

## RECENT BOOKS

### PUBLISHING IN PALESTINE

**Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948**, by Ami Ayalon. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. xii + 160 pages. Notes to p. 184. Sources to p. 200. Index to p. 207. \$55.00 cloth; \$21.95 paper.

*Reviewed by Rashid Khalidi*

Study of the social and cultural history of Palestine has lagged greatly behind that of political history (although the latter has not always been an enormously rich field either, impoverished by the nationalist polemics that have often characterized it). Although the focus on the political is typical of modern Arab history, it has a special additional reason in the case of Palestine, namely the intense conflict that enveloped the country throughout the twentieth century. Recently, more attention has been paid to the modern social history of Palestine, by such scholars as Beshara Doumani, Annalies Moors, May Seikaly, Salim Tamari, Judith Tucker, Mahmoud Yazbek, and others.

Ami Ayalon's book is a welcome addition to this new focus on Palestinian social history and fills a large gap in the literature on education, literacy, and publishing in Palestine before 1948. Perhaps not surprisingly, this is the first work to attempt to cover this important topic in depth. It does so in a thorough, conscientious manner, giving the reader a comprehensive picture of the role played by education, literacy, and the press in the development of Palestinian society. The portrait painted by Ayalon is of a society in the throes of rapid and profound change in this regard. This evolution was represented by the shift from the generation that grew up at the end of the nineteenth century, and that was overwhelmingly illiterate, to another just before 1948, nearly half of whose members of school age (44.5 percent) were in school, with even higher proportions in cities and towns, among males, and among Christians (although overall literacy among Palestinian Arabs in 1948 was still probably under 30 percent). Ayalon shows the

impact of this rapid change, referring extensively and appropriately to the literature (mainly dealing with European cases) that pioneered the study of the impact of reading and literacy on society.

The structure of the book is straightforward and logical, the progression of topics is smooth, and the text reads easily. Beyond depending on a vast range of printed and archival sources, Ayalon laudably engaged in extensive interviews, which prove to be a rich source of otherwise unavailable data on the topics he considers. He begins the book, appropriately, with a discussion of literacy and education, a topic that is crucial to what follows in the book and to understanding the development of Palestinian society during the first half of the twentieth century. This is followed by an examination of the texts, both imported and produced in Palestine, including books and newspapers, which were available to readers, and then of how these texts were disseminated and accessed, publicly and privately.

Although well produced and edited, and remarkably free of minor flaws (there are a couple: the singular of *qurush* [pp. 90, 92] is *qirsh*), there are a number of places where the author's judgment can be questioned, most relating to the late Ottoman era. He asserts for example that at the end of the Ottoman period, Arab societies were "living through one of the less productive eras in their cultural history" (p. 1). This may have been true. But this was the period of a shift over from manuscript to printed texts, and while historians have amply documented the extraordinary effervescence in the latter, the pre-print cultural production of Palestine and other parts of the Arab world contained in manuscript sources has not been carefully examined, let alone assessed. Ayalon's judgment about the progress of modern education at the end of the Ottoman era is perhaps unduly harsh: he describes it as beginning "hesitantly" (p. 3). But studies such as those of Ben Fortna and Selçuk Aksin Somel would support the argument that progress over slightly more than half a century until 1918 was quite rapid indeed, given the very low starting point, and given the impressive number of schools that existed when the Ottoman era ended. Ayalon suggests that urban public services before 1918 "were of a very basic nature" (p. 5),

---

**Rashid Khalidi** is the Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies at Columbia University and editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

though new research, such as that of Abigail Jacobson and Vincent Lemire, both of which deal with Jerusalem during this period, would suggest at least a more nuanced view. Furthermore, Ayalon probably lays too much stress on the role of Western missionaries in the Arab *nabda*, or cultural revival, of the nineteenth century (p. 6) and pays perhaps too little attention to the indigenous efforts of Arab and Ottoman thinkers and writers. There is a slight lack of clarity in Ayalon's enumeration of students in school in Palestine at the end of the Ottoman era: he says that in 1914 the number of students in state and private schools (including foreign schools but excluding kuttabs) was 15,000–20,000 (p. 22), while a table gives the total as over 20,000, not including the 3,000–4,000 students in missionary schools, leaving a total of about 24,000 (p. 24).

Ayalon suggests that writers in the Palestinian press were "most often" Greek-Orthodox Christians (p. 61), which, while perhaps true in the Ottoman period and certainly the case regarding the owners and editors of several leading papers, was probably not true overall. Finally, Ayalon argues that two of the most prominent questions yet to be addressed in light of his conclusions are how government, meaning the British Mandate authorities, used printing and publication, and how they affected relations between government and the governed (p. 160). Important though these matters are, at least as important would be ascertaining how printing and publication affected relations within Palestinian society, between classes, generations, and political groups. (As I suggest in my most recent book, this is an area that requires much more attention from scholars.)

In the end, all of these are essentially minor quibbles, of little significance in light of the valuable data and the intelligent presentation that this book provides to the reader. *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948* is essential reading for all those who would understand Arab Palestine, both before it was struck by what Ayalon calls "the 1948 calamity" and afterwards. One might have wished that the book had better reflected the degree to which all of what the author describes became a lost world after 1948, and why, but this book nevertheless constitutes a monument to that lost world and a dependable guide to the new world that was to come for the newly dispersed Palestinians, who came to rely heavily on their acquisitions in the field of reading and

literacy—with the political consequences that flowed from it—that this book so thoroughly and perceptively details.

#### STRUGGLE AND SOCIETY IN DAHAYSHA

**Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp**, by Maya Rosenfeld. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. xvi + 318 pages. Notes to p. 345. Bibliography to p. 365. Index to p. 376. \$22.95 paper.

##### *Reviewed by Islah Jad*

*Confronting the Occupation* by Maya Rosenfeld studies the usually under-researched community of Palestinians living in refugee camps. Rosenfeld takes as a case study the Dahaysha refugee camp situated on the outskirts of Bethlehem in the West Bank and looks at three central macrosocial spheres that affect people's daily lives: wage labor, education, and political organization in their systemic and historic contexts.

Rosenfeld examines Palestinian laborers' access to labor markets, particularly the segregated, restricted opening of the Israeli labor market to Palestinian female and male day laborers after the 1967 war, in the context of Israeli efforts to contain the development of the Palestinian industry, agriculture, and public service sectors. She also looks at the education of refugee descendants in Dahaysha and its connection to upward mobility, particularly within the context of the regional political economy of labor migration to the Gulf. Rosenfeld finally examines the power relations within which political resistance to the occupation materialized and which gave concrete meaning to the importance of political organization. According to the author "work, education and politics were studied as channels or avenues of social transformation" (p. 15).

This book is important in demystifying many Israeli myths about Palestinians and their society. Some of these myths are related, for example, to the essentializing of Palestinian societies as built on kin ties represented by the historical continuity of the *bamula* as a patrilineage in which women

---

**Islah Jad** is an assistant professor at Birzeit University in gender studies and cultural studies and an activist in the Palestinian women's movement.

are subjugated and oppressed. (See, for example, Abner Cohen, *Arab Border-Villages in Israel* [University of Manchester Press, 1965] or Henry Rosenfeld, "From Peasantry to Wage Labor and Residual Peasantry: The Transformation of an Arab Village" in *Process and Patter in Culture*, ed. Robert Manners [Aldine, 1968].) Thus, the occupation's effects on the structure of the *bamula* and families were underestimated and the role of the Palestinian peasants and refugees in shaping their own lives was denied. Rosenfeld, on the contrary, meticulously and thoughtfully deconstructs this myth by looking into the economic and social origins of specific modes of a familial organization to analyze the "mechanisms and power relations that sustain them . . . and not by classifying familial division of labor and roles according to one or another function that can be attributed to them a posteriori" (p. 81). She also gives voice and agency to Palestinian refugee families and their members, particularly women, in resisting the occupation and sometimes, through education and political activism, shifting its effect on them.

Another myth addressed by this book is the "modernizing" effect of the Israeli occupation on Palestinian women through the opening up of the Israeli labor market, supposedly enabling them to escape the cultural impediments represented by costumes and "tradition." (See, for example, Moshe Semyonov, "Trends in Labor Market Participation and Gender: Linked Occupational Differentiation" in *Women and the Israeli Occupation*, ed. Tamar Mayer [Routledge, 1994].) Rosenfeld shows with unambiguous clarity the small percentage of women, in her sample, who worked in the Israeli market (4 percent) and shows that "the participation of women in waged employment was not contingent upon any cultural factor" (p. 57). She asserts that "whatever tradition-grounded objection women may have encountered on their path to work, they ultimately overcame it by sheer necessity" (p. 56). Indeed, Rosenfeld notes "a considerable participation by women of the intermediate generation in the Dahayshan labor force, implying that home-related tasks, including the rearing of young children, did not bar women from wage labor" (p. 63). One of the important and rather surprising findings, one that undermines regularly low estimates of women's participation in the labor force, is the high rate of women's participation in the Dahayshan labor force (up to 37 percent of the adult female popula-

tion) (p. 77). It is noteworthy that Rosenfeld reverses some fundamental findings in the Arab world that consistently pointed to a negative correlation between high fertility and women's participation in the labor force (see, for example, Henry Azzam, Julinda Abu Nasr, and I. Lorfing, "An Overview of Arab Women in Population, Employment, and Economic Development" in *Women, Employment, and Development in the Arab World*, ed. Julinda Abu Nasr, Nabil Khoury, and Henry Azzam [Mouton, 1985]), showing that "the highest rate of participation was recorded among aging mothers of seven to nine children" (p. 78).

To underscore the changing nature of the family structure and function in Palestinian refugee camps, Rosenfeld points to an extended family in the camp that is an organized productive unit held together neither by virtue of a well-defined division of labor and roles nor by patriarchal control of resources and property. Rather, it is a joint residence and consumption unit that subsists on the "regular income of one female provider and the extremely irregular incomes of others" (p. 92). However, Rosenfeld insightfully points out that this nontraditional family structure, despite placing a single female provider as the primary family wage earner, does not necessarily disrupt prevailing gender power structures. Given that a "survivalist" and precarious household economy often rules out long-term planning and decision making since wages "are regularly consumed on the spot" (p. 93), this absence of opportunity to convert a woman's income into means that satisfy her personal needs "facilitates the propagation of a male-prioritizing patriarchal tradition, even when the economic foundations for this have ceased to exist" (p. 93). However, Rosenfeld does shed light on the "erosion of traditional aged-based hierarchy and the redefinition of intergenerational relations" (p. 316) caused by the Israeli imprisonment of large numbers of Palestinian men and boys and the resulting shift in gender roles, with women taking up additional responsibilities, including sustaining networks of prisoners' families.

Applying a theoretical framework stemming from dependency theory, Rosenfeld shows how means for social mobility as education attainment "bore little weight for the employment opportunities of young Dheishiehians who did not migrate" (p. 67). Thus, she illustrates the de-developing effects of the Israeli policies and control over Palestinian society and economy.

While for the most part Rosenfeld treats the history of the Zionist project in Palestine and the resulting conflict critically, some minor points call for greater sensitivity: For example, two Palestinian villages destroyed by Israeli forces (Dayr Yasin and Malha) are described in a passive form as having “ceased to exist in the aftermath of the 1948 war” (p. 44), and Neve Ya’acov and Gilo, Jewish settlements built on Arab land in Jerusalem, are referred to as “Jewish neighborhoods” (p. 44).

Still, *Confronting the Occupation* is a valuable text, providing a solid understanding of the occupation’s effects on Palestinian refugee families as well as the internal gender power relations in a continually changing context. It is an important addition to the understanding and analysis of Israeli occupation policies as well as the persistent and stubborn resistance of Palestinian refugees.

#### PLACES AND TIMES OF REFUGEE IDENTITY

**Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps**, by Julie Peteet. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. xiii + 226 pages. Notes to p. 238. Bibliography to p. 252. Index to p. 260. Acknowledgements to p. 261. \$55.00 cloth.

##### *Reviewed by Lila Abu-Lughod*

Both a history and an ethnography of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, this sobering book is an analysis of the complex and changing relationship between place and identity in the lives of Palestinian refugees. Beginning with a short description of the Zionist construction of place for the New Jew on the land of Palestine, an exclusive and “ethnonationalist” colonial project that entailed the removal of the native Palestinian inhabitants, the book then traces the shifting relations to places of those displaced in 1948. The periodization allows for a nuanced understanding of radical shifts in refugee camp organization, relation to the “host” population, experience of the exiles, and the balance of hope and despair. The

ethnography offers a rich sense of the meanings attributed to place—whether the places of memory or the living spaces of the camps where so much has taken place in the last sixty years.

In a chapter on the initial expulsion and settlement in Lebanon in 1948, Peteet offers fascinating material from the archives of organizations involved in early relief efforts. Several organizations and families had developed templates through their work with the Armenians. Although her analysis begins with the Foucauldian premise that “the refugee” is a constituted category, an object of knowledge and administrative intervention, Peteet challenges the literature on refugees by showing that Palestinians participated in and changed the aid institutions that constituted them. She shows particularly well how UNRWA, the major institution of Palestinian refugee life, played a contradictory role, enumerating and administering but also employing and educating; if anything, she argues, UNRWA later was appreciated for its critical role in keeping alive the Palestinian issue on the international stage.

The chapter on producing space and spatializing identity from 1948 to 1968 focuses on the ways the camps were established, often along village lines, the struggles over privacy and space, gender and class, and the widening sense of connection and identity that developed. Among the key institutions were UNRWA schools. As one man reminisced, there was an urgency to schooling in the 1950s and 1960s, fed by dedicated teachers who saw teaching as a national duty: “There was a sense of not only giving you an education, but giving you a sense of mission, that part of one’s duty and identity as a refugee—as a Palestinian—was to make your life worth something” (p. 125). Instead of accepting their role as refugees, students remember chanting “Return, Return” in their morning exercises.

The years 1968 and 1969 marked a watershed. With the Cairo Accords of 1969, the Lebanese government allowed the new Palestinian resistance movement’s armed presence in and control over the camps. This was the period when “sites of waiting and confinement became sites of mobilization and militancy” (p. 133). There was a jump in scale as the camps were now transformed into “active national spaces” full of new residents (fighters), flags, and public places. The period of the resistance was a period of autonomy, connection, and hope.

---

Lila Abu-Lughod, professor of anthropology and director of the Institute for Research on Women and Gender at Columbia University, is the author of *Dramas of Nationhood* (University of Chicago Press, 2005) and co-editor with Ahmad H. Sa’di of the forthcoming *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (Columbia University Press, 2007).

This was to be short-lived, replaced by the landscape of despair. When Peteet returned in the early 1990s, after a hiatus of ten years, Shatila Camp looked like a “ruralized holding center” in the midst of bustling reconstruction in Beirut. It was a place of no infrastructure, little employment, poverty, poor education, incarceration, mistrust of others, social isolation, and dreams only of emigration. There seemed to be little hope for exercising any rights in Lebanon, which was treating its “guests” with methods of control like those used by the Israelis: the same humiliations at checkpoints and the same pressures for transfer. The right of return that was so central to Palestinian diasporic political hopes had been muted. As Peteet describes, there had been a “seismic shift in identity” after the PLO was forced to depart in 1982, abandoning the camp refugees and leaving them vulnerable to one horror after another, including the sieges of the camps and the massacre in Shatila. Now, the despised Palestinian “other” is used as a foil by Lebanese groups to consolidate a national identity, leaving the second and third generation refugees with very little room for fashioning identities or places in their own image. One woman laments, “We cry for ourselves. We don’t know what is going to happen to us. We are like a blind person who sees nothing ahead. So where is the future?” (p. 170).

Peteet brings a unique perspective to this study of the places and times of Palestinian identity. An ethnographer who had done fieldwork in the late 1970s and early 1980s and had written a major book on gender in the Palestinian resistance movement, she returned in the 1990s to see what had happened not just in Shatila, her main site, but also in Burj al-Barajneh and ‘Ayn al-Hilwa where she got some of the moving, occasionally chilling, interviews she presents. She describes herself as an anthropologist whose fieldwork in “a crisis situation” forces on her the responsibility of using ethnography as an “act of intervention” (p. ix). She treads a fine line: she writes sympathetically and honestly about the situation, giving agency and voice to her subjects while being darkly aware of the various forms of violence to which they are subjected; she challenges the U.S. and Israeli role in creating and perpetuating that violence while simultaneously revealing the failures of both the Palestinian leadership and the Lebanese government and militias to protect (not to mention support) the refugees. She has succeeded admirably in producing a book of

serious scholarship and theoretical insight that is also a call to do something about this grim situation.

#### “LIVE FREE OR DIE”

**Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers**, by Mohammed M. Hafez. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2006. xvi + 75 pages. Appendices to p. 98. Notes to p. 109. Resources for Further Research to p. 113. Index to p. 124. About the Author to p. 125. \$12.50 paper.

#### *Reviewed by Lori A. Allen*

This slim volume adds very little to our understanding of Palestinian suicide bombings; their causes, contexts, and costs; or how the conflict that produces them might be brought to an end. Instead, it copies many aspects of the analytical frames used by other scholars and repeats a great deal of the one-sided, moralistic political propaganda that saturates Western and Israeli media and political punditry. Although Hafez draws on interviews with Palestinian officials, he rests his analysis largely on a collection of English-language political science and news reports.

Like Robert Pape’s *Dying to Win* (Random House, 2005), Hafez parses his analysis into three levels: individuals, organizations, and societies. While this approach pretends to offer complexity and interdisciplinarity, in practice, Hafez adheres to a very narrow, methodological individualist and intentionalist theory. Hafez usefully explains suicide bombings as a rational form of militancy, but he places a disproportionate emphasis on the role of instrumentalism over other social factors. Hafez’s examination of “individual motivations, organizational imperatives, and societal conflicts” boils down to a focus on militant organizations and how they manipulate individuals and society.

Even his analysis “at the level of society”—a concept that is left completely untheorized—focuses solely on the question of why people support suicide bombings. His explanation: the intense “feelings of victimization” (pp. 7, 68) among Palestinians and “what they saw as” Israel’s excessive use of force (p. 7). Well-documented Israeli actions and the brutal policies of its belligerent

---

**Lori A. Allen**, an anthropologist, is an Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

occupation are glossed over in favor of the merely subjective “feelings” and beliefs of Palestinians. Hafez downplays the fact that they are victims of an unjust occupation that is bolstered by excessive use of force. (On Israel’s excessive use of force, see, for example, the 3 November 2000 report by Physicians for Human Rights, “Evaluation of the Use of Force in Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank: Medical and Forensic Investigation” or Amnesty International’s 5 October 2004 press release, “Israel/Occupied Territories: Excessive Use of Force.”) Hafez also ignores the impact of nearly four decades of dispossession and life under what amounts to a military dictatorship on a society, its individuals, and the forms of resistance they pursue.

Hafez explains Israel’s actions as a result of that country’s “existential crisis” brought on by the bombings, which “forced it to respond with harsher measures” (p. 7). This kind of “explanation” clearly adopts the Israeli line of justification for its internationally condemned actions, almost completely ignoring the long-standing colonial goals of the thirty-nine-year-long Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands.

A key concept throughout this text is “the culture of martyrdom.” This catchphrase has become a catch-all nonexplanation, not only in this book, but in a great deal of both popular and political science articles about the second Palestinian intifada. In Hafez’s usage, this “culture” that has “penetrated this conflicted society” (p. 19) is what militant organizations must “produce,” “based on religious appeals and innovative rituals to convince the broader public of the value of suicide bombings” (p. 32), in order to assure would-be bombers that martyrdom is an honorable act that will bring them prestige (p. 14). While death, martyrdom, and its memory are everywhere in Palestine, culture is more—and less—than simply a “determinant of what constitutes rewards in human calculations” (p. 15). Hafez thus mixes the familiar concept of the “nationalist entrepreneur,” which reduces nationalism to a thin rational actor model of social life, with a stiff notion of cultural determinism. Like too many other political scientists, he portrays militant organizations mainly as cynical, coldly calculating groups that somehow act upon their societies from the outside by drawing “on religion, culture, or identity to give meaning to extreme violence” (p. 33).

That militants are anything but integral elements of their society, produced through that society—the brothers, husbands, daugh-

ters, and friends of those around them—and that “meaning” can be so roughly created and imposed upon such a docile, blank slate of a society are ideas both factually and conceptually problematic. This is not to suggest that militant and political organizations do not have strategies and try to influence their constituents and opponents, as politicians the world over do. It is to insist, however, that a deeper understanding of suicide bombing and the people involved requires a more accurate analysis of Palestinians’ own understandings of, debates about, and justifications for political protest, and how they conceive of the audiences that those explanations must reach.

Despite the many shortcomings of this volume, it offers a few important insights. Hafez rightly insists that there is no necessary connection between Islam and terrorism or suicide bombings (p. 10). Many of Hafez’s policy recommendations are astute, including his advocacy of ending the occupation as a fundamental step to ensuring Israeli security. He also offers the infrequently stated observation that suicide bombers “are not significantly different from other rebels or soldiers around the world who are willing to engage in high-risk activism out of a sense of duty” (p. 6). The bandwagons teeming with “terrorism experts” and journalists rushing to untangle the minds and madness of suicide bombers would do well to recall that anti-colonial hero Nathan Hale said, “I regret that I have but one life to give for my country,” and the New Hampshire state motto is “Live free or die.” Some may consider self-sacrifice and lethal attacks in the pursuit of freedom to be irrational or extremist, but they are ultimately human.

#### BETWEEN STATE AND *SULHA*

**Sharaf Politics: Honor and Peacemaking in Israeli-Palestinian Society**, by Sharon D. Lang. New York: Routledge, 2005. x + 219 pages. Notes to p. 246. Bibliography to p. 258. Index to p. 266. \$75.00 cloth.

#### *Reviewed by Rhoda Kanaaneh*

In *Sharaf Politics*, anthropologist Sharon Lang takes on the provocative topics

---

**Rhoda Kanaaneh** is a visiting scholar at New York University’s Department of Social and Cultural Analysis and author of the forthcoming book *On the Edge of Security: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military*.

of so-called honor killings and *sulba* reconciliations among Palestinians in the Galilee. She seeks to critique academic literature that places violence and feud at the heart of the Palestinian social order, by highlighting instead the centrality of reconciliation and negotiation. While her critique of the “balanced opposition” approach is laudable, Lang’s narrow focus on murders and the *jaba* committees that then try to reconcile victims’ families with those of the accused unfortunately replicates a simplistic and distorted view of Palestinian society.

Lang’s alternative view does not question the centrality or relative frequency of murders but rather focuses on the persuasive mediation efforts that follow. Lang mentions in passing the causes of some murders. For example, she explains that Palestinians believe all men have equal *sharaf* (honor) and that a visibly strong or proud man is seen as violating this egalitarian order and may thus be killed (p. 105, p. 235). Other “seemingly small incidents” such as “one man’s sheep grazing on another’s pasture, can readily escalate into murder” (p. 234). But the causes of a conflict, she argues, are not significant to her informants; the intensity of the *sharaf* insult is (p. 235). According to Lang, the reconciliation process does not center on a notion of justice or on suitably punishing killers, but on “bringing disputing sides back into ‘normal’ peaceful relations” (p. 98). She insists that, as one informant tells her, “While the Western system busies itself with ‘who done it’ details, we restore peace” (p. 246).

Lang’s lens presents *sharaf* as the key to most values and practices in Palestinian society. For example, the honor-increasing *sulba* activities of the men of the *jaba* are figured as the key means by which authority is constituted (p. 108). Palestinian participation in local electoral politics is actually subsumed under the male search for *sharaf* (p. 153). This “indigenous system” is so powerful as to sometimes supersede state institutions (p. 25). By replacing feud with “the all important concept of *sharaf*” (p. 207), Palestinian society is still figured uni-dimensionally.

Lang correctly disputes a view of the Israeli state as overdetermining Palestinian identities, values, and norms. But her assertion that “these are all negotiable” (p. 161) seems overly optimistic. Moreover, the crux of her disputation rests on a naïveté regarding state objectives and a misrecognition of its manipulations as helplessness in the face of persistent indigenous values. Although in other parts of her book she recognizes the

state as a colonial one with systems aimed at controlling Arab citizens (e.g., p. 201), in most of the text she inexplicably assumes that Israeli authorities are simply interested in maintaining peace (p. 172). She fails to consider that state authorities—with their interests in segmenting the Arab population—routinely attempt to fan the flames of local clan, religious, and intervillage conflict. (See Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel’s Control of a National Minority* [University of Texas Press, 1980].)

Particularly problematic are her claims that “a significant number of Arab citizens have joined the police force or serve in the army” (p. 147) and that Israeli police officers “are affirmed by Israeli Palestinians” and are even considered “prestigious go-betweens” like *jaba* members (p. 156). She offers an example of a police officer who attempts to increase his influence in his community by offering his help to deal with Israeli authorities (p. 162). Although Lang recognizes that such a police officer “will tend to be cultivated all the more by the Israeli authorities, increasing his ability to procure favors for those who come to him” (p. 178), she incredibly concludes that this is an example of personal agency and of the vibrancy of the indigenous *sharaf* system, rather than one of state control through selective empowering of certain players and values.

*Wasta* and patron-client relations, it turns out, are also part of this indigenous system. In this framework, we are to understand, for example, the *wastas* necessary for acceptance to the Arabic teachers’ college not as political control mechanisms, but as an arena of indigenous agency (p. 178).

Lang’s bibliography is narrow. Aside from Majid al-Haj’s work on which she relies extensively, much of the recent scholarship on Palestinians inside Israel, especially that written by Palestinians and by Palestinian feminists on “honor killings,” is oddly absent. Also missing are studies on Palestinians more generally, as well as literature on masculinity and postcolonial studies—all areas that she engages without reference to ongoing contributions and debates.

Although I dislike book reviews that focus on the details of printing errors, they are so numerous in this book that they are difficult to overlook. Routledge’s editorial process missed dozens of distracting grammatical and spelling errors. Even more disconcerting is Lang’s weak Arabic, apparent in problematic transliterations

that are grammatically incorrect and that do not appear to follow any transliteration system, and in the invention of new words (e.g., *makbaazin* apparently means dishonorable). I also came across numerous minor factual errors (e.g., Rama is a Muslim-Druze village). Upon encountering such unchecked, widespread, and basic errors, readers may question the accuracy of the rest of Lang's data and interpretations.

#### PREACHING TO THE NATIVES

**Seeking Mandela: Peacemaking between Israelis and Palestinians**, by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005. xx + 193 pages. Notes to p. 209. Works cited to p. 216. Index to p. 224. \$21.95 paper.

##### *Reviewed by Zachary Wales*

If history is framed in a series of popular moments, it is safe to say that Israel is presently facing a rather unpopular one: the apartheid analogy. Academics, activists, and even Jewish religious groups the world over have called for boycott, sanctions, and divestment in a manner similar to that which urged the end of South Africa's white rule. However, this moment is not static or beset with essential traits, and one should not be surprised that some South Africans are not ready for it at all.

In *Seeking Mandela: Peacemaking between Israelis and Palestinians*, Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley attempt to delegitimize a claim made, ironically, by people like Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, Ronnie Kasrils, and Farid Esack. It might be fair to call *Seeking Mandela* a naïve stab in the growing field of historical reconciliation—the book is part of a series titled, "Politics, History, and Social Change"—were it not replete with ahistorical logic, Orientalist claims, quotes taken out of context, and, most counter-intuitively, a thorough and expressed understanding of what is really going on in Israel-Palestine. At worst, *Seek-*

*ing Mandela* is a 193-page act of seeing, hearing, but not speaking.

*Seeking Mandela*, the husband and wife author team tells us, is "written within the paradigms and in support of the broad Israeli-Palestinian peace movement" (p. ix). This is fine, but such a statement in and of itself is meaningless. Rather than clarify their stance—do they support a peaceful status quo or a just peace?—our authors find refuge in Thomas Friedman's quote that while criticizing Israel is acceptable, "singling out" the regime "out of all proportion to any other party in the Middle East" is unambiguously anti-Semitic (p. xiii). Some might call this moral browbeating, while others would simply say it forecloses the academic debate to anyone who seeks proportionate opprobrium against Israel, including, for instance, Jews who do not want Zionists to speak for them. Friedman's argument, after all, is not as much about proportions as it is about limitations.

Put more simply, what happens when one singles out Israel with self-imposed conditions, as Adam and Moodley endeavor to do? Is this a sincere approach? Is it academic? The latter question is summarily answered when Adam and Moodley respond, "One must agree with Friedman that Israel's Arab antagonists warrant much more condemnation" (pp. xiii-xiv). Instead of substantiating this statement (at any point in the book) with an historical analysis of the political development of Arab countries in relation to Israel—a state that explicitly introduced itself to the Arab world as colonial and ethnically superior to its neighbors—Adam and Moodley refer to "[Arab regimes'] oppression of women and homosexuals" (p. xiv). They give this statement no workable context and it amounts to a cheap name-calling billed as liberal notions.

The remainder of the book's opening disclaimers highlight the authors' respective liberation-era credentials and their apparent need to advertise their current non-South African disposition: "We write with a proud Canadian identity. Our two daughters were born and socialized in splendid Vancouver" (p. 4). In so celebrating Canada, they lament "its residual racism and the shameful benign neglect of the indigenous people" (p. 4). How something can be at once shameful and benign is telling of the logic with which Adam and Moodley encounter Israel-Palestine, which they repeatedly call the "Holy Land," despite the Zionist and PLO leaders alike who have historically

---

**Zachary Wales** is a writer and editor for the *Electronic Intifada* and a master's candidate at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. He served as United Press International's South African correspondent for two years and is currently writing the text for the *Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem's Historical Atlas of Palestine* (forthcoming, 2007).



campaigns on secular grounds. Indeed, rather than contextualize Zionism as the unequivocal colonial movement that it has been—the authors dedicate an entire section to debunking the fastidious efforts of people like Theodore Herzl who sold Zionism as “a colonial idea” to British imperial patrons—Adam and Moodley present us with “Two hostile people [who] view each other as collective enemies” as a result of the “historical label” they were given at birth (p. 6). The authors shy away from “the impossible task of unscrambling history” (p. 11) and declare that they sought opinions from Israelis “across the political spectrum” (p. xix).

In reality, Adam and Moodley sought no apparent input from Israel’s anti-Zionist left. They do, however, cite quotes from “a valued colleague who proudly displayed a poster of [Ariel] Sharon on his wall” (p. 5). Would the authors “value” colleagues who displayed posters of Vorster or Botha? There is one instance in which the book quotes a prominent Israeli critic of Zionism, Tanya Reinhart, who said, “It is easier to justify even the worst acts of oppression when the enemy is a fanatical Muslim organization” (p. 104). However, the quote is taken entirely out of the context of Reinhart’s political scholarship and appropriated to an unrelated apologist argument for Israel. This also happens to be one of the few times that the term “Muslim” appears in the book; Adam and Moodley prefer “Islamic” to describe people who follow the faith.

Add to this the authors’ haphazard attempts to invalidate the apartheid analogy, based on the theory that apartheid South Africa’s excuse was race, while Israel’s is ethnicity—did we miss something? Regardless, whenever discussion of Israel’s systematic discrimination, labor exploitation, illegal detentions, or infringements on academic freedom presents itself, Israel is granted immunity from the South African comparison. Meanwhile, the authors do not hesitate to infer outlandish comparisons—“Oslo was South Africa in 1990” (p. 155)—as long as they reproduce controversy and avoid tackling truth and history in an academic fashion.

The most indicting section of *Seeking Mandela*, titled “Conversations with Palestinians,” occurs early on when Adam and Moodley preach that “[v]isitors should listen, learn and observe, but not lecture” (p. 7). Soon thereafter the authors, by their own account of events, lecture their Palestinian interviewees on how they “have allowed themselves to be branded as terror-

ists” (p. 10), which the Palestinians receive with “polite dismissal” (p. 10). One is reminded of South African author Zakes Mda’s description of the European missionaries who proselytized to the amaXhosa in his historic fiction, *Heart of Redness* (Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 2002, p. 48): “The gospel men provided much entertainment everywhere they went. Whenever they came to the twins’ village there was great merriment, and people knew that they were going to laugh until their ribs were painful.”

#### ECONOMIC BANTUSTANIZATION

**Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel: Labour, Land, and Occupation**, by Leila Farsakh. New York: Routledge, 2005. xxii + 204 pages. Appendix to p. 222. Notes to p. 237. Bibliography to p. 256. Index to p. 264. \$65.00 cloth.

#### *Reviewed by Adam Hanieh*

Economic writing on the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WBGs) frequently points to the historical dependence of Palestinians on the Israeli labor market. It is widely acknowledged that this structural reliance bears partial responsibility for the current deterioration in Palestinian economic livelihood. The complicated system of Israeli-imposed movement restrictions witnessed during the al-Aqsa intifada—and for which the groundwork was laid from 1988 onward—has eliminated almost all work opportunities, led to exceedingly high unemployment, and contributed to the unprecedented poverty now seen in the region.

These observations are commonplace but rarely go beyond a simple statement of fact. Largely absent from the literature is an analysis of the role of WBGs labor in the evolution of Israeli capitalism. Moreover, few writers have explored this relationship through the imperatives of land control and the exclusionary demographic policies that underpin the project of Israeli occupation. Now, however, Leila Farsakh provides a powerful contribution to our understanding of these issues. She begins by outlining the theoretical weaknesses of dominant rational choice approaches that view labor

---

**Adam Hanieh** is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at York University, Canada, whose research interests include Middle East political economy.

migration as an individual choice driven by wage differentials between different geographical spaces. In contrast, she argues that such approaches do not explain the specific character of labor migration: Who is seeking work, where do they come from, and in what sectors do they find work? Most important, rational choice approaches do not explain the structural reasons that underpin uneven spatial development. In the Palestinian case, these models fail to conceptualize the transfers of labor that have contributed to the pattern of dependency established over decades between the WBGs and the Israeli economy.

Farsakh demonstrates that Palestinian WBGs labor in Israel generally came from rural areas and refugee camps. From 1967 to 1993, this labor was circular, with workers commuting daily to jobs inside Israel and returning to their residences at night. Following the Oslo accords, the ability of Palestinians to work inside Israel was curtailed and the employment destination shifted toward Israeli settlements in the WBGs. While Palestinian labor has been a minor component of the overall Israeli workforce, it has been highly concentrated in the Israeli construction sector, the destination of over 50 percent of all WBGs workers inside Israel since 1975 (p. 87). The low and relatively constant cost of Palestinian labor, maintained through state policies that discriminate against the Palestinian worker, has provided an important source of capital accumulation in the Israeli construction industry (p. 131).

Access to the Israeli labor market led to significant changes within the Palestinian social structure. The Palestinian labor force was transformed from a largely agricultural society into a wage-earning population (p. 89), reinforcing a structural dependency on the Israeli economy. This transformation was compounded through state policies (regulated through Israeli military orders) that restricted Palestinian use of land, denied access to external markets, and retarded the domestic accumulation of capital.

Farsakh takes these characteristics of Palestinian labor migration and constructs a sophisticated interpretation based upon the territorial priorities of Israeli settlement policy. She emphasizes that the nature of Palestinian labor flow is centrally shaped by Israeli strategic designs over land. Since the beginning of the occupation in 1967, Israel has sought to control the maximum amount of land with the minimum number of Palestinians. The WBGs has undergone

a territorial integration into Israel, while, simultaneously, Palestinian society has been structurally separated from the Israeli polity.

She adopts the term “bantustanization” to describe this Israeli strategy in the WBGs (p. 165). Palestinian movement and livelihood increasingly are circumscribed into closed zones that lack any effective contiguity. In these circumstances, the Palestinian economy remains dependent on Israeli labor markets, and there is no possibility for a viable Palestinian state to emerge.

There are two aspects to this process of “bantustanization” that Farsakh unfortunately does not address. First, while her analysis focuses upon Palestinian labor, the dialectic of territorial integration/societal separation cannot be isolated from its effects upon Palestinian capital. The nature of domestic Palestinian capital accumulation—largely reliant on privileged relationships with Israeli and foreign monopolies—has important implications for Palestinian class formation in the WBGs. This is critical to understanding the nature of the political agreements that Farsakh so ably deconstructs throughout the book.

Second, Farsakh’s conclusion that Israeli strategy in the WBGs has led to the creation of a “labor reserve economy” (p. 161) implicitly raises the question of where the Israeli economy is heading and its future relationship with neighboring countries. The industrial zones in Jordan and Egypt—established with the involvement of Israeli capital as a requirement of preferential trade agreements with the United States—are largely run on cheaper, non-Palestinian labor. What is the future of Palestinian labor given these broader regional arrangements? This is a complex and open question deserving of further consideration.

Leila Farsakh has provided a valuable and thought-provoking contribution to the literature on the political economy of the WBGs. Her work moves far beyond a simple empirical analysis and is underpinned by a powerful methodological approach to understanding the factors shaping Palestinian economic development. It is richly deserving of a wide audience.

#### OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

**Sharon and My Mother-in-Law: Ramallah Diaries**, by Suad Amiry. London: Granta Books, 2005. xi + 194 pages. £12.99 cloth.

*Reviewed by Muna Hamzeh*

Attempts by Palestinians who are not writers by profession to document their personal stories of struggle and survival, whether they live under occupation or in exile, should always be encouraged. Part of denying Palestinians their legitimate rights entails erasing from the minds of future generations their historic connection to the land of Palestine; thus, whenever personal diaries like *Sbaron and My Mother-in-Law* are published, they not only help preserve the Palestinian collective memory, but they also provide important historic testimony of a people's unwavering ability to continue their struggle for liberation.

*Sbaron and My Mother-in-Law* is divided into two parts, each originally a separate book, combined for publication in English. (The Italian translation earned the prestigious Viareggio literary award, previously granted to such authors as Primo Levi, Italo Calvino, and Umberto Eco.) Part one of the book—written after, though set chronologically before, the second part—describes Suad Amiry's experience living in Ramallah between 1981 and 1995. The second part spans the period from November 2001 to September 2002 and includes a diary she kept during Israel's invasion and reoccupation of the West Bank in March and April 2002. An architect by profession, Amiry writes the second part of her book as "a form of therapy" and to release tension (p. ix).

Throughout, Amiry is adept at describing the utter absurdities of life under Israeli occupation, depicting the variety of everyday frustrations that comprise life in occupied Ramallah. In a February 1991 diary entry, Amiry relates how she, along with everyone else in Ramallah, tried to shop for food when the curfew was lifted for three hours during the 1991 Gulf war (p. 60). In her 5 April 2002 entry, she writes about her futile attempt to reach her 91-year-old mother-in-law's house, located across the street from the besieged headquarters of President Yasir Arafat. With the area swarming with Israeli tanks, all that Amiry and the two relatives accompanying her manage to do is to call out to her

mother-in-law's helper who guides the hard of seeing elderly woman out to the balcony to wave back at her anxious relatives. They leave without knowing how she is managing without water, electricity, or telephone and with the almost nightly shelling. When the curfew is lifted again three days later, Amiry manages to drive back to the besieged neighborhood, climb over a neighbor's wall, and reach her mother-in-law, but she worries how she could get the old woman past the soldiers and to the car without having her climb over the wall (pp. 131-35).

In one of the most touching entries, dated 11 April 2002, Amiry describes going to the hospital with her friend Islah to say farewell to Jad, a young policeman from the northern West Bank who was friends with Islah's son. Islah's son had just located Jad, who had been missing for nearly two weeks, in the hospital morgue. "There are three other unrecognized bodies there. I saw him. I recognized his face. I kissed him goodbye. He was so cold. He is wearing the green jacket and the blue shirt I gave him," cries Islah's distraught son as he seems unable to forgive himself for not rescuing his friend (p. 150). In such scenes, Amiry captures and personalizes the pain suffered by Palestinians under the occupation.

The book is weakened, however, by a number of inconsistencies, inaccurate translations from Arabic, and, occasionally, confusing statements. The Arabic satellite news station al-Jazeera (p. 145) becomes al-Jazeera (p. 164). *Azab* is translated into "It's a hassle," rather than "It's torture" (p. 190); *Allah yerhamu* is translated into "God bless his soul" instead of "God rest his soul" (p. 151); and *Allah ye sambak ya Salim* is translated into "Oh God, where the hell are you, Salim" instead of "May God forgive you, Salim" (p. 143). When the author meets her husband-to-be for the first time, she does not explain why a total stranger would walk up to her and speak to her, leaving the reader confused (p. 18). Though she tells us his name is Salim Tamari, it is not until later (p. 38) that we learn he is a university professor. (While Dr. Tamari is a well-known intellectual, the author cannot assume that her non-Palestinian readers would know who he is.) Also, while footnotes are used occasionally, there are times when they would be useful but are not used. (For example, a Western reader might find it helpful to know that Meretz is a left-leaning Israeli party [p. 192], or some further information on Kata'ib al-Aqsa [p. 145]). It is

---

**Muna Hamzeh** is the author of *Refugees in Our Own Land: Chronicles from a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Bethlehem* (Pluto Press, 2001) and co-editor of *Operation Defensive Shield: Witnesses to Israeli War Crimes* (Pluto Press, 2003).

a shame that this lack of clarity, which could have been easily remedied by a good editor, detracted from this otherwise important book.

### CULTURE AND CONTRADICTIONS

**Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture**, edited by Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. vii + 364 pages. Bibliography to p. 396. Contributors to p. 399. Index to p. 413. \$24.95 paper.

#### *Reviewed by Helga Tawil Souri*

This edited volume, covering a range of disciplines from history to ethnomusicology, illustrates how cultural products are imbued with political significance. The essays challenge the area studies tradition by focusing on the ordinary, mass, and consumed aspect of everyday life, from the Ottoman period to contemporary times, from the Internet and refugee camps to Egypt and bootlegged audio cassettes. The book also challenges traditions in media/cultural studies, by moving beyond political economy, Marxist, and national paradigms. As such, it is a strong addition to both Middle East and cultural studies, providing a compilation that demonstrates how culture as a terrain of power and resistance is, like the broader political processes within which it is embedded, rife with contradictions. The articles are united in their focus on what has often been marginal—historically, socially, politically, academically, or otherwise.

The first section on history begins with Salim Tamari's essay on Ottoman period musician Wasif Jawhariyyeh's life and memoirs and Jerusalem's social structure in the 1920s. The essay uses music to explore the city's libertine middle class, their religious syncretism and cultural hybridity, and the daily life of a Jerusalem on the doorstep of modernity that is vibrant with cafés and institutions of public performance. Next, Mark LeVine's analysis of Mandate-era Jaffa's newspapers suggests that these public texts worked to reinforce nationalist boundaries, while their advertisements challenged those boundaries by positing readers as belonging to larger Ottoman and European networks

of trade and consumption. Finally, Ilan Pappé provides an overview of post-Zionism that moves beyond describing it as an intellectual movement or academic discourse, seeing it instead as a popular cultural force that reached its peak in 1990s and was manifested across a range of media, from theatre to cinema.

The second section begins with an analysis of cinematic representations of Israelis and Palestinians. By focusing on cast member choices and identities within the plots of specific films, Carol Bardenstein claims that identity role-switching and boundary crossings happen on neighboring points across the spectrum of identities from Ashkenazi Jew to Muslim Palestinian. Subsequently, Livia Alexander's chapter brings to the fore the transnational and global nature of and influences on Palestinian films. She proposes two trends in contemporary filmmaking: films that focus on the motif of land and political struggle, or individual stories that offer complex notions of Palestinianness that transcend geographic boundaries. It is perhaps through cyberspace that geographic and temporal boundaries between Palestinians are best crossed, as the next piece on Internet use among refugees in Lebanon by Laleh Khalili suggests. The chapter provides a glimpse of how the Internet is used as a means of accessing nationalist symbolic resources and forging connections to the homeland. From reading the news to cyberdating, from playing games to distributing political messages, the virtual experiences of refugees is permeated with a transnational nationalism.

A set of essays on musical genres and their trajectory from marginal to mainstream follow. Joseph Massad offers a historical overview of Arab and Palestinian nationalist songs (from 'Abd al-Wahhab and Fayruz to Marcel Khalife and Acre-based Palestinian hip-hop artists MWR) and how, while often popularized outside official channels, they have both registered and reflected the changing dynamics of Arab and Palestinian nationalisms—from Arab unity in the 1950s through the resistance of the second intifada. Amy Horowitz provides a comprehensive analysis of Mizrahi music's history from marginal and "poor" to mainstream and global by allowing its audiences contradictory experiences. Such contradictions are best exemplified by the persona and popularity of Enrico Macias which informs the next essay, in which Ted Swedenburg suggests that only through the notion of

---

**Helga Tawil Souri** is an assistant professor in the department of culture and communication at New York University.

"interzone" and an analysis of the dialectical outcome of history's impact on individuals can we make sense of the connections between Jewish life in the Arab world and Zionism, between European colonialism and the experience of the Beurs in France.

The last section is comprised of essays that traverse geographic and epistemological boundaries. Rebecca Stein argues that tourism stories in the Israeli press during the peace years were really stories about the nation-state and the process of "renationalization and reterritorialization" (p. 280) of political, historical, social, and cultural boundaries that Israelis were contending with. Meanwhile, the map of Palestine/Israel is problematized by Melani McAlister in the next essay on evangelical media. She chooses the *Left Behind* novel series to analyze the connections between mainstream American culture and Christian Zionism, between cultural consumption and political ideology. Mary Layoun's chapter is a close textual and visual reading of Joe Sacco's comic strip volume, *Palestine*, positing the comic as more than just a piercing narrative of the everyday experience of Palestinians under occupation; it is in fact a critique of how these experiences are related to and understood by an observer—both the observer within the comic strip and the volume's readers. A narrator's sincerity and the audience's voyeurism are themes that come up in the next essay on Egyptian musical tributes to the Palestinian struggle. The inflated rhetoric, repetition of cliché video footage of Palestinian struggles, the hyperbole of real-life images all "exaggeratedly composed" (p. 348), lead Elliott Colla to conclude that the solidarity suggested in these songs is questionable, if not insincere. He then compares these to Jean-Luc Godard's film  *Ici et Ailleurs*, which rhetorically speaks to the failure of solidarity with the Palestinian revolution.

Taken together, the essays question the boundaries between the marginal and the mainstream, between the cultural and the political, destabilizing and redrawing their connections in a dialectical fashion. Similarly, the book challenges the boundaries of the Palestine/Israel divide: within, between, and beyond them. The essays live up to the promise made in the introduction that they speak diachronically and transspatially "to unmoor popular culture from a particular historical period, and Palestine and Israel from a rigid geographic grid, in an effort to think more expansively about culture-power

relations" (p. 15). In considering the ways that popular culture influences and is influenced by the political, economic, social, and historical processes of the region, *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture* ought to be an indispensable addition to any Middle Eastern cultural studies library.

#### SHORTER NOTICES

**The Levant: A Fractured Mosaic**, by William Harris. Second edition. Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2005. xiv + 184 pages. Notes to p. 197. Glossary to p. 206. References to p. 212. Index of Names to p. 217. About the Author to p. 218. \$22.95 paper.

This book by University of Otago, New Zealand, scholar William Harris traces the history of the Levant (comprising modern Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel, and Syria) from the beginning of the common era to the present. Written as a basic history for the nonexpert reader, the book is divided into the following chapters: "The Strategic Geography of the Levant"; "Rome, Islam, and Byzantium"; "Crusaders, Mamluks, and Ottomans"; and "The Modern Levant." This fourth chapter covers the Arab-Israeli conflict, among other subjects, and is updated to include some discussion of the al-Aqsa intifada.

AW

**A History of Modern Palestine**, by Ilan Pappé. Second Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxi + 293; Notes to p. 303; Bibliography to p. 315. Glossary of Names to p. 333. Glossary of Terms to p. 343. Index to p. 361. \$75.00 cloth; \$24.99 paper.

This second edition of Ilan Pappé's *A History of Modern Palestine* comes only two years after the first edition, but they have been event-filled years—the death of Yasir Arafat, the unilateral Israeli "disengagement" from Gaza, Ariel Sharon's stroke and subsequent exit from the Israeli political scene. The impact of events of recent months, including the election of a Hamas-led Palestinian legislature, Israel's reinvasion of Gaza and Lebanon, may soon require a third edition. Although some, but not all, of the problems with the first edition (reviewed by Rashid Khalidi in *JPS* 137, pp. 107–8) have been corrected, the greatest changes are the addition of a completely new chapter, "A Post-Zionist Moment of Grace?," the reworking of the conclusion into a new chapter,

"The Suicidal Track: The Death of Oslo and the Road to Perdition," and the addition of a postscript, "The Post-Arafat Era and the New Sharon Age."

AW

**Between Terrorism and Civil War: The al-Aqsa Intifada**, edited by Clive Jones and Ami Pedahzur. New York: Routledge, 2005. 136 pp. Index to p. 141. \$120.00 cloth.

This short collection is a special issue of the journal *Civil Wars*, and seeks to help define just what type of conflict the current al-Aqsa intifada is: terrorism, interstate conflict, part of the "war on terrorism," or Palestinian national liberation struggle. Editors Jones (University of Leeds) and Pedahzur (University of Haifa) bring together six chapters by Israeli, Palestinian, and European scholars that examine different aspects of the current violence in an effort to explore this idea that the second intifada is perhaps best explained as a type of civil war. Analytical questions include how violence has been conditioned by domestic and international factors; how the intifada has affected Palestinian-Israeli relations, and what can it say about wider questions of state boundaries and legitimacy.

Chapters deal with vigilante settler violence; the al-Aqsa intifada and Palestinian political reform; the Temporary International Presence in Hebron; Jordan and the intifada; Egypt and the intifada; and Hizballah and the intifada. Editor Jones provides both an introduction and conclusion to the volume.

MRF

**Israel and the Palestinians: Israeli Policy Options**, edited by Mark A. Heller and Rosemary Hollis. London: Chatham House, 2005. x + 140 pp. Maps to p. 147. £12.50 paper.

In 2003, in an effort to propose policy options for Israel, editors Heller (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University) and Hollis (Chatham House-Royal Institute for International Affairs) commissioned five prominent Israeli analysts to make the case for five different potential policies. Each author was asked to state clearly the goals of the option defended. The results were published in this short work.

Veteran Israeli diplomat David Kimche argues that Israel's best strategic option is

to forge a permanent status agreement with the Palestinians. Israel Harel, president of the Israel Institute of Jewish Leadership and Strategy and a leading figure in the Jewish settler movement, makes the "preserve the land" argument. Uzi Arad, director of the Institute for Policy and Strategy at the Interdisciplinary Center, writes in favor of interim arrangements and conflict management. Joel Peters (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) and Orit Gal (Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Economic Cooperation Foundation) make the case for international intervention for conflict management and resolution. Finally, Dan Schueftan (National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa) argues for unilateral disengagement.

MRF

**A Never-Ending Conflict: A Guide to Israeli Military History**, edited by Mordechai Bar-On. Praeger Series on Jewish and Israeli Studies. Leslie Stein, Series Editor. Westport and London: Praeger, 2004. vii + 250 pp. Index to p. 257. Contributors' information to p. 261. \$39.95 cloth.

After an introduction by editor Bar-On (Ben-Zvi Institute), this volume offers twelve chapters, each written by an Israeli scholar or analyst and each dealing with a war or period of conflict in the long struggle between Zionism and the Arab world. The first chapter, by Yigal Eyal, starts the saga with the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939, while Shaul Shay ends with an examination of the "al-Aqsu Intifadah" [sic]. Bar-On's overall hope was to produce a short volume for the educated lay reader that offers recent historical insight into the full scope of the Arab-Israeli conflict over the past seven decades. He also concedes that the authors (all of whom are Israeli) provide Israeli perspectives on the conflict.

Authors include Yigal Eyal, Yoav Gelber, David Tal, Motti Golani, Ami Gluska, Michael Oren, Dan Schueftan, Shimon Golan, Benny Michelsohn, Eyal Zisser, Reuven Aharoni, and Shaul Shay.

MRF

**Publish It Not: The Middle East Cover-Up**, by Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams. Oxford: Signal Books, 2006. xlv + 211 pages. Appendices to p. 240. Notes to p. 247. Index to p. 253. £9.99 paper.

This is a reprint of the famous 1975 exposé published by British journalist Michael Adams (1920–2005) and politician Sir Christopher Mayhew (1915–1997). *Publish It Not* was one of the first books to challenge the dominant pro-Zionist discourse within British society, particularly the media, the churches, and political parties, and it created quite a stir. In addition to reprinting the original work, this edition also offers a new foreword by journalist Tim Llewellyn as well as opinion pieces by Adams and Mayhew and other material.

MRF

**Christians and a Land Called Holy: How We Can Foster Justice, Peace, and Hope**, by Charles P. Lutz and Robert O. Smith. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006. x + 132 pages. Resources to p. 146. Notes to p. 160. Index of Scripture to p. 162. Index of Subjects and Names to p. 168. \$15.00 paper.

As the “we” in the title suggests, this book is written for a Christian audience with the intention of giving background on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, imparting a better understanding of the role of the three Abrahamic faiths, exploring Christian Zionism, and urging Christian readers to get involved in trying to bring justice to the Palestinians and a solution to the conflict, with an article by Ronald D. Witherup exploring the biblical treatment of the land of Israel serving as an appendix. The authors are involved Christians who have traveled together to Israel and Palestine. (Lutz is Minnesota coordinator of Churches for Mid-

dle East Peace and Smith is the University of Chicago’s Lutheran Campus Pastor.)

AW

**Searching for Peace in the Middle East**, written and produced by Landrum Bolling, directed and produced by Mischa Scorer. Washington: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 2006. 30 minutes. DVD.

This short (30 minute) documentary featuring veteran Middle East peace advocate Landrum Bolling, features footage and interviews that will be familiar to those who have watched any of the numerous American-made documentaries aimed at educating Americans on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Footage of settlements, refugee camps, the aftermath of suicide bombings, and checkpoints are intermingled with interviews of figures such as Hanan Ashrawi, Mahmud al-Zahhar, Gershon Baskin, and Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Daniel Taub, among others. The primary (and overwhelming) problem with this documentary is its presentation of the history of the conflict as essentially beginning in 1967 with the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem. With practically no reference to any earlier historical context, this film is unable to address or help clarify for the viewer the roots of the conflict.

AW

**Michael R. Fischbach** is professor of history at Randolph-Macon University in Ashland, Virginia.

**Alex Winder** is assistant editor of *JPS*.