

conflict. Again, those with a critical understanding of the occupation will recognize these. For example, Baroud registers with indignation Western journalists' willingness to readily label as "terrorist" or "militant" any Palestinian man killed by Israel. He points to the U.S. media's tendency to ignore or dismiss as "periods of relative calm" any cluster of weeks in which only Palestinians and no Israelis are killed. Baroud also points to the blatant double standards at work in the impunity enjoyed by Ariel Sharon. Asking why Sharon was never tried and punished by a war crimes tribunal may be viewed as either naïve (by cynics or political realists) or outrageous (by extreme Israeli nationalists who consider no action committed for "security reasons" to be a crime), but raising such questions remains valuable, as they reveal the starkly unbalanced nature of this conflict and the injustice of how it is dealt with and portrayed.

As Bill and Kathleen Christison state so frankly in the foreword, Palestinians "have never known how, and therefore have never tried adequately, to prevail in the public-relations contest with Israel—never known how to frame their story in a way that would win the sympathy of a public enraptured by the story of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust" (p. xi). It is doubtful, however, that Baroud's chronicle will win the sympathy of any reader who is not already inclined to appreciate Palestinians' points of view. His understandable outrage—now, as he so powerfully puts it, part of his anatomy (p. 113)—often takes a sarcastic tone. This leads him to fill pages with somewhat superficial characterizations where measured and fact-filled observations might be more persuasive to a dubious reader.

Baroud overstates his case in his somewhat glib summary of the 2005 road map, omitting the demands that the agreement actually did make of Israel (pp. 123–24), such as cessation of settlement expansion, which Israel ignored. And elsewhere, Baroud discusses Palestinian political prisoners and skims over facts that would have made his points stronger. Finally, unlike Baroud's previous edited book, *Searching Jenin* (Cune Press, 2002), this book lacks enough of the firsthand eyewitness accounts that might have bolstered his conclusions.

For all the depressing developments of the past several years, Baroud is still able to identify some points of light. He heaps praise on the foreigners of the International Solidarity Movement who offer Palestinians

support in the midst of so much turbulence, and his eulogy for the late Edward Said encourages honesty and endurance in speaking out against injustice (pp. 78–80). What allows Baroud to continue to decry injustice and to write of "Palestine the reality," so long hijacked by "[s]ymbolic Palestine—Palestine the dream" (p. 159), is hope. While hope may be, as Baroud writes, as essential as "air and water" (p. 118), it seems to be in short supply in the reality of these days.

CURTAILING ARAB DEVELOPMENT

State Practices and Zionist Images: Shaping Economic Development in Arab Towns in Israel, by David A. Wesley. Foreword by Emanuel Marx. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006. xv + 244 pages. Index to p. 256. \$75.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Nimer Sultany

At face value, Israeli law and policies in many areas seem to be nondiscriminatory. The statutory planning system is one of those areas. How, then, has the effect of discrimination against the Palestinian Arab minority been produced and rationalized? How can one explain the weakness of the Arab localities and their lagging economic status? Israeli anthropologist David A. Wesley addresses these questions in *State Practices and Zionist Images*, where he focuses on the mechanics of power: how power relations work and what their productive effect is. The book's aim is to analyze administrative practices while "bracket[ing] the issue of identity" (p. 16). Wesley is not interested in the "state" but in state practices; not in the "system of control" but in the effect of structure, or more precisely, the structure of bureaucratic access.

Wesley focuses on the details of the planning of the industrial area Zipporit in the Galilee as a case study, demonstrating how Arab economic development is curtailed and appropriated to the benefit of the Jewish majority, and analyzing the discursive means used to this end. While Arab communities are included in the Israeli bureaucratic system in the sense of being planned for, their inclusion ultimately leads to their exclusion from development and to widening the gaps between Arab and Jewish communities. The Zionist narrative presents itself

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as a modernizing project facing a traditional Arab society, but modernization, the author shows, is a cover for ethnic displacement, and traditionalism is fallaciously projected onto the Arab minority. Arab responses to development and planning have nothing to do with "culture" or "tradition," Wesley argues; rather they demonstrate a complex set of rational considerations.

With a cost-benefit analysis, for instance, it is not obvious that it would be beneficial for an Arab small entrepreneur to move to a designated Arab industrial area, because he may incur additional costs such as infrastructure development. An Arab entrepreneur may also prefer a Jewish industrial area rather than an area of his own town (if one exists) due to differences in land prices, levels of developed infrastructure, and benefits given to investors in the Jewish area for being designated a national priority area.

Planning authorities claim to be neutral in their work, but Wesley shows how the system simultaneously promotes industrial areas for the benefit of Jewish communities and obstructs plans that benefit Arab communities. For instance, planning authorities can invoke environmental protection and tourism for the purposes of preventing Arab metropolitanization and industrialization. Wesley also reminds us that development is based on land-grab policies, Judaization, and designing jurisdictions for Arab localities in a restrictive manner. He criticizes the exclusion of Arab citizens from participating in planning processes and bodies and calls for their representation not only in statutory planning but also in initiating development planning. Planning, he argues, should aim at promoting Arab equality rather than Jewish domination in development. He identifies a more activist approach on the part of some Arab localities and NGOs in recent years and calls for additional efforts in planning issues.

Wesley's conclusions are based on observations and interviews conducted over the course of several years. He also relies on a wide range of sources, mainly in Hebrew and English, and provides maps, illustrations, tables, and a chronology of events.

The book is an important contribution to current scholarship on the Arab economy inside Israel. By taking into account administrative practices (including outline plans, municipal jurisdictions, industrial areas, national priority areas, and foreign investment) and their accompanying rationalizing discourses, the book sheds light on a vital area

that has a crucial effect on impeding Arab development.

The author confines himself, however, to the domain of distributive justice and does not address questions of redistributive, let alone corrective, justice. While Wesley acknowledges that politics always plays a role in planning and bureaucracy, his conclusions remain limited to the domain of planning and bureaucratic access.

Would an inclusion of Arab representatives in planning bodies change the inferior citizenship granted to Palestinian citizens in a Jewish and Zionist state? This approach takes the ethnic order as a *fait accompli* and aspires only to mitigate its discriminatory effects, rather than, say, to annul or alter the order altogether. Demands for inclusion and participation fall short of resolving the predicament of the indigenous Palestinian minority. So long as the macro-order is in place, inclusion will be conducted on the order's own terms, complying with prevalent discourses and traditions and performing through well-established institutions. Save for some adjustments, the flawed design remains unquestioned.

TEACHING GLOBAL JUSTICE

The Selected Writings of Eqbal Ahmad, edited by Carollee Bengelsdorf, Margaret Cerullo, and Yogesh Chandrani. Foreword by Noam Chomsky. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. 637 pages. \$69.50 cloth; \$29.00 paper.

Reviewed by Stuart Schaar

Eqbal Ahmad often said that he was a Palestinian. Despite his privileged position as a professor, this Pakistani—who lived most of his adult life as an exile in the United States—intuitively understood the dilemmas faced by Palestinians: that they suffered colonization at the very moment that the rest of the colonial world found liberation, making the pain of conquest and expulsion ever more repugnant. As a child in India, Ahmad had spent several months in Mohandas Gandhi's *ashram*, where he had come in daily contact with that great mass mobilizer. The lessons learned there stayed with him as he grew.

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