

define the oppositions between peaceful “friends” and warlike “others,” while Erasmus showed the Ottoman empire to be the antithesis of Christian peace. In discourses that vindicated European colonial rule, Hobbes and Kant articulated peace as the corollary of the victory of developmentally advanced nations over uncivilized ones, the native turned “into a disposable other, eliminated or rendered productive by the settler” (p. 229). Ibn Khaldun takes a similar tact in the *Muqaddima*, the introduction to his universal history, in which he regards the pure nomad of the desert as the converse of law, order, and civilization, and the nomad’s sedentarization as the entry point to peace and civilizational renewal.

And then there is Sayyid Qutb. Idris usefully reads Qutb’s relatively neglected 1951 book *Al-Salam al-‘Alami wa al-Islam (Universal Peace and Islam)*, which he wrote two or three years following his turn to Islamism, as a riposte to the materialism and aggression of Western empire. Arguing for the formation of a countervailing bloc of Muslim states to police the world in the name of Islamic-inflected peace. For in Qutb’s view, Islam is an emancipatory force requiring that Muslims struggle against oppressive powers; eventually, Qutb would add ostensible faux Muslims to the list of oppressors. Idris is right to regard Qutb not as a backward-looking nativist but as a postcolonial figure whose binary views were born of the steely logic of Cold War-era politics. At the same time, Idris is quiet about Qutb’s vibrant religious imagination, which was also important in fashioning his Islamist views.

In fact, in none of the book’s expositions does Idris devote much attention to the cultural formation of the theorists that he analyzes. This is by design, for his purpose is to decenter the discourses of peace, which are necessarily expressed in cultural terms, by finding equivalence among them. In the appreciable view of Idris, Islam does not stand objectively as a discrete civilizational entity separate from, or opposed to, a Christian or Enlightenment West. To construe Islam, or the West, in such a way is to engage in the politics of representation. Rather, Idris treats the various thinkers in the book as bound by similar, though not always identical, discursive structures. Here he consciously follows Roxanne Euben’s lead “to remain attuned to the politics of translation, the genealogies of our frames and categories, and the discursive work of our frames and categories” (p. 13).

Is there any respite from the Foucauldian pessimism? Is genuine peace, bereft of agendas and implications, possible? Idris says that it is, and proffers substitutes, including the cold peace of the truce, “which promises no more than itself;” the “particular peace” that is “oriented toward details and particulars;” and the peace of separation, which is premised on a live-and-let-live attitude. These solutions may at first blush appear as let-downs, yet, as practical steps, they shy away from the chauvinism and sleight of hand of conventional ideas of peace. It is no mean feat to have analyzed with such precision and insight the complex ideas of so many disparate thinkers. The book is a major contribution to political theory and intellectual history.

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The Palestinian Idea: Film, Media, and the Radical Imagination. **Greg Burris, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. Pp. 251. \$32.95** **paper. ISBN 9781439916742**

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From the armed struggle, to the Intifadas, to the contemporary Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, Palestine has been a critical cause for the European and American left. Today, international gains on the cultural and intellectual fronts have been accompanied by the destruction or containment of liberatory projects in historic Palestine and the fragmentation of the Palestinian struggle into separate, often depoliticized, issues. *The Palestinian Idea* should be read as grappling with the meaning of solidarity and the possibility of theorizing change at this conjuncture of hopeful despair.

Burris stakes two central claims about the titular “Palestinian Idea.” First, that it is constituted by “equality,” not as a future ideal, but an “axiom” that “is already being put into practice” (p. 20). As

such, the Idea is synonymous with a radical opposition to *all forms* of domination and hierarchy (pp. 16–17, 68). Over six chapters—one providing the intellectual armature for the Palestinian Idea, two organized around “plasticity,” and the remainder covering time and memory, surveillance, and Black–Palestine solidarity—Burriss explores how the Idea manifests itself despite the barriers created by Israeli settler colonialism and, to a lesser extent, internal Palestinian divisions. Second, Burriss argues that films, images, and other forms of media are especially important insofar as they function as an archive of hope at a time when change, much less revolution, appears foreclosed (p. 8). Turning our attention from Israeli domination to the promise of the Palestinian Idea, Burriss implies, is not only a scholarly exercise, but one that is essential to imagining an emancipatory political project (pp. 15, 29).

But what is a (Palestinian) idea? Where does it come from? How does one recognize it? At least three different possibilities appear in the book. First, referencing a protest in Hebron that adapted language and imagery from the American Civil Rights Movement, Burriss offers an example of how the Idea emerges out of Palestinian resistance. Through attention to the conditions in which young West Bank Palestinians engineered a political spectacle, the Idea is a *political force* that the scholar identifies and contextualizes. Second, within Palestinian texts and cultural products—a genealogy that includes left-nationalist figures and forces, Palestinian film(makers), and most centrally, the works of Edward Said—it is a *form of critique* that pushes the limits of Palestinian thought and practice. Here, the scholar evaluates the extent to which a given text measures up to the ideal of equality. Third, it is an *insurgent philosophy*. Burriss develops this position through extended discussions of the writing of Jacques Rancière, Cedric Robinson, and others, along with shorter references throughout the book to dozens of thinkers across the critical spectrum, who deepen or extend the Idea in ways that allow us to see how equality, utopia, or transformation can emerge in the present (p. 29). Here, the scholar presents a mode of reading that attunes the reader to a world that both is and could be otherwise.

Although these are all intriguing lines of inquiry, the relationship between them is opaque. While Burriss does provide closer readings of films, he gives little attention to differences in form or conditions of production and reception for his other media objects. Instead, these objects are only held together to the extent that their content expresses the ideals of the Idea. Youth protesters from Hebron and the main character of a feature film, for example, are both taken as “representative[s] of the Palestinian Idea” whose actions demonstrate the “existence of that utopian dream in the present” (p. 81), while hip-hop and “media spectacles” matter primarily because they provide evidence of a transnational Black–Palestinian solidarity (p. 127–29). Does the Idea, then, emerge in the process of cultural production, in the reception of the work, or in the reflections of the critic? Often it seems to be the latter, but Burriss does little to explain his theoretical choices. If French psychoanalysis and philosophy is the best way to get at “the Palestinian Idea,” fine, but this is a position that needs to be argued for, not assumed, especially when other choices could have been made. Lori Allen, Fadi Bardawil, Abdel Razzaq Takriti, Salim Tamari, and Lisa Taraki, for example, all engage with revolution, temporality, and culture in ways that would have deepened (and challenged) the book’s interventions into hope, despair, possibility, and foreclosure. Indeed, aside from Edward Said, there is little substantive engagement with Palestinian political writing, literature on political movements, or the works of the Arab and anti-colonial Left. Far from putting Palestine into an “epistemological Bantustan” (p. 21), such an engagement would have grounded the Idea in the intellectual currents and material practices of Palestinian radicalism and the ways it has changed over time.

Despite these issues, *The Palestinian Idea* can be insightful, especially when Burriss focuses on the filmmakers and provides close readings of the films that they create. His analysis of Annemarie Jacir’s films, for example, illuminates a range of possible cinematic engagements with the *nakba*, from raising questions about narrative representation and archival absence (p. 64–65), to exploring the emancipatory potential of movements against stagnation and waiting (p. 73–74). Discussions of the material difficulties of filmmaking in Palestine, how Palestinian filmmakers grapple with the charge that film is an unaffordable luxury in times of occupation, and how the politics of human rights documentation shape cinematic style and reception, situate these readings within the broader landscape of politicized cultural production and consumption.

In the book’s final chapter, which draws on the history of Black radicalism, theory, and cultural production to address the contemporary Black–Palestine solidarity movement, Burriss’s conceptual tools and empirical objects are well aligned. He contextualizes today’s exchanges of music, film, protest tactics, and media spectacles as part of a longer history of Black internationalism with roots in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Panthers, and the Nation of Islam. Against

Afro-pessimism's (at least as it is articulated by Frank Wilderson III) rejection of universalism and skepticism towards coalition politics, Burris offers a tradition of Black Radicalism that privileges comparison and connection (pp. 143–46). But the conclusion—a familiar critique of “parochial particularity” and a call for “radicalize[d]” solidarity and “transnational revolution” (p. 149–150)—raises further questions for those, like Burris, who invoke the revolutionary past to accomplish political work in the present. Given that liberal rights and international law have supplanted the revolutionary discourse and infrastructure of the 1960s and 1970s, what does “revolution” mean (and do) in these emergent Black–Palestinian networks? And how might solidarity among artists and activists help reshape how race and racism structure relationships between Black Americans and Palestinians?

The Idea itself, however, undermines the possibility of pursuing these lines of inquiry when it becomes a yardstick to measure the extent to which a text or group meets predetermined ideals of equality and to discipline those that fall short. Too often, it reduces cultural criticism to an evaluation of degree—authorizing, for example, the claim that cinematic representations of everyday life are “far more political” than images of “falling bombs and dead bodies” (p. 97)—and narrows emancipatory politics to resistance and refusal. The result is a number of unhelpful conclusions regarding those who fail to live up to the Idea's revolutionary norms. Burris calls out the “many Palestinians [who] have indeed turned their backs on the Palestinian Idea” through everything from collaboration and sectarianism to “simply [being] lulled into passivity” (p. 51), suicide bombers for “perpetuating” Zionism through mimicking its violence (p. 109), and the Mizrahim (Arab Jews who are often strong supporters of Israel's far-right) whom, according to Burris, have a “clear” choice between demanding “further inclusion in the existing oppressive order” or overturning it (p. 137). But such choices are neither clear nor easy. Palestinians (and, for that matter, Mizrahim) are often compelled to articulate their struggles through terms dictated by the very orders that reject or destroy them. This process complicates easy distinctions between freedom and oppression, or resistance and surrender, and demands approaches that can account for these ambivalent, contradictory entanglements.

In the end, *The Palestinian Idea* takes up issues that matter both for Palestine studies and for those who see themselves as supporters of the Palestinian struggle. Burris is right to argue that a myopic focus on “Israel's instruments of oppression” causes scholars to pass over the cracks and contingencies of settler colonialization (p. 29). But we must be careful not to swing too far in the opposite direction and, in a desire to salvage hope and celebrate heroism, condemn or pass over discourses, practices, and projects that do not meet our political or ethical expectations. While *The Palestinian Idea* can be commended for raising critical questions and mapping out some of the cultural and theoretical coordinates for radical scholarship and contemporary solidarity, it is best read as offering a, rather than the, means of doing so.

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An Anatomy of Feminist Resistance: Rebel in the Wilderness. **Henriette Dahan Kalev, London: Lexington Books, 2019. Pp. 252. \$95.00 cloth.** **ISBN: 9781498524353**

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Israel marginalizes Jews from the Arab/Eastern world, the Mizrahim, in the Ashkenazi/Mizrahi ethnic binary. As a result, the Mizrahi community is largely pushed into the peripheries of the country. Women in the Mizrahi community are particularly oppressed by Israeli society, with both sexism and anti-Arab sentiments restricting their opportunities and ultimately dictating their class status. Mizrahi feminism uses the discourse of intersectionality, challenging these overlapping forms of oppression. Henriette Dahan Kalev, one of the pioneers of Mizrahi feminism, highlights the web of Israeli state institutional power, Mizrahi identity, class, and gender in her book, *An Anatomy of Feminist Resistance*. The book follows two low-income Mizrahi women, Havatzelet Ingbar and Vicki Knafo, as