Marwan Darweish & Andrew Rigby, Popular Protest in Palestine, London: Pluto Press, 2015, 211 p.

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The "Palestine and Israel case," the world's best known ongoing conflict is one of the most dramatic and intriguing research fields for peace researchers. As a result, it has been the source of many concepts, theories and field experiences in conflict studies because it includes both conflict and violence.

The study of conflict and its conceptual framework include peaceful actions, unarmed resistance, popular demonstration and international intervention. Thus each researcher has focused only on a specific part of this large field. Actually, this conflict has been the source of various multidimensional works, and thus one can easily find many books and essays that leaning on to different aspect of the side of the Palestine and Israel conflict. For example, the most famous one is Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine* (1979), which presents a historical perspective of the Palestinian case. Another example is Cate Malek and Mateo Hoke's *Palestine Speaks: Narrative of Life under Occupation* (2014), oral history accounts by who live there. Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé critique American foreign policy in their *On Palestine* (2015).

Marwan Darweish, the co-author of *Popular Protest in Palestine* (2015) has also edited, along with Carol Rank, *Peacebuilding and Reconciliation* (2012). This book includes a chapter by Abigail Bainbridge about exploring the status of Palestinian refugees in the Middle East. This latter book primarily covers the latest development in the discipline of peacebuilding and reconciliation by analyzing various societies that have experienced or are emerging from violent conflict.

Authors Marwan Darweish and Andrew Rigby, who are engaged in peace and conflict studies at Coventry University, are experts with personal and professional knowledge about the role of unarmed civilian resistance. While preparing this book, they visited the West Bank, Gaza and Israel in order to conduct face-to-face interviews and conversations as well as drew upon sources from the vast literature that this decades-long conflict has spawned.

This book has ten chapters. After the introduction, which serves as the first chapter, the second chapter explains the beginning of the Palestinians' resistance to Israel's establishment. It highlights the population movement in terms of a strategic vision and emerging Arab nationalism, while simultaneously embracing the historical background of the Palestine territory, namely, the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the Balfour Declaration (1917). In addition, this chapter points out that the Palestinians were organized but had no national leadership. Another remarkable reality was the negative affect of the "overriding predominance of factionalism, the ascendancy of personal rivalries and self-interest among Palestinian political nobility" on this newly emerging resistance and consciousness.

 * Assist. Prof., Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, Department of International Relations. DOI: dx.doi.org/10.12658/human.society.6.11.D0123 The second chapter is arranged according to specific phases, which are listed as the 1920s, 1930-36 and 1936-39. These phases include spontaneous clashes, symbolic and polemical resistance, offensive resistance, defensive resistance and revolt. According to the authors, these revolts failed because the Palestinians were economically weak, Arab officials were working with the British Mandate authority and they were desolated and derelict by the Arab world.

The third chapter focuses on the situation after Israel's establishment. After 1948, the Palestinians found themselves living under alien rule in what for many centuries had been their own land. Quite logically, they sought to reclaim some degree of autonomy and control over their lives under the ensuing Israeli military rule from 1948 to 1966, years characterized as the collective action of non-collective actors. Their efforts embodied the shared practice of large numbers of ordinary people whose fragmented but similar activities would trigger much social change, despite the fact that these efforts were rarely guided by an ideology or a recognizable leadership and organization. Hence, these years witnessed the move from quiet resistance to audible protest and political mobilization. This phase's salient point was the emerging tactic of intifada.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the assessment of different modes of resistance pursued by the Palestinian outside of the State of Israel as they sought to come to term with the catastrophe of 1948 and their new status as refugee and disposed. Then, authors have focused on the new stage of struggle: the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Fatah and the subsequent glorification of armed struggle as a path to an independent Palestinian state. According to the authors it was the failure of this mode of resistance that fed into the outbreak of the first intifada and subsequent years of the socalled Oslo peace process which was brought anger and despair. Therefore, the political center of gravity shifted and armed struggle was praised. Another main cornerstone at this time was the transforming of the Arab world's attitude toward them from one of indifference to one of adoption after they lost the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. This transformation internationalized the Palestinian issue and initiated the diplomatic reconciliation process that culminated in Oslo during the 1990s.

The fifth chapter explores the resurgence of popular resistance between 2002 and 2013, a time when Israel began to build the Separation Wall between Palestinian cities to isolate their inhabitants from each other. But this policy has only strengthened the people's conscious resistance, because they understand the severity of this new threat to their land and livelihood. The authors categorized the history of Palestinian resistance as offensive resistance, defensive resistance, polemical resistance and constructive resistance. This typology and contents not only portrays the Palestinian case, but also enhances and enriches the burgeoning literature on resistance.

The sixth chapter looks at the challenges facing the Palestinians' ongoing popular resistance. The authors point out why this effort remains weak: political infighting between Fatah and Hamas as well as the lack of a coherent strategy and coordination between competing networks of activists. Some salient obstacles are presented, among them the Separation Wall, military checkpoints and Jewish settlements. On the other hand, these negative results on Palestinians resistance may not be evaluated as the minor achievements of Israel policy against resistance. The seventh chapter opens a very different frame by taking attention to the role of Israeli peace and solidarity activists in Palestine case. The authors cite some of the approaches and behavioral changes being used by these doves in public and in Israeli politics. A small minority of Israelis has always advocated a bi-national solution based on mutual equality. Nevertheless, sometimes these people, -such as Prime Minister Menachem Begin and his peace partner President Anwar Sadat also-, have diverted conventional policy according to the conjuncture. Another example is the Rabbis for Human Rights Organization, which was founded in 1988 and brought a different perspective to the table. Such groups have sometimes facilitated resistance by using the Israeli legal system according to the advice of their Israeli partners. Nevertheless, many challenges launched by Israeli activists have ended in despair and even alienation from their own society. This chapter draws attention to the importance of these activists' strength of will and resilience. According to the authors, the bulk of Israeli activists would define themselves as secular Jews, and yet many of them would identify with the sentiments expressed by the Rabbis for Human Rights activists.

The eighth chapter discusses the role of international humanitarian agencies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and others, which have traditionally justified their existence by trying to relieve the suffering caused by natural disasters and/or war. While they have sought non-military modes of conflict management in other countries, in the Palestinian case they have come under pressure to work in the actual conflict zones, to reduce the number of incidents and also to address the causes of violent conflict. This "politicization of aid has called into question the adequacy of the old principles of neutrality and impartiality as guidelines for coping with challenges faced by agency intervening in internal wars and protracted violent conflicts."

The ninth chapter opens with a discussion of what influence the Palestinians' popular resistance has on large sections of the Israeli public. According to the authors, Israeli media and news programs have not covered protests since the Second Intifada (2000-05). But these events have nevertheless touched and affected a wide network of activists throughout the world, whose links with other nonviolent activists has the potential to make them significant intermediaries and points of leverage in relation to the Israeli public and decision makers. In other words, the Palestinian resistance has triggered an overseas solidarity in favor of ending the occupation and the associated abuse of the Palestinians' human rights and civil liberties. The latest developments in communication technology and social media have drawn mass support from all over the world. Meanwhile, new practices and forms of engagement have emerged, such as delegations and study tours being sent to Palestine to study its people's popular resistance. This international awareness has been embodied via direct peaceful intervention, such as the 2010 Gaza Freedom Flotilla, which sought to end the Israeli blockade of Gaza. Israel's decision to launch a military operation against the six civilian ships, which were located in international waters, caused diplomatic chaos. Nine activists were killed and dozens of other passengers were injured, as were several Israeli soldiers. According to the authors, despite the loss of lives and failure to deliver humanitarian aid, the flotilla could be considered a powerful performance of opposition that touched the hearts and minds of many people. Subsequent attempted deliveries of aid finally forced Israel to negotiate with humanitarian activists.

Finally, this book presented a comparison between South Africa's anti-apartheid movement and the Palestinian case by stressing their differences. Moreover, there is a huge imbalance of power between Palestine and Israel because of America's total support for Israel, as well as various degrees of support offered by certain European and other countries. This nurtures an uncertainty about the Palestinians' future. Nevertheless, they hope and believe that the situation will change and that the occupation will end at some point in the future. The younger generation has overcome its fear of the Israeli army, and the Jewish settlers and Israel's policies cannot be sustained forever.

In general, this is a most compact and comprehensive book about the Palestinian case. It is very thoughtful study because its well-coordinated chapters include core information. However, the chapters could have included more quantitative data and enriched by photographs and formal documents also. Perhaps this will be done in a future edition. I think this book would be one of the basic references for popular resistance researches and the Palestinian case.