



مركز العودة الفلسطيني  
Palestinian Return Centre

# ONGOING NAKBA AT 73

PALESTINIANS DEMAND RIGHT OF RETURN



# SPEAKERS



**BATOOL SUBEITI**



**FALK RICHARD**



**RANDA SINIORA**



**SAWSAN**



**GERRY CARROLL**

## NOTE:

Following is a verbatim transcription of the speakers' oral contributions delivered at the webinar. For the sake of authenticity, the texts are kept in their original forms, as read out by the speakers. Therefore, any imperfection in terms of the rules of academic writing (sentence structure, grammar, word order, punctuation etc...) stems from the inherent differences between written and oral discourse and the improvisation that occurs as speakers go along.



## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Peace be with you all. Welcome to this evening's webinar entitled "Ongoing Nakba at 73, Palestinians Demand Right of Return", hosted by the Palestinian Return Center. I'm your host Batool Subeiti.

Today's event is an online panel discussion commemorating the ongoing Nakba, 73 years on. I want to start off by sending our heartfelt greetings of dignity to the steadfast and persistent people of Palestine, not simply what is considered occupied Palestine today, but the entirety of Palestine as we know it, starting from Jerusalem, the origin, to the Palestinians of 1948 and the diaspora to Gaza and the West Bank. It is your steadfast resistance that will bring about justice not only for the Palestinian struggle, but it will bring it about for the entirety of humanity, because your steadfast resistance will bring about humanity's rights to not exceed the boundaries of human rights, because the biggest shame throughout humanity to have occurred was the catastrophe in Palestine. It was and is the mother of all crimes. It was the original shame in the meeting of the interests between the Zionists and the imperialists.

The superpowers of the world conspired and turned their backs on Palestine as the brutal settler colonial state of Israel was erected on the ruins of the ethnically-cleansed Palestinian towns and villages, with over 50 of them, 50 percent of them completely razed to the ground. It is the crime above which there is no other that saw the displacement and uprooting of over 800,000 Palestinians from their lands who became refugees

became refugees during the Nakba, that's not including during 1967, when you had a third of a million who also became refugees. This illustrates the unique nature of this oppression that is ongoing.

The Nakba continues from what we have all been witnessing, I'm sure, in Sheikh Jarrah to Israel's refusal, totally, to recognize the 7.2 million Palestinian refugees legally enshrined right to return. So all forms of racial, ethnic and religious discrimination are practiced against the Palestinians today who are denied the simplest rights even for those Palestinians who hold the nationality of the wrong state, that is Israel. So only a serious and large scale momentum can erase this biggest shame that has occurred. In the case there was no right to return, this shame in the conscience of the world will remain.

In the case there was no right to return, human values will be reduced to nothing. They will be stripped of their weight. And that is because the temporary and narrow interests of the world's powers to create a state at the detriment of another people has occurred at the expense of the principles and values.

Now I want to speak to you all about the 'My Return' campaign. It is a popular voluntary initiative launched by the London based Palestinian Return Center in cooperation with national and international Pro-Palestinian partners. The campaign was first launched in Jordan in cooperation with the Palestine Committee in Jordanian Parliament and culminates in a position that calls for and reaffirms the Palestinian right of return. The campaign seeks to turn such an inalienable rights into an international cause so it can garner the largest possible amounts of signatures on a petition that is confirming the Palestinian refugees' devotion to their right of return. The petition clearly states that it rejects the US's deal of the century and any other initiative undermining the Palestinians' internationally guaranteed rights.

Israel and the US have never ceased to undermine such an inalienable Palestinian right by denying the refugee status of displaced Palestinians inside and outside occupied Palestine, the former US president Donald Trump's recognition of occupied Jerusalem as Israel's capital, the campaign waged by Israel and the US against UNRWA, the US suspension of its funding to Palestinian refugees, and the increasing calls to resettle the refugees and destinations other than Palestine, or tactics which those seemingly divergent aim for the same goal and that is undermining the right of return.

The right of return will never be negotiated away, nor will it be used as a bargaining chip. So this campaign is based on individual signatures on my return petition through its official website [www.myreturn.net](http://www.myreturn.net). The petition has already garnered over 680,000 signatures, so please do find it.

Before introducing our speakers, if you have any questions you would like our speakers to answer, then please do leave them in the comments section and the speakers will answer them in the Q&A.

So now to introduce our first speaker, I'm so honored to introduce you, Professor Richard Falk. Just some background information on him. He is a leading international law professor. He's a prominent activist. He's a prolific author and a pioneer thinker dedicated to peace and justice. During the 40 years at Princeton University, Falk was active in seeking an end to the Vietnam War, a battle on Iran, a just solution for Palestine-Israel and improved democracy elsewhere. He also served as UN special rapporteur for Occupied Palestine. Since 2009, he has been nominated annually for the Nobel Peace Prize. It's my absolute honor to introduce you Professor Richard.







## FALK RICHARD

Thank you so much. It's a great honor to be with all of you tonight. This is a very solemn moment for the Palestinian people. Never, I think, has the note been observed at a time which exposes the underlying criminality that the Palestinians have been subjected to for more than a century. Fundamental to that criminality is a basic connection between the expulsion of Palestinians as the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians that occurred in 1948 and repeated in 1967 and manipulated in various ways since then through residency, the denials and inflicting various forms of insecurity as far as belonging in Palestine, that has existed through this period of 73 years.

I think it's very important to understand that the ethnic cleansing that was involved in the Nakba as an event in 1948 was a crucial part of the Zionist project, because not only did that project seek to establish a Jewish homeland in a non Jewish society through the backing of a colonial entitlement. At a time when colonialism was collapsing all over the world, but it combined in a particularly cruel and treacherous way. The expulsion of Palestinians with a denial of their right of return. A denial that was dramatized by granting Jews all over the world, whatever their connection with Palestine or Israel was, an unlimited and unrestricted right of return. So what has the paradox that the people who are disconnected with the land can come back, come to that land and enjoy full legal rights without having any prior claim, while those that have inhabited the land for decades and centuries are arbitrarily and unconditionally excluded.

In this, of course, is tied to the underlying project. Not only did the Zionist project want to

establish a homeland, which was the pledge of the colonialist Balfour Declaration, but they immediately expanded that pledge in their own planning to become a commitment to establish a Jewish state and what that meant in effect, was an apartheid state was established that administered this kind of ethnic subjugation of the people that resided in the land and excluding those that had their roots in Palestine from returning. This violated the most elementary rights of international law, international morality, and it was against the flow of history, which was at that time of the collapse of European colonialism. Here was a European project to make the people of Palestine strangers in their own homeland and to approve immigration manipulations and through the vagaries of history, establish and support political support as to impose an alien people on Palestine, which was validated by the United Nations to the extent of a partition of the country.

That partition was immediately exploited in a way that allowed for Jewish expansion from 55 percent to 75 percent of the territory. And then to encroach upon the occupied parts of Palestine through the settlement phenomenon as well. So one has a sequence of events in which the people that were entitled by law and morality and historical conditions to enjoy the fruits of self-determination and the control of their own destiny. We're not only subjugated, but they were dispersed and fragmented through various procedural and coercive measures and denied the right of return in violation also of General Assembly Resolution 194, which reaffirmed the right of all Palestinian refugees to return. So Israel has defied effectively and with geopolitical backing, especially by the United States and the European Union.

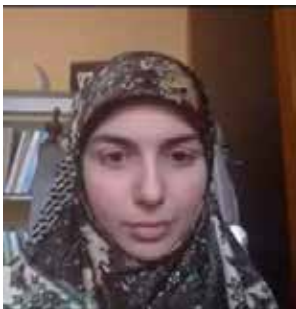
It is the elementary right of all people to come back to their own homeland and it is of an essential nature that a peace will never be sustainable unless it allows that basic right of Palestinians to return to Palestine and to have equality as a minimum to enjoy the right of self-determination within Palestine until those rights are vindicated and validated. There will be no peace, no justice and continuous eruptions of violence. The Sheikh Jarrah evictions of six Palestinian families are just a metaphor for the larger crime of ethnic cleansing and of the denial of these fundamental rights.

So I think it's very important not only to honor and recognize the legitimacy of Palestinian resistance and demands for the right of return; The Gaza movement of 2018/19 was a great march of return that gave visibility to this core demand. But also global solidarity must recognize that the underlying crime of the whole Zionist project was directed not only at taking land, but at the rights of the people.

The apartheid extends to the refugee camps. Israel practiced a politics of fragmentation and deliberately dispersed Palestinians so they could claim to be a democratic state. So, one has this linkage between exclusion denial of right of return and an apartheid structure to maintain order and security.

This must be challenged by people of goodwill throughout the world. It is long past time that civil society gave the highest priority to isolating and using every means possible to bring justice to the Palestinian people and to activate the United Nations as it was against South African apartheid; To make clear that until Israeli apartheid is totally dismantled, including the denial of the right of return, there will be no peace and no justice.

Thank you very much.



**BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Professor Richard, very, very profound points that were made, particularly with respect to the nature of Zionist settler colonialism and its expansionist nature. And you touched upon the idea of how the wrong state, which is Israel, made it clear right from the start that they wouldn't tolerate being limited by orders that were given to them in the UN proposal such that in front of any siege or war, they want to be threatened or overtaken.

So, when we look at the aggressiveness that the wrong state displays in expanding, that is essential for the wrong state to survive in changing its land from a military base, which is actually what the West wanted. You know, the imperialist powers wanted a military base, a military expansion to change that into a real country which was capable of surviving, which is what the Zionists had in mind, and that came at the expense of the people themselves, the Palestinian people themselves.

So thank you very much for that, Professor Richard. Very profound. And before I move on to the next speaker, Randa Siniora, we're going to play a short clip, a short video touching upon what's happening on the ground in Sheikh Jarrah, and then I shall introduce her.





Up next, we have Randa Siniora. Randa is the general director of the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling. She is a human rights and women's rights activist with professional experience in the field of international human rights and humanitarian law for over 35 years. Previously, she was the senior executive director of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights for from 2007 to 2015 and the general director of Al-Hakk, Law in the Service of Man from 2001 to 2005. Previously, she also headed the networking and advocacy at the WCLEC and worked as a legal research and coordinator of the Women's Rights Program at Al-Hakk. Randa Siniora was the first Palestinian woman to ever brief the UN Security Council on Women's Peace and Security in 2018. In 2015, she was selected among the 100 most influential people in gender policy around the world, one of the largest and most prominent global lists that was drawn from over 9000 nominations to recognize and celebrate the hard work being done on gender policy by many around the world. Randa has an LLM in international human rights law from the University of Essex, UK and an MBA degree in sociology anthropology from the American University in Cairo. It's my absolute honor to welcome you, Randa.





**RANDA SINIORA**

Thank you very much for the introduction and for having me.

And I would like to thank the Palestinian Return Center for inviting me this evening to speak on the ongoing Nakba, which is really a very good title for the real sufferings of the Palestinian people over the past 73 years. Palestinians have been living under an apartheid regime, a Zionist scheme that really wants to have the land of others and try to control the life of the people through settler colonialism and apartheid regime and the discrimination which we, all Palestinians, are living under.

As a Palestinian woman, I lived most of my life under Israeli military occupation and I was hoping that the future would be a better future for us or in the oPt where we can live in our own land and have our right to freedom and the right of return to all the Palestinians who have been displaced. We're talking about over eight million refugees all around the world, but also around seven hundred ninety thousand Palestinians who are internally displaced by the Israelis.

What we are witnessing now in Sheikh Jarrah, in Jerusalem, with the attack on the worshipers, also on Al-Aqsa last Monday and the attempt to ethnically cleanse or expel the Palestinians of the Sheikh Jarrah, the families from their own homes is only an ongoing Israeli policy that we have witnessed over the years of Israeli military occupation. It is not really very strange now that we are and why we are seeing the bombardment of Gaza. We remember also the previous military attacks on the Gaza

Strip in 2008 and 2012 and 2014. And this one is only an ongoing attempt to kill civilians who should be protected under international human rights and law. Israel has a legal obligation, and the international community is not doing much on what's happening.

Today, we woke up in the morning to hear about a strike in Gaza, which has led to the killing of six children from one family who have been reported to have been killed with their mother. Only a child of five months has been able to be secured from this bombardment, cruel bombardment, and the Israeli military machinery over civilian population. That is not justification of self-defense, which is being used for the killing of the children and the civilian population, which most of the casualties are among the people today. We also saw them bombarding or flattening down a whole media agency building with the international media and local media based in it in order to silence and prevent the media from reporting on the crimes that are being committed by Israeli occupation.

The example you've seen in the film, which we've shown before I speak, is only one example of how Israel, at the expense of the people's right to their own homes, is trying to expel the people from their own homes to conduct ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people in Silwan, in Sheikh Jarrah but in many other neighborhoods of Jerusalem, and to allow the expansion of settlements and settler schemes in Sheikh Jarrah specifically. The expulsion of the people of Sheikh Jarrah will result in the building of the settler units in that place for the benefit of the settlers who are illegally, whether they are legally or illegally, the Israeli courts really give the legality to illegal practices; It gives legitimacy to illegal and immoral practices against the Palestinian civilian population in Jerusalem and Hebron and other parts of the occupied territory.

All of these are only these pictures of Israel's ongoing and excessive force and the killing and murdering of the Palestinians in cold blood. What we've seen during last year, covid-19 attacks on the Palestinians in more than in a way or another has been really an ongoing business by the Israelis. While the people were resorting back to their homes to do in COVID-19, we've seen them conducting house demolitions and then forcing the people to leave their homes, the only revenue or the only place where they can resort during the spread of the virus.

And it was ongoing all through all their policies, restrictions of movement, the prevention of the people to move freely within the oPt on top of the pandemic, which was affecting everybody. The sufferings of everybody, but especially women and girls under Israeli

military occupation, is multi-layered. The operation has been further felt by the people during the covid-19. There has been numerous factors that have exacerbated the sufferings of Palestinian women under Israeli occupation. The bombardment of Gaza now really in this war, in the burdens and responsibilities on Palestinian women who have to manage their families with the with being now expelled from their homes and becoming again refugees and resorting to other places for refuge. Now the schools are being opened for the families to resolve that, that are nothing in these places.

The Palestinian people are witnessing more than one time when they are being expelled from their own homes from 1948 onwards. And many people have witnessed a number of more than one time that they left their homes. I do recall in my own family in West Jerusalem, they were living in an area known as Katamon, where they have been expelled from their own homes in 1948 and also we have witnessed displacement in 1967, even when we were lucky, lucky people to return from Jordan after the 1967 war. We have seen that every time we are being threatened of losing our right to reside in our own homeland at the expense of the expansion of the Zionist scheme of trying to bring in foreigners to Palestine.

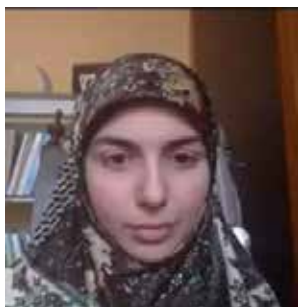
The Israeli authorities, always under the pretext of the Israeli nationality law, is the most discriminate occupation you can ever think of. It's a colonial expansionist occupation, but also it creates facts on the ground through de facto annexation, through opening all the venues and privileges for the settlers to expand and expropriate our own resources at the expense of the Palestinian people and the right to live in their own homeland and as well to be able to have the right of return.

The Palestinians who are in diaspora have the right to come back to their own homes. U.N. Resolution 194 should be and it should be implemented now after seventy three years, despite all the atrocities that we are facing now in Jerusalem, in the West Bank and of course, now in the Gaza Strip, we can speak about it in light of what's coming in. The Palestinians, people just the right to their justice, to the right to their homeland is being further showing how we are fighting as Palestinians wherever we are inside Israel or in the diaspora or in the oPt with fighting together to our right, to our homeland. We have to come back to our home.

And in commemoration of the seventy third anniversary of the Nakba, despite the war crimes being committed, we see a light of hope of the court of the Pre-court Chamber of

the International Criminal Court to open investigation as a hub for bringing justice through and accountability through making Israeli criminals and generals who have committed crimes against the Palestinians to be brought to justice. We want to stop the culture of impunity in the oPt that Israel has never committed in the oPt. We want the people to live in peace and to achieve justice. Only if the culture of impunity has been broken and accountability is brought and Israel is made to pay for the price of its occupation and settler colonialism, we can live in peace. What Muna Alkurd from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood has said: 'I opened my eyes to the clashes of the neighborhood people with the settlers and the Israeli soldiers attacking us. Since I was a child, I lived a very difficult childhood as I lived with my family in my grandfather's grandmother's home in Um Kamel's home. The house was built for us and we moved from our own home and we had to suffer, she says, along other 28 other houses in the land of the Karam Aljaoni and other families from the neighborhood.

We have witnessed Israel taking over the land, taking our homes and building settlements or expanding on the many pretext. Sometimes they use the law and the courts work for them. But the result is that ultimately we're seeing the Palestinians inside Israel protesting the discriminatory policies of the Israeli government that is built on a state that tries to be only for its own Jewish people. And that's a very discriminatory, racist policy that should come to an end. I think I see a little bit of hope that all the Palestinians, wherever they are, are fighting against this colonial occupation. What is missing and what should be further called on is the international community's legal and moral obligations towards the Palestinian people and the right for a just and durable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and ending the root causes of our problem, which is colonial occupation. Thank you very much.



**BATOOLSUBEITI**

Thank you very much Randa. That was very, very profound, especially centralizing it back to the root cause and referring to the fact that if we want to reverse the biggest change that has occurred in Palestine through the occupation, this requires accountability. And the Nakba reminds us that even international law itself is erected on the ruins of the occupation and the aggression of the Palestinians, since international law is what gave recognition to Israel from the start. So even when we demand international law, that doesn't even come close to



reversing the biggest change to have occurred and granting the Palestinians their full rights in a just matter, you know, when we talk about international law granting Palestinians, for example, the right to return or to remove the occupation of the 22% of that land, which is the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, you know, that's almost the equivalent of demanding crumbs from one stolen bread to be returned to them. And even this hasn't being applied, you know, so stressing on the importance of accountability, the importance of guaranteeing these bare minimum rights. And we need to see this materializing. We need to apply that pressure. So thank you very much. That was very profound.

So, our third speaker is going to be Saleh Hajazi. Saleh is the deputy regional director for MENA at Amnesty International and leads the work on Palestine-Israel. He has been with amnesty since 2011. Prior to that, he worked at al-Quds University Human Rights Clinic and with Human Rights Watch. He holds a B.A. in liberal arts and an M.A. in human rights. Please welcome Hijazi.

Batool Subeiti OK, I was told that Saleh is not with us here, so on that note, I'll just move on to the next speaker that we have, who is Sawsan from D.C.I. Palestine. Sawsan is the UK advocacy officer for Defense for Children International Palestine. Sawsan, it's an absolute honor to have you. And welcome on.







## **SAWSAN**

Thank you so much. And apologies. My camera isn't working today. So thank you very much, everyone, for being here. My name is Sawsan and I'm the UK advocacy officer for DCI Palestine, a local Palestinian organization that works specifically to protect the rights of Palestinian children. Our work is divided into the child protection and accountability programs, and we're most known for a global campaign to end the military detention of Palestinian children, which is called No Way to Treat a Child. So PRC kindly invited us today to talk specifically about the documentation as it relates to the ongoing Nakba. Since the Nakba, Israel has created an environment in which nowhere is safe for Palestinian children. We regularly gather affidavits which are legally sworn testimony from Palestinian children and their families and witnesses to incidents involving children. These range from fatalities and injuries caused by settler and soldier violence, home demolitions, military offensives. And we collect affidavits from children who are detained in the Israeli military detention system and those whose lives are impacted by the closure of Gaza. I've been working for DCI intermittently for about nine years, and in the hundreds of testimonies I've read, the same phrases emerge over and over. Palestinian parents whose homes have been demolished will say there's nowhere to go. And children who have lived through Israel's military offensive in Gaza will say there was no safe to hide. And children in the West Bank will explain that not even their walk to school is safe from violence and risk of arbitrary arrest. Even schools themselves are not safe. The widely shared footage of the children of Hebron primary school bullies,

for example, among others fleeing and collapsing after Israeli soldiers tear take us into the playground, is such an example. Israeli forces even detained two brothers aged eight in 10th February while they played on their bikes outside the home in Hizma, a town just northeast of Jerusalem. Moreover, like all Palestinians, Palestinian children have been historically denied recognition of civilians and are the only children in the world who are automatically and systematically prosecuted within a military detention system, Israel's military detention system. Israel prosecutes between five hundred and seven hundred Palestinian children in military courts each year. And we estimate that since 2000 Israeli military authorities have detained, interrogated, prosecuted and imprisoned around thirteen thousand Palestinian children. Violence within the system is widespread and systematic, with three quarters of children consistently reporting that they were physically assaulted, among other forms of ill treatment, including solitary confinement. Many others separated from the parents often and lawfully transferred into Israel and denied access to a lawyer. Palestinian children are entirely unprotected once they're detained in the system. We can't also mark this week of terrible anniversaries without mentioning the Nakba Day killings of teenagers Nadim Nawara, who is 17, Mohammed Daher who is 16 on May 15th, 2014. Both boys were shot dead at the same spot an hour apart at relatively long range as they walked and posed no threat to anyone. It was a painful reminder when on Wednesday this week, Israeli forces shot and killed a 16 year old Rasheed Abelardo with live ammunition in the village of Aqaba, located just northwest of Tubas in the occupied West Bank. He was shot twice in the back as he tried to run away from Israeli soldiers who are firing at civilians from military vehicles, which had entered the village in the early morning. It would take more than the time we have this evening, I think, to adequately summarize the scale of the impact upon children, of the closure of occupation and colonization of Palestinian land. So I thought it would be timely, given the escalating situation in Gaza this week, to give you an overview of what documentation from the last week and to revisit what happened in Gaza in 2014, which I think presented across 50 days, many of the central policies and practices that typify Israel's treatment of Palestinian children, namely the indiscriminate manner in which Israeli forces have continued to kill civilians, including children, the shameless disregard for international law and the creation of an environment in Gaza and elsewhere. But there is no safe place for Palestinian children.

Today, we confirmed that a total of 40 children have been killed in Gaza this week, officially making these hostilities deadly for Palestinian children. The Operation Pillar of Cloud. In 2012, we publish daily updates of child fatalities and injuries on our website, if

you'd like to see these. You may notice that during Operation Protective Edge or Ophi, which lasted 50 days in the summer of 2014, Israeli forces killed at least two thousand two hundred twenty Palestinians in Gaza, but the majority were civilians, according to the UN. Nowhere in the Gaza Strip was safe during OPE as Israeli forces indiscriminately targeted densely populated residential areas, as it is doing now.

We found overwhelming and repeated evidence that Israeli forces committed grave violations of international humanitarian law, some of which amounted to war crimes, including attacks on places in which civilians were known to be sheltering, like the homes and schools and the direct targeting of children by Israeli drone fired missiles. Since this Thursday, around 10000 Palestinians have fled their homes due to the ongoing hostilities and are sheltering in schools, mosques and other places. But we know from the actions of Israeli forces during OPE that even these places are not safe. Israeli forces killed children at a rate of one child every hour during the height of the violence. We independently verified the deaths of 547 Palestinian children among the killed in Gaza. 535 of them as a direct result of Israeli attacks, almost 68% of children killed by Israeli forces were 12 or younger, at the time of the operation, during which Israeli forces killed 164 of these children with drone strikes. Israel was the world's largest exporter of aerial drones. Our evidence shows that on numerous occasions, Israeli forces unlawfully targeted individual civilians and civilian structures, resulting in the killing of children. And in one such case, 40 year old Rawya Judah and four of her five children were killed by an Israeli drone fired missile on the afternoon of August 24th as they gathered in the family's garden in a neighborhood in Jabalia refugee camp. The children were aged between 6 and 14. Coming up to an attack that is not directed at a specific military objective constitutes an indiscriminate attack and a monster war crime. Civilians, including children, must never be targets. And civilian structures and infrastructure seem not to be legitimate targets. But despite this, Israeli forces fired more than thirty six thousand artillery shells into densely populated residential areas in the Gaza Strip during OPE, the effects of which cannot be limited as required by international law.

The firing of artillery shells in close proximity to civilians or civilian structures also constitutes an indiscriminate attack. At this, but almost this exact time, two evenings ago, around 6.15 p.m., Israeli forces again deployed artillery shells against civilians, killing 17 year old Fawzi Abu Fares and her nine month old nephew, Mohammed Abu Daya in the Um Al-Nasser village in the northern Gaza Strip. Three Israeli fired artillery shells struck the Abu Fares house killing Fawzi and Mohammed and dismembering Fawzi's adult

sisters, Nisreen and suffering as they celebrated eating in the living room; Those 20 other family members. The cost the children of OPE did not end with the ceasefire agreement. Several children died in the months following OPE, including three infants who died of hypothermia the following January.

All three were from one of the 18000 thousand housing units that have been damaged or destroyed during the operation. A fourth child, four year old Muhammad Sami Abu Jarad, died after picking up an unexploded hand grenade left behind by Israeli soldiers who had occupied his home in Beit Hanoun, north Gaza. According to evidence we collected after the offensive, many children exhibited signs of psychological trauma, including bedwetting and difficulty sleeping, separation anxiety from their parents. The UN estimates that three hundred and seventy thousand Palestinian children require immediate psychosocial support following OPE.

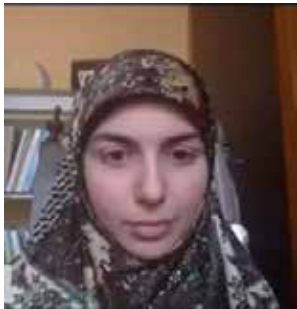
Many years on, the children who survived continue to pay the price for these indiscriminate, violent acts but meted out by Israeli forces during OPE, at least three thousand three hundred seventy four children were injured and thousands were left permanently disabled, according to UN OCHA.

An Israeli air strike on July 29th left Gaza's solar power plant inoperable, causing electricity outages of 18 hours a day across the Gaza Strip. The electricity crisis in Gaza impacts every aspect of children's lives from their ability to access online classes during lockdowns mandated in response to the covid-19 pandemic, to their safety at home, when the only option is to light it with candles, which have claimed the lives of several more children in Gaza. In 2018, backup generators failed at the pediatric specialist hospital in Gaza City.

Medical teams have to manually ventilate for children until the machinery was fixed. Well, the Nakba Day is a time to remember, reflect for many years of protracted and numerous forms of suffering.

I think it's important to reflect on Operation Protective Edge to illustrate what any further escalation will mean for children and all Palestinians living in Gaza. It's important that we, especially in the UK, pull out poor responses from the UK government to complaints about wrongful acts by the Israeli government. And it's also hugely important for us and

civil society organizations and those activists to continue correcting the record and showing good documentation, particularly online, where it needs to be shared and seen. And, of course, I'll be very happy to come back and share some more our documentation and talk about what we're doing to engage the British government and Congress and of course, to answer any questions. And thank you for inviting us here up today.



**BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Sawsan. That was very difficult for me to personally hear all of that. But at the same time, it's important that we do not try and desensitize ourselves from the situation. These aren't numbers. These are human beings.

And as you were talking, I couldn't help but think about how then Israel, this wrong state decides to justify its brutality to the rest of the world. You know, and it's so clear to me as someone who is living in the West and has access to mainstream media, that it does this ultimately through sheer dehumanization, you know, branding this idea that Palestinians are terrorists, that is an important psychological precondition to spread among the population in order for the West to carry on furthering wars and supporting the Israeli regime. And it's like once you take away the humanity, there's casualties on that. And these mothers do not seem to equate.

And this was you know, I saw this very clearly when the former defense minister of Israel, when he was confronted about the murder of the Palestinians, RazanAlnajar, his response was: we don't know if she is a nurse, might have had a bomb strapped around her. So just by default of being a Palestinian, you are a terrorist and you are therefore subject to death. And that's something acceptable.

And this dehumanization of Palestinians has actually reached a stage where if we wish to highlight the atrocities committed by the brutal Israeli occupation, we find that it's not even enough to give a high death toll. It's not enough to say one hundred

civilians were killed in one day, you know, men, women and children.

We have to search for images of babies that are completely torn into pieces and charred in the bid to garner that kind of sympathy. And of course, this has only been made possible due to the US superpower and its allies anchoring Israel, as you mentioned, Britain as well. And that control of the mainstream media narrative has completely normalized this and completely desensitized the people of the world. So thank you very much, Sawsan, for your contributions.

Up next, we have Gerry Carroll. Gerry Carroll is the People Before Profit Emily for West Belfast. He has represented the powerful West constituency in the Northern Ireland assembly since May 2016, Gerry has been an outspoken voice for Palestinian human rights and freedom throughout his time in politics. I welcome you Gerry.







**GERRY CARROLL**

Thanks Batool for the invitation to speak this evening. An excellent and very impressive panel and I'm very humbled and honored to be here. I want to start off by extending my solidarity and that of all of us and People Before Profit to be in Palestine today, obviously on their Nakba anniversary and every single day. I want to also extend this holiday to the millions of refugees from 1948 and onwards displaced by our colonial settler state that sees Palestinian lives as expendable and their homes as up for grabs. And there obviously has been some questions about whether this is the start of another intifada or not. Others, including people here, are more qualified than I to answer that question. But if it is, there's a bundle, a ton of solidarity for another operation against the brutality of what is currently ongoing and has been for over 100 years. And that solidarity exists, obviously in Ireland, but also across and across the world.

Today, we're seeing obviously demonstrations across the world in large numbers and London and other places calling for solidarity and freedom for the Palestinians. And obviously, people in Gaza, West Bank, East Jerusalem are being bombed from the sky, kicked out of their homes and brutalized by the apartheid state. I hope that some hope can be found and the dark, difficult situation and that people across the world are with the masses in Palestine, even if they and are governments are either silent or complicit in supporting the Israeli war machine. And I think we have had hundreds of people out in West Belfast today. The constituency that I represent, this is a constituency where the Ballymurphy massacre 50 years ago, an inquest this week has found that 10 innocent,

unarmed civilians were murdered by the parachute regiment of the British army. The spat smeared by the British state and the army and the media that these people were arrogant, man and woman. They were not. And there's a strong sense of solidarity and this community against people standing against the violence in other parts of the world, especially for what? Against what Israel is doing to the Palestinians with large numbers of people. Also a Belfast City Hall protest and that the BBC and Belfast as well, protest in Derry, which turned on their march around the city.

In Dublin, there was at least a couple of thousand people marching to the Israeli embassy, calling for the ambassador to be expelled from Ireland and protest. And at least 10 towns and cities, if not more, across north and south and in Ireland. And I'm sure, as obviously people will know, there's there has been a strong sense of solidarity from people in Ireland, both north and south, towards the people in Palestine.

And what they're facing and makes that connection is obviously very strong in working class communities across the country for some time displayed Palestinian flags and murals and support of the people. There is a political action from the entire Southern political establishment and most of the northern establishment towards properly calling for justice for Palestinians and an end to the repression, occupation and slaughter. And as predictable as the sun rises in the morning, the liberal media, so-called, and these establishments have been in overdrive to discuss the use of term a conflict and to emphasize that, to say that approach to this question. And when they do try to display what has taken place as a conflict, even though everybody here, everybody watching those and most people across the world know that it's not an even or for a faith, it's not a fight between two heavy weight boxers.

This is a fight between one of the biggest armed states in the world that has nuclear weapons and a brilliant people who, despite all the courage and resistance they show, aren't resourced, financed or equipped to the same extent as the Israelis did. The homemade rockets of Palestinians are no match for the military mate of Israel give our shelters for Israelis from rockets, but there is nowhere to hide for Palestinians as children, schools and media outlets have all been targeted. There is an occupation and they are resisting it. That is the real two sides.

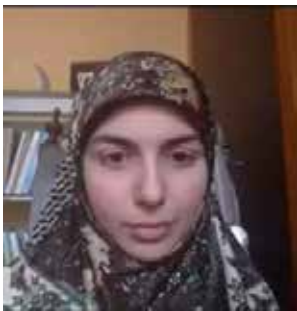
**There's a simple question for people, especially those who claim or try to stand in the middle. Which side are you on?**

And Israel refuses to listen to peaceful protest and civil disobedience, with many drawn the conclusion that they have to fight fire with fire. And it's not just the case that the Israeli government and Netanyahu need to be pointed out the error of their ways or this is a step down, terrible things. But it goes much, much deeper than that, as people have said. And once again, we're seeing, unfortunately, in the last week or so the full reality of the Israeli state labor in front of our eyes is the southern. Obviously, Palestinians face every single day, but it's quite often hidden from the full view of the world media until an attack or a massacre occurs. And that's what we've seen in the last week. And it's entirely predictable and unsurprising, but nonetheless horrific and brutal to see. And the actions we've seen, I think the last count was at least one hundred thirty two people killed. The shocking, horrible, horrific number, hundreds injured and thousands expelled from their homes in the region. And one of the events that obviously has garnered a lot of focus and we've talked about already Sheikh Jarrah and this type of news, obviously, for me and for everybody, everything that the Israeli state stands for. And as a socialist, I'm against anybody being evicted from their home by the state, by landlords or whomever.

What's been happening in Sheikh Jarrah is not because someone missed a rent or because of gentrification, but as part of the racist workings of the nature of the Israeli state, where people are being kept out of their homes precisely because they are Palestinians and Arabs and with the people doing it, being quite open and honest about the intentions of what they are calling on it, as fundamentally a state which was much like the case in South Africa that is practicing apartheid on a daily basis. And it's worth just remembering that.

But I think there has been an important shift in how the state of Israel is viewed by many people who would have maybe criticize their actions in the past, but maybe would have stopped short and calling it an apartheid on a racist state. Organizations that I think haven't declared it apartheid in the past. But up until recently, Human Rights Watch and committee B'Tselem and many, many others. So I think that's an important shift to see. I think we have to call it the role played by Ireland, US, EU, UK, Biden and everybody every step who defends the Israeli state and its actions. And many people will have seen the Irish ambassador to Israel being summoned to the Israeli Foreign Office, or quite mealy mouthed and in many ways quite timid comments made by the Irish Foreign Affairs Minister, Simon Coveney. He said that Israel should respect international law, just to quote him here. He said, I don't take sides in the Middle East process. I'm not pro-Israel or pro Palestinian. The Irish position is based on international law and respect for U.N.

Security Council resolutions. But this guy isn't moving to expel the Israeli ambassador from Ireland. And that's not good enough for me. For most people across the Ireland, that's not good enough just to dance to the tune of the US and British imperialism and our rotten policies of Israel. People in Ireland want to see the ambassador expelled. And so we should we need to see BDS and acted by the states north and south, east and west obviously as well. Just two final points. I think the right to protest has to be enshrined and defended. We've seen attacks in France on the rights of Palestinians and Palestinian activists to protest. There was an attempt in Dublin to push back and stop protest from taking place this weekend. But thankfully, activists have stood their ground and pushed back against that. So, we have to say to people and in Ireland and in the West, everywhere, protest against the actions of what is being carried out by the Israelis and also me to call it what's being done. And the assembly that I said and I'm happy to go into more detail that people want, but the DUP, a party of rotten bigotry, attempted and pushed a motion through Stormont calling for an adoption of the HRA definition around not by Semitism. And that wasn't about standing up against how Semitism was and about standing up against racism as an attempt by our party to say with Israel to try and stop and clamp down on any form of Palestinian solidarity activism occurring in the north. So, we need to stand against those actions as well. Call it the hypocrisy of the parties preaching that. And we'll certainly do all we can to build solidarity with people in Palestine. So thanks very much for having me.



**BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Jerry, some very profound points being made, especially towards the end as you discuss the weaponization of anti Semitism and how the real suffering of Jewish people is actually being used in as a political tool in order for the superpowers to cover up that brutal atrocities and crimes. In this case, we see religion being used as a cover to justify ethnic cleansing and to stifle criticism of the colonial state of Israel. Also recent the narrative of what's happening. These aren't Israeli citizens. These are Israeli settlers. This is not an eviction that is occurring in Shatara and has been occurring since 1948. This is ethnic cleansing. If there are two sides, then it's one side colonizing, occupying it and it's another side that is colonized and occupied. And this is why it's very important that we do that role of restructuring the narrative, because

mainstream media is so strong and we see that also this this notion of peace, you know, has been lethally used as well to undermine the Palestinian struggle for justice for so long now and to act as a pacifier to tell the Palestinians to basically just shut up and accept the inhumane brutalization that they are subjected to. But we see that history has shown us that, you know, normalizing ties with the occupying state rather than resisting it has only led to more annexation. It's only led to more theft of land. It's only led to more extermination. And this should be obvious because the settler colonial state is predicated and it's built upon the forced and violent removal of the indigenous inhabitants. So you touched upon mainstream media's questioning as well.

We find that when Palestinian solidarity activists are the mainstream media outlets, the narrative is mainly focused on, you know, condemn armed resistance on the ground since colonial domination that is so violent at its core demands nonviolence from the occupied, you know. And if they take up arms in their defense against every claim that they are subjected to in the book, they are criminalized. Right? The resistance groups are criminalized. And this has a lot to us. And it also makes sense from a colonizer's perspective, because as we know, what was really a game changer in shifting the balance of powers was the efforts of the resistance group on the ground. We see how Israel, for example, unilaterally withdrew from Lebanon in 2000 from south Lebanon and its occupation to never enter again. After its defeat in 2006, we saw the same case was with Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Gaza in 2005. You know, so we see that when you have full on resistance, that is a direct threat to the expansionism of the settler colonial state. So thank you very much for the points that you've raised that Jerry. So the next speaker that we have is SuhaJarah.

Let me just check if she's on. Yes. OK, so she is a senior legal research and advocacy officer with a human rights organization.

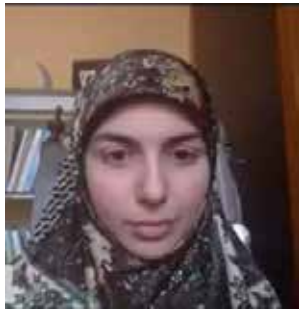
Her research and advocacy cover a wide range of human rights violations committed against Palestinians. She holds a master's of science degree in climate change, science and policy from the University of Sussex in the UK and a double Bachelor of Arts degree in gender and environmental studies from Trent University in Canada. Sir. If I can welcome you. OK, so. You will just wait for about. OK, so in that case, it might be better to start with the Q&A now and then off the bottom with the Q&A or the first round of the Q&A, then we can see if Suha is available so we can bring her on. OK, so to start off with the first question, so how this round of how this round of Q&A is going to work is I'm going to ask the question and if we can get all our lovely panelists to give that answers. So the question is as follows. We are at of time. We are at a point in time where Palestinian freedom is within our grasp, unlike ever before. What can people tuning in due to make Palestinian freedom a reality? So putting the onus on the people themselves. If I can start with you, Professor Richard.



**FALK RICHARD**

I think the most opportune and effective thing that people can do is to join collective efforts such as BDS to put nonviolent pressure on Israel. That was very effective in the South African context. And the combination of resistance from within and solidarity from without is the formula for liberation and emancipation. All the colonial wars were won by the weaker side militarily because the political will of the abused nation was more persevering and in the end stronger than the weaponry that the intervening colonial powers brought to bear. And so I feel hopeful that the Palestinian struggle will lead to a victory. It's a victory that costs much bloodshed and suffering, but it is the victory of people in this last century that have triumphed over colonial settler regimes everywhere. So it's just more difficult in the Palestinian case because Israel has geopolitical muscle behind it. And it's that geopolitical muscle that has enabled Israel to sustain its apartheid regime over these many decades.





## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you Professor. We continue with Randa.

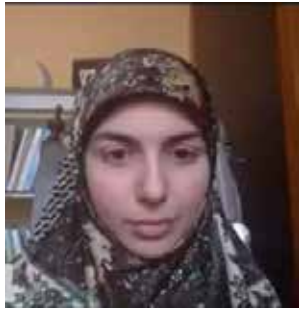


## **RANDA SINIORA**

Thank you. I think that I fully agree with Professor Richard that one of the peaceful ways where the international community and the peoples of the world can help is the BDS movement, because it's a peaceful movement where we make the Israelis pay the price for it. And as Palestinians, we always believe in the people more than we believe in the states or the governments which have political economic interests, military interests as well in our region and are not interested to end this conflict. On the contrary, they feed it with the military machinery and the support, the military support that they provide to Israel, especially from the United States and Germany and many other countries. So what we're seeing is that the people could do something about that and therefore they have to go back to their representative, the parliamentarians, to work closely within their own context to see how they can be influential. And I think that political parties who win the elections always depend on their constituencies to win it again. And therefore, if we have the people on our side in each country and then they try to look for them and push their representatives and for the just solution of the rightful cause of the Palestinian people, we can reach someone. If we only are going to depend on the political will of the nation states and the governments, we're not going to reach anywhere.

There should be an international pressure by the people of the different countries on their own governments in order to make it, first of all, the Israelis to pay the price. Secondly, to really try to

force them to find in a just and durable solution through negotiations and end this conflict, which has been very prolonged conflict. And I think it should come to an end. The events now are giving us some hope because we see a lot of solidarity worldwide. And most importantly, as I mentioned, the international court should do its job. International criminal courts have started this investigation. It should not take ages. It should bring in all those who have committed crimes, war crimes and crimes against humanity to justice, or at least if they were not able to bring them at least to be threatened through universal jurisdiction and through forcing the countries that the legislation allow for it to take measures against all those who have committed individuals from the Israeli military generals or even the politicians who have ordered the bombardment of Gaza and the killing of the innocent people and so on, to pay the price for all of that and be threatened in whatever they travel, that they will be pursued by illegal measures taken against them. This in itself will help. But generally, I think the people with their solidarity with finding different mechanisms, working within their own context, would really do much, I think, in within the apartheid regime in South Africa, it was only when it took some time and the regime did not come to an end, except when they paid the price through boycott, divestment and the sanctions. And this is where Israel is very much concerned not to keep always under the pretext that we want to find a peaceful resolution and negotiations. We have to sit on the table to forget that even some of the European countries have a legal obligation under the EU to respect their own culture, their own laws, especially the association agreement with Israel, and in a neighborhood policy which gives all the economic support to Israel and maybe starting with the boycotting the Israeli products, also pushing for the list of companies that are working in settlements and to boycott at least the settlement products, not only to label them, but also to prevent the entry of these products into the markets worldwide. Thank you.



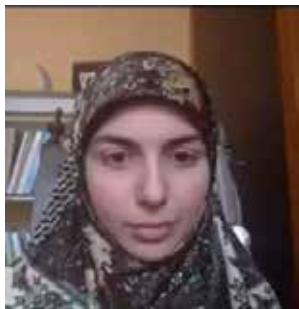
## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Gerry. Your thoughts!



## **GERRY CARROLL**

Yeah, I'd say four things I just noted, the first one would be either join a Palestinian solidarity group or set up one if there isn't one in your area. The next thing would be to get a raise and a trade union branch. If they don't have any emotions in terms of solidarity for Palestine or BDS, is that there are areas the fact that you're organizing a demonstration through your trade union branch, organize a demonstration in your area if you can. And then just finally, I'd say don't buy into the lies that it's you know, the situation is complicated or that there's Tuesdays and Thursdays recall. It's quite straightforward. Obviously, it's oppressor and oppressed. It's an apartheid state that's armed to the teeth subjugate, subjugating people in Palestine to a horrendous state official. If you can do some of those things, I'm sure will go a long way to helping people in Palestine.



## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

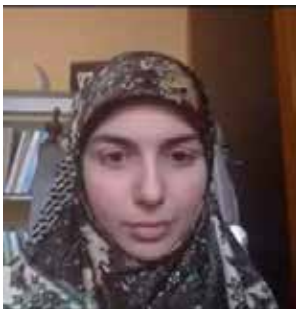
Thank you, Gerry. And Sawsan, do you have any thoughts?



## **SAWSAN**

Yeah, I would agree with everything that everyone has said, and I would only add that I think that for a lot of people, the journey or the start of their journey in terms of any Palestine solidarity activism, more awareness often begins with discovering a very powerful piece of documentation, whether that's a photo or a video or something like this or testimony.

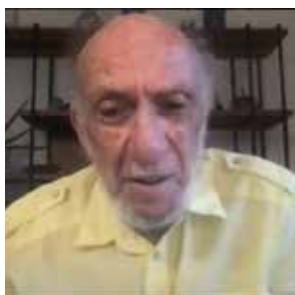
And so I think that what is really helpful, especially now that this is maybe on people's radar a little more than it usually is, is for people to be sharing good, reliable documentation from Palestinian civil society organizations and then doing good advocacy themselves. So whether that's contextualizing the videos, the photos or the testimonies that you're sharing, answering people's questions, you know, kind of relieving Palestinians and civil society organizations with that burden slightly by doing some good advocacy yourself and I think find good documentation, share it. And I know that the families at the center of the evictions in East Jerusalem have been saying things like every tweet matters. And I think that in this context, it really does. It's not about simply being a kind of collectivist or whatever. People are kind of calling online activism, but it is actually very important that people know and see what is happening. If you want people to do something about it, I think they have to understand it fast so that that's the only thing I would really add.



### **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Sawsan. I have a question myself, which I wanted to ask, and we have, I think, around 10 minutes or so until the end. And so, of course, the UN has been issuing our resolutions ever since 1948, ever since the occurrence of the Nakba. And what we've been seeing is that the wrong state, Israel is simply raping and pillaging more and more land. And, you know, really nothing is being done about it. But you see that the factor of resistance enters the equation, you know, it's a whole new ball game. And that is because we see that the resistance on the ground is actually what has acted as a setback for Israel. That is really what has achieved liberation on the ground. And I think the primary example of that is the liberation of south Lebanon from the shackles of Israeli occupation and the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza that in 2005. So the oppressed nations who are facing and subjugated and brutalized by this occupation, you know, should they

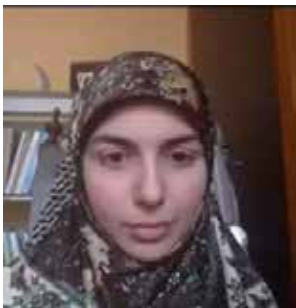
consider it mandatory to confine themselves to Security Council resolutions? And bearing in mind that when we talk about the U.N. and Security Council resolutions, it's not like this holy book. You know, morality isn't its yardstick, nor is it really seeking justice. And, you know, it is really the balance of forces on the ground that dictate the nature and the direction of the decisions that are ultimately taken from the top. And these decisions represent the compromises between the superpowers that is based on their interests, on these matters. So should the resistance on the ground, should it seek to really change the balance of forces on the ground until it gets to another phase, which would then force the superpowers to either abide by these decisions that are not being acted upon and these resolutions that are being released or to overcome all of these decisions. And that's why if we look at all the decisions of the UN, most of them, we find them on applicable and not certain the situation when the balance of power is changed. So most of the decisions we see from the U.N. remain on the shelves. They're not applied when we talk about the Palestinian issue and which decision from the ones that they've issued have been applied, you know, what Palestinians been guaranteed the right to return? Has the illegal occupation of the West Bank, Golan Heights, has that been reversed? Did Israel stick to any of it? Did the US apply any pressure? No. It's because the allies and the rest of the Arab puppets, they don't want no one is serious about changing the balance of forces on the ground. So when we talk about justice for Palestine, can this be achieved by simply talking about international law and expecting the world hold it to account, expecting the world to wake up and to restore the rights of the Palestinians? Well, it seems me to dismantle the source of occupation. If I could get your thoughts on that, Professor Richard, starting with you,



### **FALK RICHARD**

you raised many, many questions before that very eloquent disquisition on. I would start with what Randa has been saying. That is the justice for the Palestinians will come from the Palestinian people, not from the institutions, not from international law as an abstraction, but from the struggle on the ground reinforced by the solidarity of people around the world. That is the decisive factor. The UN is very important in legitimating this struggle. The UN has a great importance symbolically, but it can't implement those decisions and resolutions because it is subjugated by the geopolitical forces

so it can make important contributions to the legitimacy of the Palestinian grievances and their struggle. It can help mobilize civil society. But what it can do and what people shouldn't expect to be able to do is to implement those ideas and decisions and a reinforcement of international law because it can be paralyzed and blocked. This has been by the so-called P5, the permanent five members of the Security Council and especially by the United States. And so it is a struggle from below that makes a difference and the symbol, a symbolic justification for that struggle comes from the international institutions, comes from the experts on international law and international morality. But it is basically a combination of solidarity and resistance that will lead to a Palestinian triumph.



### **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you very much, Professor. Anything else to add on to that?

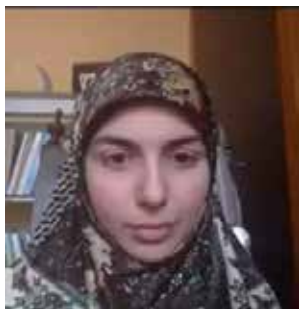


### **RANDA SINIORAI**

would just like to say that we always look at U.N. resolutions as a tool. We engage with the whole human rights and humanitarian system that has been developed over the years. Not naively, because we know that the rules of the game with the establishment of the United Nations and with the power relations within the whole UN institutions is really a result of the Second World War coming out of the atrocities of the world or the war and setting the rules of the game in accordance with that. So we fully understand that seen as Palestinians, but we think that it's a very important tool to engage with, despite the fact that it's not the only one we have to combine. And the only combination is working with the people and the right of the Palestinians to resist such a prolonged military occupation. So this, combined with our struggles on the ground and the paying of the price of this occupation, not the provision of or the support of the military support, the support that is being provided, unless the whole seen changes with the power

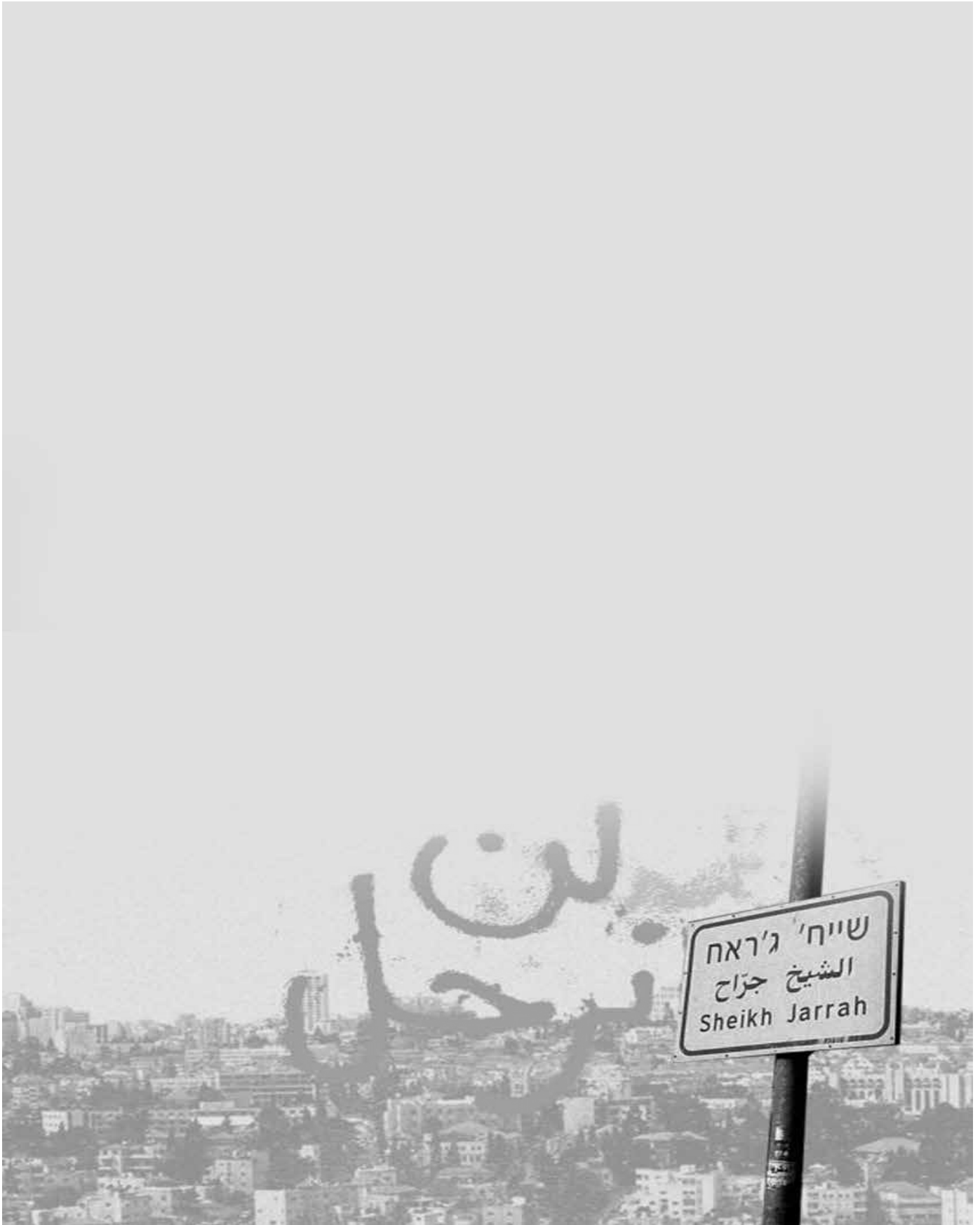


relations world widely not going to be seeing a change. But what we would force the change ourselves in our struggle for our rights, for our right to return, for our right to our homeland, to our use of our resources. The Palestinians are now in this situation now as I'm talking everywhere, struggling on the ground, this evening in Tel Aviv, when they were in the morning on the sea shores swimming when they have been bombarded by the rockets, which I do not approve of, but it's our legitimate right to fight and resist the occupation. Tonight, they are protesting in Tel Aviv, now, the Israelis to stop the war and the bombardment on Gaza because they know very well. In the morning, I saw a video where one of the Israelis coming in who have settled down at one of the Israelis who came from one of the countries of the world to Israel to exist in the Jewish state, was saying, why did I come here? I'm sure I have to leave with all my children because I don't belong to this place. While the Palestinians always feel that this is our home, this is our place when we have been born, we will fight for it and only through our pride and resistance. And we don't have anything to lose. We lost everything. We will not achieve what we want to do. So that's how we think as Palestinians. And because we believe that it's not only the resolutions and the approach, we want to see justice brought to the Palestinians and it wouldn't come easily on a golden plate or silver plate. It should be fought for and to build up on our struggles until we end this prolonged military occupation, colonial settlement and all the apartheid regime that has developed with the Zionist movement. Thank you.



## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you. Is there anything else you want to add, Gerry?



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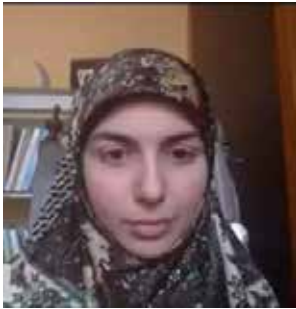
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### GERRY CARROLL

Yeah, thanks. I think it's obviously worth pointing out that I think the last time I certainly checked, I think Israel was in breach of more U.N. resolutions and every other country in the world complained that it was going to fight for activists and obviously the right to resist and trained in international law, as somebody already stated. And also the fact for the people in the middle, so to speak, if there is such a thing, has been in the middle of the language of, you know, rockets and bombs seems to be the only thing that Israel is used to in response to. I am just pointing that out, but also the possibility of the vast number of people being oppressed and that Israel seems to be terrified of historically and today and also for myself and for activists in Ireland. To point out, Ireland has a seat on the U.N. Security Council for this year and prides itself as being a sort of a neutral state. But it's not really because it allows U.S. troops to go to be shot on our airport. It's always said it was, for the most part, the American imperialism and on the question of Palestine and Israeli aggression as being quite pathetic historically and today. So, I think we have a way to kind of use that against itself, if that's the right phrase. To say that whilst Ireland is in opposition, then what is Salman Cauvery, the foreign affairs minister, and what is the you know, the people? The Irish did Sam Byrne and Póitín and argued with America around these questions and argued for America to Canbriake with its support and financing of the US, really see it as difficult and tough and deep seated as it is. But at the very least, Ireland should be pushing that if it appears to be our wants to be neutral. And I think that international law isn't the only way it can be, the only way it's worth pointing out. Some of the discrepancies, obviously, and the hypocrisies of Israel had breaches it more than any other nation. But from our part and certainly part of the world that I'm in, I think the key thing is, you know, mass movements of people, mass solidarity, mass boycott. And I think that's the best thing. And if I can feed into that the movement in Palestine, and that's, I think, the most important thing.



## **BATOOL SUBEITI**

Thank you so much, Sherry, I have so much respect for you, the panelists, and for all the amazing work that you're doing on the ground and beyond. Thank you so, so much for joining us, Professor Richard, Randa, Gerry and Sawsan. It's been an absolute pleasure to host you. Thank you so, so much. Once again, from the Palestinian Return Center, Palestinian brothers and sisters, please do keep up the fight. We are all with you and we are supporting you in solidarity, peace and thanks.