

Bassam Dally ([00:00](#)):

Good afternoon, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Bassam Dally. I'm academic at the university of Adelaide and a member of the Australian friends of Palestine (AFOPA). I will be your emcee today. Welcome to the 2018 at Woodside Memorial lecture. This is the 14th in the series we are, is to have always less today. Auntie Vaughn ages, who is an esteemed leader of the Ghana and Uranga people here in south Australia, 20 Yvonne was named national Aboriginal elder for the year 2000 in recognition for his commitment to the preservation of the Aboriginal heritage. She had an extensive career in the public sector and continues to donate her time and expertise generously to many organizations, including as chair of the city of Redlands reconciliation committee. I'd like to ask Auntie Yvonne to come to the stage or to the microphone and welcome us to country and people.

Aunty Yvonne ([01:10](#)):

Thank you. We noticed that we are on the additional lands of the gala nation and that they culture, heritage, and spiritual beliefs practice still today. I would also like to welcome other nations presently today and on behalf of the Ghana elders past and present PG. Oh, welcome. Thank you. And one other thing I'd like to sort of acknowledge that we have, I guess, a sad thing in our heart for the Palestinian people, because we know what they're going through as we did when we were first invited by the English people and still are fighting for our cause and our human rights today as the Palestinians are, and to deny that our thoughts and our prayers are with them. Thank you.

Bassam Dally ([02:11](#)):

Thank you, Yvonne, for your welcome. And for the words of Western, of course, this week is NAIDOC week, or first of all, it's happening with a theme because of hell we can, and we could see elders lucky. Duvon making a lot of difference in their community. That's what saved me. Model lecture was established in 2005 as a public lecture at the university of Adelaide. It is managed by myself and Dr. Minerva Nasser Dean, who was an adjunct lecturer at the department of politics and international relations at the university of Adelaide Lausanne. Friends of Palestine association for Beau has proposed the lecture in 2005. And then one lecture collaboratively with the university of Adelaide. As you know, this year, that actually is hosted by the Adelaide festival of ideas. And we feel privileged and honored to have the lecture as one of the major events of the festival.

Bassam Dally ([03:03](#)):

We particularly appreciate the festivals management for this opportunity. And particularly I'd like to thank Greg Mackey O M O M and Sandy virtual. Who's the deputy mayor of the city of Adelaide for the leadership and support. And also thank the rest of the FOI team for their support of this lecture. The San Francisco Palestine solid oxide support for this lecture series is unparalleled. And I would like now to ask Dr. Sam Shaheen to the chairperson of the San Francisco, Palestine, to say a few words on behalf of the [inaudible] and also to welcome you to the lecture. So thank you for Sam. I make the case to you that as responsible Australians, we have the privilege, the right and the moral obligation to be concerned about the plight of the Palestinian people, just as we should be concerned about the plight of any peoples dispossessed or oppressed.

Bassam Dally ([04:14](#)):

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, and we sincerely thank you for sharing an evening with us here today. I am a proud Australian. I was born to Palestinian parents who in turn trace their Palestinian roots to generations before them. There is no denying the existence of the Palestinian people. The history is

real and they have the right, like you and me to aspire to a future in their own independent country with access to basic human rights like you and me to health, to education, to freedom of movement and travel and the right to vote. My father, the late Fritscher Han was born and raised in a town called Safford in the north of Palestine. My mother was born in Haifa, also in the north of Palestine in 1948. Their respective families fled and on foot for weeks, eventually settling in a makeshift refugee camp in south Lebanon.

Bassam Dally ([05:25](#)):

They were amongst the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians that were displaced in 1948. The Australian friends of Palestine association, a flipper for short is a voluntary not-for-profit organization, which has as its primary objective, the promotion of peace for Palestinians based on international law, the focus supports the aspirations of the Palestinian people to live in peace, to enjoy basic human rights, to have freedom of speech and movement in a safe environment, and to have economic opportunity, a that promotes justice, freedom and equality for everyone. It was established in 2004 and now finds its home right here in downtown Adelaide at the Palestine center for peace here in frame street today marks the 14th event in the illustrious history of the Edward Sade Memorial lecture. Our special guest today, Nora Eric at adds her name to the long list of distinguished speakers that have graced our fair city for this event.

Bassam Dally ([06:39](#)):

Notable mentions of course, and 2015, the inaugural prime minister of Palestine, Dr. Salam Fayyad. And of course in 2011, among other that professor Noam Chomsky who delivered the Edward save Memorial lecture in this very hall, it would say, who are honoring today was a Palestinian American writer and university professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia university, a public intellectual who was a founding figure of the critical field of post-colonialism. He was born at Palestinian Arab in Jerusalem side was an advocate for the dust political and human rights of the Palestinian people and has been described as the Palestinian people's most powerful voice as an influential cultural critic, academic and writer, Edward Sade was known for what turned out to be a highly influential book titled Orientalism here defined as the Western star of Eastern cultures. He effectively, we defined the term to mean the constellation of false assumptions, underlying Western attitudes towards the middle east.

Bassam Dally ([07:59](#)):

It would say passed away in 2003, sadly at a time when we were almost successful in hosting him here for a visit to south Australia, the lecture honoring his name and legacy commenced here in Adelaide, two years later in 2005. So why Palestine Stein has been described as one of the most critical conflicts of the last 100 years, and one of the most critical to world peace, the Palestinian issue is not a religious issue. It is not a religious struggle. Religion has little to do with it. Religion is often abused by those that use it as an excuse for their particular means. Palestine is a human rights issue. It is a struggle against the disposition of the people. The Palestinian people that have now lived under Israeli for over 70 years. The Palestinian population currently is estimated at 11 million half of which are classified as refugees by the United nations, their health system, their education system, and their economy is almost entirely dependent on foreign aid.

Bassam Dally ([09:16](#)):

They cannot trade with the outside world, all inward and outward goods movement must go through. And our text by Israel, they have no freedom of movement. They have no airports. They have no ports,

all but a fragmented civil society that is desperate for help. Paradoxically though, the Palestinians boast one of the highest rates of tertiary academic achievements in the middle east, they are a people ready, willing, and able to join the world of the 21st century. They are a people that remain hopeful of a just resolution to their conflict. Palestine's right to self-determination is not in international law subject to any performance criteria, stipulated by Israel, no other oppressed people have had the right to self-determination made conditional on the preferences of their occupier. Nobody in the world, nobody in history has ever gotten their freedom by appealing sense of the people who are oppressing them.

Bassam Dally ([10:27](#)):

The Palestinians continue to appeal to the hearts and souls of all of us global citizens to seize the moment in history and make a stance that enough is enough. The Palestinians deserve our active engagement in making right the wrongs of the last 70 years. Before I hand back to professor Daley to welcome our speaker, I must give special mention to the wonderful efforts of Mr. Greg Mackey, who I saw is with us tonight. Thank you, Greg, for attending tonight, Greg is the chair of the Adelaide festival of ideas. This state is much richer for the contributions of those that dedicate themselves to forums and festivals that enrich us all and challenge us to challenge the populous and often misconceived narratives. I hope you have an enriching evening and an enriching festival. Thank you.

Bassam Dally ([11:29](#)):

Thank you, Sam, for those wise words. And I'd also like to thank other members of our four-pole help to mark Jr. Lisa and all the volunteers today, ladies and gentlemen we come to the main part of the event. It gives me great pleasure to introduce neurotic art as the 2018 at Woodside Memorial lecture. And what is a more human diet attorney and an assistant professor at George Mason, George Mason university in the U S had a search interest include humanitarian law, refugee law, national security, law, and critical race theory. Nora is a co-founding editor of Janelia Eason and tutorial committee member of the journal of Palestine studies prior to joining GMU as faculty, she served as legal counsel to four congressional subcommittee in the house of representatives and illegal an illegal advocate for the Padilla resource center for Palestinian refugee and residency rights. Eh, she was also the national grassroots organizer and legal advocate at the us campaign to end the Israeli occupation.

Bassam Dally ([12:39](#)):

She's a confounding and board member of the DC Palestine film and arts festival. And he's a board member of the Institute of policy studies, not as a co-editor of a book title, abort, it state the UN initiative and new Palestine con junctures and ontology related to 2011, 2012 Palestine bids for statehood at the UN more recently, a normal released a pedagogical project. They own Gaza strip and Palestine, which includes the short multimedia documentary total Gaza in context, the commentary that we have irritates Israel's wars in Gaza within settler colonial framework. She's also the producer of a short video titled black Palestinian solidarity. And what does the media say? Appearances genomics to include all but include CNN, BBC, PBS, NPR democracy. Now I'll Jazeera. And so on. She has published in the nation in New York times and Washington post Los Angeles review of books having to post and a foreign policy journals as well. Nora is an author of a new book titled justice for some law as politics in the question of Palestine, which is going to be it from the Stanford university press in 2019, not a stalk is startled. Anti-Blackness settler colonialism. And the question of Palestine. Ladies and gentlemen Noura Erekat.

Noura Erekat ([14:20](#)):

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you for such a warm welcome. I want to say a few words so that you can get over my jarring American accent. Forgive me for it and our imperialistic wars abroad. As we settle in to hear the rest of this talk, thank you so much on to Yvonne for welcoming all of us and welcoming me. It would be quite, I think, dismal to be giving a lecture about settler colonialism and Palestine and not acknowledge an ongoing settler colonial project here on this island. So thank you very much for having me is that enough? Are you all used to my accident? Thank you. And thank you also so much to the organizers. So the Adelaide festival of ideas to the Australian friends of Palestine, specifically to professor Bossom daily for these amazing efforts and for having me here everything, everything that we do, we tend to valorize individuals and yet our history is a history of collective engagement and collaboration.

Noura Erekat ([15:22](#)):

And so this is also a Testament to our collaboration. I've had the honor and the pleasure of being in the audience of professors of the late professor, Edward, sorry, more than once. And no, I was never a student in his classroom, like thousands of others. He taught me through the incisive boldness of his work in one of the most memorable encounters. I watched professor salaried take the microphone at an allowed the rally for the right of return of Palestinian refugees in New York, in 2001, there, he stood at the steps of union square and I leaned in intent to hold on to every single word. And in a brief few minutes, he told all of us rally Gores to talk about Palestine and Palestinians. At every chance we got on the corner crosswalk in the line at the grocery store among parents watching their children play in the park.

Noura Erekat ([16:28](#)):

And I stood there thoroughly confused, like that's it, you're the most brilliant mind we have. And you're telling us to talk about Palestine everywhere. And it would be a few years later after successfully reading his seminal texts. The question in Palestine that I understood the radical nature of his call, Palestinians like nearly all other native peoples have been dramatically erased to facilitate the sovereignty of a settler population in their place. Palestinians appear as numbers and masses and mobs, but are denied Western civilizations recognition as a geritical nation, or even as sentience human beings to enable our convenient disappearance. We do not matter, except when we emerge as threats, we can harm, but we can not be harmed our presence justifies defensive force against us, but can never invoke self-defense on our behalf of ourselves, our children or our lands. Professor salaried explains when he wrote his seminal text in 1979, he wrote it for the purpose of disrupting a hegemonic narrative where Palestinians barely appear as ghosts in the master narrative of Palestine Jewish Zionists liberate the land from Britain and miraculously establish a state to achieve self-determination and invite their Jewish brethren to return and redeem themselves and their long lost Homeland.

Noura Erekat ([18:14](#)):

Such a story can only thrive in the violent erasure and silencing of Palestinians. Professors salaried implores us to allow the sub altering to speak. And when it speaks, he then asks by what moral or political standard are. We expected to lay aside our claims to our Homeland, to our national existence, our land, our human rights in what world is there no argument when an entire people is told that it is dramatically absent, even as armies are led against it, campaigns conducted even against its name history changed. So as to prove it's non-existence and the time afforded to me this AF this evening, I would like to pray tribute to professor side's legacy as a trailblazing scholar, an activist, a public intellectual committed to emancipatory knowledge production in pedagogy. As I considered the

contemporary scope of the question, Palestine at this current juncture, okay. When the Palestinian state has been obviated and Israel, overseas and apartheid regime, as a matter of fact, and law, I want to be consider then what is the history of these present conditions?

Noura Erekat ([19:41](#)):

What are generative analytical frameworks beyond nationalism that can help us work through them and what are potential futures that Palestinians have the opportunity to forge in 2017, the UN economic and social commission for Western Africa, Western Africa also known as UN Escuela published a report, concluding quote. Israel has established an apartheid regime that dominates the Palestinian people as a whole, including those Palestinian citizens of Israel and not just stateless Palestinians in the occupied territories. Esquire's report recommended that the United nations and national governments adopt appropriate measures to prevent and punish the crime of apartheid, including prosecuting Israeli officials and endorsing boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel. Israel together with the United States, forced the UN to shelve the report. Esquire's director resigned in protest, and the report was leaked and widely disseminated. While the UN report was the first of its kind to authoritatively. Describe Israel's current arrangement as exemplary of a singular apartheid regime characterized by spatial separation and the administration of distinct legal systems for the sake of racial domination, neither the apartheid analogy, nor the racial theory.

Noura Erekat ([21:13](#)):

It invoked were new as early as 1965, scholar activists, Faye, Sonia who studied and taught in us universities and leader established the Palestine research center in Beirut had developed a racial analysis around Zionism in his work called Zionist colonialism in Palestine. Saya explains that there are three corollary tenants of Zionist city, racial self-segregation, racial supremacy and racial exclusiveness. And he says, quote, if racial discrimination against the inferior natives was the motto of race, supremacist, European settler regimes, and Asia and Africa. The motto of race supremacist Zionist settler regime in Palestine was racial elimination. Within a decade's time, Silas would lead a Palestinian effort to amend a resolution regarding the decade for action to combat racism and racial discrimination. Also known as the decade against racism within the UN's third committee, African states had initiated the decade against racism to further de-legitimized the apartheid regime in South Africa and south west Africa known as Namibia.

Noura Erekat ([22:33](#)):

The non-aligned coalition that led this effort sought to amend the African initiative so that the word Zionism be inserted into the text, wherever apartheid, racism, colonialism, racial discrimination, and alien domination appeared their efforts would culminate in resolution 3, 3, 7, 9, declaring Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. The proposed resolution shook the entire world. Declaring Zionism as a form of racism would reconfigure the Arab Israeli conflict on the heels of the October, 1973 war from a peacemaking imperative to adjust a struggle as such. It would no longer be sufficient to reform Israel and demand its withdrawal from Arab territories resolution 3, 3, 7, 9 sought to dismantle Jewish national supremacy as a political structure, predicated upon the removal, forced exile, dispossession second-class status and lesion of the people at the core of it, the resolution rejected Jewish Zionist settler sovereignty in Palestine, Western states saw it as a threat to their entire world order after all Israel was not an is not the only settler colony in the world.

Noura Erekat ([24:05](#)):

I have grown up in one and I am speaking before you now, in another introduction of the amendment concerning Zionism dramatically diminished Western support for the entire resolution. Western states were prepared to condemn anti-black racism, especially in South Africa and Namibia, but we're reticent in regard to the question of Zionist domination. In fact, inclusion of the, of the question of Palestine in the decade against racism provided a useful pretext for Western states to withdraw their support entirely. The general assembly passed resolution 3, 3 7, 9 in November, 1975 by a vote of 72 for 35 against and 32 abstentions. The United States and Israel were shaken. And the U S Congress introduced dozens of bills to reduce its financial contributions to the United Nations. Like in 2017, when you and Esquire introduced its report, sensationalist controversy surrounding the resolution, obscured is it's content. Then as now, we are so consumed by the political theatrical acts that we do not get to consider the racial analysis and its implications consider that during the 1975 committee deliberations by OSI explained, quote, Zionism, essentially vest certain rights, very important rights in some people and denies them to others.

Noura Erekat (25:38):

For example, it says that a Jew simply by virtue of being a Jew has the right to return to the Palestinian Territories occupied by Israel, even if he had never been there before. But it also says that his compatriot a non-Jewish has no such right, and that the indigenous Palestinian Arab dislodged in 1948 or 1967, he also has no such, right, because he is not a Jew, but Saya did not limit his racial analysis of Zionism to the distinctions between Jews and non Jews. He also explored how Zionism produced racial stratification amongst Jews themselves. He continues quote like a cancer. Racism has a propensity for expansion. It defies containment. Having adopted a racist approach towards non Jews. Zionism soon came to draw a color line or a racial line amongst the Jews themselves Oriental Jews and black Jews found themselves subject to discrimination by other Jews I E by the Jews of the white Jewish establishment Saya argues that Zionism drew a color line, a concept inspired by African American historian and writer, web Dubois among Jews only after having adopted a racist approach to Muslim and Christian Palestinians.

Noura Erekat (27:06):

But I would push back just a little bit and argue that white supremacy is not the consequence of Zionist colonial settlement in Palestine, but is inherently it's driving force. Zionism is a nationalist movement that congealed in the late 19th century, as one response to the Jewish question or the systematic exclusion of and violence against Jewish people, primarily in Europe, even after the enlightenment that in overturned religion as a basis for truth European society, supplanted religious polemics with secular ones to continue to justify racist violence against Jewish people. According to scholar [inaudible] European societies, orientalist Jews as religious poor unintelligent, get a wise to justify their exclusion. Enlightenment offered Jews the opportunity for inclusion. If they could erase all markers of difference to become European Jews had to stop being Jewish and anything but religious practice in order to satisfy a universal norm defined by white Christian Europeans, rather than combat these orientalist tropes Jewish Zionists internalize them.

Noura Erekat (28:26):

They sought to establish a Jewish state away from Europe shores in order to finally gain acceptance within it. Zionists would establish Israel as a satellite state located in the middle east, but not of the middle east. They would claim nativity to Palestine only to assert their belonging in Europe. Israel's founding prime minister, David Ben-Gurion boasted quote. The state of Israel is part of the middle east



only in geography. This has had severe consequences that resonate into the present day. First Zionists pioneers use nationalism as a tool for achieving modernization and freedom from past conditions of oppression. They modeled the new Jew on white European values and culture. Zionist ideology in fear rise, the middle Eastern Jew from Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, an aim to civilize her by erasing her difference as an Arab, just as enlightenment Europe had sought to do with its Jewish Israel subordinated the middle Eastern Jew, who unlike Jews from Europe required cultural rehabilitation and development in order to become properly Israeli, namely to become white and European.

Noura Erekat ([29:57](#)):

Yeah. Nascent, Israeli state separated middle Eastern Jewish children from their families in order to civilize them. It placed middle Eastern Jews on the periphery of the country at the frontier with belligerent Arab states, using them as cannon fodder. It developed educational curriculum that taught European Jewish history as if it was the universal history of an entire global jury for middle Eastern Jews who immigrated to Israel. The cost of becoming Israeli was no less than what you Rocky Jewish scholar, Ella Shohar describes as an exercise in self devastation. These racial hierarchies endure into the present day and shape Israel's treatment of African Jews, as well as African non-Jewish asylum seekers. Second being a satellite state in the middle east has meant that Palestinian natives cannot belong under any circumstance. Their mere presence, even if not posing a challenge to Israel's Jewish demographic, majority disrupts, Zionist mythology of an uninterrupted temporal and spatial Jewish presence on the land.

Noura Erekat ([31:08](#)):

Israel is after all a settler colonial project, Patrick Wolf, a dear friend, horribly missed, and a guiding light and settler colonial studies who hails from these parts explains that settler colonialism is a structure aimed at removing the native in order to replace her. And that removal is not merely physical through killing deprivation, dispossession, concentration, and deportation, but metaphysical as well through forced assimilation, cultural appropriation, and other practices aimed at complete erasure, thus the 700,000 Palestinian natives, but Zionists encountered at the turn excuse me, scientists encountered at the turn of the century were not even eligible for the process of self devastation, forced upon Israel's non-European Jewish communities. Zionist colonization has demanded that Palestinians be continuously eliminated what Palestinians regard as their ongoing neck back Israel self-definition as a satellite state for the purpose of in gathering a global Jewish population also means that Israel can never be a state of its citizens because it is by self-definition aimed at racial purity that defines the state Israel's use of grotesque military force to maintain that purity by removing Palestinians, criminalizing their existing ghetto, wising them demolishing their homes, burning fields of thousand year old olive trees restricting their access to water detaining children.

Noura Erekat ([32:54](#)):

As young as three years old are all done in the name of defending the nation because the nation is defined as Jewish only in my humble opinion. It is not that the logic of settler colonialism towards Palestinians drew a color line within Jewish Zionist society has put by fire Messiah, but Zionism as a political movement that drew a conceptual color line in the image of enlightenment Europe that did so Israel's violent practices aimed rehabilitating middle Eastern Jews by cleansing them of their Oriental qualities to bring them closer to whiteness stems from the same logic that presupposes the dispensable nature of the Palestinian body and drives a policy of racial elimination. Israel's elimination of Palestinian

natives has benefited from a legacy of colonial violence. Britain's 1917 Balfour declaration negated the radical existence of a Palestinian people and its policy to establish a Jewish national home Britain refused to recognize the national rights of 90% of the native population in Palestine who sought to govern themselves.

Noura Erekat ([34:11](#)):

It is not that Palestinians were not there. It is that they did not matter as put by foreign secretary offer all Arthur Balfour himself, quote, Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad is rooted in age long traditions in present needs. And future hopes a far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of 700,000 Arabs, who now in happened the H in land and in less polite terms, RAs, McAlister justifies British Zionist policy by explaining quote. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout these long centuries, the native inhabitants of Palestine do not appear to have made a single contribution whatsoever to material civilization. In 1922, the league of nations incorporated the Balfour declaration verbatim into the Palestine mandate, where it explicitly discussed Jewish national rights and a national home, six times, it committed to establishing a Jewish national home as a matter of legal obligation, but failed to mention Palestinian national rights or the right to self-determination even once referring to them instead as non Jews matters, became even worse.

Noura Erekat ([35:29](#)):

Following the 1967 war. When in addition to controlling 78% of mandate, Palestine Israel came to control the Egyptian Sinai peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights, as well as the Gaza strip and the west bank Egypt and Jordan endorsed security council resolution 242 enshrining, a land for peace framework without guaranteeing Palestinian national rights. The resolution refers to Palestinians merely as a refugee problem. So after Palestinians took the helm of the Palestinian liberation organization in 1968, there turns to the United nations in 1974 was an opportunity to inscribe themselves as a druidical people in international law to formally and definitively declare that Palestinians exists. They successfully did that in general assembly resolutions 3232, 3236, and 3237, establishing the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The PLO success at the end United nations in 1974 was part of a global upheaval and can not be properly understood out of context.

Noura Erekat ([36:42](#)):

The earth had seemingly split into two political camps following the second world war each threatening to annihilate the other with nuclear weapons. Former colonized nations organize themselves as an alternative front known as the third world, which according to Vishay Prashad birth, the modern international regulatory regime of nuclear weapons, that was only the beginning. The third world consolidated its power and waged a full frontal effort to create an alternative to Western hegemony. In 1960, it successfully passed the UN declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples literally condemning colonialism as a legitimate system of governance and equating self-determination as an international, right for colonized peoples in 1962, Algeria renewed life into the movement when it's successfully over through 132 years of French settler colonial rule in 1974, Algeria, his foreign minister became the president of the UN general assembly and under his tenure, the United nations unseated South Africa, as a member state for its unrelenting apartheid regime, which Britain, the United States and France protected in the security council.

Noura Erekat ([38:03](#)):



Africa's few allies included Israel, which provided it with arms. It was in this context that Palestinians brought their national cause onto the international stage where the PLO was central, but far from singular or unique. It was in this context that Palestinians theorized the racial logics, that racial logics of Zionist settler colonization embodied in resolution 3, 3, 7, 9, and thus connected with a global movement aimed at dismantling racism and colonization in the United States. These developments also impacted the black freedom movement, which continued its struggle against institutional racism and racial capitalism influenced by the third world's agenda. The black freedom movement developed an analysis around black subjugation within an anti-colonial framework, basically that black communities were a colony within the colony and had a right to self-determination black internationalism aligned the freedom movement with the PLO, as well as to other national liberation struggles and caused an internal Fisher and other more liberal camp.

Noura Erekat ([39:15](#)):

And the black freedom movement sought freedom through full inclusion as citizens in the state for them, the state was not fundamentally the problem. Rather the state needed to be reformed and to cease its violent exclusion and subjugation of blacks. A similar tension between a status solution and revolutionary struggle also existed within the PLO. One camp sought to establish a Palestinian state in the west bank and Gaza. And another camp wanted to pursue a revolution against Israel and throughout the Arab world against capitalism and imperialism. In both cases, the status approach prevailed in the U S this was the triumph of the civil rights movement to end the jury segregation and providing the right to vote to black people for Palestinians. The idea of a truncated Palestinian state went from being a taboo concept to the central thinking of the movement in 1988, the PLS parliament and exile endorsed the two-state solution.

Noura Erekat ([40:22](#)):

I conic poet Mahmud that we wrote the declaration of Palestinian independence and Edward salaried translated it into English in the late eighties at the height of the Palestinian Anthony FADA, the Palestinian state and the west bank and Gaza was envisioned as a solution for freedom and the PLO endorsed entering into direct negotiations with Israel, but even the most ardent supporters of the peace process, vehemently rejected the terms of the declaration of principles, better known as the Oslo Accords signed by Israel and the PLO in 1993, the terms of the agreement made no reference to international laws prohibition on civilian settlements on the rights of refugees on the distribution of water or the status of Jerusalem. In fact, it was just an agreement to agree under Oslo's terms. The status of the settlements in Jerusalem were considered Jewish neighborhoods and the borders of the Palestinian state would be subject to bilateral negotiations mediated by global empire and Israel's primary ally. The United States, the also Accords did not even stipulate that a Palestinian state would be the end goal of the process. In 2000, [inaudible] became the first Israeli prime minister to recognize that there might be a Palestinian state, more as conditions to entering the agreement. The PLO had to disavow the use of force against Israel and rescind the 1975 resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism. Edward salaried was among the first intellectuals to defect and explained quote, let us call the agreement by its real name and instrument of Palestinian surrender, a Palestinian Versailles PLO chairman. [inaudible]

Noura Erekat ([42:21](#)):

Banned a book peace, and it's this contents, sorry. It's collected essays. Condemning the Oslo Accords in the Palestinian Territories within less than seven years. The collapse of the peace process, vindicated

salaried, and by 2014, its failure became empirically undeniable settlers had increased from 200,000 in 1993 to 600,000 in 2014. And settlements carved the west bank into more than 20 non-contiguous landmasses. In 2000 Israel began constructing a separation barrier or wall to allegedly halt the flow of Palestinian suicide bombers within its undeclared borders. By the time of the completion of this wall in 2020, 80-85% of its length will run through the west bank and effectively confiscate 13% of it conveniently where most of Israel's largest settlement blocks are located. Israeli military law prohibits the presence and travel of Palestinians between the west bank and Gaza, thereby entrenching their geographic and political fragmentation. And in Gaza, Israel has securitized nearly 2 million Palestinians and held them captive under a land siege, a Naval blockade since Hamas won parliamentary elections in 2006, Israel has torpedoed the possibility of a Palestinian state, not in spite of Oslo, but because of Oslo, that is not all in the summer of 2014, Israel launched it.

Noura Erekat ([44:01](#)):

The law its largest scale military offensive against the besieged coastal enclave, it's sealed Gaza's borders, constant and traded it's 1.8 million Palestinians into the center, not giving them even the option of becoming refugees of war and pounded it with the most advanced weapon technologies for 51 consecutive live days, the carnage was devastating and the killing of more than 500 children, 143 families lost three or more people. 18,000 homes were destroyed. A hundred thousand were left homeless at the height of the offensive. Nearly 30% of the population became displaced. Israel's targeted Gaza, soul power plant causing 15,000 tons of solid waste to run in the streets and bikes. And 373,000 children were left in need of psychosocial treatment Israel and the United States claimed that this horrific violence was legitimate self-defense and any casualties are to be blamed upon him. Yes, indeed.

Noura Erekat ([45:15](#)):

This was the third attack in six and a half years. The 22nd, since Israel announced its unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza strip in 2004 and surely not the last as we've seen the state solution had definitively failed to stem Israel, settler colonial expansion and its racial eliminatory policies aimed at removing Palestinian and the United States can do similarly signaled the failure of the status project to achieve black liberation today in the U S black men are approximately eight times more likely to be incarcerated than white men. Death rates from preventable conditions among black men are significant are significantly higher than among white men. In 2011 black men working full-time earn 76%. The average salary of white men and black women working full-time earned about 85%, the average salary of white women, and more than a third of black households had a negative net worth in 2009, compared to 15% of white households in Ferguson, Missouri blacks account for two thirds of the city population.

Noura Erekat ([46:25](#)):

And yet for 85% of vehicle stops, 90% of citations and 93% of arrests. These statistics indicate that voting and civil rights have not stemmed us racial capitalism and racial violence in the summer 2014, officer Darren Wilson shot to kill Michael Brown, an armed 18 year old, black teenager, six times above the weight twice in the head, Wilson then left Brown's body bleeding in, excuse me, left Brown's bleeding body out in Missouri, smoldering heat for a predominantly black community to watch it. What they've described as a form of terror and, and, and a warning to them. Brown's killing was the latest in the series of killings of black boys, men, women, girls, and trans bodies by agents of the state or vigilantes with near impunity and prompted a national convergence of Prans Ferguson chanting black

lives matter in a United States that refuses to honor this plaintiff truth police forces from Ferguson and dozens of surrounding cities met the protesters with excessive force.

Noura Erekat ([47:46](#)):

They placed the city under curfew, detained protesters in mass and without cause appeared in Kevlar vests, fully armed with assault rifles ruled through the city streets and tanks and threw tear gas at protesters. Ferguson was literally under occupation. The tactics, weapons and violence were all too familiar to Palestinians who watched the events unfold over social media. Palestinian activists from Palestine began tweeting to activists in Ferguson on how to handle the tear gas, pour milk into your eyes, carry onions, and placed them next to your mouth and nose stand very close to the police so that they can't throw tear gas on you. And the words of one movement lawyer on the grounds in Ferguson quote, the us provided the weapons. Israel provided the tactics. The two countries exchanged and shared the carceral and Mar and military technologies for repressing their undesirable populations. Soon protestors in Ferguson held up signs that read.

Noura Erekat ([48:54](#)):

We are Gaza from the show of solidarity in the summer 2014 and analysis of shared struggle has steadily developed, linking black and Palestinian oppression as well as freedom black and Palestinian activists have articulated that state violence is an endemic feature of life in their communities that the state justifies its violence against civilians in the name of national security blames the targeted securities for the harm. They endure criminalizes their behavior and righteously justifies racial supremacy as a national value. Solidarity is a political choice. It reflects a political analysis and a political vision. There is no natural state of solidarity. It is always in the state of being made. It works as a verb, not a noun. In this case, it has manifested as delegations of black artists, activists, writers, and lawyers to Palestine. It is featured joint cultural productions, statements of support of one, another struggles, joint divestment campaigns targeting G4S, a private security firm prevalent in us, private prisons, as well as Israeli prisons and it two.

Noura Erekat ([50:11](#)):

And in 2016, it culminated in the movement for black lives, endorsing the 2005 Palestinian call for boycott divestment and sanctions. This solidarity in action has signaled an analytical return to understanding limits of state reform and the need for revolutionary and alternative futures. What does that mean? Well, we know for certain, what an Israeli future looks like or Israeli, effication almost for certain, it means we can return to CYA here, the preservation of racial supremacy. So self-segregation and exclusiveness achieved and sustained with the, the most advanced technologies that include militarized walls, surveillance, torture, full force against unarmed protesters, socially and legally imposed segregation, armed civilians, settlers protected by the states, by the state, as well as the forced deportation of asylum seekers. The Donald Trump administration is consecrating this future in the United States. In fact, the committee on Homeland security and government affairs of the us Senate aims to compare quote Israeli security experiences to the security policies of the United States.

Noura Erekat ([51:38](#)):

Seeing as there is much, the United States can learn from Israel as the Trump administration takes an important steps forward in security, our Homeland and cool, but not just in the United States. Well it's sports it's future to the entire world. Investigations published by privacy international show that Israeli companies have provided phone and internet monitoring technologies to the secret police. And it was

Becca, Stan and Kazakhstan, as well as security forces in Columbia. Other reports, detailed Israeli surveillance companies have equipped security forces with internet monitoring technologies and Trinidad and Tobago and Uganda agencies in Panama and Mexico have reportedly been customers of this intrusion technology. Israel increases its selling power by boasting that its technologies are tested. And when they say that, they mean that it's tested on Palestinians. You tie Mack and Israeli human rights, lawyer and activist based in Jerusalem explains quote the arms exporters market, the weapons as battle proven.

Noura Erekat ([52:43](#)):

That's what they tell people at the international fairs. It's cast led battle proven it's defensive shield battle proven most recently during the great March of returning Gaza, Israel tested new weapons on Palestinians. These include a helicopter style drone, which carries rubber bursting grenades with metal tops that disperse gas as they fall. It includes butterfly bullets identified as a new type of ammunition that explodes upon impact pulverizing tissue, arteries, and bones while causing severe internal injuries. According to the gods has health ministry spokesperson. I should have the DRA quote. Bullets are the deadliest. The Israeli army has ever used. These references have become so global that it is not only Ferguson protesters who identify as Gaza, but in several favelas in Brazil where state violence is high and living, living conditions are horrific. The residents refer to themselves as living in the Gaza strip. Indeed. The challenge Palestinians face is the challenge that many communities are facing where a police state advanced with advanced weapons technologies enforces an outright policy of ultra nationalism.

Noura Erekat ([54:03](#)):

So what next we know almost for certain what the Israeli future looks like, but we do not yet know what the Palestinian future looks like. One path forward is to continue insisting on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, despite the damning empirical evidence, despite intervening the intervening decades. Since the height of anti-colonial fervor demonstrating the limits of nationalism as liberation leaders have transformed into despots and the promise of alternative futures once made by the third world have been enfolded into violent and nationalist neoliberal agendas. What the Martinique and writer fighter and psychologist, France, Fernand cautioned in wretched of the earth when he tells his brethren, if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that, which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. Indeed self-determination has at least two meanings. One is statehood critical concept. And the second is freedom, which exists in nature. Palestinians have seemingly lost the struggle for state and sovereignty, but we have not lost the struggle for free freedom.

Noura Erekat ([55:32](#)):

And that is what we are trying to figure out now in excess of the state is what makes the Palestinian Alliance with black Americans in particular. So salient because like them a civilizational world order has left us behind and our attempts to catch up and fight to be included, have proven insufficient and inadequate paving. New futures requires that we ask new questions. We have to ask questions, not just on how we stem Zionist colonization, not just on how we end Israeli military occupation, but we have to start asking what in fact does decolonization mean in practice and not just in theory, how, if we are seriously committed to Zionism as a racist project and structure, does that mean that we go beyond just Zionism's racism against Palestinians, but begin to think about Zionism as also a racist project against Jews as well, that enforces exclusiveness, segregation and supremacy.

Noura Erekat ([56:45](#)):

So we should ask what is the future that we can build in Palestine that offers freedom for middle Eastern Jews. So they can be long as Jewish and Arab rather than as Israeli or Arab, which is what Israel has imposed upon them. That choice, how can Palestinians build a new society that disrupts this violence and envisions Jewish belonging in the middle east as part of the middle east, rather than just a satellite state that is there and could be anywhere based on this. How can Palestinian belonging envision facilitate the belonging of all Jews, including those from Europe, not a settler sovereigns overseeing the satellites state, but rather as Jews in the middle east to truly want to return to their native roots, how can Palestinian anti-racist work similarly disrupt a native settler binary in order to offer freedom for Afro Israelis and Afro Palestinians from white supremacy.

Noura Erekat ([58:00](#)):

Professor Edward Salazar has also been asking, did ask these questions. I should say he asked many provocative questions, including what is the value of a joint project of Jews and Palestinians rewriting the history of Palestine that actually affirms their joint belonging they're in, would all these questions have in common is that Palestinian freedom is not just about Palestinian, but offers freedom for everyone. Indeed at the edge of this juncture facing Palestinians is the possibility to figure out how to get free outside of a nation state framework and how we can lift everyone else with us. If we can figure that out, we will be able to offer answers, not just for ourselves, but for the rest of the world and humanity as well. And nothing is more noble, more righteous and more worthwhile than that. We are all Gaza and we can all be free. Thank you.

Speaker 4 ([59:12](#)):

[Inaudible].