Cracks in the Separation Wall: Resisting Security and Global Problems of Truth in Khaled Jarrar's Film *Infiltrators (*متسللون*)*

Jared Gee

University of California, Riverside, The United States

> "There exists, in our Western idea of belief, an irreducible mistrust of the image in general and the filmed image in particular. This can be interpreted as a form of archaism, the idea that only perception, speech, or writing in their real presence have the right to belief, are credible."
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> Jacques Derrida, "Cinema and its Ghosts"

1. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

In 2018 Khaled Jarrar, a Palestinian artist, walked down Wall Street in New York City with a large transparent box that hung in front of him connected to a strap around his neck. Exhibiting one of his only works of art that does not directly deal with the separation wall in Palestine, the box displayed numerous small vials of his own blood, each priced according to the cost of one share of stock from companies that continue to partner with the U.S. government in the production of military machinery for global use. Pricing the first vial at $19.48 to match the price of Smith and Wesson stock at the time, but also naming the year of the Nakba (النكبة), the date of the establishment of Israel and the expulsion of Palestinians from their land, Jarrar's performance art locates the Zionist settler-colonization of Palestine as a project that aligns with and is supported by the military-industrial complex and the contemporary forces of global security. His work exemplifies the high price of global security, which is, quite literally, his own blood.[1]

Known for a series of art exhibitions and a documentary film that confronts Zionist settler-colonialism, Jarrar's art displays both the violence of life under occupation and the subjugating differences and divisions produced by barriers, checkpoints, and militarized borders.[2] Jarrar's documentary film, "*Infiltrators" (*متسللون*)*, repetitively displays the many crossings and climbing of the separation wall that Palestinians undertake every day. The plot summary and description of Jarrar's film on the International Movie and Film Database, a

predominantly Hollywood enterprise, describes the film as displaying an ongoing game of cat and mouse, of occupied subjects crawling over walls, through cracks and secret openings, while being continually chased (IMDb). The description points exactly towards what the film exposes and critiques—that old, colonial tropes attempt to ongoingly configure those on the receiving end of contemporary security and settler-colonialism. Yet, each crosser interviewed in the film crosses to receive medical care, to visit loved ones, to pray in Jerusalem, or to find work, displaying very human needs.

Juxtaposing the intensely human desire to cross the wall against a number of dehumanizing visual scenes where Palestinian crossers are hunted by Israeli security as in a safari, the film wages a critique of contemporary security. Situating the film within the tradition of Palestinian roadblock cinema, which continually demonstrates responses to the imposed limitation of movement and links the film and struggles of Palestinian life to a notion of global Palestine, this article argues that the film displays the separation wall as a symbol of global security that cannot function in its intended way—as either an annexation barrier or a separation wall. As a result, the film produces a series of resistant displays that fight against the hunting game of Israeli surveillance, intervening upon global discourses and what will be referred to as the truth-problem of security.

The concept of security forms an overarching theoretical and tactical global paradigm, and within it the concept of "Global Palestine" functions as a key symbol, a source of solidarity, and a resistance movement. Always attempting to protect empire, security derives from the Latin *securitas/securus* and from the words *sine* and *curas,* meaning without care or attention, without anxiety or worry (Hamilton 5). When such a concept is linked to both a state and to individuals, it functions as what Mark Neocleous refers to as a technique for legitimating a regime, where the state takes "carte blanche powers" to extend, uphold, and protect itself in order to produce a state of personal and national being without worry or anxiety about stability, threat, invasion, or political unrest (Neocleous 13). Yet this system of tactics and language must continually persuade and justify itself to the population, proliferating a series of truth-effects to support its local and international interventions.

Drawing upon this notion of security requires anchoring the status and functioning of truth as the accompaniment to the display of power. Following Foucault, every exercise of power is accompanied by a discursive economy of truth that functions through and on behalf of that power (*Power/Knowledge* 93). Often pushing truth upon discourses that themselves are not simply true or false, the politics of truth are evident in every state-formation and regime, are anchored within a series of political and social institutions, and are diffused broadly in the political and social economy (Foucault, *Dits et écrits*

112-113).[3] The security apparatus perpetuates Orientalist and animalizing language with reference to the Middle East and to Palestinians not only in an ideological sense but as a broader capitalist, social, and intellectual system. Global security relies on these notions of truth to instantiate and justify its militaristic interventions and settler-colonial occupation.

Situating Jarrar's roadblock film as a response to the mechanisms of global security and its regime of truth links the film and Palestinian resistance to various global movements of decolonization, to what John Collins refers to as Global Palestine. Moving beyond a nation-state approach to resistance and away from binary logics of the East/West or terrorist/rational, Global Palestine stands against the many economies of surveillance, territorialization, and occupation that security and the global economy push upon the world (Collins x). Linking the status of Global Palestine to a series of past and current liberation movements around the world—to decolonial wars, LGBTQ+ activism, Black Lives Matter and anti-racist protest, Indigenous and Native American decolonial movements, anti-carceral/prison movements, Feminist movements, Occupy Wallstreet, anti-surveillance and policing, and fights against unlivable wages and global worker exploitation—situates the settler-colonial occupation of Palestine within a long legacy of global emergencies and securitizing violations. In this way, Palestinian resistance to settler-colonial occupation corresponds to movements around the world that resist multiple tactics and scenes from the same system. Zionist settler-colonialism cannot be removed from the war on terror and neocolonial interventions and wars, while local struggles of resistance become global movements of decolonization. Global Palestine has become a unifying force that creates, following John Collins, "new bonds of solidarity as an antidote to the atomizing effects of a global corporate-military complex (Collins 5).

2. Security and the Language of Terror

In late November-early December 2001, just after 9/11, Ariel Sharon made what Derek Gregory calls a "solidarity visit" to Ground Zero and the Bush administration (184). During this visit two suicide bombs and a car bomb struck West Jerusalem, followed by a suicide bomb in Haifa that killed 11 Israelis and injured 170. In response, "Sharon insisted that the weekend's events had made it clear that America and Israel were engaged in the same war on terrorism" (Gregory 184). Israel quickly intensified attacks on the West Bank.[4] With increased military action linked to, justified by, and supported by the new U.S. War on Terror, Israeli military action throughout the Second Intifada (انتفاضة الأقصى) led to Operation Defensive Shield, where the Israeli Defense Force (encircled numerous Palestinian cities to curb

resistance, and to the massacre of Palestinians at the Jenin refugee camp in 2002. With engaged U.S. support throughout the Second Intifada (انتفاضة الأقصى), Israel was now a part of the global War on Terror, finding widespread justification for its invasions, occupations, and settlements.

Just two months after the Jenin massacre in 2002 and hoping to mimic the electrified and walled prison of Gaza, Israel began construction on the annexation and separation wall throughout the West Bank. Israel, in its self-described state as the only democracy in the Middle East and by aligning itself with the global security apparatus, claimed it must protect itself and its borders in the same way that the U.S. claims to protect itself at its borders (Brown 34). While the International Court of Justice of the United Nations has stated that the wall is a violation of Israel's international obligations under international law, it has been positioned as a primary symbol of the global security apparatus.[5] Denijal Jegic states that the wall represents a symbol of not only Israeli imperialism but of U.S. imperialism as well, because it "masks colonial violence as anti-terrorism measures" (19).

Israel refers to the separation and annexation wall as a "security fence," "security barrier," or even the "Jerusalem Envelope," locating its necessity, despite its illegality in international law, to fight "terrorism" and "suicide bombings."[6] In Arabic the wall has a number of common names: *jidār al-faṣl al-'unsurī* (جدار الفصل العنصري), "the wall of racist separation," sometimes translated into "the apartheid wall"; *jidār al-ḍamm* (جدار الضم), "the annexation wall"; and *jidār al-'āzl (*جدار االعازل), "barrier or separation wall." Despite the numerous Arabic references to the wall, which call to racism, separation, and annexation, Achille Mbembe states that even the designation of the wall in these ways cannot fully convey the metaphysical and existential foundations that Zionist settler-colonialism rests upon, given Israel's claim to a religious right to the land (Necro 44). The metaphysical claims that Israel makes attempt to sediment and naturalize Palestinians as "terrorists," destroyers of "democracy," and "enemies of Western values." The naturalization of these claims, which are built upon a language of violence, exemplifies the way in which the security apparatus attempts to produce a truth so that it can continue to act.

The solidification of language around Israeli occupation, and by framing Palestinians as enemies of freedom and destroyers of Western values anchors truth-effects globally, legitimating military occupation and annexation as movements in conjunction with the War on Terror.[7] The language that supports Israeli expansion and occupation alongside post-9/11 discourses on "terrorism," following Mbembe, justifies the violence of its universalizing mission while attempting to convert violence into permanent authority with the intent for further expansion

(*Postcolony* 25). Similar to the way the Trump administration in the U.S. has referred to Mexicans who cross the border illegally as "rapists" and "criminals," or the ongoing language around Muslims as a "savage threat" to U.S. ideals, the Palestinians face a series of animalizing language and actions that attempt to position them as "key threats" to globalization and security. Further, the Law of Prevention of Infiltration, which was established by Israel in 1954 and continues today, named any expelled Palestinians who claimed a right of return as illegal "Infiltrators," who could be detained anywhere from three years to life. The law has been amended numerous times from 2012 to the present day, reducing the detainment terms and adding an additional focus on African asylum seekers.[8] The title of Jarrar's film directly references this language and these returns.

The global and U.S.-centered drive against "terrorism" and "irrational threats" to Western values, following Steven Salaita, requires positioning the U.S. as "a progenitor of Israeli oppression and thus a necessary site of analytic and political engagement" (Salaita 54). Today the series of discourses produced and waged about Palestinians attempts to discredit their views with cooperating governments and the media so as to maintain their status as "uncivilized" people that must be either assimilated, contained, or imprisoned.[9] Deemed "inassimilable cultures" today, according to Wendy Brown, their land often becomes an acceptable target for walled-off segregation as global and economic lines attempt to justify walls in economically desperate areas (33). Such violence is commonly viewed as an act of protective maintenance and as possible growth for the global economy. As Edward Said noted in *A Question of Palestine,* Zionism always seeks to speak for Palestine and the Palestinians on the world stage (39).

The "civilizing" discourses that function around security intend to have a number of public and individual effects aimed at garnering acceptance and enforcement. Gil Hochberg states that security discourses produce a "prism of fear," which allows even the most violently oppressive political situations to be understood as a defense of threat. Such perspectives allow individuals to maintain deep fantasies of possible threat despite the oppressive qualities of life their institutions enact. She states that "seen through this prism of fear, even the image of an armed Israeli soldier pointing a gun at a group of young Palestinian children is seen as an image of self-defense" (8). The problematic military and psychological systems that condone such tactics speak broadly to the ways in which security produces a truth problem, where information, ideas, and fantasies are realized through militarized actions despite their inability to be factually grounded.

3. Roadblock Cinema and *Infiltrators (*متسللون*)*

While in Hollywood road trip movies the characters turn onto a freeway and drive for hours or even days to symbolize the freedom of the open road in an act of self-exploration and discovery, Palestinian roadblock films comment on the impossibility of such symbols of freedom. Continually exposing the numerous checkpoints, borders, walls, and military interruptions throughout life in Palestine, these films demonstrate the impossibility of wandering and driving as an act of growth. Roadblock cinema has an intensive focus on the continual interruptions and frustrations of daily life. They emphasize the common traumas of ongoing encounters with structural and social frustrations.

As checkpoints and roadblocks proliferated during the Second Intifada, post 9/11, the roadblock film genre flourished. There are a number of films that mark this style of Palestinian cinema: Hany Abu-Assad's films *Paradise Now (*الجنّة الآن*); Omar (*عمر*); Ford Transit;* and *Rana's Wedding (*القدس في يوم آخر*)* are all known as roadblock films. Anne Marie Jacir's *Like Twenty Impossibles (*كأننا عشرون مستحيل*); Wājib (*واجب*);* and *Salt of this Sea (*ملح هذا البحر*);* each engages with numerous roadblocks. Sobhi Al-Zobaidi's *Crossing Qalandia (*عبور قلنديا*)*; Khleifi and Sivan's *Route 181: Fragments of a Journey*; Suleiman's *Divine Intervention (*يد إلهية*),* as well as Khaled Jarrar's *Infiltrators (*متسللون*)* are also well known roadblock films. The 2021 Oscar-nominated short film *The Present (*الهدية*),* directed by Farah Nabulsi, too, can be considered a roadblock film.

The films have an intensive focus on the experience of the protagonists, often taking place within one day or an otherwise short timeframe. This intensive focus on daily life slows down the sense of time, calling forth the never-ending frustration of occupation. However, the continual interruptions and the slow pace, which almost completely foreclose upon change or liberation, take, following Ghertz and Khleifi, small details in isolation and create symbols of wholeness — "a synecdochic substitute for the broad landscape of the past" (Gertz and Khleifi 159). Despite the heightened sense of frustration and time, roadblock films continually attempt to unify and symbolize a homeland and identity. The necessity of overcoming numerous daily setbacks produces memories of an uninterrupted and free past while holding a vision of hope for the future. While each roadblock film is individualized and self-contained, their symbolic and critical commentary exceed their physical boundaries.

Nadia Yaqub locates being "on the road" not just as a feature of roadblock films but as constitutive of Palestinian identity. Since the mass exodus caused by the Nakba (النكبة), which created many refugees and exiled Palestinians, "liminal spaces," she states, like the road or the vehicle—but also the checkpoint—transcend the limitations of the

present (Yaqub 306). Yet, Yaqub describes roadblock films as displaying the determination to move despite the obstacles, which then produces travel as a "polity-building practice and a tool for maintaining social ties, and of the road and its vehicles as spaces for sociability" (Yaqub 312). Addressing roadblock films in this way—as resistance films—alters "epistemological and discursive prisons" that have been imposed upon Palestine (Collins 145). And Eliza Crespis states that, despite the ongoing interruption and fragmentation of roadblocks, the films often display "national continuance" through ongoing "social ritual" like weddings and social gatherings (Crespis 11). Further, Helga Tawil-Souri calls the ongoing determination to overcome these obstacles "pervasive fluidities" that are maintained despite the carceral nature of the occupation. The fluidities refuse the binary logic that the wall, roadblocks, or barriers attempt to create (Tawil-Souri 181).

The epistemological, discursive, and physically reactive changes that are produced in resisting binary and carceral concepts call to global forms of unity and resistance. Locating roadblock films as the flip-side to the Hollywood road trip genre already acknowledges the impossibility of separating Palestinian resistance from not only global forms of media, technology, and capitalist accumulation, but also from the global security apparatus more broadly. Kay Dickenson states that roadblock cinema strategically forges international and global resistant connections to pull global viewers in, producing commonalities and affinities between us (Dickinson 83).

While Khaled Jarrar's *Infiltrators* (متسللون) displays the continual and ongoing repetitive interruption of the wall often seen in roadblock films, his documentary also demonstrates the ongoing violation of the wall through its intense focus on Palestinian crossers. Jarrar's film refuses enclosure so as to challenge closed meanings and false truths about Palestinians and settler-colonial occupation. Refusing to let documentary form and wars of truth limit the possibility for meaning or resistance, the dynamics of the film and its repetitive focus on crossing the wall finds at least a temporary sense of freedom. While the roadblock film continually calls to the global and collective need to decolonize, Jarrar's film seeks, both literally and symbolically, to move through and beyond the limitations of the primary and symbolic roadblock in Palestine—the wall—refusing its structural integrity while violating the colonized and securitized identities the settler-colonial occupation seeks to produce. Jarrar's film repeatedly approaches the brink of complete enclosure and ruptures it.

Given the symbolic status and global visibility of the wall, the film fights against settler-colonial and securitizing narratives of history and truth, calling into question the security tactics that seek to maintain oppressive discourses on Palestinians. Yet, as Kamran Rastegar states, if Elia Suleiman's famous Palestinian films stage the absurd scene of

purgatorio since 1948, then Jarrar's film demonstrates that this brutal scene and its production have a series of cracks and crannies in it that only emerge after repeated and ongoing bursts of life and refusal (110). Focusing strictly on scenes of crossing the wall, Jarrar exposes a colonial metaphorics, not so that Palestinian dehumanization can be accepted, but rather to disrupt the divisions of the security apparatus itself and to violate the symbolic and literal functioning of the wall. In confining the images and movements to the repetitive crossing of the wall, Jarrar forces juxtapositions that provoke resistant thought and agency around security, truth, and settler-colonialism. In this way the film offers a series of conceptual interventions built out from the brutal architecture of settler-colonialism and annexation while refusing to accept them as a formal limitation upon movement or meaning. While Jarrar does not use the camera to avoid the sense of confinement, his film, as a resistance film, produces movement and identity beyond the limits of roadblocks and settler-colonialism, forging global ties and resisting the "truth" narratives that the security apparatus pushes worldwide. The film exposes the game of colonial truth production while ongoingly violating it.

Immediately as the film begins, Jarrar illuminates the lack of stability, the intense and ongoing risk in crossing the wall, and to the animalization incurred under settler-colonialism and securitization. In the opening scene Jarrar and a group of Palestinians run from a street, across a small field, and to the base of the wall where they will try to cross. The shaky shots in this opening scene are dark and obstructed by streaks of light that bounce around the frame. More focused on the mission than the shot, and certain not to display the identity of the crossers within the film or put them at risk of arrest, the shaky footage displays the ongoing necessity of constant motion amidst the ongoing risk of capture. Attempting to avoid any visibility or constant light upon their attempted crossing, the movement and visual interruptions betray the possibility of stability within the life of the crossers. This movement, lack of staged lighting, and the refusal to set up a clear shot emphasize risk and the uncertainty of success, as arrest and the possibility of violence looms.

Jarrar, who holds the shaky camera, runs alongside the crossers, and while he does not visually appear in the film as a character or subject, he actively participates in and helps with the crossings until they find success or failure. Jarrar positions himself and the film as producers of transgressions as much as accomplices, pulling the viewer into the scene of interruption and violation, forcing us to ask about our own roles in global security. Jarrar's life is as much at risk as the crossers' lives. He keeps watch, documenting any situations that go wrong in case recourse need be taken. His film doubles as both a resistance film and as evidence of the possible violence that the crossers may face if caught.

When the crossers approach the wall and begin climbing, they first use a small ladder, not long enough to get them over the eight-meter wall, followed by a rope to hoist themselves to the top. As they progress, we see one man standing on top of the wall to help others over, watching for the possible arrival of the Israeli military. This image visually demonstrates to the viewer that he is a clear and visible target for the Israeli soldiers that patrol the area. Within seconds some of the men cross, but only just before the Israeli military approaches by vehicle from afar. Those that did not make it over must turn around and run back across the field to escape, demonstrating the hunting game that will follow. Jarrar is one of the runners, and his camera shakes again as he runs, losing any coherent shot while they attempt to move towards safety.

In this opening scene, the stakes of the film are immediately exposed in two ways—that the wall, both physically and symbolically, cannot withhold a people, as they will cross anyway; and that exposing this targeting and entrapment refuses the dehumanizing, Israeli securitizing gaze. The shaky camera and the hunting scenes resist Israeli surveillance through a display of the humanity of daily Palestinian life. The scene also marks the repetitive nature of the film where crossings take place again and again, sometimes with success and sometimes ending in arrest and capture by Israeli soldiers. Yet, they continue every day. While applying Freud's concept of repetition-compulsion in this scenario would link Palestinian crossing to a futile, symptom-led action stuck in the past, the repetitive crossing in Jarrar's film builds anew, establishing rhizomatic connections not just between crossers but on a global scale (Deleuze, *Mille Plateaux* 11).[10] Following Deleuze, the repetition is poetic in its refusal of, and fight against, Palestinians as securitized beings. Rather, it serves to destabilize rigid and oppressive identities in each crossing attempt. In this repetition the film establishes a concrete and visible link to movements around the world to say that repetitive and strategic force actually breaks through the walls and limits of security (Deleuze, *Différence* 75).[11]

Jarrar has, however, received criticism for his choices of juxtapositions in the film, for displaying Palestinians participating in illegal controversial representations. He responds: "But I want to show them as human. This is normality. Why should I show Palestinians as superheroes? We are not superheroes, believe me. We just want freedom" (Sender Interview). Jarrar establishes this risky yet strategic behavior as normal for life in the West Bank, and in doing so demonstrates the effacement of settler-colonial identity production alongside its resistant refusal. Emphasizing the everyday commonality of being tracked, hunted, and animalized while attempting to receive basic human needs like medical care and family visits, Jarrar states his broader goals with the film and his work more generally: "I'm really

destroying the idea that this wall is for security reasons. So many people manage to enter Jerusalem and none of them are suicide bombers, they are people looking for life" (George Interview). The animalizing scenario of the wall and Israeli settler-colonialism becomes juxtaposed with the persistent humanity and desire for freedom and unobstructed Palestinian life. Through the intense focus on crossing the wall, he exposes false narratives about Palestinians within contemporary security and settler-colonialism. As Mbembe states, under settler-colonialism the production of subjects as colonial objects is always close by but never fully accepted (Necro 47). Jarrar's film takes up this very issue through resistance and the contestation of security and its false ideas of truth.

4. *Infiltrators* (متسللون) and the Hunting Game of Israeli Surveillance

Jarrar's film continually critiques the matrix of surveillance through resisting the Israeli gaze. With the intensive visual surveillance technology on the wall and many surveillance technologies used throughout Palestine, Stephen Graham states that Israel, as the quintessential "surveillance-security state," has been celebrated for its surveillance technology, exporting its tactics and technology around the world, furthering the call to a global Palestinian resistance movement as an anti-security movement (Graham 137).[12] Eyal Weizman has laid out the complex matrix of Israel's surveillance system, which is territorial, institutional, and embedded in a continual development of architecture and urban planning (Weizman, 142). Surveillance and the Israeli gaze are enacted through visual and spatial interruptions at checkpoints, to constant checking of identity cards, and even to social policing subjects, who enforce what Elia Zureik calls the "civic gaze" (Zuriek, 17). The intensity and complexity of this surveillance scene demonstrates the problem of visuality that Jarrar's film exposes, critiques, and resists. The film exposes the dehumanization of the surveillance state while reflecting back an avoidance of its subjectivizing gaze, showing Palestinian agency while exposing the faults in the apparatus.

Jarrar, in his film, is careful to expose and resist the forces of this architecture, electronic surveillance, and mapping by the Israeli gaze. Throughout the film, Jarrar exposes visibility as a politicized and dangerous scenario, complicating what it means to be seen. The Israeli gaze produces an animalization while Jarrar's display of the crossers in the film, whose behavior is illegal according to Israeli law, produces a humanization. Simultaneously, the animalizing metaphors and Israeli tracking intensifies throughout the film as military vehicles loom in the background, surveillance cameras and panopticon stations line the wall, and captures are made. While Jarrar presents a cinema of

resistance, visibility by the occupier is displayed as a surveillance-based hunting game.

Displaying the continual crossings under the Israeli gaze, the film reclaims the politicization of visibility, producing a reflexive, visual scene. Jarrar emphasizes the refusal to accept truth production on a global scale, demonstrating the impossibility of being trapped within animalizing production, while producing a film to be circulated globally. In confronting the politics of visibility and its divide within the violence of securitization, Jarrar presents a refusal of settler-colonialism and a confrontation of the politics of truth, while linking the need to cross the wall into Jerusalem with the most human needs.

There are many wide shots in the film of lone Israeli soldiers perusing the horizon from afar for Palestinian crossers. As they direct their gaze upon the area surrounding the wall, they look as if they are on a safari or a hunting expedition, hoping to take their prey by surprise. At the fourteen-minute mark, men are crossing the wall, and Jarrar films from below. Like most crossers, they are largely unable to see what awaits them on the other side, and they must slowly, one by one, climb up the constructed, wooden ladder. The first person becomes the lookout, assessing their safety from Israeli military. Once Jarrar is atop the wall, he shows a distant and rugged landscape, a few trees, tall yellow grass, and an Israeli military truck traversing the difficult terrain. The wide-open landscape assures a long and broad view. A soldier walks into the shot from the right carrying a machine gun, walking back to the truck from his individual tracking of Palestinians. He had just branched off to further track, as though he were searching for animal tracks or other debris. The soldiers reunite, coming together to assess their path as they continue moving towards the wall, the end goal being the capture of prey. This hunting game serves as the ongoing threat that haunts the drive to meet human needs.

Jarrar's many wide shots of the open area surrounding the wall also display the possible freedom beyond the limited movement allowed and the broad and encompassing grasp of Israeli surveillance. The open range of visibility that allows Israeli soldiers to surveil and target crossers is also a symbol of freedom and a path of resistance against settler-colonialism. These repeating wide shots hold onto another possible vision beyond the limitations displayed in roadblock films. Homi K. Bhabha argues that, even though colonial power is always visible, the discourses and structure of governmentality opens up a non-reflective space in the colonized. Even though the contemporary security infrastructure is highly technologized and capable of sending images and narratives around the globe, the surveillance and discursive practices still cannot stabilize the colonized and securitized subject, and they do not reflect back the vision placed upon them (Bhabha 76). Jarrar often films from the top of the wall, showing both the vastness and emptiness of the surrounding land,

reflecting a split concept of Palestinian subjects. One is a vision of freedom, or of the beyond, built by the yearning possibility for movement and humane treatment, for a reclamation of land as is so often demonstrated in roadblock films. The other represents the open and vast range of animalizing visuality within the security apparatus. Despite the demonstrated obsession of the securitizing gaze in Jarrar's film and the dehumanizing display of safari and of hunting, it cannot stabilize their prey.

Just before the sixteen-minute mark, Jarrar films from the top of the wall. He has not crossed, but a group of men climb and cross the wall. As Jarrar climbs, the landscape surrounding the wall stands in stark contrast to the ongoing checkpoints, roadblocks, and the winding obstruction of the wall throughout the West Bank. The stakes of crossing are elaborated in this field of vision that is continually pushing against and trying to elude the securitizing gaze. We hear sirens and see a Palestinian man running from an armed Israeli soldier while a few other Palestinians who successfully crossed make their way up a hill to safety. Carrying a machine gun, the soldier's possible violence is clear, and the Palestinian being chased is quickly caught. The hunters have made a capture, and Jarrar affirms the ever-present possible effects of the securitizing gaze, which can take one's life for the possibility of freedom and return. Jarrar then cuts to a shot from afar looking up towards the top of the hill where the Israeli soldiers post for optimum viewing and surveillance, demonstrating the God's-eye view of surveillance ready to destroy the hope for freedom.

This scene is not the only capture shown. At the twenty-one minute mark, three Palestinian men are already on the other side of the wall walking through the rugged land that surrounds the wall as an Israeli military jeep arrives. The men put their hands up in surrender. A helicopter appears, furthering the surveillance of the hunt. And at the forty-five-minute mark, just towards the end of the film, a group attempts to cross at night a section of the wall that borders a busy freeway. Crossing this freeway had previously resulted in death. A number of men cross with success, until drivers on the freeway spot them and call the Israeli military, who quickly arrive and catch a crosser. Unaware that Jarrar was filming from just over the wall, the soldier has his gun loaded, pushes the Palestinian young man down, and kicks him in the head. They arrest him, drive to the other side of the wall where the man crossed, and burn the ladder and rope they used. The soldiers stand back and watch it burn, ending the film with the symbolic gesture of a fire, destroying Palestinian mobility and the possibility of freedom. This capture, physical violence, and further imprisonment serve as reiterative attempts at securitization and animalization, of stabilizing colonial identities, yet they are countered with human desire and need.

Just after the first crossing in the film, Jarrar cuts to one of many checkpoints where Palestinian women and children are surrounded by bars and gated entrances in a separate line from the men, slowly making their way through the checkpoint to cross legally into Jerusalem. Women in Palestine are often over-burdened with family and household duties as their husbands cross to work in Jerusalem. Despite Israel depending on male Palestinian wage labor, women often bear the brunt of the one-woman and child or children at home situation inflicted upon families of male workers who cross legally. Griffiths and Repo state that with the bureaucracy and militarization of the checkpoints, women are often left home from the early hours until late at night and, as a result, are restricted and regulated from family, cultural, and economic life (1104). Jarrar films these women from outside the bars, emphasizing the multiple states of their imprisonment as part of daily life, as each woman moves slowly, one by one, down the bar-lined path, and through the squeaky, rotating exit gate.

The ordered and calculated movements of the women behind bars at the checkpoint stand in stark contrast to the many crossers in the film. With these two scenarios—that of the illegal crossers being hunted and that of the daily imprisonment and bureaucracy of legally crossing with a permit—Jarrar displays the brutality of both paths. On the one hand there is the perception of reinforced control, bureaucracy, and imprisonment, where every legal crossing is met with armed military and barricades, where crossers are often arbitrarily refused, even with a permit. On the other hand are the shaky shots of instability and risk, of violations and resistances, of the lengths Palestinians will go to cross, even in the face of being hunted and shot. Jarrar reveals no alternative to crossing these two roadblocks, as he emphasizes the cloistered sense of limits and the ways in which people will work through and around those limits. Rather than producing a closed and stabilized meaning of Palestinians under settler-colonialism and occupation, Jarrar produces a documentary that places contemporary Palestinian life into direct action and dialogue with its oppression.

5. Conclusion: Resisting the Truth Problem of Security

Kamran Rastegar states that the trauma of Palestinians since 1948 is more often overridden by documents that attempt to right the truth, fighting against mainstream media discourses, or responding to the actual events that went unreported in a militarized scene (96). This is documented in film at the expense of stories of trauma and imagination, of stories that produce possibilities and build new ways for thinking and perceiving Palestinians and settler-colonialism. With mainstream and corporate media representing voices of security, a documentary film that produces a direct response often becomes discounted and absorbed within dehumanizing discourses. The Israeli

story in film, however, more often takes place through narrative and fictionalized accounts where imagination and multiple meanings, subject positions, and stories can proliferate. Jarrar's film intervenes, producing movements and crossings (physical as well as conceptual), while refusing stabilized identities, and it does so by producing a film that exposes and resists these very wars of truth. The reinforcing relationship of truth to power that Foucault outlines is being uprooted from the political reality to which it is anchored. Given the global force of security, its politics, and its truths, Jarrar's film interjects resistant lines of action and thought, creating an example and a connection for global resistance and decolonial movements to support and follow.

The role of the wall as a symbol of security, of the attempt at a clear break from threat, as the line and barrier that is not to be passed, cannot be separated from the state of war and violence that settler-colonialism imparts. Yet the juxtaposition of securitizing and colonial identity productions with humanizing desires ruptures claims of what it means to be Palestinian on the world stage. Jarrar's film makes clear that the wall reflects what Etienne Balibar calls "a point, or a line of crystallization of permanent and additional violence," rather than a protective call to sovereignty (27). In this way the wall represents not only a local, violent struggle but a larger conceptual and international struggle that reflects the contemporary state of security and war, its problems of truth, and the state of global politics.

To return to the beginning, as Jarrar walked down Wall Street selling vials of his own blood, the stakes of the security apparatus and the global capitalist violence imparted through the tactics that it deploys becomes clear. Security and its many iterations continue to extract the blood and life from those living under its brute force. Jarrar's works speak to this attempt to dehumanize or erase those who do not fall in line with securitization while intervening in a way that creates global, decolonial connections while exposing the failures of security as well as the violence of its functioning.

Notes

1. See Jasmine Weber, "Artist Critiques Capitalism and War, Sells Vials of His Blood on Wall Street," *Hyperallergic,* 12 Oct. 2018, hyperallergic.com/465528/artist-critiques-capitalism-and-war-sells-vials-of-his-blood-on-wall-street/. Accessed 20 November 2020.

2. Jarrar's work at the U.S.-Mexican border took part of the barrier and constructed it into a ladder, displaying not only a symbol of the short divide between loved ones on opposite sides of the border, but also of the possibility of ongoing crossings of the border despite U.S.

militarization and securitization. His most recent work, *Whole in the Wall,* constructed a concrete wall with a Palestine-shaped hole in it for viewers to climb through so that they could experience what life in Palestine is like when one needs to get into Jerusalem. He also built a barrier wall in Finland out of loaves of bread to symbolize the miniscule spatial differences that demonstrate the crossing over between wealth and poverty, nourishment and starvation, as well as life and death.

He has constructed sculptures out of stolen material from the separation wall, and he received attention for his Palestine passport stamp and fliers that he made. Offering Palestine as a home for people to come live in, Jarrar's flyers produced glossy images of Palestine, demonstrating how easy it is to get Palestinian papers to live there, similar to a U.S. green card.

In his spontaneous exhibition *At the Checkpoint,* written about by Gil Hochberg in her book *Visual Settler-Colonialisms: Violence and Visibility in a Conflict Zone*, Jarrar posted forty-one photographs of Palestinians crossing checkpoints at the Harawa checkpoint and later at Qalandia checkpoint. Creating a spontaneous gallery of resistance, the art exhibit lasted around three hours before the photos were removed.

3. "Dans des sociétés comme les nôtres, l'"économie politique' de la vérité est caractérisée par cinq traits historiquement importants: la "vérité" est centrée sur la forme du discours scientifique et sur les institutions qui le produisent; elle est soumise à une constante incitation économique et politique (besoin de vérité tant pour la production économique que pour le pouvoir politique); elle est l'objet, sous des formes diverses, d'une immense diffusion et consommation (elle circule dans des appareils d'éducation ou d'information dont l'étendue est relativement large dans le corps social, malgré certaines limitations strictes); elle est produite et transmise sous le contrôle non pas exclusif mais dominant de quelques grands appareils politiques ou économiques (Université, armée, écriture, médias); enfin, elle est l'enjeu de tout un débat politique et de tout un affrontement social (luttes 'idéologiques')." (Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, 112-113)

"In societies like ours the 'political economy' of truth is characterized by five historically important traits: 'truth' is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it; it is subject to a constant economic and political incitation (the demand for truth, as much for economic production as for political power): it is the object, under diverse forms, of an immense diffusion and consumption (it circulates in apparatuses of education and information whose extent is relatively wide within the social body, notwithstanding certain strict limitations); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses

(university, army, writing, media…); lastly, it is the stake of a whole political debate and social confrontation ('ideological' struggles')." (Foucault, *Intellectual* 13)

4. See Derek Gregory, "Palestine and the 'War on Terror,'" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Volume 24, Number 1, 2004, pp. 183-195.

5. https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/ocha_opt_barrier_factsheet_july_2013_english.pdf

6. Netta Ahitev in her 2018 Haaretz article states that the original and official designation for the wall was the "Jerusalem Envelope." Its intentions, she states, were to separate the Palestinians from East Jerusalem while also annexing as much land throughout the West Bank as possible, while including the least possible number of Palestinians within the "Envelope." https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-15-years-of-separation-palestinians-cut-off-from-jerusalem-by-a-wall-1.5888001

7. Derek Gregory notes in his article that Joseph Lieberman publicly made comments equating Israeli actions in Palestine to the U.S. hunting Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Afghanistan. Further, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz stated to a pro-Israeli rally that every American knows what it feels like to live in Jerusalem or Haifa due to the experience of 9/11. When he mentioned that innocent Palestinians, though, are also dying, he was booed. (Gregory 190)

8. To see the original 1954 law: https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/1954law.pdf
For contemporary amendments to the law from 2021-2020: https://www.unhcr.org/il/en/protection/legislation

9. A look at many of the Israeli newspapers, particularly those that are centrist or center-right, posts sections on terrorism that track and proliferate images of Palestinians as inhumane and as savages that nearly monopolize the coverage of Palestinians. Further, there are also articles that critique Arab-Israeli citizens as enemies of the state as well as articles, like the one linked below, that argue that even European youth want the end of Western civilization. As a result, the article states that Israel and Europe must have better intelligence ties to prevent radicalization. Such thoughts continue to link Palestinians and Arabs with terrorism and savagery, and link Israel to a European and American colonial force that must protect threats to Western civilization. https://www.jpost.com/international/islamic-terrorism/eu-

official-idea-of-end-of-western-civilization-growing-among-terrorists-679270
Netanyahu also proposed surrounding Israel with a fence to protect them from “wild beasts”. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/10/netanyahu-plans-fence-around-israel-to-protect-it-from-wild-beasts

10. “Sagesse des plantes : même quand elles sont à racines, il y a toujours un dehors où elles font rhizome avec quelque chose - avec le vent, avec un animal, avec l'homme (et aussi un aspect par lequel les animaux eux-mêmes font rhizome, et les hommes, etc.)” (Deleuze, *Mille Plateaux*, 18-19)

“The wisdom of the plants: even when they have roots, there is always an outside where they form a rhizome with something else--with the wind, an animal, human beings (and there is also an aspect under which animals themselves form a rhizome, as do people, etc.).” (Deleuze, A *Thousand Plateaus* 11)

11. “Très généralement nous disons qu'il y a deux manières d'en appeler aux ‘destructions nécessaires’: celle du poète, qui parle au nom d'une puissance créatrice, apte à renverser tous les ordres et toutes les représentations pour affirmer la Différence dans l'état de révolution permanente de l'éternel retour; et celle du politique, qui se soucie d'abord de nier ce qui ‘diffère’, pour conserver, prolonger un ordre établi dans l'histoire, ou pour établir un ordre historique qui sollicite déjà dans le monde les formes de sa représentation. Il se peut que les deux coïncident, dans un moment particulièrement agité, mais ils ne sont jamais le même." (Deleuze, *Différence,* 75)

“In very general terms, we claim that there are two ways to appeal to ‘necessary destructions’: that of the poet, who speaks in the name of a creative power, capable of overturning all orders and representations in order to affirm Difference in the state of permanent revolution which characterizes eternal return; and that of the politician, who is above all concerned to deny that which ‘differs’, so as to conserve or prolong an established historical order, or to establish a historical order which already calls forth in the world the forms of its representation. The two may coincide in particularly agitated moments, but they are never the same.” (Deleuze, *Difference* 53)

12. Graham here mentions that the exporting of Israeli surveillance technologies to the U.S. to be used in its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has led to what can now be called the “Palestinianization of Iraq” (Graham, 137).

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