occupied lands for Israel without incorporating the people on the land—the Palestinians. This set in motion a set of practices—expropriation of land, expansion of settlements (all of them illegal), and erection of walls to prevent Palestinians from reaching their lands—that collectively constitute occupation. Palestinians in the territories thus have become outsiders who are denied access to the "inside." Walls and Israeli roads should be understood "as an effect rather than a cause" (p. 30); the real problem is the occupation itself, which demands such practices. This has led to the division of the West Bank into "three or four large pieces, plus East Jerusalem" (p. 57). These divisions, of both Palestinians and their lands, have been codified by the Oslo negotiations, which also produced a compliant Palestinian leadership incapable of advancing the national rights of Palestinians.

From "Outsides," Makdisi moves to what he calls "Insides," to the place where, between 1967 and 2006, "Israel stripped a total of 8,269 Jerusalem Palestinians of their residency" (p. 100). The stripping of the right to residency to make room for Jewish settlers "is often a matter of silent and invisible bureaucratic practices" (p. 103); this is what Raja Shehadeh has dubbed the "Occupier's Law." Makdisi describes this as "the double process of Jewish settlement and Palestinian unsettlement" (p. 134). Gaza is "a world turned outside in" (p. 156), and in fact can best be described as prison.

Makdisi examines Hebron and the presence of a minority Jewish settler population. However, he does not consider the Hebron situation to be exceptional. Rather, it represents "an ongoing experiment in the science and politics of ethnic separation and systematic dispossession." He adds, that "it is a slow-motion 'portrait' of Palestine being turned inside out" (p. 212).

Makdisi masterfully deconstructs Israel's matrix of control. He dwells on details demonstrating how Palestinians are dispossessed, but he also gives ample voice to the dispossessed. Each chapter is augmented with data on the meaning and extent of occupation. Further, the book has photographs, maps, and sections dubbed "One Week of Occupation" that allow the reader to glimpse what Palestinians experience every day. In view of the "structural permanence of Israeli control" (p. 287), it is difficult to disagree with Makdisi that a two-state solution has been rendered obsolete—at least for now.

Makdisi recognizes that Palestinian and Israeli rights are not mutually exclusive. Rather, he maintains that the "security and prosperity of one people is inseparable from those of the other" and adds that a lasting peace must ensure the protection of Palestinian and Israel fundamental rights (p. 262). These observations occasion Makdisi's exploration of an alternative—a democratic, binational state. He reminds readers that Said, late in his life, called for a binational state, one that could usher in reconciliation and a discourse of inclusion rather than one of exclusion and domination (p. 297).

Makdisi and Kovel both devote much space to deconstructing the two-state thesis. But their advocacy of the one-state solution is more of a philosophical and poetic call than a tangible political solution. Given the current realities, one can conclude that both solutions are equally unrealistic. Advocates of the binational idea need to develop their ideas by placing them in history, rather than reducing it to an inspirational discourse on humanism and inclusion.

BROKEN GROUND

breaking poems, by Suheir Hammad. New York: Cypher Books, 2008. 62 pages. $12.00 paper.

Reviewed by Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman

Two weeks after the recent Israeli massacre in Gaza began, Palestinian American poet Suheir Hammad e-mailed her latest poems about Gaza. As with poems like "first writing since," composed following the 11 September 2001 attacks and circulated via the Internet, Hammad's new poems have propelled her into the consciousness of many Americans who had previously been unfamiliar with her work. These poems represent and give strength to Palestinians in the diaspora as well as to a variety of social justice movements.

Born in Jabal Husayn refugee camp in Amman, Jordan, to parents from Lydd (Lydda) and Ramla, Hammad grew up in Brooklyn, New York. Her poetry fuses a variety of poetic and musical American and Arab influences, from Mahmud Darwish to Fairuz

Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman is an associate professor of English at al-Najah National University in Nablus.

to Public Enemy and John Coltrane. Her previous books include a memoir, *Drops of This Story* (1996), and two volumes of poetry, *Born Palestinian, Born Black* (1996) and *ZaatarDiva* (2005). In 2001 Hammad joined Russell Simmons's "Def Poetry Jam" on Broadway and later was a featured poet of the HBO television series that emerged from the Tony Award–winning play.

While her poetry archive reflects the Puerto Rican and African American rhythms of her Brooklyn upbringing, her most recent volume, *breaking poems*, reveals a poet who has made a breakthrough in her poetic style. The core hip-hop aesthetic has not faded from her new body of work. Rather, new influences are layered into these poems, the most important of which is her use of Arabic. Arabic images peppered throughout her poems accentuate the fact that English has become insufficient in describing the layers of Nakbas registered in her poems. Hammad's diction in these new poems stitches together Arabic and English imagery, creating an innovative language that conveys overlapping Palestinian contexts.

Written in chronological order, these poems document a variety of events over the course of a year, beginning with Israel's invasion of Gaza and Lebanon in the summer of 2006 and culminating with the Lebanese army's attack on the Palestinian refugee camp Nahr al-Barid in the spring of 2007. The poems read like a diary cataloguing Israeli atrocities, interspersed with love poems and poems delineating parallel catastrophes such as Hurricane Katrina. The theme that threads these poems together is what it means to be broken inside, to have one's language broken. Thus, the titles of the poems begin with the word "break."

The first poem, "break," lays out these themes as well as the experimental style of the volume by tying together various strains of the summer of 2006. Plaiting various broken sites from that summer—New York, Beirut, Gaza, Khan Yunis, Dahaysha refugee camp, Bombay, New Orleans, and Baghdad—she writes from her body in a way that resonates with French feminist mode of *écriture féminine*. Hammad translates her body into language—as "the body of words and spaces" as a way to "re-construct" the layers of damage caused by Israeli terrorism (p. 11). Writing from New York, the act of writing through her body connects her to broken places that mirror the topography of human infrastructure; the bombing of Beirut's airport reminds her of the impossibility of bodies wanting to flee from Gaza. Tightly packed, vivid images of Israeli massacres in Lebanon and Gaza run through these poems as snapshots of dual assault. She accentuates these images with Arabic onomatopoeia, "yamaaaaaaaaa," the wailing of a mother in Khan Yunis in an extended, vocalized form from deep within the body (p. 13). The mourning mother is a woman desiring a break from the siege.

There are other breaks in Hammad's poetry from her past style. The way she plays with enjambment in her line breaks stands out in these poems because they link the theme of breaking. These line breaks are a form of punning in which she leads us to expect one image in the following line but offers us something unexpected, as with "civil/warm" (p. 20). This enjambment highlights the layers of meaning in the poem, which depicts not the Lebanese Civil War but the more recent July 2006 war. That we expect the word war as well as actual war speaks to her plaiting historical images in her poems. The wars of aggression that Palestinians and Lebanese have been subjected to over the last sixty years lead Hammad to decide "words are against us / there is a math only subtracts" (p. 19). Her poems chronicle how Zionism deforms language; how Palestinians and Lebanese become corpses to be counted.

In order to resist that distortion, Hammad invents a new language—Arabish—that repairs vocabulary by invoking simple Arabic words; by playing with the order of her diction—"checked *wa* pointed" (p. 52)—and by connecting this new version of checkpoint with the Arabic word for and she reinvents how we see the system inhibiting Palestinians' freedom of movement.

Throughout this brilliant new volume, Hammad does not disappoint in either the political representations of her poetry or in her innovative, playful language. Ironically, these groundbreaking poems resist the idea that language is broken. The people she depicts in places like Gaza—those upon whom one gazes, though whose wailing goes unnoticed—may be broken, but they are not shattered; they are steadfast. Through language Hammad connects rather than breaks with her transformative poetic voice.

CRIPPLING AID

International Assistance to the Palestinians after Oslo: Political Guilt, Wasted Money, by Anne Le More. London