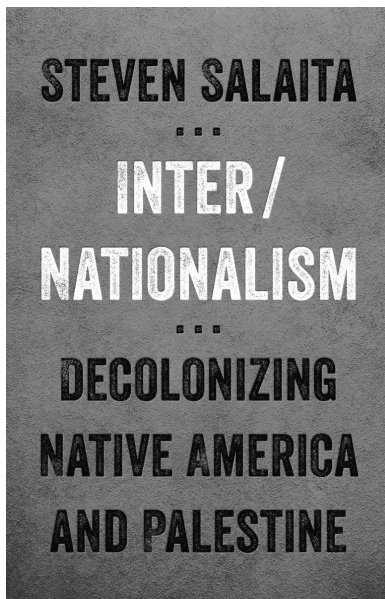


What could be more devastating than this Nakba of all Nakbas? Al-Hardan's mastery of historical context; her nuanced approach to the symbolic nature of memory-making-for-community-building among three generations of refugees; and her clear-eyed articulation of a catastrophe of catastrophes is as groundbreaking as it is heart-wrenching.

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***Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine***, by Steven Salaita. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016. 232 pages. \$80.50 cloth, \$22.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY ALEX LUBIN

Steven Salaita's *Inter/Nationalism* develops an understanding and analysis of the linked histories of settler colonialism across the United States and Israel, as well as of decolonization politics and imaginaries across Palestine and Native North America. In fact, Salaita identifies transnational settler-colonial projects and transnational decolonial social movements as dialectically related. The forms of settler narratives shared by historical figures like U.S. president Andrew Jackson and territorial Zionist Ze'ev Jabotinsky, as well as the political history of the U.S.-Israel "special relationship," form the infrastructure within which transnational, decolonial narratives that link Native America to Palestine are imagined. Salaita's *Inter/Nationalism* shines a

bright light on this dialectic, while also theorizing decolonial resistance as "inter/nationalism." Salaita employs inter/nationalism to connote a political imaginary that is rooted to a sense of peoplehood and nation-ness, without the boundary formations and colonial gestures that are normative under nationalism. In this way, Salaita views inter/nationalism as operating in similar ways to the concept developed by the Black Panther Party in the 1970s, "intercommunalism." Both concepts seek to go deeper than simplistic political analogies to understand how emergent political imaginaries can form across, within, and above national boundaries. For the Panthers, intercommunalism connected places like Oakland, California, to Algeria; for Salaita, inter/nationalism connects Native North America (itself diverse and heterogeneous) to Palestine.

Salaita's chapters traverse a broad range of archival sources that shift between readings of transnational settler-colonial processes and projects to decolonial aesthetic and political practices of resistance. For example, to understand how settler-colonial projects in the United States and Israel are not only similar, but often shared projects, Salaita offers a comparative reading of the ethnic cleansing impulses of Jackson and Jabotinsky. Moreover, Salaita demonstrates Israel's complicity in violent projects aimed at indigenous people across Latin America to link Israel's

targeting of indigenous populations globally. These comparisons enable a global view of indigenous removal as rooted to settler-colonial understandings of progress, humanity, and rights.

Having identified several ways that U.S. and Israeli forms of settler colonialism are linked, Salaita focuses most of *Inter/Nationalism* on how and why Native American and Palestinian decolonization have become connected in new political imaginaries. Salaita offers readings of the politics of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and analyzes why he believes it is a useful political strategy not only to confront Israeli settler colonialism, but also to challenge U.S. colonial practices that underwrite Israeli colonialism, as well as the colonization of Native America. While Salaita avoids making demands of BDS advocates to endorse positions on Native America, he nevertheless identifies the potency of a political project that links decolonization in North America and Palestine. In the process, Salaita identifies the problematic standpoint of many BDS activists in the United States who endorse BDS while remaining silent about or unconscious of North American settler colonialism.

Salaita also identifies ways that Palestine has entered Native American aesthetic forms and politics in a close reading of Native American poetry in the last few decades. Palestine became especially important to Native American poetry during the era of decolonization and during the Red Power era in the 1960s and 1970s. Salaita terms this poetics “aesthetic inter/nationalism” to demonstrate that geographies of Native America blend with Palestine in ways that not only reveal solidarity, but linked political imaginaries of decolonization. This is a key distinction for Salaita, who makes the case that Native poets like Erica Violet Lee, John Trudell, Carter Revard, Lee Maracle, Edgar Gabriel Silex, and Russell Means are not merely critical of Israeli settler colonialism, but view Palestinians as indigenous allies in the struggle for decolonization.

Finally, Salaita makes a strong case for why American Indian studies ought to be part of Palestine solidarity work. In this section, Salaita argues that the enforced taboo that has historically animated the question of Palestine in the United States is like the academic silencing of American Indian studies in American universities. To develop this argument, Salaita draws on his personal case at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), where he was fired from a tenured position in American Indian studies due (supposedly) to “uncivil” tweets. Salaita’s hire was a bold move on the part of the American Indian Studies Program at UIUC to link Palestinian and American Indian studies in precisely the ways Salaita calls for in his monograph. But the forces of Zionist pressure and U.S. settler narratives that undermine the value of American Indian studies convinced the UIUC administration to terminate Salaita’s contract. In this way, Salaita has experienced the epicenter of Zionist and U.S. settler hostility of decolonial knowledge formation, and this experience has inspired him to call for linking Palestine and American Indian studies (knowledge formations) and political solidarity.

In recent years, there have been several important studies of transnational social movements involving Palestine, from Keith Feldman’s *A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015) to Angela Davis’s *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Haymarket Books, 2016).<sup>‡</sup> These works

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<sup>‡</sup> Reviewed in *JPS* 46 (3) and 46 (2), respectively. —Ed.

and others have linked Palestine solidarity activism to the black freedom movement, struggles for immigrant rights, and struggles for women's rights. Salaita's *Inter/Nationalism* joins these fine studies, but delves even deeper into the possibilities of decolonial knowledge production that link new political imaginaries. The book is not only a brilliant study, it is also a needed incitement.

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***Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid***, edited by Ilan Pappé. London: Zed Books, 2015. 384 pages. \$95.00 cloth, \$21.95 paper.

#### REVIEWED BY BEN WHITE

For Israel and its allies, any talk of apartheid remains anathema. *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, therefore, is refreshing in that all the authors accept the validity of a comparison between apartheid South Africa and Israel, and, from that basis, examine different perspectives and points of interest (p. 2). The ten-chapter volume, edited and introduced by Ilan Pappé, is intended to facilitate “a professional and academic discussion . . . about the similarities and dissimilarities of the two case studies” (p. 3). To that end, the book is divided into four parts: “Historical Roots,” “The Boundaries of Comparison,” “Nuanced Comparisons,” and “Future Models and Perspectives.”

The benefit of all the contributors sharing some kind of common ground with respect to the South Africa/Israel analogy is that the book has the scope to explore varying perspectives that are often overlooked when the question of Israeli apartheid is addressed. The first three parts of the book cover theoretical models and historical case studies, the position of Palestinian citizens of Israel, the impact and role of the Oslo Accords and the Palestinian Authority’s “bantustans,” femicide, and methods of protest. The book, in other words, goes well beyond the usual parameters of a comparison between apartheid South Africa and Israel, a breadth and diversity that is to its credit.

Of particular relevance, given current diplomacy, is Leila Farsakh’s chapter on “Apartheid, Israel and Palestinian Statehood,” which compares the Bantustans—“homelands” for nonwhite South Africans—with the areas of Palestinian “self-rule” created in the West Bank and Gaza Strip over the last two decades or so. These developments, Farsakh argues, are ways in which both apartheid South Africa and Israel created “similar political structures that sought to ‘resolve’ the question of the indigenous population’s political rights without compromising the settlers’ political and economic supremacy” (p. 163). Understanding this latter priority sheds new light, of course, on