

Collins, John. 2011. *Global Palestine*. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 978-0-231-70310-9. Cloth: 30.00 USD. Pages: 219.

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In 2005, over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations launched the campaign for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS), calling for international solidarity in the struggle to end Israel's violations of international law and Palestinian human rights. The BDS movement's rapid growth and global reach during its first seven years has made it the most widely recognized global struggle against apartheid since the South African anti-apartheid movement. BDS has reshaped and enlarged both the existing Palestine solidarity movement and the broader transnational global justice movement.

A measure of its impact has been the proliferation of new books examining the political framework and dynamics of BDS, and providing historical analysis for understanding the origins and growth of Israeli apartheid. This burgeoning literature now circulates widely and includes such books as: *The Case for Sanctions Against Israel* edited by Audrea Lim (Verso, 2012), *The Palestine Nakba* by Nur Masalha (Zed Books, 2012), *BDS: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights* by Omar Barghouti (Haymarket Books, 2011), *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians* edited by Frank Barat (Haymarket Books, 2011), and *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide* by Ben White (Pluto, 2009).

John Collins' *Global Palestine* is a must-read addition to this list. Aptly self-described as "grounded in a sense of solidarity with the Palestinian people," Collins rightly situates the book within the "exciting and inspiring new wave of Palestine-focused writing and activism" (x). Like others in this emerging genre, the book functions simultaneously as activist handbook and thorough scholarly interrogation. This is recognized by its reviewers (on the back cover) who have described the book as "theoretically sophisticated" (Laleh Khalili), "a fine example of intellectual precision and political commitment" (Saree Makdisi), and informed by a "deep knowledge of local struggles and transnational solidarity movements" (Lisa Hajjar).

Global Palestine engages with an impressive range of critical academic scholarship in an accessible style while also drawing widely on references to films, artists, poetry, journalism, social movements and influential writers from many global and historical contexts. Importantly, Palestinian knowledge production figures substantially throughout (from the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, to the "Gaza Mom" blog of Laila El-Haddad, the writing of Ghassan Kanafani, and the academic work of Edward Said and Joseph Massad).

The title succinctly reflects the author's main claim that "the same forces operating to produce Palestine's troubling realities are also operating globally in ways that

have implications for all of us” (ix). This argument is explained and elaborated across four substantial chapters (Colonization, Securitization, Acceleration and Occupation) and a conclusion (Decolonization).

Treating “Palestine as an entry point” (22) for analysis, each chapter illustrates and elaborates the main forces that Collins argues are driving “the deep structures of global politics” (xi). In “Colonization,” he situates Israel/Palestine as “the site of an ongoing project of settler colonialism” (20). Usefully for global solidarity movements, this framing locates Israel as part of an “undeclared ‘settler international’” (30) which is described as a “robust strategic partnership amongst settler states” (60). “Securitization” extends this analysis to illustrate the emergence of a “generalized process of social militarization” (51), demonstrating how the “structural violence of Israel’s domination of the West Bank and Gaza” is linked to longer histories of domination and resistance of all settler states. In “Acceleration,” Collins introduces his analysis of “dromocolonization”, highlighting Palestine as “a kind of laboratory” for the application of speed and “technologic” (81) in Israel’s assertion of ongoing colonial violence. Finally, the analysis of “Occupation” is framed around a dual meaning. Here he focuses not only on Israel’s “settler colonial occupation of Palestine”, but also on “the Palestinian Occupation” which he describes as “the stubborn, everyday habitation of the land by Palestinians...Zionism’s most fundamental obstacle” (113).

This critical intellectual mapping shows how these four interlinked processes are constituted through a highly unequal yet contested arena of “struggle between the ‘settler international’ and the resistance movements” (72). It is not surprising then that Collins turns to *Decolonization* in the final chapter. Here he provides closing reflections on the current state and possible futures of resisting settler colonialism in Palestine and globally by building “transnational solidarity in the pursuit of global justice” (146).

As a whole, these chapters offer a detailed historical and political excavation of the cultural and institutional racial logics and dynamics of Zionist settler colonialism. They also assemble a rich vocabulary for ongoing critical analysis, and provide a compelling and coherent history of the colonial present in Palestine/Israel which links this context to neoliberal capitalism as it is shaped through “global colonization” (23).

I read this book with great interest, both as a scholar of white settler colonization and the racial politics of the colonial present in Canada, and as an activist in the global BDS movement (with the Toronto-based Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid and Faculty for Palestine). The book makes a clear contribution to these academic and political sites of engagement.

At the same time, I think it is crucial to read this book alongside more BDS-specific literature. While Collins has much of relevance to say about the International Solidarity Movement that emerged during the 1990s and its relationship to the local resistance movements in Palestine, the book remained vague in extending this analysis to

the current BDS movement. There are only two or three explicit references to BDS in the text, and equally few materials referenced throughout.

With the BDS movement having emerged as the key catalyst in shifting global attention to Israel as an apartheid state, discussion of it is both timely and necessary in this context. In a recent statement (2012), the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) has highlighted that amongst the “three-tiers of Israeli oppression: occupation, settler-colonialism and apartheid” it is the “apartheid paradigm” which is “the least understood or recognized, despite the mounting international studies that have shown beyond doubt that Israel is guilty of the crime of apartheid.” Given the significant contribution of Collins’ book, a more systematic discussion of Israeli apartheid would certainly have proven insightful. While references to apartheid are present, a more sustained interrogation of apartheid and BDS would have been a most welcome addition to this important text.

References

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Malleson, Tom and David Wachsmuth, ed. 2011. *Whose Streets? The Toronto G20 and the Challenges of Summit Protest*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 978-1-92666-279-4. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages 230.

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Published in the year after the G20 was held in Toronto and the downtown core of the city was turned into a veritable militarised zone, Tom Malleson and David Wachsmuth’s *Whose Streets?* has three self-proclaimed goals: to forefront the efforts of grassroots organizers, to provide space for diverse and debating voices, and finally to be, itself, a political act that would spur political discussions about left politics in Canada. The first two goals were easily met. The final goal was worked towards, but never completely fulfilled.

Divided into three sections, the chapters focus on many different aspects of the convergence. The structure of *Whose Streets?* is innovative and important because it