all the characteristics of a genocide. In it, the perpetrators have put themselves in the role of victims, the colonizers who run an apartheid state have put in the role of the oppressed. In the U.S., if you question This is accused of anti-Semitism, even though it is Jews who do it. Question. It's mind-blowing. Nor Israel (where Israeli citizens Dissidents such as Gideon Levy are the most expert and incisive critics of Israel's actions) controls the freedom of expression of the form than the U.S. does (although that's also changing quickly). In the U.S., talking about the intifada (uprising, resistance), in this case, against genocide, against Its own annulment is considered a call for the genocide of the Jews. Apparently, the only moral thing that Palestinian civilians What they can do is die. The only legal thing that the rest of us What you can do is watch them die. And be silent. If not, we take a risk our scholarships, lecture fees, and support.

After 9/11, the U.S. war on terror pretext for regimes around the world to dismantle human rights and to build a complex and invasive surveillance apparatus with That our governments know all about us and us We know nothing about them. Similarly, under the umbrella of the In the new American McCarthyism, monstrous things grow and flourish in the United States. countries around the world. In our country, of course, it started years ago. But Unless we speak out, it will gain momentum and eliminate us. Yesterday it was reported that Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, some India's top universities, issued new

rules conduct for students. A fine of 20 thousand rupees to any student to go on a dharna

or a hunger strike. And 10 thousand rupees for "anti-national slogans". There's no list yet

of what those are slogans, but we can be pretty sure that we make a call genocide and

ethnic cleansing of Muslims will not be Included. So, the battle in Palestine is ours too.

What remains to be said must be said – repeated – clearly.

The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the siege of Gaza are crimes against

humanity. The U.S. and other countries that They finance the occupation, they are

accomplices to crime. The horror we're in witnessing right now, the unconscionable

massacre of civilians by Hamas and by Israel, are the result of siege and occupation.

No amount of opinions about cruelty, no amount of condemnations of the excesses

committed by both sides, and none number of false equivalences about the scale of these

atrocities, will lead to a solution.

The occupation is breeding this monstrosity. Violence to the perpetrators and victims. The

victims are dead. The Perpetrators will have to live with what they have done. As well as

their children. For generations.

The solution cannot be military. It can only be politics, in which Israelis and Palestinians

live together or side by side, in dignity, with equal rights. The world must intervene. The

occupation must end. The Palestinians must have a viable country. And Palestinian

refugees must have the right of return.

If not, the moral architecture of Western liberalism will cease to exist. to exist. He was

always a hypocrite, we know. But even that offered some kind of shelter. That refuge is

disappearing in front of our eyes.

So, please, for the sake of Palestine and Israel, for the sake of the living and in the name of

the dead, for the sake of the abductees held by Hamas and Palestinians in Israeli prisons,

for For the good of all humanity, stop this slaughter.

Again, thank you for choosing me for this honor. Thank you, too, for the 300,000 rupees

that come with the prize. They won't stay with me. The I will assign the activists and

journalists who continue to fight to a huge cost to them.

Translation: **Tania Molina Ramírez**.

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