

2023

## Israel/Palestine Teach-in (Episode 16)

Sara Salazar Hughes

Sriya Shrestha

Dustin Wright

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/otterpod>

---

This Podcast is brought to you for free and open access by the Social Sciences and Global Studies at Digital Commons @ CSUMB. It has been accepted for inclusion in OtterPod by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ CSUMB. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@csumb.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@csumb.edu).

# A Teach-in on Israel/Palestine

with Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes, Associate Professor of Global Studies  
at CSU Monterey Bay

Hosted by: Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes, Dr. Sriya Shrestha, and Dr. Dustin Wright.  
Land acknowledgement read by: Kenny Garcia.



Note: The 10 questions put to Dr. Salazar Hughes by Dr. Shrestha during the teach-in were gathered from students and registrants prior to the event. Additional Q&A follows.

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** This is an episode of the OtterPod from CSU Monterey Bay.

0:06

The audio that you're about to hear is from a live teach-in on Israel-Palestine hosted by Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes.

0:14

and facilitated by Dr. Sriya Shrestha, Dr. Dustin Wright and Kenny Garcia.

0:21

The original event was on November 17th, 2023 at 2 p.m. Pacific Time.

0:28

We hope that you find this to be an educational listen.

0:35

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Thank you. Welcome, everybody.

0:39

Welcome to the teach-in on Israel-Palestine. We want to take a note that at the start of this,

0:44

that people do not have permission to record this event without the written permission of all speakers.

0:50

The organizers are recording the event for our own records.

0:57

This event came about as students and others had questions about how to understand the context

1:01

of the current violence we're seeing in the occupied Palestinian territories and in Israel.

1:07

My name is Dustin Wright, and I'm a chair and associate professor in the Department of World Languages and Cultures.

1:12

I'm a historian of Japan and East Asia. I'm going to introduce some other people who are leading this discussion today.

1:20

We've been gathering questions for a few weeks, and today Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes will be answering them.

1:28

Dr. Salazar Hughes is an associate professor of global studies here at CSU Monterey Bay.

1:34

She has a Ph.D. in cultural and political geography from UCLA, in addition to an M.A. in International Studies and a B.A. in Arabic.

1:40

And she has worked in Palestine, primarily in the West Bank, for over a decade.

1:50

Dr. Sriya Shrestha, assistant professor of Ethnic and Gender Studies,

1:55

will be in conversation with Dr. Salazar Hughes, presenting the questions that we've gathered.

1:59

Today's event is a webinar format so you can drop questions

2:05

into the chat throughout the session.

2:11

And my role here, I'll be gathering them and answer them and we'll answer as many questions as we can at the end of this discussion presentation.

2:13

So before we get started, I want to hand it over to my colleague, Kenny Garcia,

2:23

an associate librarian here at CSUMB, who will read a land acknowledgment.

2:28

**[Kenny Garcia]** Thank you, Dustin. We want to acknowledge that CSUMB is located on the traditional land of the indigenous people, past and present,

2:35

specifically the unceded land of the Ohlone and Esselen people, and honor with gratitude

2:47

the land itself and the people who have stewarded it throughout the generations.

2:55

This calls us to commit to continuing to learn how to be better stewards of the land we inhabit as well.

3:02

To recognize the land is an expression of gratitude and appreciation to those whose territory we reside on and

3:09

a way of honoring the Indigenous people who have been living and working on the land for time immemorial.

3:19

It is important to understand the long-standing history that has brought us to

3:28

reside on the land and to seek to understand our place within that history.

3:32

Land acknowledgments do not exist in a past tense or historical context,

3:39

colonialism is a current ongoing process and we need to build our mindfulness of our present participation.

3:46

Acknowledging the land is an important indigenous protocol that we are honoring here today.

3:55

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #1]** Well, thank you, Dustin and Kenny, for welcoming us to this virtual space today.

4:03

And thank you, everyone, for joining us.

4:11

Sara, I want to start by asking you just to kind of give us your background and tell us about your research as it pertains to this topic.

4:13

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. Thanks so much. Yeah. I want to quickly express my gratitude to the folks at the Abolitionist Teaching Network

4:25

for helping us set up the webinar and to the folks who are helping facilitate this: Sriya,

4:33

Dustin and Kenny, and many other folks who have supported us in putting this together.

4:38

I also want to extend a lot of love and graciousness and grace for those who are showing up in this conversation,

4:43

it's not an easy one to have.

4:50

And before I tell you a little bit about my background and research, I also want to give a note about language right here at the top.

4:53

When Israel and Palestine are in the news, we see rises in both antisemitism and Islamophobia and our students and frankly,

5:01

also our colleagues and our community members, are fearful to even discuss what's happening.

5:10

And it's really critical that we find ways to have these hard conversations.

5:16

So I want to be really clear that when I talk about Israel,

5:20

I mean the state of Israel and Israeli state policies, not all Israelis and certainly not all Jewish people.

5:23

I reject the claim that criticism to Israeli state policies and actions is anti-Semitic.

5:31

Some of the most ardent anti-Zionists are Jewish people and Jewish Israelis.

5:38

I also want to make really clear that Hamas cannot be used interchangeably with Palestinians or with Muslims.

5:43

So I think it's important to kind of set up those language guidelines.

5:50

So, yeah, thanks. Thanks, everyone, for coming out today.

5:55

As Dustin said, I'm an associate professor here at CSUMB and I've worked in Palestine for over a decade.

5:59

When I first started working in the West Bank, I lived in Ramallah and primarily worked with Palestinian human rights organizations.

6:07

And I spent time in Palestinian villages like Budrus and Bil'in studying the impacts of the Israeli separation barrier,

6:16

which cuts deeply into West Bank Palestinian territory,

6:25

sometimes going straight through villages and schools and cutting off Palestinians from their farmland and from their communities.

6:29

So I started out doing this work, looking at Palestinian human rights organizations and resistance to the Israeli occupation.

6:37

And then as I began my Ph.D. in geography, I shifted to a focus on Israeli settlements in the West Bank,

6:47

primarily settlements that are very deep in the West Bank, in the Judean Hills,

6:55

which tend to be more ideologically extreme than settlements that are located closer to the border of Israel,

7:00

which are still on occupied Palestinian territory, but are closer to the sort of international community's recognized borders of Israel.

7:08

And over three years, I spent nine months living in Israeli settlements to understand the kind of material conditions and

7:17

warfare and violence that goes into making the Israeli settlements possible in the occupied West Bank,

7:28

but also trying to understand how Israeli settlers saw themselves in their communities and why

7:35

they were living in a militarized contested landscape and the impact that had on local Palestinians.

7:43

So I've been doing this work for a long time.

7:50

I've trained in Arabic and in Hebrew, and I have a lot of deep ties to communities both in Israel and in the occupied Palestinian territories.

7:52

A lot of horrible things are happening to people who I love and who I have deep connections with.

8:04

And so this is hitting me really hard professionally, but also personally.

8:10

And again, I'm really grateful to folks for coming out to talk about this today.

8:14

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #2]** Well, thank you so much for that, Sara. And I'm really glad that we have you here to have this conversation with us today.

8:19

I think the best way to start to sort of situate our conversation is for you to kind of give us an overview of what happened on October 7th,

8:26

right, a little over a month ago, in Israel and Palestine and what has been happening since.

8:37

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. So on October 7, Hamas, which is a militant organization in Gaza and also the governing entity in Gaza,

8:44

launched an unprecedented attack into Israeli territory by land, sea and air,

8:53

killing around 1200 people, injuring around 5600 people and taking 240 people captive.

9:00

Only a few of those hostages have been released in the over a month since Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's current and longest-serving prime minister,

9:08

announced that the country was at war and his cabinet called up over 300,000 reservists and ordered the bombing of the Gaza Strip.

9:19

Since then, Israel has continuously bombed the Gaza Strip and has launched an extensive ground invasion.

9:28

And the Israeli state has said that this could go on for months or even longer.

9:36

On October 9th, the Israeli military issued a total blockade of the already besieged enclave, including a ban on water and food.

9:41

Some aid has been allowed in since then, but not nearly in the amounts needed to begin to meet people's basic needs.

9:49

Two days later, Israel cut off power and restricted entry of aid and fuel.

9:57

Hospitals continue to be targeted from the air and ground and, in a horrifying, I mean,

10:02

it's it's hard to keep up to date on the number of casualties, which is horrifying in itself.

10:09

But more than 12,000 Palestinians, half of them children, have been killed.

10:15

At least 27,000 Palestinians have been injured.

10:21

And more than 70% of Gaza's 2.3 million residents have been displaced.

10:25

And many Israeli officials have publicly expressed the goal of rendering Gaza, or at minimum, northern Gaza, unlivable.

10:32

Netanyahu himself has expressed the desire to turn it into a desert island.

10:40

I also think it's important to note that as the Israeli military encourages Gazans to flee south,

10:46

which also doesn't take into consideration those who are unable to do so,

10:52

like the very sick, the very old and the very young, people are being bombed in the South as well, including recent attacks in Khan Yunis.

10:56

So there's nowhere safe to go in Gaza. And what we're seeing is an absolute humanitarian catastrophe.

11:05

People don't have food. They don't have clean water to drink. There's not fuel to run hospital generators.

11:12

And doctors are working with without anesthetics.

11:18

People are routinely being, their communication is being cut routinely.

11:22

Gazans have now gone for more than a month without water, food and health care.

11:28

And the U.N. has stated that the enclave's, health, sanitation, water and food services are nearing a breaking point.

11:33

Doctors are telling us that cholera and other life threatening diseases are almost inevitable.

11:41

So we don't know where this is going to go, but many, many more deaths will undeniably result from this catastrophe.

11:46

And then quickly, in the West Bank, Israeli forces,

11:54

which had already been seeing the most violence and Palestinian deaths since the intifada, in the West Bank

11:58

we're seeing intensifying air raids, the bombing of Jenin.

12:06

Settlers and soldiers are attacking Palestinian villagers.

12:10

Folks in a community I spent a lot of time in were attacked by armed settlers

12:14

who then returned to attack the funeral and killed more folks at the funeral.



12:19

So we're seeing really horrifying things also happening in the West Bank, where at least 200 Palestinians have been killed.

12:23

And, and I think that, somewhat, summarizes the horrifying state that we're currently in.

12:31

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #3]** Yeah. Thank you for that. I think we're all kind of coming to this space with differing levels of knowledge about the places that we're talking about.

12:39

So I think it would be helpful because I think what you shared with us is sort of, probably what a

12:50

lot of us have been seeing in the recent news cycle through social media and other other things,

12:54

right, the kind of level of humanitarian crisis and the kind of devastating warfare.

13:00

But could we take a little bit of a step back and could you explain for folks that are here the geography of the area that we're talking about?

13:07

So when people say Gaza Strip or Gaza, what are they referring to?

13:16

What's the West Bank and Israel? Where are these places?

13:21

Who lives there? Just to kind of give us those of us who maybe don't have that context, a little more of a sense.

13:24



**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** So on the screen that folks are seeing, we have like a map and timeline that show the progression of territorial control in the region in question.

13:32

All told, all together, Israel, Gaza and the West Bank cover about a little over 10,000 square acres, which is very small,

13:42

I mean that's only like two and a half times the size of Los Angeles County or about the size of the state of Vermont.

13:51

So we're talking about a very small area, actually.

13:57

And again, as another reference point, driving from the northernmost point of this territory to the southernmost tip only takes about 6 hours.

14:01

So it's a very small area, actually, that we're talking about. The red and green shaded map that's on the top right of the screen

14:10

folks are seeing shows Gaza and the West Bank and in green, they're also referred to as the occupied Palestinian territories.

14:18

We'll talk more about that in a minute. And the internationally recognized borders of the state of Israel is shown in red.

14:25

The 2010 map that's just below that in black and yellow also shows these territories,

14:34

but it has shaded Israeli settlements in the West Bank to be the same color as Israel, to be yellow,

14:41

so that folks can see how even over a decade ago,

14:47

Israeli settlements in the West Bank have broken up Palestinian population centers and turned Palestinian communities into isolated enclaves.

14:51

So Israel's territory is not really represented by the un recognized borders,

15:00

there is also a heavy Israeli presence in the occupied West Bank.

15:05

These again, these places are quite small. I'll just give a couple of population statistics.

15:11

Gaza is home to about 2.3 million Palestinians, around half of them children.

15:16

The majority of them are refugees or descendants of refugees from 1948.

15:22

The West Bank houses something like 3 million Palestinians and over 670,000 Jewish

15:28

Israeli settlers who are living in the West Bank in violation of international law.

15:36

Around 30% of West Bank Palestinians are also refugees or descendants of refugees from 1948.

15:42

The majority of Palestinians are Muslim, though there's a Christian minority, particularly concentrated in places like Bethlehem and Nazareth.

15:49

And overall in Israel, the population is around 9 million.

15:59

Jewish people make up about 73% of that. But Palestinian Arabs are a sizable minority within Israel itself, making up about 21% of the population.

16:04

These Palestinian citizens of Israel are often referred to as the 48 Palestinians,

16:15

people who were not displaced from the territory that is now Israel in 1948.

16:20

And then we're not, we're not going to be able to talk about this today, but there are also nearly 6 million Palestinian refugees in total,

16:26

many of those living outside of the territories we're talking about today in places like Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

16:34

I know that when it comes to the geography and the territory, people also have a lot of questions about history.

16:42

I'm always, I'm always thinking about how deep to go into the history because we have an hour and a half or so together today,

16:52

and really this is like at least a semester-long class, if not, you know, ten years of your life, in my case, to understand what's going on here.

16:59

But I want to touch on a couple of points as we see this kind of shifting map

17:07

to just kind of orient people and also because I know we got a lot of questions about that.

17:12

So if you're looking at the lower map that's in black and yellow, the image at the far left is the territory that was Mandate Palestine,

17:17

which prior to being held by the British, was a pretty autonomous part of the Ottoman Empire.

17:26

And when the Ottoman Empire was defeated at the end of World War I, the British took over administration of the Palestine mandate.

17:31

And again, we're not going to go, I think, too deep into this today, but [the British] made a lot of conflicting promises to different nationalist movements,

17:40

including the Zionist nationalist movement and Arab nationalist movement, including Palestinian nationalists.

17:47

At that time, in 1917, there were some early Zionist settlements in Mandate Palestine, but they controlled less than 2% of the territory.

17:55

As a suggested end to the British mandate, which was getting a lot of pushback from Palestinians and Jewish settlers both,

18:07

the U.N. passed a partition plan in 1947, which proposed borders for a future Jewish and Arab state.

18:16

That was the language used by the U.N. at the time.

18:24

Jewish leaders accepted the proposal, but were very clear that they saw it as a stepping stone for future territorial expansion.

18:28

Palestinian leaders rejected it. And I think that's often pointed to as a point at which, you know,

18:35

why didn't the Palestinians take this division of the territory and their state.

18:41

But I think it's important to know a few things: that at the time,

18:47

Palestinians formed two thirds of the population but were, under the U.N. partition plan, being allocated less than half of the territory.

18:50

So there are two thirds of the population being told that their state is going to consist of half the territory.

18:59

But also, I think. You know, there has always been a very clear understanding in Palestine that

19:06

Jewish nationalist - Zionists - and also Western powers determined the need for a Jewish state.

19:19

But that that has happened on Palestinian Arab land and at their expense when

19:25

they had nothing to do with antisemitism in Europe or with the Holocaust.

19:29

And so there's this way in which, like the partition plan, was trying to make up for the horrors that Jewish people had faced in Europe,

19:34

but they were doing it at the expense of people who had nothing to do with that.

19:41

And then, I swear I'm going to move through this a little bit quickly,

19:46

but when Zionist militias declared Israeli independence in 1948,

19:49

that set off the Arab-Israeli war and the newly established Jewish state ended up annexing 78% of mandate Palestine.

19:55

So more than what the U.N. partition plan had suggested.

20:03

around 700,000 to 750,000 Palestinians became refugees during that period, which represented 80% of Palestine's population.

20:08

So the establishment of Israel created the largest refugee population in the world and 80% of Palestine's population.

20:18

Palestinians therefore understand Israel's independence as their Nakba - or catastrophe - in a time

20:29

when their desire for self-determination was dashed and has been continuously dashed since.

20:37

In 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

20:46

So that's this image moving toward the right of the screen that folks are seeing. Since occupying the West Bank in 1967,

20:50

and particularly when the peace process is being negotiated,

21:00

Israel has removed, displaced and concentrated Palestinians through settlement expansion,

21:04

military roads, bypass roads, the annexation wall, and land confiscations.

21:09

So when we talk about the occupied Palestinian territories,

21:14

we're talking about the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, which have been held by Israel since 1967.

21:17

And then I think the the last thing I want to say about the history,

21:24

but we'll talk more about this when we talk about the origins of Hamas, is that in 1993,

21:27

Israel and the PLO signed the Oslo Accords in which the Palestinian Authority, governed by Fatah,

21:32

relinquished claims to 78% of the original Palestinian territory and they relinquished the right of return.

21:39

And so the debate over a two-state solution and a future Palestinian state became

21:47

just over the remaining 22% of land represented by the Gaza Strip in the West Bank.

21:53

So I think what I'm hoping this progression highlights for folks in the audience is that over time Israel has had a project of expanding its

21:59

territorial reach and the territory that is part of the Jewish state in ways that have necessitated and been built on the displacement,

22:10

dispossession and erasure of Palestinians and their communities.

22:20

Sorry for a very long winded answer.

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #4]** Well, that's okay.

22:26

I think that gives us some sense of what these maps are representing and the territories that we're talking about.

22:29

And of course, you make the point, right, that we have Palestinian refugees living outside of these particular territories.

22:37

But can you tell us, because, you know, so much of what we're hearing about is what's happening in Gaza.

22:43

But then you also explain some things that have been happening in the West Bank.

22:49

So can you explain a little bit about how the situation for Palestinians differs,

22:52

whether they're in Gaza, whether they're in the West Bank, whether they're in Israel?

22:58

You mentioned also we have Arab or Palestinian citizens of Israel.

23:02

So what are some of the differences and maybe similarities between the situations in these different territories for Palestinians?

23:06

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Thank you. So I think the shared experience of Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank and Israel,

23:16

again, is an experience of displacement, dispossession and erasure.

23:22

But that's accomplished in different ways in different territories. Within the internationally recognized borders of Israel,

23:26

Israeli civil law is used to displace Palestinians.

23:33

We see that in the news often in places like Sheikh Jarrah and Silwan,

23:38

where Jewish Israelis are displacing Palestinians from their historic neighborhoods, often by moving into their homes and forcing them out of them.

23:42

And a lot of violence and displacement there. In the West Bank,

23:51

it's not Israeli civil law, it's martial law that governs Palestinian lives.

23:59

So in the West Bank, Palestinians are living under a military occupation that is governed by the Israeli Defense Forces.

24:06

So their experience of, their day to day experience, is one of living under martial law. In East Jerusalem,

24:14

which has heavy concentrations of Palestinians in these neighborhoods I mentioned,

24:24

there's a combination of martial law and administrative law.

24:28

And then in Gaza, what we've seen since 2005 is all out warfare, essentially.

24:31

So between 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip and 2005,

24:38

Gaza was administered really similarly to the West Bank, was held under military occupation.

24:45

Israeli settlements expanded both in Gaza and in the West Bank,

24:50

though the West Bank is larger, so the numbers of settlers were also comparatively larger.

24:55

In 2005, Israel withdrew from Gaza and pulled out its 8,000 Israeli settlers.

25:00

The settlement expansion has continued in the West Bank.

25:07

I think, again, we're going to talk about this a little bit more in response to another question,

25:11

but Gaza has been under blockade by Israel for 30 years and has been under a complete aerial, land, and sea siege for 16 years,

25:16

which means when we said at the beginning that half of Gaza's 2.3 million Palestinians are children,

25:25

most of them under 16, that they've lived their entire lives under an Israeli siege with really just the the

25:31

bare minimum of things that people need to survive and sometimes not even that.

25:40

Since 2005, there have been five so-called Gaza wars, which are euphemistically described by Israeli leaders and military leaders as mowing the lawn,

25:45

as like cutting down resistance, Palestinian resistance in Gaza to the siege.

25:55

And so, yeah, differently, though, in the West Bank, Palestinians are experiencing settler takeovers, home demolitions,

26:04

forced displacement, arrests without due process, denial of entry, land confiscations and movement restrictions.

26:13

There are, again, almost three quarters of a million Israeli civilian settlers living in the West Bank in violation of international law.

26:23



And that's because, differently than Gaza,

26:34

the West Bank has a religious significance to Jewish people,

26:39

Jewish Israelis, that is more pronounced.

26:43

The West Bank is where like Bethlehem is, Hebron, the Tomb of the Patriarchs, Nazareth, all these kind of biblical sites and history.

26:47

And so that is used as a justification for Israeli settlement there.

26:56

And also the West Bank, under the West Bank is the largest aquifer in in this territory.

27:01

And so there's also control over resources and the most fertile agricultural land

27:08

that also spurs an ongoing Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

27:13

While, since 2005, they really treated Gaza as a cancer that they just, I think Israeli officials wish would just disappear.

27:19

And so I think that tells you a little bit about the different experiences that Palestinians are living in across these three territories.

27:28

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #5]** Well, we know you know, you talked a little bit about the differences,

27:37

but this kind of attack that happened on October 7 was launched from Gaza by Hamas.

27:41

So can you talk more about, can you tell us a little bit more about Hamas?

27:49

Like, what has their role been in Gaza?

27:54

When did they come to power? What has the Israeli government's relationship and approach to Hamas been over the

27:58

years and how has that maybe changed over time? Just so we can have some more context?.

28:08

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. So I do want to say I think it's important to understand context, but when we talk about the context of Hamas and this attack on October 7th,

28:14

there's often a lot of backlash because it's seen as a justification of the attack.

28:24

But I want to be clear that what we're trying to understand is the history and the context in which we have to make sense of what happened,

28:30

even if it's horrifying, so that we can break a cycle of violence going forward.

28:38

So I'll kind of... in your question, I think there's sort of three things to talk about.

28:44

One is how Hamas came to power, what they are, what the organization is about. And Israel's relationship with Hamas over time as the second thing.

28:50

And then third, what exactly the context of the attack on October 7th is and how Hamas understood that attack.

29:02

Which again, is not a justification, but it's important to understand what's happening here.

29:12

So we need to understand the existence and tactics of Hamas in relation to this history of,

29:17

again, dispossession of Palestinian land and Israel's expansion over that land.

29:27

Israel occupied and settled the Gaza Strip and the West Bank starting in 1967.

29:33

So in from 1967 until 2005, Gaza was settled in the same way the West Bank is.

29:38

In the late 1980s, during the first intifada - or Palestinian uprising - is when Hamas emerged.

29:46

So Hamas emerges as a political entity and a movement in the 1980s.

29:52

But at that time they were primarily an Islamist charitable organization.

29:58

In the 1990s, Hamas grew a political platform that asserted armed resistance toward Palestinian liberation and statehood,

30:04

and it began to function as a militant organization on the ground in the 1990s.

30:15

At the end of the Oslo Accords, which we mentioned briefly when I was talking about the geography and the history,

30:21

so in 1993, the Palestinian Authority signed a peace agreement with Israel.

30:29

You know, there's that famous photo of the three leaders standing together on the White House lawn,

30:37

shaking hands and feeling very successful as part of the Oslo Accords.

30:41

The Palestinian Authority, though, lost a lot of credibility for Palestinians.

30:47

They essentially relinquished 78% of historic Palestine to Israel,

30:53

relinquished the right of return for Palestinian refugees, for whom return to their homes is a

31:00

deeply important part of their liberation struggle, and failed to stop Israeli settlement expansion.

31:06

Because after this handshake on the White House lawn

31:13

we saw the largest expansion in Israeli settlements in the West Bank that we had seen since 1967.

31:17

So in response to a peace agreement under which Israel and the PLO essentially agreed that Gaza and the West Bank would be a future Palestinian state,

31:23

Israel expanded settlements in the West Bank,

31:33

which made it very clear for a lot of Palestinians that they were not actually going to have a state on this 22% of remaining territory,

31:36

that if Israel was expanding its settlements in violation of international law,

31:44

probably it didn't have any intention of giving up this territory after all.

31:48

So this really led to a backlash against the Palestinian Authority and Fatah,

31:53

the Palestinian party that was ruling the Palestinian Authority, and it made Hamas a lot more popular as a potential alternative.

31:58

Hamas presented itself as an organization that was bent on armed resistance and ultimately

32:10

called for the destruction of Israel and the replacement with a Palestinian state.

32:16

And unlike the Palestinian Authority, Hamas has never accepted Israel's right to exist.

32:21

And so when Hamas came to power, and I think this is also important history,

32:28

following the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinian Authority was pressured by Israel and the United States to hold parliamentary elections.

32:32

The Palestinian Authority and Fatah didn't want to. They said, 'we're not prepared and we don't think we're going to win.'

32:42

You know, we through this peace process, we haven't gained anything for Palestinians.

32:49

We haven't even removed a single checkpoint in the West Bank. And so we're not popular enough to win right now.'

32:53

But their arm was twisted and they held this election and Hamas won the election by a landslide;

33:00

over 70% of support. In response to Hamas winning this election,

33:07

that Israel and the U.S. had pressured the Palestinian Authority to hold in first place,

33:13

the Israeli government labeled Hamas a terrorist organization and punished the Palestinian Authority by cutting off all aid.

33:18

This then resulted in a feud between these two parties that are wrestling for control of the Palestinian Authority, Fatah and Hamas.

33:26

And in the West Bank, Fatah led a coup that overthrew Hamas in the West Bank and remove them from power.

33:35

But Hamas remained in more power in Gaza, where they have maintained, you know, militant armed resistance to Israeli occupation.

33:43

Okay.

33:57

So I know, folks, that this is a lot of history, but I think it is important to kind of understanding where Hamas came from and what they are today.

33:57

So in 2005, the Israeli prime minister disengaged from Gaza, meaning pulled out those 8,000 settlers.

34:06

And Gaza no longer was a territory that was settled by Israeli Jewish people.

34:12

It became what some people have called an open air prison and others have called a zone of death,

34:18

that Israel didn't really want control over administering,

34:24

they didn't want Gaza to be their problem. In 2007, Hamas took over control of Gaza and exiled the Palestinian Authority from the Gaza Strip.

34:28

Since then, it's been both an armed resistance movement,

34:39

but also a political governing entity in the [Gaza] Strip that is responsible for these more than  
34:43

2 million Palestinians and has to think about things like infrastructure and services,

34:49

not just armed resistance. And because of that, they've had to have a working relationship with Israel.

34:54

And of course, this hasn't been a friendly relationship, but if you know, if Hamas could keep some level of aid coming into Gaza,

35:00

it could provide the basic services that the people it was governing required.

35:08

And Hamas being in power worked for Israel because they didn't have to govern this territory, first of all.

35:15

But also - and several Israeli officials, including Netanyahu,

35:22

have been very clear - that Hamas being in power in Gaza is useful to the Israeli state project because it keeps the West Bank and Gaza

35:26

isolated from one another and therefore fractures and fragments the Palestinian liberation movement and Palestinian nationalist cause.

35:36

So as long as Hamas is in Gaza and Fatah's in the West Bank and they don't agree

35:45

with one another over tactics and they're kept separate and they're kept isolated,

35:49

again the Israeli state was able to prevent any kind of Palestinian state from coming into existence.

35:56

And they've basically used Hamas's presence in Gaza as an excuse to the international community of why there couldn't possibly be a Palestinian state,

36:03

why they couldn't possibly move forward with the peace agreement.

36:11

You know, I think like Netanyahu said very clearly in 2019:

36:16

those who want to thwart the possibility of a Palestinian state should support the strengthening of Hamas and transfer money to Hamas.

36:20

This is part of our strategy, again, to undermine the Palestinian nationalist movement.

36:28

And so I think it's really important to understand that,

36:35

like from an Israeli state perspective and certainly from the perspective of Prime Minister Netanyahu,

36:37

Hamas being in power in Gaza has been seen as largely a useful thing and not a problem.

36:42

There's been an assumption by - and again, that's not because this is a friendly relationship,

36:51

like, again, we've seen five so-called Gaza wars since the 2005 withdrawal -

36:55

but there's been an assumption by Israeli leaders that the Israeli defense was enough

37:02

to keep Hamas violence under control and to keep Hamas in Gaza contained and managed.

37:08

So, again, there have been these periodic episodes of killing and destruction,

37:15

which Israeli commentators and politicians call 'mowing the lawn,' which again, has been just kind of about maintaining the status quo

37:19

of this un-peaceful coexistence between Hamas in Gaza and the Israeli government.

37:26

I'm trying to think.. Oh, okay. So I think that gives you an idea of, like, how Hamas came to power,

37:35

why in a certain period they were popular. I also want to say, though, there have been no elections since 2007.

37:41

I mean, it's very hard to tell from polls, but from the polls that we have,

37:47

it seems like today, less than 20% of Palestinians in Gaza still support Hamas.

37:51

So they came to power in this particular moment when the Palestinian Authority had failed to make any gains toward Palestinian liberation,

37:56

but they are they're not largely popular today.

38:03

And I think that, again, is an important distinction to make. So then I think that brings us to this horrific attack on October 7th of this year.

38:08

And I haven't talked to Hamas, of course. So I'm going to give you an academic understanding and an understanding based on interviews

38:18

that other folks have done with Hamas leaders of like what the goals were on October 7th,

38:29

what was that attack about? So prior to that attack, the Palestinian cause had really faded away.

38:34

You know, it wasn't in the minds of people in the international community.

38:43

Israel wasn't thinking about Palestine anymore. Palestinian and Arab public opinion had been that Arab states had largely

38:47

abandoned Palestinians and didn't care about their nationalist movement anymore.

38:56

We'd also seen prior to October 7th, the most right-wing government in Israeli history,

39:01

that was not at all interested in talking about a peace process,

39:08

or talking about Palestine, and increasing attacks on Palestinians by settlers in the West Bank who were emboldened by this right wing government.

39:12

We had an ongoing siege of Gaza, and we were seeing these normalization agreements between Israel and Arab states,

39:21

where essentially Arab states were saying, a Palestinian state is no longer a precondition for us to have relations with Israel.

39:28

So I think Hamas and probably many other Palestinians were seeing this as a moment where,

39:37

really, the Palestinian cause had just disappeared from the conversation. And in this context

39:42

Hamas decided that they needed to do something extreme to bring the Palestinian question back into the public consciousness,

39:52

back into Israeli consciousness, and back into the view of the international community.

40:00

And what happened on October 7th was horrifying and also, in a way, has achieved what Hamas was looking for,

40:07

which is we're talking about Palestine and people are talking about the two state solution for the first time in many,

40:15

many years, as if it's like a real possibility. And so I do think, you know,

40:23

Hamas's goal was to shift the status quo of this hostile but controlled coexistence and make a statement that there couldn't be

40:29

peace alongside occupation and desperation and that Palestine had to be part of the international community's conversation.

40:40

And to do that, again, they launched this unprecedented attack where 1200 people were killed and 240 people were taken captive.

40:48

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha]** And then this kind of intense aftermath that we're also seeing now, that I suppose they couldn't have fully predicted.

40:58

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** I think they couldn't... They're, you know, I don't... No,

41:09

they couldn't have fully predicted it. Frankly, a lot of analysts are saying that Hamas was,

41:12

again, this is horrifying, but by their standards, more successful than they thought they even could be.

41:18

But the attack was bigger and more devastating than they had even planned.

41:23

But I also think like Hamas as a militant organization is pretty clear that they think death is necessary in the liberation cause.

41:28

And so it's really horrifying. But it was also it is also part of their long standing movement to push for Palestinian

41:38

liberation and to not let the Palestinian question disappear from our minds.

41:48

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #6]** Well, can you tell us..

41:52

You know, there's a lot, I think we're seeing a lot of competing ways

41:55

what's happening now is since October 7th is being talked about, sort of in the public discourse and in the media.

42:01

You know, there's some coverage that really looks at this as like a war, right, between Israel and Hamas,

42:10

and there's a particular way that that frames some of the things that have been happening in Gaza and the West Bank

42:18

since. We've also heard people emphasize the humanitarian crisis.

42:25

We also hear people using the term, terms like genocide, ethnic cleansing.

42:31



So I just was wondering, what are your thoughts - and these are questions that we also got from people,

42:37

right - what are your thoughts on the ways these different terms are being used to describe and frame the current situation?

42:41

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah, it's a good question. I'm going to take each of them in turn.

42:50

What does it mean to call it a war? What does it mean to call it a humanitarian crisis?

42:55

Was it mean to call it genocide?

42:59

So I think that calling.. that calling any of the so-called like Gaza wars where Hamas launches rockets at Israel and Israel

43:02

bombs Gaza and kills a lot of civilians,

43:11

I think calling these wars is problematic. Because war assumes that there's like a clear start and end, and that before the war there's peace,

43:15

and after the war, there's peace. Right? So there is like periods of war and there are periods of peace time.

43:24

And that's kind of the Western understanding and periodization of the concept of war.

43:30

And again, though, this assumes that when a ceasefire happens, if it happens, that then there's peace.

43:36

And I think there are a lot of folks who have instead asserted that we have

43:44

to understand lives under colonialism and under occupation as everyday war,

43:49

as existences that never really have peace, they just have ongoing displacement, death, disruption, arrest.

43:55

So there's not a start and an end to the hostilities.

44:04

And, and we've laid this out, right, with this long history in which this attack on October 7th took place,

44:08

like the beginning of this conflict was not October 7th and the beginning of like displacement and death and destruction was not October 7th,

44:15

this has been going on for 75 to 100 years, depending on what you want to date it to.

44:25

And I, and I think that's really important to keep in mind as the overall context,

44:31

so we don't act like when Hamas and Israel are not, quote unquote, at war,

44:35

everything is fine for Palestinians. You know, I think, again,

44:40

the everyday lived experience of living under siege in Gaza with the bare minimum of food and water and often not those things,

44:46

and access to education and access to jobs and access to hospitals and health care is an everyday experience of war,

44:54

though we are certainly seeing people's lives go from being incredibly difficult to nearly impossible under the crisis that we're currently seeing.

45:05

So I'll tackle that next: this is so clearly a humanitarian crisis and folks like the U.N. Special Rapporteur have been talking about how the

45:14

situation of human rights in the Palestinian occupied territories since 1967 could be considered a humanitarian crisis,

45:24

she made that determination a month ago when it was 2,000 Palestinians who had been killed and 500,000 who were displaced.

45:33

And now again, we have over 12,000 Palestinians killed in Gaza, half of whom are children.

45:40

And the number of wounded is also very high.

45:46

Again, it's a humanitarian crisis, and that's 70%, at least of Gaza's 2.3 million residents have been displaced from their homes.

45:49

They're being told to move south. Then the south of Gaza is also being bombed.

45:58

So it's very cynical, I think, to tell Palestinians that they need to flee in order to be safe, as if they are going to be safe.

46:02

Folks who cannot flee and are in hospitals or schools who are very sick,

46:11

babies in incubators, like all of these people are still, you know, experiencing the worst conditions that we can imagine.

46:16

I think Israeli officials have also been quite blatant in saying that they want this to be another Nakba [catastrophe].

46:26

They want this to be another catastrophe like 1948, which displaced at that time 80% of Palestine's population.

46:33

And they're very openly talking about this, which brings us to the question of ethnic cleansing or a genocide.

46:41

Again, I think if we look at the language that Israeli officials are using, it seems very clear that for many, their goal is ethnic cleansing.

46:48

They're trying to make Gaza, and at minimum, northern Gaza, unlivable.

46:57

They want it to be a place that Palestinians cannot survive.

47:02

They're pushing Palestinians closer to the border with Egypt.

47:07

There have been leaked plans showing that some officials are hoping that those

47:12

displaced Palestinians will be allowed into the Sinai Peninsula and then they will not

47:16

be allowed back into Gaza and they will become yet another displaced refugee

47:21

population, that are twice refugees because they were already refugees in Gaza,

47:25

and if they get displaced into the Sinai Peninsula, they'll be, again refugees.

47:29

You know, if you move 1.2 million Palestinians south towards Egypt and encourage Egypt to open the border,

47:35

I think it's somewhat a logical assumption that the goal is to push Palestinians out of Palestinian territories and into Egypt.

47:43

And so this is, this is the ethnic cleansing of the Gaza Strip.

47:51

I think that that is what we're seeing. And so it makes sense to me that people are using that language to describe this.

47:56

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #7]** Well, kind of thinking also about what we've been seeing in the world,

48:05

we're seeing sort of a large number of demonstrations in support of the Palestinian people,

48:11

and many of them are calling for things like cease fire or humanitarian aid and/or,

48:18

right, Palestinian liberation.

48:25

And so some of the things that we see in some of these demonstrations being articulated, but also by other supporters of Palestinians,

48:28

is that there's kind of references to the situation in Israel and Palestine being a settler colony or to being

48:36

an apartheid situation, that's been kind of more prevalent in the kind of human rights discourse in the last,

48:45

you know, probably decade or so. So I wanted you to kind of speak to those terms.

48:51

What do they mean and why would they be applicable to the situation in Israel and Palestine?

48:56

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. I feel like in tackling what is settler colonialism and what is apartheid, we're kind of getting to the heart of understanding the context.

49:05

So I understand the situation in Israel-Palestine to be settler colonialism.

49:15

That is how I approach it and study what what is happening.

49:23

I'm very clear that it is not a religious conflict, that it's a conflict over land. This conflict is often described as incredibly complicated,

49:28

and in some ways it is,

49:39

but also often when people are describing it as complicated, they're drawing on these tropes like it's been going on for thousands of years,

49:40

which is not true, or it's a religious conflict and Muslims and Jews are just destined to hate each other,

49:47

it's a clash of civilizations, there can be no other way of being, which is also patently untrue. At its roots

49:53

this is a conflict over land. It's a story of settler colonialism and resistance to it.

50:02

And that's not an uncontroversial opinion.

50:08

I mean, none of what we're talking about today is uncontroversial, right?

50:12

And I want to kind of frame this in this way: that all nationalisms arise in response to other nationalisms.

50:18

So it makes a lot of sense to me as a person and as a scholar that in response to horrific and ongoing antisemitism in Europe, as European states

50:28

were having these nationalist movements, and also in response to the Holocaust,

50:40

it makes a lot of sense to me that Jewish people, who were being told that they would never assimilate into these national communities,

50:45

that they would never be welcome, and who are being killed in mass numbers,

50:54

it makes sense to me that Jewish people reached the conclusion that they needed a state of their own.

50:59

It makes sense to me that those antisemitic nationalist movements led to a desire for a Jewish nationalist movement,

51:05

which is called Zionism. However, the Zionist movement was a largely secular movement

51:13

and there were a lot of ideas about what a Jewish state would look like and where it would be located.

51:23

Uganda was up for debate because it was a British held territory.

51:28

Argentina was up for debate and also Palestine. And in the end, again, these largely secular Zionist leaders settled on Palestine for a few reasons.

51:32

One, again, it was a British mandate and there was this relationship with Western powers who were trying to

51:42

find a place to put Jewish people that frankly they didn't want, like antisemitism in Britain

51:49

and the U.S. was part of why we supported the establishment of a Jewish state.

51:54

You know, the US famously sent away a boatload of Jewish refugees from the Holocaust and they went back and most of them died in concentration camps.

51:58

So there was plenty of antisemitism in the U.S. and amongst American and British leaders that led to this decision.

52:07

Palestine was settled on because of the kind of biblical history and the idea that it would resonate with,

52:16

again, mostly Western Europeans and Americans,

52:24

and it would lead to more support for a Jewish state in that territory because they could draw on these kind of religious ideas.

52:27

But again, this is not religious conflict.

52:35

They were creating a nationalist state for Jewish people in response to antisemitism in Europe, and the early Zionist movement is largely secular,

52:38

and actually most orthodox Jewish people at that time resisted the establishment of

52:49

a Jewish state because of a feeling that Jewish people shouldn't return to Israel,

52:54

to that to Zion until the second coming of Christ and all these kind of biblical moments.

52:58

And so,

53:06

I say that this is settler colonialism in a way that is not meant to refute the reasons for a Jewish nationalist movement, which are horrifying.

53:08

But when you set out as a settler population to establish a state for yourselves and the establishment of that

53:19

state necessitates the forced removal and elimination of people who are already living in that territory,

53:27

structurally, that is settler colonialism. If you're displacing mass populations who have lived in a place for hundreds of years, generations, right,

53:34

to establish a state they will not be part of that is exclusively for people who are members of your national community

53:46

that is settler colonialism. So again, it's not meant to... how do I want to say this....

53:53

I want to assert clearly that: arguing that Israel is a settler colonial state is not antisemitic,

54:01

it's a structural analysis of what is happening in this territory.

54:08

And so settler colonialism generally has three features that I'm going to run through a little bit quickly,

54:14

and then I'm going to talk about the apartheid piece. The first, as I mentioned, is settler colonizers come to stay.

54:19

They come to a territory to establish their own sovereign entity at the exclusion of native people, of people who are already in that territory.

54:26

Number two, settler colonies depend on what's called the logic of elimination.

54:35

In order for them to establish an exclusive homeland,

54:40

they have to displace, eliminate, erase, assimilate,

54:44

there's a variety of techniques that are used, but essentially they need the territory to be emptied of the existing population.

54:48

And we saw that with the establishment of the state of Israel,

54:58

when 700,000 to 750,000 Palestinians were displaced, creating the largest refugee crisis in the world.

55:00

So that logic of elimination that is ongoing is a structure of settler colonialism that we certainly see happening in Israel/Palestine.

55:09

And then the third feature of settler colonies are our shared narrative justifications.

55:18

Right, so the U.S. had all of these tropes in our own, in our own settler colonial and ongoing settler history of,

55:24

you know, 'this is an empty land that no one's really settled.

55:33

We're actually the first people to discover it. Like, we're here planting original communities or peace loving communities.

55:37

And if Indigenous people attack us and we defend ourselves, that's always just defensive.'

55:44

And there's no recognition in that framework that violently displacing people from their territory is already a violent act.

55:49

And so if they resist, they're resisting in a defensive manner.

55:56

But there are these ways that settler violence get reframed always as defensive in nature.

55:59

In Israel, we heard tropes like 'a land without a people, for people without a land.'

56:06

Meaning there's no one in this territory, which was not true, it was densely populated by Palestinians, and we don't have a place

56:11

so we're going to go take this place that nobody else has taken yet.

56:21

And this narrative of a land without a people for a people without a land fits very clearly similar narrative justifications

56:25

that other settler colonies like the U.S. and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa have used over their histories as well.

56:33

So when I talk about Israel/Palestine, to me it's settler colonialism.

56:42

That's how we need to understand this, it's a conflict over land. In human rights circles, this is increasingly referred to as an apartheid situation.

56:47

And really, we've reached a period where human rights organizations and legal experts and both Israeli human

56:57

rights scholars and Palestinian human rights scholars all largely agree that this is apartheid.

57:05

Apartheid is a term, of course, originating from the South African government's oppression of black residents.

57:14

It's considered a crime against humanity under international law. And at its core,

57:21

it refers to policies that are intended to elevate one racial group over another with the goal of maintaining the dominant group's hegemony.

57:25

The International Criminal Court, which Israel is not a party of,

57:35

has defined it as 'inhumane acts that are committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and

57:39

domination by one racial group over any other racial group that is committed with the intention of maintaining that regime.'

57:47

So again, in human rights circles, like there's a large consensus that this needs to be understood as an apartheid regime,

57:55

that it fits that ICC and these U.N. definitions under international law.



58:03

I also think, though, I think apartheid in particular, but also settler colonialism,

58:09

both of these terms are based on a structural analysis of what's happening.

58:15

I think they describe to us and help us understand what's happening.

58:20

But they're not just a framework for understanding what's happening. They're also a way to build solidarity.

58:24

Right? You talk about settler colonialism. You build solidarity amongst native resistance groups across the globe.

58:29

You call this apartheid and you think about the ways that the international community ultimately rallied

58:38

around things like boycotts and divestment and sanctions to put an end to the South African apartheid regime.

58:44

And it's a way of trying to rally the international community to take those kinds of steps and do something about this.

58:50

Right? It's a way of helping us understand this within a wider scope of liberation struggle.

58:56

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #8]** Well, it's very helpful, to help us kind of understand what's been happening in terms of these demonstrations that we're seeing.

59:05

And sort of on the other side, right, just a couple of days ago, there was also a significant demonstration in Washington, D.C., in support of Israel.

59:14

And there were a number of U.S. elected officials and sort of governmental leaders

59:23

from both sides of the political spectrum that have actually been quite divided.

59:30

Right.? But increasingly divisive.

59:34

And so I think it was like the new the the new Republican House speaker, Mike Johnson in his comments actually said, right,

59:36

Israel is one of very few issues that can bring kind of bipartisan support.

59:46

And it was very evident in this large demonstration that happened.

59:52

So I guess I wanted you to explain a little bit why that is,

59:57

why we kind of see this this bipartisan support that was demonstrated at least as one example in this kind of D.C. demonstration.

1:00:01

And, you know, how that could maybe help us understand what the United States is role in the Israel Palestine sort of conflict has been?

1:00:11

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. Yeah. I mean, there's not a lot of daylight between Democrats and Republicans generally on this topic.

1:00:20

We sometimes see a change in rhetoric, but we don't really see a change in policy.

1:00:28

So, for example, Obama was a bit more outspoken about Israeli settlements being not good

1:00:33

and being a violation of international law and that Israel needed to to stop,

1:00:41

you know, stop settlement expansion.

1:00:45

But ultimately, it's like a finger wag and there are no repercussions when Israel does it anyway and continues expanding settlements.

1:00:47

The U.S. just keeps sending aid and support. You know, under the Trump administration, you had a much more pro-settlement

1:00:55

administration, like Trump was pretty much like, 'do what you want in the West Bank.

1:01:03

Seems cool to me.' So there's those kinds of differences.

1:01:07

But overall, U.S. policy doesn't really shift.

1:01:10

According to USAID, between like 1946 and 2023, U.S. dollars, adjusted for inflation that have been sent to Israel, is an estimated \$260 billion.

1:01:16

We [the U.S.], on average, send Israel \$3 billion a year in aid and military aid,

1:01:29

and the U.S. is really funding and maintaining settler colonialism and ongoing occupation in Palestine.

1:01:39

I think like why we don't see a lot of daylight, I think there's a few things.

1:01:48

One, frankly, is that the United States is a settler colony.

1:01:52

So if the U.S. says that Israel's project is illegitimate and what they're doing is illegitimate and  
1:01:56

their territorial expansion is illegitimate and that they're violating the rights of native people,  
1:02:03

then that means that the U.S. is illegitimate, which is, you know, frankly not something we're  
willing to entertain.

1:02:07

We like to believe that even folks, you know, it's like Trump doesn't want to...

1:02:16

Republicans/Trump don't want to admit to our racist history in the origins of our country and in  
chattel slavery and in indigenous dispossession.

1:02:22

Democrats are willing to admit those things, but Democrats generally like to, like,

1:02:32

lean into this myth that we're just on this natural progression toward justice and that we did  
some bad things,

1:02:36

but that's not who we are anymore, which is also not true. Right? So I think that in part explains  
why we don't see a difference across U.S. administrations.

1:02:42

Also, just thinking about U.S. foreign policy, like having an ally in the Middle East where we can  
station troops or we can launch

1:02:52

attacks from, that we can rely on to join us, is useful for U.S. aims in the Middle East.

1:02:58

And. Yeah, I mean, like. We're seeing under the Biden administration, perhaps the most Zionist  
U.S. administration in history.

1:03:09

Joe Biden, for his entire political career, has been an ardent supporter of Israel.

1:03:18

And so what we're seeing now is that instead of supporting an immediate ceasefire

1:03:24

and calling for the de-escalation of Israel's brutal military assault,

1:03:29

the U.S. government is deliberately choosing instead to increase military aid

1:03:33

and weapons to Israel that enable it to continue carrying out this catastrophe.

1:03:38

So. Yeah. And I guess the last thing that I want to mention on the U.S. role in the conflict is in  
the United Nations.

1:03:45

The U.S. position on the Security Council has meant that any time that the U.N.

1:03:52

tries to hold the state of Israel to account for its crimes against humanity,

1:03:56

for humanitarian crises, for the illegal expansion of settlements in occupied territories,

1:04:01

the U.N. just vetoes all, or the U.S. just vetoes all of those resolutions.

1:04:06

And Israel is never held to account. And so it's not that there aren't people in countries in the international community

1:04:10

who would like to see Israel held accountable for its crimes against Palestinians.

1:04:18

It's that the U.S. makes sure that that doesn't happen.

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #9]** Well, I think switching gears a little bit, but still related,

1:04:23

a lot of the questions that we got were from students who are feeling really anxious about how to talk about this topic and feeling like,

1:04:30

you know, worried about their safety in discussing what's happening in Israel and Palestine

1:04:42

because of what we're seeing in general and particularly on college campuses.

1:04:48

We've been seeing incidents. You know, a lot of us have been like in the news,

1:04:54

we're seeing student protesters and activists as well as faculty getting doxxed or people losing their jobs or having like job offers rescinded.

1:04:58

So I guess one of the things I wanted you to address for us is why do you think it's so hard to

1:05:12

talk about like things like liberation for Palestine, to be critical of Israeli state policies?

1:05:20

Why is there this sort of intense pushback that a lot of people are experiencing now, even as there is,

1:05:27

I think also a like rising calls for, you know, like you said, some kind of way to address the kind of current brutality that we're seeing?

1:05:34

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. I mean, I think again, time and time again over history,

1:05:45

when Israel and Palestine are in the news, we see a rise in both Islamophobia and antisemitism in ways that people are feeling really scared.

1:05:53

We've seen attacks on Jewish people around the world. We've seen also attacks on Palestinian and Muslim people around the world, horrifying attacks.

1:06:02

So I think some of the people's fear is very legitimate, like, you know, people's bodily safety and general safety.

1:06:11

You know, we have a lot of Islamophobia and antisemitism in this world that we have not grappled with.

1:06:19

And we need to learn how to hold people in their humanity.

1:06:24

And we need to learn how to distinguish between the actions of Hamas and Palestinians or Muslim people.

1:06:27

The actions of the state of Israel and Jewish people, so that we can have these really important

1:06:33

and necessary conversations in ways that don't make people feel like their safety is at risk.

1:06:38

You know, historically, critiques of Israel have been labeled antisemitic in a way to chill debate and make people too afraid to speak out.

1:06:45

And again,

1:06:55

I want to assert really clearly that criticizing Israeli state policies and having a structural analysis of this conflict is not antisemitic.

1:06:56

It does not equate to hate of Jewish people.

1:07:05

But we do, we are seeing across social media, in the world, like a lot of hate towards both Jewish and Muslim/Palestinian people.

1:07:07

I think, you know, we need to be able to state hard truths and clarify critical issues.

1:07:16

And this conflict has always been really intensely uncomfortable to discuss.

1:07:22

But that's not a reason to avoid it. That's a reason to lean into it.

1:07:27

It's really horrifying that folks are not feeling safe in places like on college campuses to

1:07:31

have this discussion because we should be about free speech and open dialog and we're not.

1:07:36

What we're seeing actually is dialog being shut down and people being doxxed and

1:07:42

being threatened and losing job opportunities and all of these horrible things.

1:07:46

You know, I think some people feel like in the light of Hamas's attack on October 7th,

1:07:52

that this is not the right time to talk about the ongoing occupation and colonization of Palestine, that it's not appropriate to talk about it.

1:07:57

But frankly, we don't talk about Palestinians unless they're dying by the hundreds and thousands.

1:08:05

So outside of these like moments of crisis, when this conflict is actually in the news and actually on our minds, we don't think about Palestinians.

1:08:11

Right? And again, that was part of the context for Hamas's attack in the first place,

1:08:20

was this feeling that the world at large didn't care about the Palestinian question and the Palestinian cause anymore.

1:08:24

I think it's hard to talk about liberation for Palestine because of the general

1:08:33

Islamophobia in the U.S. and in other Western countries where we equate Islam with terror.

1:08:38

And we equate Muslim people with terrorists. So I think there's an ingrained assumption that that is the context of what's happening here.

1:08:45

Right? I also think like that we struggle to talk about liberation for Palestine because,

1:08:53

frankly, we're stuck in a colonial, zero-sum, winner-take-all mindset,

1:09:02

like the settler colonial mindset that is based in a logic of elimination says that one

1:09:08

people's freedom depends on the other, the unfreedom of another group of people.

1:09:14

And we have to get outside this settler colonial framework because I think any reasonable person

1:09:20

would not say that saying free Palestine is genocidal towards Jewish or Israeli people.

1:09:28

But that's the way it's framed.

1:09:33

Like it's framed that way to keep us from talking about it and to keep us from thinking about how it might be possible.

1:09:35

I think the idea that Palestinian liberation necessarily means the annihilation of

1:09:43

Jewish Israeli people is an idea that's really ingrained in the colonial mindset that,

1:09:48

like freedom is a scarce resource and not everyone can have it.

1:09:54

Like colonialism is a hierarchical system, again, in which freedom for one people necessitates unfreedom for another people.

1:09:58

But, but actually, I think what we're seeing, if we're really paying attention, is that that's not true.

1:10:07

And violence actually begets violence. And none of us are free unless all of us are free.

1:10:12

So I think like, you know, I just want to say that saying free Palestine is not antisemitic, criticizing Israeli state policy is not antisemitic.

1:10:18

And the idea that freedom for one people requires the unfreedom of another is a colonial mindset that we have to find our way out of.

1:10:27

And I think the only world where we're actually all safe is a world in which we're all free.

1:10:35

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha - Question #10]** Well, thank you for that.

1:10:41

And I'm going to ask you the final question that I have prepared and I think maybe builds a little bit from what you've just said,

1:10:42

but maybe if there's anything you want to add. So, you know, the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has made really clear that, you know,

1:10:50

this current sort of situation that we're seeing, that the goal of the Israeli state and military is to eradicate Hamas.

1:10:59

And so I'm wondering from your kind of perspective, your knowledge base, do you think that that's possible?

1:11:09

And for those that want to see an end to this kind of ongoing violence, not just in this current moment,

1:11:16

but really this longer historical violence and really see a kind of like meaningful, sustainable resolution,

1:11:21

what would that, what does that mean? What might that look like? Yeah.

1:11:30

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** I mean, there's a way in which right now no one really knows what is going to come next.

1:11:36

Like, this is a level of violence that in a lot of ways, even though this is a conflict that's gone on for 75 years, is pretty unprecedented.

1:11:41

And so we don't really know where this is going to end up and what the possibilities are going to be.

1:11:49

But I do think that what we are seeing is, you know, Palestinian statehood is back in the conversation.

1:11:55

And liberation for Palestinians is back in the conversation.

1:12:03

There's been this like frantic diplomacy.

1:12:08

And also people are talking about the two state solution in a way that they haven't talked about in a really long time.

1:12:10

So I guess.. actually maybe I'm going to start with like, Netanyahu's stated desire to eliminate Hamas and whether that's possible.

1:12:17

And then I'm going to talk about possibilities.

1:12:27

So I think, like it's very clear that neither Hamas nor Israel have a long-term plan for how this ends beyond trying to eliminate one another.

1:12:29

And that doesn't work. And that just leads to more violence.

1:12:38

No one thinks that destroying Hamas is actually an achievable goal, frankly, because you can wipe out military capability,

1:12:43

you can even wipe out leadership, but you can't eradicate a political movement.

1:12:51

You can't eradicate the idea that armed resistance is one way for Palestinians to fight for their liberation.

1:12:55

And so what we're seeing in Gaza right now will not eliminate Hamas, but it is a recipe for endless death and destruction.

1:13:04

I think what Israel is doing right now in Gaza is not going to resolve anything and it's not going to lead to peace for anyone.

1:13:12

This collective punishment and mass death, you know, is only going to get more death.

1:13:21

A lot of folks have said this, and I think it's true that there is no military solution to this conflict.

1:13:28



There has to be a political solution that entails, also, liberation for Palestinian people,

1:13:33

which has never really been on the table in the past 75 years in an honest way.

1:13:40

And it needs to be [on the table]. You know, I think,

1:13:46

the the whole time,

1:13:51

like whenever Israel negotiates in these kind of peace agreements or these moments when it seems like there might be a way forward,

1:13:53

what we actually see is expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and these moves that make it

1:13:59

really clear that Israel is actually not interested in a Palestinian state or in Palestinian liberation.

1:14:04

And frankly, they need that if they also want to live in peace and security like that is what is necessary.

1:14:10

You know, we're also like creating a whole, another, generation of people who are suffering devastating loss.

1:14:20

There's deep fear on both sides. And frankly,

1:14:27

both Palestinians and Israelis are really digging in to their fear and rage and despair in a way

1:14:31

that's really concerning and that moves them further apart and not closer to some kind of resolution.

1:14:37

So that's really scary. It's really scary to see that. In terms of like, where do we go?

1:14:43

For a long time, and again, I think in the, in the popular debate right now is this idea of a two state solution

1:14:52

where there is a Jewish Israeli state that is side by side with a Palestinian state,

1:15:01

and they're both free within their borders and autonomous states.

1:15:07

You know, I think people are talking about this again, which is not a bad thing.

1:15:13

Personally, based on my research and my experience, I don't think a two state solution is a realistic way forward.

1:15:16

If it ever was, it certainly isn't anymore.

1:15:24

There are three quarters of a million Israeli settlers living in the West Bank who have no intention of leaving and who

1:15:28

I don't think the state of Israel has any intention of removing.

1:15:35

And so these days, when anyone talks about a two state solution,

1:15:39

that also means that Israel gets to annex these parts of the West Bank that are settled by Israelis, which means that a Palestinian state and again,

1:15:43

look at this map, the furthest on the right, right, that like what is being proposed right now in the two state solution is a Palestinian state

1:15:51

that's made up of these like disconnected spots in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

1:15:59

Like, I just kind of don't see how that could ever be a functioning, autonomous, sovereign state,

1:16:06

personally. And, and I have felt like in my research in my career that sometimes when people are talking about the two state solution,

1:16:12

they're actually bringing it up in like a cynical way to actually make it

1:16:21

impossible for there to be a peaceful resolution because it's not really possible.

1:16:25

But the longer we talk about it as if it's possible, the longer we can not do something,

1:16:29

is what I think. Most,

1:16:34

yeah, I guess I would say most, most Palestinians that I talked to in the past five years for sure in the West Bank think that the only

1:16:40

way forward is one binational state that includes both Israelis and Palestinians as equal citizens,

1:16:49

and so that Palestinians could have the right of return and return to the territories that they were displaced from and that this

1:16:59

new binational state would have to find a way for both of those peoples to have their full rights and citizenship and freedoms.

1:17:06

Now, look, of course, that's not easy. And I don't think like a Jewish Israeli state,

1:17:14

certainly none of the governments that we've seen and not the current government, have any intention of something like a binational state.

1:17:20

But I think when we're talking about settler colonialism, right, and what it looks like to decolonize a settler colony,

1:17:27

it means that we have to get out of this mindset, again, that like only one of these two people can be free.

1:17:35

We can't roll back history. We can't roll back time.

1:17:41

I think what decolonizing settler colonialism looks like is a completely different framework that is not based in white supremacy,

1:17:44

and that actually is a place where all people have rights and freedoms.

1:17:54

Now, I realize that all of these possibilities seem really far away, but I think that's what we have to aim for.

1:17:59

Because, again, I don't think that anyone is going to be free until we're all free.

1:18:07

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha]** Well, yeah. Thank you for that. You're kind of ending us in, like, a deeper,

1:18:13

I think, question, right? Which is: what is decolonization?

1:18:19

And these are questions that, you know, we're seeing certainly in Israel and Palestine.

1:18:22

But as you point out, there are a lot of places in the world, including here in the United States,

1:18:27

where these questions of decolonization are very real and ongoing, even if the conditions and stakes are quite different.

1:18:32

Well, maybe not the stakes, but the conditions. So I'm going to now pass it back to, I think Sara's been giving us a lot,

1:18:41

it's a lot to take in, but we do want to make sure in the about 20 minutes that we have left

1:18:49

there's at least some opportunity to maybe address some questions that have come up in the chat.

1:18:56

So I'm going to take a step back and pass it to Dustin,

1:19:00

who's going to kind of share, ask Sara the questions that have come up since we began our discussion.

1:19:05

**[Dr. Dustin Wright - start of the Q&A]** Thank you, Sriya. And thank you, Sara, for going at it now over an hour, so I'm sure, please drink some coffee or whatever you have there.

1:19:12

We have had some some questions come into the chat and I can see that some are still coming in, so I'm going to keep monitoring that.

1:19:24

But one question here: 'Do we know the percentage of Jews that lived in Palestine in and around 1917?'

1:19:31

And can you say more about the argument that Jews have historic claims to this land as well,

1:19:39

which this the person who wrote the question says, you know, the common refrain.'

1:19:46

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Right. Yeah. So in this area,

1:19:51

which includes Jerusalem, which is one of the one of the most highly contested places that we're talking about here,

1:19:54

the reality is, is that for a very long time, you know, many, many hundreds of years,

1:20:03

this area has included Muslims, Christians, Jewish people, Jewish people who are Arab, Muslim people who are Arab, people who are not Arab.

1:20:10

But, you know,

1:20:20

Jerusalem is a really important, has been a really important place for a lot of human history, where people have come through and settled and left.

1:20:23

And it's been a crossroads. And so, so certainly there have been Jewish people and Muslim people living in this area for a very long time.

1:20:33

And there have been long portions of history when they lived together very peacefully.

1:20:41

And I think that Jewish people having a historic connection to this territory is not untrue.

1:20:47

But asserting that that means that, you know, 4,000 years later,

1:20:55

European Jews and others can come set up a national homeland that excludes large proportions of the other

1:21:01

people who have lived in this territory for a very long time is still a case of settler colonialism.

1:21:08

So to me, like when we're thinking about settler colonialism,

1:21:15

it's about the structure and it's about the requirement of displacement to set up a state.

1:21:19

So setting up a Jewish state, which is also very clearly turns its Palestinian citizens into second class citizens within the idea that Israel is an

1:21:24

exclusively Jewish state, on territory that required mass displacement of Arab Palestinians, is settler colonialism,

1:21:35

even if Jewish people have a historic connection to this territory.

1:21:44

Yeah. I feel like there's another part of that question that maybe has slipped my mind.

1:21:50

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** No. You know, just that I'm sorry if you said it, but the,

1:21:54

the percentage of Jews that lived in Palestine?

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. So I don't have in front of me the percentage of Jewish people who were in Palestine in 1917.

1:22:00

There were also, again, like Jewish people who had been in Palestine for a very long time,

1:22:09

and there were new Zionist settlers, Jewish Zionist settlers who were coming from Europe and other places.

1:22:13

And the information I have in front of me right now is that in 1917,

1:22:21

Jewish settlers controlled 2% of the total territory of this land that is called Palestine.

1:22:25

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Okay. Thank you very much. And I'm kind of putting together a couple of questions that that have resonated with each other.

1:22:35

Let's see. One is, 'what are your thoughts on BDS, specifically calls for an academic boycott of Israel?'

1:22:45

Yeah.

1:22:55

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** So BDS, for folks who don't know, refers to Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions and is a nonviolent way of resisting Israeli colonialism and occupation.

1:22:56

And there are different versions of BDS. Some people call for boycott, divestment, sanctions, specifically from the occupied territories.

1:23:07

So, for example, there are Israeli settlements, but also Israeli like production factories,

1:23:15

like tech companies, farms, all kinds of things located in the occupied West Bank.

1:23:21

So some folks, when they call for boycott, divestment, sanctions, they mean we're not going to buy any settlement products,

1:23:26

we're not going to buy anything that's coming out of Israeli settlements in the occupied

1:23:33

West Bank because they're illegal under international law and they shouldn't be there.

1:23:38

Other folks calling for boycott, divestment, sanctions mean that we shouldn't buy any Israeli products,

1:23:43

period, to put pressure on the Israeli government to change its policies.

1:23:48

I think like this idea of a BDS comes from a global resistance to apartheid South Africa.

1:23:54

And so I think there's this feeling that this was a nonviolent movement that helped put pressure on the South African apartheid regime to end,

1:24:04

and that it's one way to put pressure on the Israeli regime to to end the way that it operates.

1:24:12

Frankly, though, like a lot of, you know... really ardent Zionists also consider BDS antisemitic.

1:24:19

And so I think there's this way in which like for some people, for some Israelis and certainly for most Israeli government officials,

1:24:30

any critique of Israel and any action taken to call out Israel for what's happening in Palestine is antisemitic and is a hate crime,

1:24:38

and it can't happen.

1:24:46

And so it's really complicated, right, because people are trying to come up with these, like, peaceful ways for them to resist what's happening.

1:24:48

And even those get a lot of pushback. Yeah.

1:24:54

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Yeah. Thank you. I think this other question is really honing in, I think on some of the

1:24:58

defense-related questions of the immediate moment right now.

1:25:07

And so this question is: 'Is, or if there is a need to fight Hamas,

1:25:12

how can this be done without collectively harming Gazans?'

1:25:20

And you talked already a little bit about, you know, this idea of completely eradicating Hamas.

1:25:23

Probably not possible, right? Because we're talking about kind of an ideology or a political movement as well as a terrorist organization.

1:25:33

So, I mean, what is, yeah, but how does, as a defense response, a security response,

1:25:42

how does that, how do you how do you fight Hamas without collectively punishing everyday Gazans?

1:25:49

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. I think again, I don't think there's a military solution to this, period.

1:25:56

Like, I think it's clear to me that Hamas has remained in power

1:26:01

in part because it's been beneficial to the Israeli government to keep Hamas in power because it undermines

1:26:06

the Palestinian nationalist movement and it keeps the West Bank and Gaza Strip isolated from one another.

1:26:12

And so I guess I just think it's a bit, you know... framing,

1:26:19

framing this as defense is tricky. I think it's tricky, honestly, like that Israel has a right to defend itself.

1:26:25

Some folks, like the U.N. Special Rapporteur are saying that's not true.

1:26:31

Like under an illegal occupation, occupied populations have a right to armed resistance against their occupier.

1:26:35

The right of self-defense is a right against other states, and there is no Palestinian state.

1:26:44

And I think because of the conditions in Gaza, which are largely created by the Israeli state and government, you know,

1:26:52

it's densely populated and thousands of people die because they because they've been contained there

1:27:04

and they've been and they're refugees from their homes and they're not allowed to go anywhere else.

1:27:09

And so, you know, I find it...

1:27:15

you know, I understand why people feel like that's tricky, but I think really,

1:27:19

if we want to change the cycle of violence, we have to change the underlying conditions.

1:27:23

We can't just attack Hamas.

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Thank you.

1:27:27

Yeah. Yeah, There were a couple of questions, I think, that were thinking about that question.

1:27:31

This, this, this bigger issue of of the immediate strategic

1:27:38

designs of what this, you know, the the Israeli military response has been and what that what that could possibly mean going

1:27:44

forward with with regard to all the civilians in the way, in the in the middle of this disaster.

1:27:55

Yeah. Another question that just came in here.

1:28:02

Sorry. 'What immediate action would you suggest that the U.S. and the international community as a whole take with regard to the conflict?'

1:28:07

You know, calling for a ceasefire or, you know, thinking about, you know, this conflict not only with the United States,

1:28:15

but it looks like there's also a suggestion about, you know, institutions like universities.

1:28:24

But what do, what do we think about that?

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah, I mean, well, I guess a couple of things.

1:28:29

One is that in the immediate moment, we need to unequivocally call for a ceasefire.

1:28:35

Like, we need to stop the mass death and collective punishment that we're currently seeing because we can't really think about anything else

1:28:42



while that's going on.

1:28:50

And so I think the first thing we need to unequivocally call for, which the U.S. has not, and I don't know if we will, is call for a ceasefire.

1:28:51

I also think that the occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is in part ongoing because the U.S. sends Israel \$3 billion at least of aid a year.

1:29:00

So really, like the United States is funding this conflict and maintaining this occupation.

1:29:14

And I'll tell you what I think right now. I think if the U.S. stopped sending aid to Israel,

1:29:21

and Israeli citizens' tax dollars had to pay for the ongoing occupation,

1:29:28

I think it would end because, frankly, I don't think Israeli taxpayers would stand, the majority of Israeli taxpayers, who are willing,

1:29:33

maybe a lot of them, to like live with the fact of the occupation, as long as they don't have to have anything to do with it directly, like

1:29:40

would not be willing to go along with it if they had to fund it.

1:29:47

So the fact that the U.S. sends so much aid to Israel is a big part of what maintains the ongoing violence and the cyclical nature of this conflict.

1:29:51

I think that universities and states and others should be calling for boycott, divestment and sanctions.

1:30:01

I don't think that that should be considered antisemitic. We're not talking about boycotting Jewish people.

1:30:08

We're talking about boycotting the Israeli state to try to put pressure on the state to end its policies in its ongoing colonization of Palestine.

1:30:14

And so I think those are some of the things that we need to do.

1:30:23

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** How we doing? Can we, can we take another question, Sara?

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah, let's let's take two more.

1:30:27

If my, if my co facilitators are not also totally burned out.

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** I think you're doing the heavy lifting here.

1:30:33

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** So yeah, let's take two more.

1:30:38

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** This is maybe somewhat related to thinking about the U.S. role in this, thinking about the other sort of bigger nations that are involved here.

1:30:43

And this is a question about Iran. This is: 'what is the Iranian interest in their sponsorship of Hamas?

1:30:56

And do they actually support Palestinians or are they just finding ways to keep the region unstable for whatever reason?'

1:31:06

Maybe this gets into that question of or, you know, looking at this conflict

1:31:13

also as a proxy war.

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Yeah. Yeah.

1:31:19

I mean, I think it's pretty clear that Iran and also Arab states have largely

1:31:23

given up on the, on Palestinian liberation as a requirement for coexistence with Israel in the region.

1:31:30

Iran is a little bit different than the Arab states that have been normalizing relations with Israel.

1:31:38

Iran really wants to set its sights in an Islamic state.

1:31:43

So it sees itself in this kind of both territorial but also religious conflict with the state of Israel.

1:31:48

You know, the Iranian government expresses a lot of sentiments, but like the Middle East as a whole,

1:31:57

should be Islamic states that are run by Islamic governments.

1:32:03

But yeah, I think the, I think the person who asked that question is sort of, put it like... I think they kind of know the answer.

1:32:08

And the answer is, yeah, I think Iran really does want to just maintain instability in the region because

1:32:13

that creates opportunities for Iran to profit financially and also militarily.

1:32:21

And it maintains the feeling that Iran is a great power in the region, which has been threatened in a number of ways in recent decades.

1:32:27

And so, you know, Iran setting itself up in opposition to Israel is a way of maintaining geopolitical importance and power.

1:32:35

But, you know, I think even Hamas is like, you know, which is funded in part by Iran, but also in part by Israel.

1:32:45

[Hamas] thought that other Islamist militant entities, including Iran, including Hezbollah, would really rally around this moment.

1:32:57

And I think largely, actually, we haven't seen that.

1:33:08

There was a moment where there was real, real deep fear that this would lead to a larger regional war.

1:33:10

But I think that moment has, for the most part, dissolved.

1:33:16

Like, you know, Hezbollah has been launching attacks into Israel, but they've been doing it in a pretty piecemeal way.

1:33:18

You know, Iran makes all the statements Iran makes, but we're not actually seeing

1:33:25

a larger regional conflict result from what's happening here.

1:33:33

And I think that alone tells us that it's not really about Palestinian people.

1:33:37

Last question? I mean, a lot pressure to be the last question.

1:33:43

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Do you want the last question or would you like some space to sort of,

1:33:47

add any other, anything else that you haven't had a chance to add?

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Well, I mean, I think we've covered a lot, folks.

1:33:54

I again, I'm really, really grateful to folks for coming out.

1:34:00

Whether you are really mad at me right now or, you know, however, however you're feeling in relation to the conversation we've been having.

1:34:04

It's really essential that we find ways to treat each other with dignity and respect and to have

1:34:12

these hard conversations and to take a clear stand but in a way that doesn't dehumanize anyone.

1:34:18

And so I'm just I'm really you know, it was...

1:34:25

um, it's been a hard month plus. I personally have lost a lot of people that I really love and people that I love have lost a lot of people.

1:34:30

You know, I have friends who have lost their entire extended family.

1:34:39

And so it's a really, I'm I'm holding a lot of grief that we're all holding because this is horrifying.

1:34:45

And I'm also holding a lot of personal grief. And that's really hard.

1:34:51

And also, though, I have so much love and gratitude for the folks who asked for this conversation to happen.

1:34:56

And if folks want to talk more or have questions, I'm always available to talk about this.

1:35:05

It's it's my life's work. And I didn't study this by accident.

1:35:10

I made a lot of intentional choices because I think this is really important.

1:35:16

And yeah, I think that's it. Thank you so much.

1:35:21

**[Dr. Dustin Wright]** Thank you for bringing your expertise, your wealth of experience and and research that you've done and, you know, taking the time to share it with

1:35:27

with our campus community and with everybody else who dropped in today.

1:35:40

It's, certainly, you know, I think as,

1:35:44

as we've talked about before, right, this, this is complicated, horrible, difficult stuff.

1:35:48

And to sort of mingle your professional life as an academic and a scholar with something that is so

1:35:55

emotionally taxing, draining, consuming,

1:36:03

is is is another type of labor, right,

1:36:08

that sort of intersects with who you are as a as a person.

1:36:12

And that's, so I want to acknowledge the, the energy that I know that that consumes.

1:36:15

And thank you for sharing it with us and talking about it.

1:36:23

If I could,

1:36:28

I'm going to share in the chat a link to another event that we're going to be hosting here at CSUMB, this is going to be this is on December 5th,

1:36:29

sorry, fourth. And we are going to have Professor Stephen Zunes from the University of San Francisco,

1:36:42

who's going to come and speak more about this issue and maybe speak very specifically

1:36:48

about the U.S. and the U.S.'s policies in regard to informing this issue.

1:36:56

So we really hope that you will share this and people can can come out to that and hope to see see more folks on December 4th.

1:37:02

Does anybody else have any anything to add?

1:37:11

**[Dr. Sriya Shrestha]** Oh, I mean, thank you, everyone who came and for everyone who helped with facilitating the event and of course, Sara,

1:37:15

for taking the time and sharing with us, and the energy, as Dustin was saying, emotional and intellectual and otherwise.

1:37:22

**[Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes]** Thanks, y'all. Peace.

[OtterPod theme music] Executive producers of the OtterPod are Dr. Sara Salazar Hughes

1:37:31

and Dr. Sriya Shrestha, theme music by Eric Mabrey.

1:37:43

We would also like to thank the Abolitionist Teaching Network for helping with the

1:37:48

webinar format for this teach-in and teach-in facilitators Dr. Sriya Shrestha,

1:37:52

Dr. Dustin Wright and Kenny Garcia. And thank you to all attendees.