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Reading the Crisis: 'For Edward Said' with Brenna Bhandar and Hashem Abushama

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Aasiya Lodhi

Thank you for joining us. I'm Aasiya Lodhi, a trustee of the Stuart Hall Foundation and a senior lecturer at the University of Westminster. I'm so pleased to welcome you all to the first in this year's conversation series, Reading the Crisis, part of the Stuart Hall Foundation's 2025 programme, In Search of Common Ground.

Marking our 10th anniversary, this year's programmes of events, workshops, screenings and this series considers the role of difference in broadening but ultimately bringing together social justice movements today.

We want to forge common ground in order to deepen progressive solidarities and to build a collective politics against the consolidation of right-wing forces across the globe. Throughout the year, we're engaging with a range of Stuart Hall's work to ask where are the intersections where solidarities are or can be forged right now.

In this moment, when the West makes polite noises about the violent campaign of erasure enacted against Palestinians, but falls far short of admitting to its own hand in the matter or to what it must do to stop it. This moment when authoritarian crusades tilt against the windmills of what's called diversity, and assault civic and educational institutions, legal and ethical frameworks, truth and truth-telling. This moment of imagined defence threats, of scaremongering, and of new eras of empire-building. Reading the Crisis, which we begin today, drills down into the histories of some of the many crises we face, as well as the tools and strategies we need to meet them head-on.

We springboard, of course, off the work of British-Jamaican critic and theorist Stuart Hall, to help us think through our social, cultural and political formations. In this evening's conversation, we'll be hearing from two wonderful thinkers, Brenna Bhandar and Hashem Abushama, as they discuss Hall's appreciation of American-Palestinian

scholar Edward Said in a piece he first delivered at the Oxford staging of the iniva exhibition Veil, which was dedicated to Said, who passed away in 2003. And we hope you were able to read this piece, and that you'll share in the conversation and put forward your questions. Our speakers, who I'll introduce very shortly, will be in dialogue for about 45 minutes, and then we'll turn to your questions in the second half, so do please submit them, your questions, your comments, using the Q&A box at any point during the event, and we'll try to get to as many as we can. And a reminder that automated live captions are available if you need them by clicking the CC button in the Zoom bar. So without further delay, I'd like to welcome our guests.

Brenna Bhandar is Associate Professor in the School of Law at the University of British Columbia. Her work spans property law, critical theory, colonial legal history and critical race feminism. Brenna's publications include her book Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership, published with Duke University Press, and they encompass several edited collections, including, with Verso, Revolutionary Feminisms: Conversations on Collective Action and Radical Thought, which she co-edited with Rafeef Ziadah, and the edition of Ruth Wilson Gilmore's Abolition Geography: Essays Towards Liberation, which she co-edited with Alberto Toscano.

Hashem Abushama is Associate Professor in Human Geography at the University of Oxford. He also holds fellowships at the Forum Transregionale Studien – hope I said that right! – and at the Institute for Palestine Studies. Hashem's work centres on issues of dispossession, arts, urbanisation, archives and postcolonial Marxism, and his publications include essays on mapping and countermapping, colonial gentrification and refugee agency. His article A Map Without Guarantees won the very first Stuart Hall Essay Prize last year, and he is currently writing a book provisionally titled Cities and the Settler Colony, on Palestinian cultural production in Haifa and Ramallah. So welcome to you both, Hashem and Brenna. It's great to be here with you.

Hashem, if I could begin with you, there's probably no-one more associated – I mean, I'm slightly misquoting Hall from his tribute here to Said, but probably no-one more associated with culture or high culture, at the very least, and the cause of the Palestinian people in the West, perhaps, than Edward Said. But you've utilised Hall's work much more than Said's in your own writings on Palestinian geographies under the conditions of settler colonialism. Can I ask why that is?

Hashem Abushama

Yes, thanks, Aasiya. I would just like to start by thanking you for hosting this conversation, and the Stuart Hall Foundation for having me, and I'm also honoured to be in conversation with Brenna, whose work I've been learning a lot from in my own

research. It's really such a pleasure to be here. With regards to the question on Edward Said and Stuart Hall, I think... maybe I can begin by thinking about how Edward Said helps us in thinking about colonial discourses and imperial discourses, and where I see some of the shortcomings in thinking about the current conjuncture, within Palestine and beyond. But I think Edward Said, as is well known, and as Stuart Hall says in this piece of writing, that Edward Said has helped us in thinking about the ways in which colonialism and imperialism create discourses that link a wide range of people and subjects to their mission, and he does so by exploring artworks and novels and photographs that represent these imperial and colonial modes of conquest, within the Middle East, but also beyond. And I think he agrees with Stuart Hall in thinking about these not only as true representations, but also as misrepresentations. You know, he was always insistent on thinking about Orientalism as a system of thought that's more about the Occident than it is about the Orient. It is what the Occident wants to represent the Orient as, and insofar as it does that, it is a system of misrepresentation. And yet he was still at pains to explain how that system of representation and misrepresentation worked to advance an imperialist and colonial project.

Now, some of the shortcomings that have been critiqued by many scholars, including Aijaz Ahmad in his book In Theory, and also by the Lebanese Marxist thinker Mahdi Amel in his book in Arabic titled Hal al-'aql li-l-gharb wa-l-qalb li-l-sharq, which means The Brain Is in the West and the Heart Is in the East. Both authors kind of critique Edward Said's lack of engagement with class politics, and also his reification of a certain binary of east and west that becomes totalising in its analysis of colonialism and imperialism, which is something that Edward Said, later on in Culture and Imperialism, tries to take on. So with all of this said, then, I think in trying to think about the current moment in Palestine, what I think about as the post-Oslo conjuncture, by which I mean the particular time period after the signing of the so-called peace accords between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Israeli state in 1993. That's kind of the post-Oslo conjuncture. So in thinking about that, and the contradictions it has formulated and presented within Palestinian society, Stuart Hall became kind of a natural reference, and I find his writings to be incredibly generative in thinking about contingency and thinking about difference and thinking about specificity and thinking about the map of historic Palestine, and also of the Palestinian refugee camps beyond that map, as differentiated geographies that together collectively speak to the Palestinian condition and to Palestinian resistance against Israeli settler colonialism.

So that's one thing. But also, in emphasising contingency and specificity, Stuart Hall helps us in thinking about resistance and transformation and ruptures, and a possibility for a better future, for a free Palestine, and so I think because of all these kind of conceptual but also politically focused interventions, I find his work to be incredibly relevant in thinking about Palestine and Israeli settler colonialism in Palestine.

Aasiya Lodhi

OK, brilliant. Thank you. I will come back to this point you made, which I thought was very relevant, about the Oslo Accords, which was a decade or so before this piece was written by Hall, and we are now at another kind of conjuncture after that, two decades on, so that's an important point, I think, to relate to where we are. But Brenna, I just want to ask you about your research on racial regimes of ownership and property law, and I think in a way, you're actually more indebted to both the work of Hall and Said. Perhaps I'm… you know, that's how it comes across to me, so I wondered if you could just tell us a little bit about how their work speaks to your understanding of land and settler colonialism from a more kind of legalistic perspective, perhaps?

Brenna Bhandar

Sure, thank you, and I also want to begin by thanking the Stuart Hall Foundation for the invitation to speak during the session, and I also feel similarly honoured to be in conversation with Hashem and also you, Aasiya. It's a real pleasure. So in response to the question about the Colonial Lives of Property book and other work I've done on colonialism and dispossession as it pertains to land, Edward Said's work, I think, helps us to see at a very broad level this undeniable and constitutive relationship between modern European literature, and in particular the genre of the novel, and colonialism and imperialism, right? And he shows how, in many canonical works, that colonialism is not just a backdrop to the reflections and the issues of representation, etc, that unfold through this genre, but it's an essential dimension to this form of cultural production, this form of cultural and literary production. And this way of seeing modern literature, I found to be very helpful in understanding modern law. And while it's not a perfect analogy, this mode of critique, I think, helps us understand how modern law cannot be understood outside of its affiliation with colonialism. So it's not only the fact that modern law emerges in conjunction with, or during this period of colonialism, but that colonialism and the colonial encounter is absolutely fundamental to the formation of modern law and modern legal subjects.

Now, obviously other people before me have made this argument. Antony Anghie, in his work on international law, looked at the colonial foundations of the modern international legal order. Peter Fitzpatrick wrote a wonderful book in the '90s called The Mythology of Modern Law. But my work aims to look very specifically at property law, and so, taking a very materialist approach to the violence of modern law by focusing on property, really I found that Stuart Hall's work became absolutely indispensable for thinking about the relationship between race and racial formations and property, and again, a slightly imperfect analogy, but drawing his work on race and class, and in

particular his theory of articulation, which he develops through his engagement with Marx and Gramsci and also, in some pieces, Althusser, he develops a way of understanding the relationship between race and class that remains incredibly generative, right? And that is going to be... we see within colonial capitalism, racial capitalism – or we could just call it capitalism! – a relationship between race and class where race and class are again formed in relation to one another, but in ways that do not repeat themselves in the same way across time and space. And his theory of articulation really helps us... oh, and also, the whole idea of a conjunctural analysis, of course, helps us, I think, develop frameworks of analysis that are specific to each time and place that we are engaging with, and I think that this is really important. So taking this idea of how race and class are articulated in conjunction with each other into the field of... into the relationship between race and property and relations of ownership, his work was really central, and remains quite central to my thinking around these themes.

Aasiya Lodhi

Thank you. I'll pick up on certain points you raised there, because they're very relevant and interesting, I think, in different ways. But, Hashem, just to come back to this point about the Oslo Accords, the post-Oslo conjuncture, the conjuncture we're at now, because in many ways, looking over this piece, which was really a kind of tribute or a sort of obit, if you like, of Said, I felt that the references to Palestine in many ways seemed so narrow and outdated because of... I think there was a reference to two-state solution, if I'm not wrong, and to me that was a bit jarring. So could you just talk to us about some of the nuances of the question of Palestinian statehood at this moment now where we are, some 20 years after he wrote it, and of course, in this whole sort of post-Oslo intervening period?

Hashem Abushama

Yeah, I think maybe it might be helpful to just pick up where Brenna left and thinking about this notion of articulation, because in reading Brenna's book Colonial Lives of Property whilst doing my PhD, Brenna's use of this notion of articulation to think about the relationship between settler subjectivities in Palestine and the property regime under Israeli settler colonialism is really helpful in thinking about how Israeli settler colonialism is what many scholars would call a structure, not an event, in the sense of, you know, it is continuously unfolding as a process of dispossession. And so, when 1948 happened and the Israeli state was established by Zionist paramilitary groups, and more than 750,000 Palestinians were forcibly dispossessed from their lands, an entire regime of ownership was being elaborated by the Zionist entity that linked and patterned a relationship of theft and dispossession between the settler subjectivity and

the property law. This is something that Stuart Hall would call a tendential articulation. It's a very kind of strenuous articulation, because it's articulated and expressed through legal and juridical institutions that stay with us until today, so it's a contradiction at the heart of the Israeli settler colonial project that it wants to settle more settlers, and in order for it to do that, it continues to dispossess Palestinians using various strategies, including, you know, legal manipulation, as it does in so-called East Jerusalem currently, including genocide, such as the unfolding genocide in the Gaza Strip, which has cost us more than 60,000 Palestinian lives so far, including the checkpoints, the fragmentation of Palestinian geographies within the West Bank, establishment of settlements within the West Bank.

All of these kind of create or represent different strategies that are used by Israeli settler colonialism to advance its project of conquest and to make sure that when it comes to property, when it comes to wealth, that that kind of accumulation of wealth is eclipsed by a racial system of differentiation that gives unlimited access to the settlers and in the meantime, simultaneously continues to steal lands from the Palestinians. So we have to think about Israeli settler colonialism as this theft of land and property, and 1948 represents this moment of theft of land and property, and, you know, the Israeli state at the time was at pains to actually elaborate a legal system that enables it to transfer that legal ownership of the properties that it had stolen from the Palestinian refugees into its own hands of ownership, and in order for it to do that at the time, it had to kind of invent so many draconian laws, including the present absentee law, which basically was designed to make sure that Palestinian refugees who had stayed within the boundaries of Israel at the time could not reclaim their stolen property. So the notion of articulation is important, because it's saying that, you know, this is a foundational logic for Israeli settler colonialism, that it wants to steal more and more Palestinian lands, but that, you know, it was not inevitable. It could have been stopped in 1948. It can be stopped now, and it should be stopped now, so there is this kind of insistence on, how do we stop this machinery of oppression, exploitation and theft?

So that's the first point. The second point brings me to the Oslo Accords, and again, in thinking with Stuart Hall about the notion of articulation, he would say that Israeli settler colonialism, of course, is a structure, not an event – it's a system of dispossession – but it doesn't unfold in the same content and in the same form and in the same manner since 1948 until today. So just to reiterate what Brenna said about the specificity, the contingency, that this system changes in each historical conjuncture. And so Oslo is one such conjuncture. It basically was unleashed, arguably, in the middle of the 1980s with the neoliberalisation of the Israeli economy, which basically means that it became much more intimately plugged into global circuits of capital globally, it became this high-tech economy that we take for granted today as representative of the Israeli settler state. So 1985, you know, within the Israeli Knesset, there was a package that was passed that's cited… You know, ESP. Benjamin Netanyahu at the time was the minister

of finance. And that package basically effectively, juridically, neoliberalised the Israeli economy

So there's that, and that introduces a whole set of new economic relations that govern the land of historic Palestine, inclusive of the so-called Israel, Israel proper. There was also the first Palestinian intifada, al-Intifada al-'Ula, in 1987, that offered an incredible set of mobilisations and strategies of resistance against Israeli settler colonialism, and was largely successful, actually, in its use of modes of civil disobedience against Israeli settler colonialism, and in bringing into question the foundation of Israeli settler colonialism, so it played a major role in reshaping how Israeli settler colonialism functions. And, of course, we have to situate that within a global conjunctural framework. You know, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and that resulting in one million Russian Jews coming to Israel as settlers. The neoliberalisation of Israel's economy also meant that it could recruit more labourers from Global South countries, so it was able to recruit around 300,000 migrant workers from Asia and Africa and bring them to Palestine, which basically made Palestinian labour more dispensable to the Israeli settler colonial project. So all of these kind of forces crystallised together to create this kind of so-called post-Oslo conjuncture, in which a fraction of the Palestinian national bourgeoisie, heading the Palestinian Liberation Organization at the time, negotiated a settlement with the Israeli state that was supposed to be temporary. So the Oslo Accords were actually supposed to last only for five years. And yet 30 years later they remain with us. And so, it was basically an agreement that enabled Israel and this fraction of the Palestinian bourgeoisie... so imagine a neoliberal kind of free-market strategy that can coexist with a continuous theft of land.

So since 1994 until now, the number of settlers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem has actually tripled, so the continuous theft of land remains with us, but it basically offered an arrangement for a free market logic that can coexist with the expansion of settlements across the West Bank. And Hamas as a political party emerges in response to these Oslo Accords, and to this logic of reconciliation and liberal peacebuilding within the Palestinian Liberation Organization, so it emerges in the mid-1980s as a response to that, and, you know, has its own set of contradictions in trying to work within and beyond the limits of this Oslo framework.

Aasiya Lodhi

Indeed. And it has a contradictory relationship to the Israeli state as well, which has encouraged its formations in various ways. So we will come back to this. I just want to bring in Brenna, because I think, Brenna, I wanted just to ask you to sort of expand on articulation and the various kind of iterations, if you like, of settler colonialism, land theft, dispossession and the legal frameworks which Hashem has just outlined so well

and in such detail. But are you surprised that Hall never really tackled Palestine more head-on, as it were, in any of his writings? I mean, he does touch upon it, but there isn't a specific essay that's about Palestine, and I'm interested, because, of course, it's the kind of… the powder keg, if you like, of geopolitical conflict. It is something he has written about the Cold War. He did write about other kind of geopolitical crises and conjunctures around the world. Did it surprise you, his sort of engagement with Palestine, specifically, if we're talking specifics in conjunctural analysis?

Brenna Bhandar

Well, I think, you know, in light of the invitation to come in and engage with this text, Hashem and I have been in conversation a little bit, and wondering why Palestine doesn't appear more explicitly in the writings of Stuart Hall, but in fact, after starting to look more closely for references, I think we both have come across writings. Cultural Identity and Diaspora, which was published in 1990, as well as the essay Subjects in History: Making Diasporic Identities, which is published in 1998, where Hall, I think, comes to an anti-Zionist position quite organically in his thinking through the concept of diaspora.

So just to quote from the Cultural Identity and Diaspora essay, because this is a very interesting and important reflection on the problematic form of diaspora that Zionism embraces. So where he's writing about diaspora, he says, "I use this term here metaphorically, not literally. Diaspora does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, the imperialising, the hegemonising form of ethnicity. We have seen the fate of the people of Palestine at the hands of this backward-looking conception of diaspora, and the complicity of the West with it. The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity, by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference, by hybridity." And, you know, we can also read quotations out from the Subjects in History: Making Diasporic Identities essay, which I think is very… I won't read that out right now, but he comes to this anti-Zionist position again when fleshing out his conceptualisation of diaspora.

So while Stuart Hall didn't address the specific concept of settler colonialism – and one may ask, well, in a way, why would he have, given the terrain of his work, as broad-ranging as it was? – I think that these articulations, these expressions of diaspora and cultural identity as identities that are constantly being remade, and against the idea of purity or some kind of essence, which is at the root of the rise of forms of fascism in our current moment, is absolutely a vital intervention, actually, into our thinking around

Zionism and the basis for an anti-Zionist politics. And his reflections on the relationship between cultural identity and race are also very important, also for settler colonial contexts like Israel and others.

So we can see how this attachment to a sort of ethnonationalism, which he also writes against in many different parts of these essays and others, we can see what it's produced in Palestine, within Israeli society in and of itself. We can see the racial hierarchies, the racial subordination, the history of the racial subordination of Mizrahi Jews, of Arab Jews, and we can see how in terms of race, ethnicity, settler colonialism, how... and in other settler colonies, when we look at the racial politics of subordination in places like Canada, we can see, I think, what the price of admission is into adopting the settler subjectivity, right? That this is a racial construct that is rooted in white supremacy, and that for racialised settlers, you know, the price of admission is to have to subordinate and internalise a colonial racial subjectivity, so I think that Hall's writings on diaspora, cultural identity, ethnicity and racism do really help us. I mean, he quite organically arrived at a very explicitly anti-Zionist position, I think, through these writings.

Aasiya Lodhi

Thank you. Hashem, do you want to jump in here?

Hashem Abushama

Maybe I'll just mention...

Aasiya Lodhi

Brenna said you both had been going through Hall's writings to see what he had written about Palestine, so I'm interested to know your thoughts on this.

Hashem Abushama

Yes, so I'll actually just share another quote that I found, from his book Familiar Stranger, which is his autobiography, a beautifully written book that I recommend reading. He says: "One of the consequences of diaspora seems, strangely, to be an attenuation of historical memory and the haunting afterlife of an impossible object of desire. But that alone cannot bring it back to life. We are beyond circular journeys which end where they began. We are beyond the era of the mythic now. We live in a historical world, not a mythological one." And he begins this paragraph by saying that there is a

particular Zionist conception of diaspora that's exclusionary in its operation. I think what he's saying here is that Zionism has precisely this kind of circular notion of a particular notion of a Jewish diaspora that had been in Palestine 2,000 years ago, and Israel as a nation state and Zionism as an ideology serving as, you know, a project of bringing everyone back, every Jew back to Palestine within that circle, and obviously, the ways in which Zionism is doing that is by dispossessing the Palestinians, and also by creating this racial regime of ownership, even amongst the Jews themselves, between the European Jews, the Arab Jews and the black Jews.

So I think there's a lot to unpack here in thinking about this notion of diaspora, and also appreciating difference rather than a unifying glimpse. At the end, just to say, he says, "this fantasy of a return to a reconstituted oneness and to the elimination of difference tends not to unify, heal and resolve, but on the contrary, it releases deadly pathological impulses." So very relevant for the current moment and where Zionism is.

Aasiya Lodhi

Mmm, absolutely. I wondered if we could think a little bit back to the work on history, which is... Conjunctural analysis is about knowing the specificity – if I can say it! – of the histories that feed into the current moment, and then the sort of more macro approach that Said took in Orientalism, going over vast swathes of European high culture. How have Said and Hall or other thinkers helped you situate Palestine's relationship to British history, which is something, again, whenever we... I mean, we could spend the remaining time talking about the British media's coverage or the Canadian media's coverage about Palestine at the moment, but we don't necessarily want to spend all our time doing that, but I think I'm always shocked by the sort of lack of complete context and reference to Britain's own role, or occasionally it's nodded to. I wanted to come back into this connecting up the moment to these long histories and shedding some light on them, and Palestine's position, really, as a site of focus or a site of contestation in different global movements in the 20th century, so, you know, those that were situated in Britain, but also wider kind of histories of solidarity.

So you both talked about how Hall always gives us insights into resistance, to pushbacks, to fightbacks and so forth. About Palestine's position in Afro-Asian histories of solidarity, if you like, and Third Worldist movement. The Bandung moment, which was in 1955, important conference which has got various sorts of revivals at various points since then, or the political blackness that was on the rise in Britain in the '70s and '80s, or black radicalism. Has that sort of come through in your thinkings on Hall, Said and where we are today? Either of you.

Brenna Bhandar

Hashem, I'm happy for you to go first.

Hashem Abushama

OK, maybe I will just speak about the role of British colonialism and Palestine, and just mention two points. The first point is that British colonialism in Palestine from 1917 to 1948 offered a ripe environment for the development of Zionism as an ideology, but also as a material, ethnonationalist state-building project in Palestine, and the Israeli state until today still relies on many of the juridical and the infrastructure that British colonialism had implanted in Palestine at the time, including the Dealing with the Enemy Act that was issued in the interwar period in 1939, which Israel until today uses against its own Palestinian citizens within the territories it had occupied in 1948, to prevent them from visiting "enemy states" such as Lebanon. But more detrimentally, you know, Israel still applies the emergency regulations that were issued by British colonial authorities in 1945 in Palestine. They still use, obviously amended and expanded, but they still use these regulations within the West Bank to set up military tribunals that have a conviction rate of 99% of Palestinian political prisoners, and that also enable the administrative detention of Palestinians, which means arresting Palestinians without charges or without trial. So there is this kind of legal political infrastructure, but there's also modes of violence that stay with us in Palestine and that come from British colonialism, including house demolitions. They were actually innovated by British colonial authorities in Palestine in the wake of the great Palestinian revolution in 1936. Also the use of humans... or Palestinians as human shields is also something that British colonial authorities did in Palestine. So that's the first point, and there's a lot that has been written on that.

The second point has to do with, I think, a more contemporary historical amnesia within Britain itself about its own imperial and colonial history. There is yet to be a serious reckoning with that colonial and imperial history and what it means for the current moment, and with the rise of the far right in this country and across the globe, I think that task is becoming more and more pressing, for us to generate a political education that pushes the British public in thinking about these sedimented colonial and imperial ways of viewing the world. So I'll pass it on to Brenna.

Aasiya Lodhi

Yes. I just want to say, you did mention Familiar Stranger there. There's in fact... Hall writes about arriving in Britain in the '50s and the historical amnesia that he finds

enveloped Britain and how little that probably has changed in really meaningful or fundamental ways. Brenna, sorry to interrupt.

Brenna Bhandar

Yeah, I mean, I think that in addition to what Hashem just said about the legal and political infrastructure that's implanted during the Mandates and continues on after '48, that this issue of Western imperialism and the place of Israel in Western imperialism is really, really vital to understanding our current moment, right? And in Andreas Malm's book The Destruction of Palestine Is The Destruction of the Earth, he actually traces this British colonialism and how that really sets the grounding for the emergence of the struggle for not just a Jewish homeland in Palestine, but crucially, how that shifts into a Jewish territorial state, right? Which is, I think, another crucial transformation that happens during the high period of British colonialism. But he does trace this back to the 1840s and 1850s, which I think is really important, and links the destruction that we see unfolding in Palestine to the climate crisis. But, you know... Which, of course, is integral to thinking about colonialism and western imperialism around resource extraction and control.

But in addition to that, I think it's also important to think about, going back to settler colonialism, the kind of settler colonial solidarity we see with Israel in states like Canada, the US, Australia, etc, where we really see an identification with Israelis, you know, that this identification not with Palestinians but with Israelis and Israel as another settler colony, despite all of the differences, and referring to Said's insistence that we think about 1948 in relationship to the Holocaust, right? So even with... And I think that opens up another set of complex issues, but I wanted to mention alongside the Western imperialism the settler colonial solidarity we see, which is again a racial identification. A racial identification, an identification with the idea that land theft, indigenous land theft, is somehow to be normalised and accepted, which is, of course, the status quo in places like Canada and the US.

And I just wanted to mention, then, in terms of thinking about anti-colonial resistance and how Palestine has always had a central place in anti-colonial struggles and in the post-colonial moment, that what we see happening today in terms of protest movements, protests against the genocide, I think for a lot of us is part of an inheritance. You know, it's part of an intergenerational reckoning with the violence of colonisation that has affected so many of us, the intergenerational effects of partition. And so I think there's a real strength in revivifying and drawing on these lineages of political struggle and resistance. I also think at the same time it's really important for us to understand how it is that a state like India, which historically would have been in support of Palestinian freedom, has now become completely aligned with Israel, so how

is it that the Indian government now under Modi is completely aligned with Netanyahu? And I'm thinking here about Azad Essa's book Hostile Homelands, and there are some things I disagree with in the book, but one thing that I really appreciate about it is how he maps this ambivalence towards Israel right from the time of Nehru onwards. You know, and he helps us see in relationship to both trade and the import of weapons from Israel, the knowledge exchange around security and criminalisation of colonised populations and militarisation, that there's actually a longer relationship there that helps us understand how we get to our present moment. So I think, you know, it's important to keep in mind that these histories of solidarity are also complicated and contradictory.

Aasiya Lodhi

Indeed. Yes, that's a very good point, actually, because I think people often will say, oh, well, you know, there's an obvious connection there between Hindutva and Zionism and they're obvious bedfellows, or in the past, as you were talking about, Israel and South Africa's friendly relations, if you like. But that's a very interesting point about the greyer areas of Indian sympathies with the Zionist state.

Hashem, can I just ask you therefore... We've touched a little bit... I mean, some of these points have already come out, but I just want to dig a little bit more, because I did mention earlier about media coverage, which again is something that people often raise in relation to Palestine, sitting where we are in the West at the moment. I mean, again, where are we with relation to narratives now? Because every day is sort of changing. At the moment, there does seem to be an ever-so-slight change in tone, although I'm very wary about saying, "Oh, you know, this is the moment now where everybody will start saying..." I think the aphorism goes something like, "There will be a time when everybody will always have been against this." Are we nearing that time now, and in a way, again, just going back through the lens of Hall and through the lens of Said, how can we identify, how can we contest these narratives of a nationalist ethnostate today, and, yes, where are the sort of moments of... the narratives of resistance? Because so much power, again, especially... We'll talk a little bit in a minute, hopefully, about the role of public intellectuals, but so much power, as both these thinkers knew, lies in the power of the narrative – the national narrative, the global narrative and so forth.

Hashem Abushama

I think the movement for Palestine has done a lot of work in pushing the needle towards a more radical reckoning with what's going on in Palestine, including, you know, taking seriously Israel as a settler colonial project rather than just as a limited military occupation within the occupied territories that Israel had occupied in 1967. So there's a

lot of struggle against the entrenched forms of Zionist ideological formations, which is something I've been kind of thinking about lately with Stuart Hall and, you know, I think working with Stuart Hall and thinking about Zionism as an ideological formation would be quite illuminating, and in how it works as a structure that fights all of these kind of... I think Zionism and Zionists, as many of us who work within academia and elsewhere know, they are relentless in their ideological framing of what's going on in Palestine, and I think they've lost a lot of ground over the past two years precisely because of the movement for Palestine, but also because of how grotesque their violence against the Palestinians has become over the past two years.

So there's a lot to be done still, I think, but so far, the shift within British politics, I think, is still very performative. You know, for example, Piers Morgan all of a sudden wants to paint himself as an anti-genocide media figure, even though he has very proactively participated, actually, in generating consent for the genocide and continues to do so, I think, into the present. And a lot of the British media, if you go back just to last month or, you know, I was listening to the BBC today, they use a lot of kind of racist framings in covering what's going on in Palestine and in the Gaza Strip. So there's still a lot of entrenched racism when it comes to covering Palestine that we need to fight against, but I think a lot of work has been done in generating a political education that builds solidarities across difference and that fights against these narratives.

Aasiya Lodhi

OK. Brenna, is it all right if I go to questions, or were you about to say something? There's a couple of questions come in, so I'll just take the very first one that I can see at the moment. It's from Anissa Daoudi, who says, "How would you apply Hall's idea of living with difference in the case of Palestine? Isn't this a utopian idea?" Do you want to have a first shot at that, Brenna?

Brenna Bhandar

Well, I'm trying to think about the... OK, if we take about that idea of living in and with difference sort of as a general proposition, so maybe extracting it from whichever particular essay that came out of, I would imagine that Hall is not writing about that idea in the context of genocidal violence. And I think, you know, before we even get to this idea of living with difference within Palestine, we have to contend with the fact that, you know, in this moment, people are simply struggling to stop a genocide. I think that's where we are at, and I think my fear, and I think the fear of others, many others, is that what we are witnessing happen in Gaza seems to be a kind of annihilation and destruction that doesn't seem to have any limits. You know, so we see Western,

European, North American, other nation states allowing Israel to continue to act with complete impunity in a way that is now shifting the international legal order as we've known it in the post-war period, and I think this is a very different moment we are in, so I think the questions that we need to contend with are slightly different in this moment.

Aasiya Lodhi

I think there probably isn't time to go into all of this, but difference, from my perspective, anyway, in reading Hall, is that it's a sort of... It performs different functions, right? Sometimes it's a sort of analytic and sometimes it's a kind of mobilising, and sometimes, and I think it's a question of... The living with difference is a... I think its functionality is in a slightly different context, I would argue. But perhaps we can come back to that. There's a question here which is in two parts for Hashem, or it's a comment, I'm not sure. "When Hashem was talking about haunting afterlives, diaspora and their search for oneness, I was reminded of a passage from Tommy Orange's novel There There. He writes, 'The wound that was made when white people came and took all that they took has never healed. An unattended wound gets infected.'" I won't read the whole quote. "Could you speak to this idea of an unattended wound in relation to Hall's and Said's works?" And then I see that the same person, Anonymous, has said, "Sorry, just to add to my question: How does this relate to our discussions on Palestine? How can it help us make sense of the construction of Israel, this idea of the unattended wound, and what might it say about those of us living in the imperial core?" As we all are here, at least, the people that are on the panel.

Hashem Abushama

I mean, I have to say, I haven't read Tommy Orange's novel, so my attempt to answer the question will just work with the question component of the comment. I think this idea of an unattended wound is interesting in thinking also about Zionism and its reification of the suffering of the European Jewish people within Europe, because of the Holocaust and the horrific events that it unleashed. To take that as an unattended wound that Zionism tried to exploit by creating a system of dispossession in Palestine, so to predicate that kind of liberation from anti-Semitism and racism on the dispossession of the Palestinians, and I think there are many other ways of attending to that wound in a way that actually addresses its environment of racism and anti-Semitism within Germany and within Europe itself, so that's one way of thinking about it. And the other way is, within the context of Palestine, to think about the continuity of dispossession, and this idea, and to take seriously this idea or this project of return that Palestinians talk about, and it is a very serious project. And I will argue that takes difference seriously by taking seriously how colonialism has created all of these systems and structures of

apartheid and segregation – you know, the Manichaeism that Fanon talks about that's so entrenched, to reify difference in binaries between the coloniser and the colonised, and I think the project for a return to a Palestine in the future is about dismantling these institutions and these differences, and I don't think that's utopian, you know. The long tradition of Palestinian resistance has been precisely about practising a praxis of liberation that's gesturing towards that future.

Aasiya Lodhi

OK, thank you. A comment from Naznin, who says, "In this context, I remember Wael Hallaq's work in restating Orientalism, connecting the paradigm of Orientalism with western modernisation. In this work, he also connects violence with all modernisation projects. His specific presentation of Israeli or Israel's Orientalism is very relevant to this discussion." OK, thank you for that.

And then, Ayar says, "I wonder if you agree that both Said and Hall tried to use race and ethnicity as a unit of their key analysis and their articulations and that they almost moved away from classic or modern socioeconomic class considerations," I think is what they mean, "under the umbrella of post-modernism?" I mean… Hashem, do you want to go first, or Brenna? I think that they… Well, yes, you did mention right at the beginning Aijaz Ahmad's In Theory, which is a work of literary theory, if you don't know. Aijaz Ahmad was an Indian literary theorist, and he wrote from a very sort of explicitly Marxist position, and he definitely would have seen… I don't know if he would have thought of Said as a postmodernist, but those movements that come very much… They're situated in the literary discipline, which is often cited as one of the places that postmodernism grew. I don't know if many people think of Hall as a postmodernist, but do either of you want to have a go at talking about this? This might be because they're talking… do you mean race and ethnicity? I'm not sure. Do they maybe mean culture and identity, is what they're possibly meaning here?

Hashem Abushama

Maybe just… I'll say that Stuart Hall was actually, in my reading, trying to find a way between kind of more what he called orthodox Marxist approaches to socioeconomic questions – the approach to thinking of the economy as the most important piece of analysis or unit of analysis in a social formation – and within post-colonial approaches that privileged the text and systems of representation, and whilst these two debates were seen as difficult to bring together, I think Stuart Hall's entire work has been trying to really find a way of thinking about how do we take class seriously whilst also thinking about representations and cultural identities and cultural practices, but not to see them

as kind of separate, but as mediated through these class relations and economic relations within a society. So I really don't think he's a postmodernist or a poststructuralist. I think... As Gillian Hart describes him, he's a postcolonial Marxist.

Aasiya Lodhi

Mmm. Brenna, do you want to have a go at that?

Brenna Bhandar

Yeah, I mean, I agree with that. I agree with Hashem. That's how I understand Hall's writing as well, and his earlier work is absolutely essential into making an intervention into Marxist, kind of traditional Marxist understandings of class as primary and race as superstructural and all of those debates. But even in his later work, particularly as he grappled with neoliberalism and Thatcherism, I think we also see in Hall's work a nuanced thinking about changing class identifications in conjunction with race and racism. So I would just add that to what Hashem said.

Aasiya Lodhi

I'll just mention very briefly, there are also a strand of scholars, and I'm thinking here of people like Sivanandan, who was from the Institute of Race Relations in Britain, who was against the sort of New Ethnicities mode of Hall which comes later in his writings about culture and identity. Anyway, I'm just naming these things in case people want to have something to read! I've got to get through more questions now.

Right, L Haslam says, "How do we go about anti-colonial movement? Whilst 122 million refugees are seeking settlement, I'm currently working on breaking barriers in host communities to reduce far-right forms of fascism, solutions and capacity building to displaced people. What does it mean in terms of employment and economic growth, start-up projects like laundry services – are we just not going back 100 years? Is this ethical?"

That's quite a broad question. Does anybody want to have a go at answering that? I think it's somebody who's working right at the sort of coalface there of migration and is making us maybe just contextualise this discussion in a much more global thing, so we'll come back to that.

Rose says, "Is the reality that those who can politically alter this conflict are not really engaged, because there's little chance for the Palestinians to retain any land for statehood?" I mean, perhaps we need to get a little bit more into the nitty-gritty of this.

We didn't really touch on the whole... We didn't get into the two-state versus one-state, land... You did talk, Hashem, about the various incursions and the histories of how we got to where we are, but what about this whole thing of, well, who can decide politically about where a Palestinian state would be, and what mechanisms would be needed in order to retain or repossess or get land back in some kind of reparative measure?

Hashem Abushama

I think it's the Palestinian people who can decide on that state and how it should look like, and the entire Israeli settler colonial project has been trying to rob us as Palestinians of the right to self-determination in our own home country, and that's precisely why I find this question of a two-state versus a one-state to be frustrating and reductive, because it doesn't take seriously a whole tradition of Palestinian political thought that has grappled with that question, but also the praxis of Palestinians and their different geographies vis-a-vis both the Palestinian state and the Israeli state as a settler colonial project. So you have the Palestinian citizens living within Israel who have been dealing with the Israeli state project since 1948 as citizens, second-class citizens of that project. So I think the Palestine liberation project is about a much wider notion of freedom that seeks to make the state a subordinate force in the everyday lives of people. So I don't see it as a site of condensation for these imaginaries of liberation, I just see it as a monster that we have to contend with until a free Palestine arrives, if that makes sense.

And so the two-state solution, just to go back to the whole analysis of the Oslo agreements, I think is a trick. You know, it is what Glen Coulthard, Dene nation indigenous scholar in what's now Canada, what he would call the colonial politics of recognition, which he defines as these kind of set of strategies that the colonisers use to distract the colonised and to steal more and more land, and I think the two-state solution, the notion of a two-state solution, has done a lot of damage in presenting the question of Palestine as limited to the military occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, rather than a continuous system of dispossession from 1948 that includes also cities like Haifa and Acre in the north of what's now commonly called Israel. So I think there's a lot of complexity there, in moving beyond the state framework to think about a free Palestine.

Aasiya Lodhi

Brenna, would you like to come in?

Brenna Bhandar

Well, yeah, I can't really... Just a small sort of supplemental point to what Hashem said, which has come up earlier in the discussion about the settler colonial framework, and I think that in terms of the legal frameworks that have been deployed, you know, since 1967 in particular, that carve up Palestine into these different jurisdictional questions, occlude the settler colonial totality, and this means that in terms of our political response, which I think, as many others have said, has been quite saturated by legal discourse, for better and for worse, needs... We actually need a very different sort of legal consciousness and the development of legal-political concepts that actually address the settler colonial totality, and I think that that requires us to expand our... It requires us to expand our political grammar, in a way, so that it's not captured by these very limiting and very deceiving categories that come out of the international legal framework.

Aasiya Lodhi

That's right, yes, the lexicon of available vocabulary, which Mohammed el-Kurd's book Perfect Victims has just written about, this sort of not seeking the permission to speak within certain modes and to present oneself as the perfect victim, and to take what is given, only what is given. Samar Aljahdali – sorry – says, "Ilan Pappe and Ghada Karmi had very useful arguments on the one-state versus two-state solution in light of the transformation of the land and its water, which is intrinsic to the settler project." I think Ilan Pappe, when we did begin this series last year, did begin by saying... He was pretty straight up and said, I think, we are witnessing, we are going to witness the death throes of the Zionist state, but it will be long, it will be prolonged, and there will be many steps forwards and steps backwards, and he did not mince his words about a one-state being the only solution.

Anonymous Attendee here says: "Talking about class, race, ethnicity with Hall, can you speak to the relations between the already configured working class communities in the West and the prevalent Islamophobia in the foreign policy and national politics that we're seeing at the moment? For example, the riots last summer in Britain..." This is a sort of British-based query, I think. "...Reform UK, their rise, the detention of Muslim students in the US, and so forth." We haven't even touched on that, the numbers of students that have been abducted and taken into custody, deported and so forth. Hashem, would you like to speak to that?

Hashem Abushama

Yes, it's something that Brenna and I had spoken about before, which are the ways in which the attempts to silence and censor Palestine and pro-Palestine voices has depended on and instrumentalised a whole range of kind of racist infrastructure that had been put in this country... put in place in this country and in the US and other places, against Muslim, brown and black communities, and this includes the Prevent system in this country, which is designed to kind of racially profile black and brown communities, and has been systematically used by Zionist agitators to silence and censor Palestine and pro-Palestine voices, and it is not only an ideological tool that they use to frame you as a supporter of quote-unquote "terrorism", while working proactively to support the state-sponsored terrorism that Israel is committing, but that they also legally, this legally kind of triggers a whole set of strategies that institutions are then required to go through, and that puts you in a very kind of difficult position, of being constantly policed by the institutions and so on.

So there is this kind of constant profiling that happens, and censorship of Palestine and pro-Palestine voices, that is not separate from the continuous racism against brown and black communities in the UK and beyond, and I do think that Palestine is becoming kind of the condensed site of articulation for an antifascist movement. And I don't think this is an overstatement. It's becoming the barricade against the rising tides of fascism and far-right groups within the UK and elsewhere, and there's an opportunity, I think, here to think more concretely about how this politics of solidarity should look like in a more organised movement.

Aasiya Lodhi

Absolutely. Brenna?

Brenna Bhandar

Yeah, thanks. Just picking up on the last point that Hashem made, I absolutely agree that the Palestine solidarity movement is a site for anti-fascism, and we see that link being made explicitly more and more, and the other dimension to that, of course, are the climate justice movements who are focusing their work on, in the moment, really, at the forefront or involved with the movement to end the genocide and to support the struggle for Palestinian freedom.

I think in relation to the question that was posed, or the comment that was posed, I would also just mention that it feels like we are still living in the moment of the great moving right show, you know, where we have this absolute bankruptcy on the part of centrist and left-of-centre political parties who are laying the ground, over and over, particularly in the persecution of migrants. You know, they are feeding the right. They are

feeding right-wing authoritarian ideologies. They are feeding that idea of a pure essence, kind of an ethnonationalism, right? And we see that happening... Just yesterday in Canada, having elected Mark Carney as an alternative to a conservative choice in Poilievre, Carney's government just announced a bill that will, if passed, bring in sweeping powers on the part of the federal government to survey all migrants, under the guise of this being a response to the Trump tariffs. So, again, we can see that there is an utter... If we're being charitable, a lack of political imagination on the direction that we need to be going in the face of rising fascism, or we could say things like Trump or the Trump tariffs present an opportunity for conservative ethnonationalist governments to move in the direction that they really wanted to go, but now they have political cover. I mean, it's the same thing with the announcement, I think, of this massive spending on the military in the UK. It's unbelievable, after 15 years of such desperate austerity, for this to be the answer to the current conjuncture, so I would just add that.

Aasiya Lodhi

Yes, absolutely. I think this comment from Sandile – apologies, Sandile – is kind of relevant, which is, they say: "Such a powerful, insightful discussion. Said and Hall's legacies remain relevant. These ramblings emerge immediately help us better read, for instance," they say, "current US, Donald Trump, Elon Musk attacks on South Africa versus delusional framings of a fabrication of a white genocide by staging a false protest, not only rekindles old apartheid wounds, but also desperately attempts to whitewash the violence of settler colonialism by making the beneficiaries of this barbarism today's hopeless victims, deserving special attention and resettlement than anyone else in the world."

I want to come to this question that Rose asks, which is, "A part of the problem..." Well, it's a comment. "A part of the problem is that there are no visible giants like Edward Said "to push the Palestinian case for statehood." I think that in itself raises a number of problematic queries: Do we need giants? And I think that Said and Hall were alert to the importance of that mechanism of, you know, articulation, literal articulation as well as your political articulations – speaking up, speaking forth.

But I want to ask you both: I mean, this idea... In a way, reading his obit as well, it has this element of, you know, remembering a great man, a great figure. How much is there a sort of cult of personality around thinkers like Hall and Said? Is that helpful? Would they themselves have not wanted that? I'm sure they wouldn't have, probably! But... And how do we need to get beyond that, or do we not? Do we need to use it to our advantage? To both of you, whoever wants to go first. Hashem.

Hashem Abushama

I think it's not helpful, and the idea of visible giants that can come back like messiahs and guide us back to the leftist struggle for a socialist and a free world, I think, is limited, because it doesn't... Maybe I'll just actually read this quote from Stuart Hall. This is from The Hard Road to Renewal, page 181, in which he talks about this division of mental and manual labour under capitalism, and he says that the idea should not be that we need vanguardist giants to lead everyone else, but to arrive at a political education that raises the consciousness of everyone, and to take that seriously, that kind of segregation under capitalism of the intellectual by function, like myself, who gets paid to do this kind of work, and all of us as intellectuals, and how that division is super-constitutive under capitalism, and the point of an engaged political education is precisely to overcome that separation. So if you allow me, I'll read it quickly, Aasiya.

So he says: "For it is only in the course of political organisation and practice that the damaging divisions of status between manual and intellectual labour, between the intellectual function (all of us, since we all think) can actually be overcome..." Sorry, I'll read it again. "For it is only in the course of political organisation and practice that the damaging divisions of status between manual and intellectual labour, between the intellectual function (all of us, since we all think) and those who do intellectual work for a living (a very small number of us) can actually be overcome, so that the conditions for genuine political education – learning and teaching beyond the hierarchies of 'teacher' and 'taught', 'vanguard' and 'mass' – can be created."

And I think that's the task of political education in the current moment, to work against these kind of mental and manual labour divisions under capitalism and to work collectively to raise the consciousness in a way that makes both settler colonialism and genocide not make sense in the current conjuncture. I think that's the scary moment that we live in, that, you know, the media and cultural establishments and so on have been able to generate consent enough for a genocide not to be stopped after two years. I think that's the scary... Yeah.

Aasiya Lodhi

Absolutely. It is frightening, and it is sort of, I suppose, in the common parlance of today, a kind of collective gaslighting which has gone on for the last two years, if not longer. Brenna, do you want to say something, and perhaps also address the role of sort of public intellectuals today? Because you are both public intellectuals. You hold that role. You know, perhaps... Well, I don't know, perhaps you would disavow that. So where are we today in really, yes, this idea that I think Hashem talks about from that brilliant quote?

I always think of this phrase that Hall uses. I forget which essay, but he used it more than once: "bending the twig," he says, of public opinion, which is an Althusserian metaphor originally. Bending the twig. And so, how far have we failed to bend the twig and how much must we renew our commitment to do that? Because one could say also getting too lost in bending the twig of public opinion also means that we ourselves haven't focused on where it is we need to be going, arguably, or we've been fighting amongst ourselves, which is the theme of this series! We need to find, on the left, or in progressive spaces, we need to find common ground now, because now it really, really is urgent.

Brenna Bhandar

Yeah, I guess I would also just say, in relation to Rose's comment about sort of great statesmen, is just to remind us all that no people have freed themselves because of the actions of a great statesman. You know, that anti-colonial struggle is... That we win on the basis of widespread, grassroots, bottom-up political struggle, and that's important to remember, I think. In terms of this question of the role of the public intellectual and the division between intellectual and manual labour that Hashem referred to earlier, I think that one thing that's changed a lot since Hall and Said were in the university is the university itself, and I think it's quite complex to think about what that figure of the public intellectual is. I prefer Ruth Wilson Gilmore's use of the language of the militant scholar, because for me, that seems like a more appropriate description of the work that I do and others who I'm working with do.

And the reason why I say that, in a way, is because the university, you know, with years of an audit culture in the UK, we could see how public-facing engagement became captured within a kind of audit culture, in the same space that we see increasing censorship, particularly around work on Palestine. I think also... We've talked a little bit about the media, and how the media are absolutely complicit and guilty and culpable in manufacturing consent for the genocide. The BBC, here in Canada the CBC, New York Times... We could go on and on. And I think that, on the flip side of that, we have a proliferation of online magazines, news sources, where we see incredible in-real-time political analyses coming out of what's happening on the ground, and that has opened up a space for a much wider array of people to think, to comment, to educate, to inform.

And so, I think what we're seeing increasingly with the university is that it is not the space that our militant intellectual work... I think increasingly what we'll see is that we do this kind of work outside of the university. I think that that is a positive thing. As well as trying to fight, maybe, to keep some space, particularly in the classroom and around our research, of course.

So it's not about giving up on the university, but it's also about recognising that sometimes, we can only really do our work in a way that doesn't fall into the trap of what Mohammed el-Kurd talks about so eloquently in his book, this politics of appeal, the self-censorship that you do, maybe even unconsciously, because you just don't want to put up with another smear of being an anti-Semite, etc, etc, that we take our work into spaces that are more in the community as well, and are not in a place that... The university again has become, through the rise in tuition fee, through this whole broken business model of the university, is becoming increasingly a more exclusive space. So I think, yes, this is a very different moment than the '90s or even the early 2000s, and that's something I think a lot of us are constantly contending with.

Aasiya Lodhi

So true, and the contradictions also of the university sector, at least in North America and here, being under attack as well, and yet also being hollowed out from the inside, if you like, by the neoliberal sort of... yeah, afterlives of neoliberalism. Hashem, do you want to talk about public intellectualism? Because I wonder – you write about Palestine, you are a Palestinian scholar, you sit in Oxford. Are there pressures there, do you feel, to speak, again, in certain ways or not in certain ways, as Mohammed el-Kurd writes about? Or do you look to Hall and Said as... Or do you NOT look to Hall and Said as good examples of how to go forward?

Hashem Abushama

I think I will just add on my previous point around kind of mental and manual labour division under capitalism and how it also creates this category of the public intellectual. So I'm hesitant to kind of take up that designation. I think it's... We are much more in a need of working collectively, of a kind of political education programme that raises the consciousness collectively, and with that said, as Brenna said, to be cognizant of the material limitations within which one works, and that is, in my case, you know, the heart of empire – that's Oxford University and its connections to colonial and capitalist modes of accumulation around the world. And these are the connections that student organisers are trying to bring into question through their demands to impose sanctions against the Israeli state, but also to divest from Israeli institutions that are directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Gaza, but also in the ongoing settler colonial theft of land across the map of historic Palestine. And so, working within the limits of the classroom to raise the level of consciousness, to think critically about these systems of oppression and exploitation, but also to reiterate what Brenna said, working beyond the limits of that to stress the importance of sanctions, of more material cornering of the Israeli Zionist project in its current lethal, grotesque manifestation as a genocidal force.

Aasiya Lodhi

Absolutely. Samantha E Adams... This is the last question I'll read, and a question for you, Hashem, I think. Samantha Adams says, "Thank you so much for this most engaging and insightful conversation. I sit somewhere between the manual and mental labour," because... she says she's a drama therapist, "and struggle to sit with my lack of knowledge" of such important dehumanising colonial history that continues to thrive. It helps hearing your clear and in-depth thinking on our behalf. Is there one book or paper you'd recommend by Hall and/or Said to read?" In fact, that's a question to both of you, and that will be the final question. Could we have brief answers, please, for Samantha? One paper... I think you've mentioned The Road to Renewal already. You've mentioned Familiar Stranger. Brenna, is there another one? Cultural Identity and Diaspora is one, perhaps.

Brenna Bhandar

I think I would say, my two pieces to recommend would be the volume on race and difference that was edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. I think Paul Gilroy's introduction is also really instructive. And I think with Said, I would recommend After the Last Sky, because I think that book just really helps us to sense the... ...all of the seemingly intangible effects of dispossession, and I think it is in that sense a very formative and still remains such an important text.

Aasiya Lodhi

Absolutely. After the Last Sky by Edward Said, which is a book of photo essays, really. Hashem?

Hashem Abushama

I was just going to add Frantz Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks, since Samantha works in therapy. I think it's an incredible piece of writing, reflecting on the psychological damage that colonialism does to both the coloniser and the colonised. And for Stuart Hall, I really like Familiar Stranger. I think it's an incredible piece of writing that brings together both his personal journey but also taking that personal journey as an entry point into thinking about the history of Britain, the history of Jamaica, race and class formations within these two countries. So I think it's a very beautiful piece of writing.

And then in terms of political organising, this book, The Hard Road to Renewal, I think is very timely, because in it, he is analysing the rise of Thatcherism and seeing the rise of the far right in this country, I think there's a lot that we can learn with and from him in thinking about the British state formation and the crisis of liberalism, as he calls it, and the rise of the far right in the current moment, and the limitations of the Starmer Labour project that's just continuing Conservative policies without any kind of serious reckoning with economic and cultural life.

Aasiya Lodhi

True. I'm afraid we have run out of time. There was a query for you, Hashem, from Summer, so I don't know if there's time while I read the end of my comments for you to answer, perhaps, in the chat. "Could you recommend any works on the representation "of the Arab public intellectual?" That's probably quite a big ask there. I'm not sure. I'll let you think about that. Maybe we'll have time to come back to that, or perhaps you can write it into the chat.

But I'm afraid we have run out of time. We will have to draw today's conversation to a close, sadly. There was so much to talk about. We could have gone on. But thank you so, so much to Brenna and Hashem for sharing such incredible insights with us, and time quickly for some other thank-yous. My thanks to Tayyab Amin for producing this event. Thanks also... I'll read slowly while Hashem writes his recommended books! Thanks also to our funders, to Comic Relief, to the Hollick Family Foundation and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, and to our collaborators, Words of Colour, Pluto Press, Soundings, the journal, and Taylor & Francis.

And finally, a massive thank-you to all of you for joining us today. There will be a recording of today's event. Somebody asked that in the chat earlier. Yes, so the recording will be made available in the next few weeks, and I think it will be sent to everybody that came to this event. Please sign up to our newsletter and to our social channels, and do keep an eye on the Explore section of our website, which has an ever-growing free-to-access set of digital learning resources. That's, of course, at stuarthallfoundation.org

And finally, please join us for the next Reading the Crisis conversation, where we think through anti-colonialism in the 20th century and now with Houria Bouteldja and Lola Olufemi, and they'll be talking about Stuart Hall's 1986 TV discussion with the historian CLR James, when such things used to be broadcast on mainstream television. That's on Monday, July 28th, from 5:30pm UK time. Hope to see you there. But thanks again to Brenna and Hashem for today, and goodbye for now.

Hashem Abushama

Thanks so much.

Brenna Bhandar

Thanks.

Hashem Abushama

Thank you.