

Resisting Domination in Palestine

Timothy Seidel, Tariq Dana, and Alaa Tartir

Introduction

In the midst of the “Sword of Jerusalem” battle in May 2021, a compelling real-life narrative emerged, encapsulating the paradoxes of domination and resistance in Palestine. This story centers around Muna El-Kurd, a young Palestinian activist from Sheikh Jarrah in Jerusalem, who became a formidable voice for her community as they confronted forced evictions by Israeli settlers.

Muna, alongside her twin brother Mohammed, harnessed the power of social media to share their experiences and chronicle the reality of life in occupied Jerusalem. Their candid videos and posts rapidly garnered global attention, illuminating the struggles of Palestinian families facing forced displacement and situating them within the broader context of Israel’s settler colonial domination of Palestine.

In a pivotal moment in early June 2021, both Muna and Mohammed were arrested by Israeli authorities. Though they were released later, their detainment underscored the challenges and perils confronting Palestinians who dare to defy the forces of domination. Undaunted by these risks, Muna persisted in leveraging her voice and platform to champion the rights of her people and call for an end to the enduring occupation.

As Muna El-Kurd’s story illustrates, multiple interlocking systems of control and domination continue to impact life and land in occupied Palestine. And, importantly, this story also gives one example of the ways Israel’s control is challenged by Palestinian resistance in their struggle for freedom.

Power, Domination, and Resistance

The study of power relations often involves an investigation into the concepts of domination and resistance. Both concepts, domination and resistance, are defined by a dialectical interplay entailing a myriad of contradictions and tensions that have captivated scholars across a range of intellectual backgrounds and throughout different historical contexts, ranging from Gramsci’s hegemony and Foucault’s power relations

to Fanon's politics of decolonization and postcolonial theories. On the one hand, domination is understood as a form of pervasive oppressive power that seeks to impose compliance and submission on individuals and groups by employing a spectrum of forceful and nonforceful methods. These methods encompass coercion and co-optation, whether through military strategies, legal, economic, institutional, and spatial pressures, overt or subtle, direct or indirect, or a tactically blended combination of these approaches. Resistance, on the other hand, entails actions of counterpower by individuals and groups that tend to deter, defy, and overcome the sources of domination. The approaches of resistance could be organized or disorganized, armed or peaceful, public or hidden, collective or grounded in everyday acts of resistance, or a combination of all.

Domination and resistance are sometimes depicted as diametrically opposed forces and are commonly assumed to be distinct and separate processes. However, the aim of this edited volume is to emphasize the ways in which these seemingly opposing forces are, in fact, intertwined and interdependent. Against this background, our book emphasizes James Scott's interpretation that "relations of domination are, at the same time, relations of resistance" (Scott 1990, 45). Such a perspective suggests that neither the power to dominate nor the counterpower to resist are all-encompassing but rather mutually inclusive and mutually enforcing practices and processes (Tartir and Seidel 2019).

Whereas questions of domination and resistance have been studied in almost every repressive context, they are arguably presented in their most striking form within the realms of colonialism and imperialism (Atkinson 2000, 93). The primary case study of this book accommodates this argument, whereby our understanding of Palestine has been constructed around the dialectical interplay of colonial domination and anti-colonial resistance. As Israeli settler colonial domination persists, so does Palestinian resistance. The context of Palestine-Israel exemplifies a vital site for scrutinizing the multifaceted and intertwined nature of domination and resistance, revealing the paradoxical aspects that lie at the core of colonial power dynamics.

The settler colonial paradigm serves as the foundational structure of the book, seamlessly integrating itself into the diverse themes and chapters. This is in line with the growing acknowledgment within critical academic circles that to truly comprehend the Israeli state and society, one must view them as a settler colonial formation in both their ideological, institutional, economic, and class dimensions. As Noam Chomsky has pointed out, settler colonialism reinterprets Israel as "the most extreme and sadistic form of imperialism" (cited in Shlaim 2020). In doing so, it offers both the moral and legal basis for Palestinian resistance against colonial domination. As a result, the settler colonial paradigm has evolved into an essential analytical and interpretive framework for the study and understanding of a century of Israeli domination over the Palestinians and the Palestinian myriad resistance to settler colonial domination.

Azmi Bishara contends that Palestine represents "the world's last remaining unresolved instance of settler colonialism" (2022, 6). The foundation for this argument lies in the essence of Zionism. As the late Edward Said observed, Zionism has never unreservedly identified itself as a Jewish liberation movement. Instead, it consistently presented itself as a Jewish colonial settlement in the Orient (Said 1997a, 24). The

settler colonial framework helps to dissect the extremist ideological undertakings that form the foundation of Israel's domination as well as the resulting consequences for the colonized Palestinian population. By adopting this perspective to explore the interplay of domination and resistance, it becomes apparent that Palestinians have been subjected to a permanent state of exception, in which normal rules and rights are not only suspended but also outright denied (Lloyd 2012).

Building upon the previous discussion, Palestinian resistance emerges as a moral obligation, grounded in the principles of individual emancipation and collective liberation. The ongoing social, political, and conceptual (as well as narrative) struggles of Palestine against a settler colonial regime reveal a dynamic interplay between increasingly sophisticated forms of domination and the emergence of novel modes of resistance. As a late settler colonial formation that persisted through the global decolonization movements of the twentieth century and continued to endure into the first quarter of the twenty-first century with no apparent decline, Israel has systematically leveraged global trends to modernize its methods of colonization. By fusing multiple forms of colonialities, Israel has devised unique and innovative approaches to dominate and control the Palestinian population. To better understand Palestinian resistance to Israeli domination, clarity is needed as to Israel's settler colonial regime.

Coloniality, Settler Colonialism, and Resistance

Scholars like Anibal Quijano and Walter D. Mignolo write about modernity and coloniality as two sides of the same coin, supported by *both* a structure of knowledge *and* specific political economic institutions. As a logic, coloniality animates “racialized and gendered socio-economic and political hierarchies according to an invented Eurocentric standard” (Mignolo 2011, xxiv; see Quijano 2007). The structures and institutions of coloniality were produced and circulated globally as and through an epistemological system, which is why they do not disappear with the end of political institutional domination or the return of land after independence—and why decoloniality is both a political and epistemic project. Maldonado-Torres puts it his way:

If coloniality refers to a logic, metaphysics, ontology, and a matrix of power that can continue existing after formal independence and desegregation, decoloniality refers to efforts at rehumanizing the world, to breaking hierarchies of difference that dehumanize subjects and communities and that destroy nature, and to the production of counter-discourses, counter-knowledges, counter-creative acts, and counter-practices that seek to dismantle coloniality and to open up multiple other forms of being in the world. (2016, 10)

Expressing coloniality in the present, settler colonialism is characterized by its “logic of elimination” (Wolfe 2006, 387–8). It is described as an ongoing structure, not an event confined to the past. This logic of elimination animates both the negative goal of the

dissolution of Indigenous societies and the positive goal of constructing a new settler colonial society on expropriated land. Glen Coulthard describes the settler colonial relationship as a form of domination where power has been structured into “a set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples of their lands and self-determining authority” (2014, 6–7). It is fundamental to the work of both capitalism and colonialism requiring an emphasis on not only the *capital relation* but also the *colonial relation* (2014, 10).

Such structures and logics of elimination and replacement produce a particular kind of violence, settler violence, with a history in Palestine that can be traced back for over a century (Sayegh 1965; Salamanca et al. 2012; Hawari, Plonski and Weizman 2019; Khalidi 2020; Tartir, Dana and Seidel 2021; Dana and Jarbawi 2023). As this volume reveals, in occupied Palestine, this is seen in the confiscation of land and an intricate closure regime, forced displacement and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, settlement building and expansion, water consumption and inequitable health access, mass surveillance and censorship, colonial population management, and institutional and economic subjugation. The social, political, and economic effects of this violence manifest in a system of domination that exploits, dispossesses, displaces, and constrains the livelihoods of Palestinians (Tartir and Seidel 2019).

This volume’s exploration of settler colonialism and Indigenous resistance emphasizes that a decolonial analysis gives attention not only to enduring indigeneity but also to the role of land in the struggle for autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination. This decolonial approach also acknowledges “everyday” alternative worlds where we observe “everyday” acts of resistance and popular struggle. As Seidel and Stagni discuss in their chapter, this framework and understanding of popular struggle and resistance illuminates a much larger and more powerful landscape of resistance to settler violence in occupied Palestine, for example, in Masafer Yatta in the South Hebron Hills.

This understanding of decoloniality has as its point of departure the enduring presence of Indigenous Peoples despite settler colonial projects of elimination (Kauanui 2016; Seidel 2021; Dana and Jarbawi 2023). The language or frame of indigeneity is important because it forces us to confront Palestinian dispossession and displacement within a specific framework of settler colonial history that “identifies a perceived sociohistorical familiarity with other dispossessed communities” (Salaita 2016, 2) rather than as a consequence of communal strife or an exceptional set of events brought forth by ahistorical circumstances.

Understanding Israel’s mechanisms of domination through its settler colonial regime, and the enduring indigeneity of the Palestinian people whose lives and lands that regime violates, helps us see and understand the mutual and principled alliances of solidarity with Indigenous struggles around the world. This is another expression of resistance. This anti-colonial, internationalist framework illuminates the political economy of Israel’s domination as well as the local, place-based struggles against it that are “embedded within, and empowered by, broader struggles” (Salamanca et al. 2012, 5; Seidel 2023). It also offers a way to “center indigenous, anticolonial frameworks that reconnect intellectual analyses of settler colonial relations, with political engagements in the praxis of liberation and decolonization” (Hawari, Plonski and Weizman 2019, 4).

Sites of Domination, Sites of Resistance

In this curated volume, we present an assemblage of insightful and contemporary perspectives on how Israeli domination has been reproduced in new forms and means. A number of scholars have already contributed valuable and thought-provoking analyses of Israeli practices of domination (for example, Pappe 2014; Zureik 2015; Dana and Jarbawi 2017; Turner 2019; Farsakh 2021; Tartir, Dana and Seidel 2021; Baconi 2022; Bishara 2022; Awad 2023). However, our aim in this edited volume is to offer a contemporary understanding by showcasing the work of a diverse array of scholars who delve into the complexities of the subject matter. The contributors to this book employ interdisciplinary approaches in their examination of the intricate functions, logics, and structures of domination that permeate Palestinian life while also shining a light on the resistance to those logics and structures that emerges in and about Palestine. Their collective expertise spans a wide range of disciplines, offering readers an opportunity to engage with various angles and nuances of the situation. Through their analyses, they illuminate the power dynamics at play and reveal the mechanisms that sustain Israel's settler colonial regime.

A closer look at these systems and mechanisms reveals the particular ways that Israel (as well as regional powers and global business) exerts control on Palestine and how this control infiltrates different spaces or what we are referring to here as "sites." This volume explores those systems by examining several "sites" of control and dominations and "sites" of resistance against settler colonial policies and institutions that the Oslo Accords perpetuated but whose histories can be traced back for over a century. This includes political (governmentality, institutions, and mechanisms of control), economic (exploitation, dispossession, and de-development), environmental (land, indigeneity, and settler colonialism), as well as epistemic (local knowledge and global norms) sites.

An important contribution this book makes is its emphasis on control, domination, and resistance in terms of *both* epistemic *and* material spaces. This signals our book's commitment to a decolonial politics and characterizes its critical approach in that it challenges prevailing neoliberal and settler colonial logics and structures. It offers critical perspectives as to how these various sites of control and domination—shaped by settler colonial processes of accumulation by exploitation and dispossession from both Israel and global business as well as from Palestinian elites—are also simultaneously sites of resistance and struggle for freedom.

This *thematic approach to understanding coloniality*, and more specifically *control, domination, and resistance*, provides a tangible way to approach each topic and presenting material. Our goal with this thematic approach, which covers knowledge production, land, governmentality, and political economy, is to provide useful categories through which to think about coloniality, settler colonialism, and neoliberalism. These categories also provide the reader with an additional layer of analysis to think through the various modes of domination and resistance reflected upon in the chapters. These categories reflect contemporary conceptual work on settler colonialism, and we find them useful for disentangling the various modes of domination and sites of resistance in occupied Palestine.

The *empirical material* covered in individual chapters is contemporary and timely. Contributors are working from new research, evidenced through the rich material exposed in this text. This empirical work is not only situated within Israel's colonialization of Palestine, but it also explains how this colonial relationship feeds into and shapes transnational and global circuits of power, knowledge, and exploitation. As such this volume attends to the importance of Palestine for understanding coloniality more broadly, and it brings Palestine into conversation with other sites through the analysis of exploitation, dispossession, development, and surveillance.

Contributions cover a range of methods, qualitative and quantitative, foregrounding the interdisciplinary approach of this volume. This approach is essential to understanding coloniality and settler colonialism in Palestine. The question of method and methodology is critical for our project's attention to knowledge production and signals the sort of politics of knowledge production we endeavor—one that points toward solidarity. It is a recognition that our intellectual work is always at the same time unavoidably political work, even struggle, *for someone*. This is based on field-work-driven scholarly exploration and research inquiries embedded in the realities on the ground. The purpose is not only to better explain these realities but also to contribute to an emancipatory process of knowledge production that aims to change those detrimental realities.

This approach to knowledge, politics, and struggle follows Stuart Hall, Robin D. G. Kelley, and Edward Said's recognition that "All knowledge is interpretation, and that interpretation must be self-conscious in its method and its aims if it is to be vigilant and humane" (1997b, 172). This methodological sensibility and reflexivity underlying every interpretation of politics and culture is attentive to what Said understood as "the choice facing the individual scholar or intellectual: whether to put intellect at the service of power or at the service of criticism, community, dialogue, and moral sense" (1997b, 172). This matters not least in terms of how the production of oppositional knowledges has the potential to articulate alternative imaginaries for political action and struggle. Hall understood this as engagement on two fronts simultaneously. It is intellectual theoretical work "to know deeply and profoundly" as well as a kind of activism that has the potential "to give politically useful tools of analysis to individuals who were on the disadvantaged end of the playing field" (Robbins 2016). In an *LA Times* interview, Robin D. G. Kelly put it this way:

It's really important for me to be engaged in these movements, to make no pretense about some kind of dispassionate, detached objectivity. I think that we need to practice something that's even better than objectivity. And that is, as you know, critique. Critique, to me, is better than objectivity. Objectivity is a false stance. I'm not neutral. I've never been neutral. I write about struggles and social movements because I actually don't think the world is right and something needs to change. (Kelley and Cunningham 2021)

Finally, each chapter reflects on the *tension between domination and resistance* in a settler colonial context, considering their focus or "site" as one of both domination and resistance. This is an important analytic for our book. The chapters explore sites of

control such as digital surveillance but then also the centrality of land in organizing. The chapters provide a compelling analysis of structures of domination in the post-Oslo period but situating this period in a longer history of struggle in Palestine. The book explores unique sites in the health sector, IT sector, development sector, education sector, and taken together, the chapters expose the tensions within these sites. They also expose weaknesses in the colonial system and what Palestinians have already been doing to exploit those weaknesses and remain steadfast in their efforts to do so.

Book Overview

This edited volume contains four parts, each exploring a particular site of domination and resistance. The first part focuses on *political* sites of control, domination, and refusal. Chapters elaborate the political aspects of settler colonialism through an analysis on governmentality and institutions and mechanisms of control. The health and technology sectors are analyzed for the ways they reveal Israel's control over access, life, and death. The structural violence manifest in occupied Palestine is also examined in terms of its governmentalizing effects and mechanisms of domination and control, including an intricate closure regime that renders movement a political act of refusal.

In his chapter, Tariq Dana explores Israel's capacity to dominate and control Palestinians through a "Palestinian autonomy" practiced by the Palestinian Authority (PA) since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993/4. Dana unpacks this form of autonomy as one designed to facilitate Israel's quest for indirect colonial rule—only feasible by subcontracting a segment of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership to oversee the autonomy functions on behalf of Israel—while simultaneously separating Palestinians from their land, legally and physically. And yet, as Dana explains, Israel's relentless attempts to enforce this autonomy have often encountered effective resistance by the Palestinians.

Next, Yara M. Asi examines the structural violence of Israel's medical permit regime. Due to the inadequate Palestinian health system, many Palestinians must receive care in Israel, the West Bank, or East Jerusalem, leaving them at the mercy of a system of medical permits issued by Israel. In her chapter, Asi analyzes available medical permit data from the Gaza Strip and West Bank for the years 2011–19, assessing levels of conflict and security by evaluating the Israeli Global Peace Index (GPI) and Global Terrorism Index (GTI) scores and Israeli fatality and injury data from OCHA. She concludes that although Israel has arguably become more secure since 2011, the permit regime has grown more restrictive, disputing the claims that these permits and other movement restrictions imposed on Palestinians are necessary due to security concerns.

Nijmeh Ali explores digital expressions of domination and resistance. The digital era provides an open platform to practice freedoms in oppressive contexts. However, she argues, this view is incomplete, considering the counter-use of technologies as mass surveillance tools to spy, collect information, and restrict activities. Ali describes how Israel has become a leading exporter of this surveillance technology. And while this

is particularly concerning for Palestinians, she points out that it is also dangerous for its potential to contribute more broadly to the shrinking global space for civil society organizations and the continued silencing of human rights defenders, activists, and organizations worldwide.

In the final chapter in Part I, We'am Hamdan explores the lived experiences of workers in the information and communications technology (ICT) sector. Despite the settler colonial context shaped by fragmentation, international interventions reflect a broader trend of experimenting with tech solutions to political economic problems in line with the neoliberal paradigm. In her chapter, Hamdan interviewed digital freelancers working in the ICT field and/or aspiring to join the global digital workforce. She finds that they experience a contradiction between aspirations that are believed to be universal and recurring structural barriers of de-development in occupied Palestine. Her study identifies three common themes in ICT workers' experiences: power relations resulting from the imposed Israeli occupation, capitalism's influence on education, and social constructs of the patriarchal family.

The second part of this book focuses on *economic* sites of exploitation, dispossession, and de-development. Chapters explore critical issues related to banking and taxation examining the relationships between finance capital, aid conditionalities, and military occupation as (neoliberal) technologies of exploitation and dispossession that are shaped by imperial histories and a settler colonial present.

In the first chapter in this part, Heba Taha explores the theoretical and empirical connections between Israel's economic and technical aid industry in African countries and colonial practices toward Palestinians in the decades immediately following Israel's establishment. This geographic entanglement, she argues, relied on global economic circuits, moral imaginaries, and cultural representations pertaining to the principles, practices, and promises of development. Such plans highlight the production of Palestinians as subjects of both Israeli capitalism and colonialism while at the same time revealing the ways in which Palestinian dispossession becomes part of global developmental imaginaries in the 1950s.

In his chapter, Colin Powers considers the interfacing between Israeli settler colonialism and endogenous Palestinian dynamics as it pertains to matters of monetary policy, money, and finance, tracing the effects of this dialectical exchange from 1967 through the present day. His analysis establishes that the Palestinian Authority's coerced adoption of the Israeli shekel curtails Palestinian development through a number of channels, and that the absence of independent payment and clearance systems keeps the Palestinian economy in a permanent state of vulnerability. He also finds that tendencies of credit intermediation in Palestine—which largely derive from the restraints imposed by the occupation—not only intensify macroeconomic distortions while heightening inequality but also render debt a sinew of social relations and foundation to the PA's fiscal viability.

Anas Iqtait closes out Part II with his chapter exploring the fiscal dynamics within the Palestinian Authority, shaped by the Paris Protocol and Israel's economic system of control. It delves into the politics of the PA's revenue mobilization, unpacks the influence of settler colonial structures on the PA's operations, and highlights the formidable challenges in formulating a fiscal contract amidst external influences and

structural constraints. Findings reveal that despite three decades of public revenue administration and tax collection, the PA has not developed a foundational fiscal contract, with numerous structural constraints including the external nature of the PA's "institutions-building" process, its dependence on foreign aid and clearance revenue, Israeli extraction of taxes, and the proliferation of public service providers.

The third part of this edited volume explores *environmental* sites of domination and resistance and is situated within the settler colonial context. Chapters in this part focus on land, indigeneity, and space as critical elements to understanding settler colonialism, clarifying the context of racial capitalism in occupied Palestine.

In their chapter, Gabi Kirk and Paul Kohlbry make a case for approaching the study of rural Palestine through foregrounding the transnational forces that shape rural property, labor, and agriculture. After establishing some key concerns of this scholarship in Palestine, they sketch out the geography of how to study agrarian questions, distinguishing between studying Palestine and Palestinians, showing how what happens to and on rural land in the territory of historic Palestine must be comprehended by including Palestinian refugees, migrants, and exiles living abroad. Finally they show how framing local questions in Palestine through an international lens can productively approach long-standing concerns around class, gender, and space, as well as newer issues in the climate change era of commodity circulation and ecological resilience.

Timothy Seidel and Federica Stagni's chapter explores settler colonialism and Indigenous struggle in Palestine, emphasizing that a decolonial analysis gives attention not only to enduring indigeneity but also to the role of land in the struggle for autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination. They examine "everyday" acts of resistance and popular struggle that take the form of *sumud*, or steadfastness, that may not be about a predetermined political economic telos per se but about existence, being, land, and a refusal of erasure and elimination. With this framework and understanding of popular struggle, they argue, we begin to hear and see a much larger and more powerful landscape of resistance to settler violence in occupied Palestine, for example, in this case of Masafer Yatta in the occupied South Hebron Hills.

Finally, Part IV of the book explores *epistemic* sites of domination and resistance, highlighting the ways norms, narratives, and knowledge production itself can demonstrate a commitment to liberation and freedom or perpetuate control and domination. Chapters in this part examine the definitions, methods, and frameworks used to study and teach as well as analyze policies and norms about Palestine that challenge the liberal peace.

In the first chapter of this final part, Somdeep Sen looks at the adoption of the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism at institutions of higher education, analyzing IHRA and academic censorship in view of the wider ideology and politics of settler colonialism. Sen notes that the IHRA definition seeks to circumscribe scholarship and pedagogical approaches that recognize the legitimacy, existence, and persistence of the Palestinian national cause as doing so undermines the myth of *terra nullis*—namely that Israel was built on a "land without a people for a people without a land." Sen concludes that IHRA is an extension of the settler colonial urge to erase the evidence of Indigenous

existence. And its adoption across universities in the Global North is only evidence of the globalization of the politics of settler colonialism.

Next, Jeremy Wildeman traces how the intervention of Western liberal democracies has benefited Israeli settler colonial state-building, at the expense of Palestinian statehood and peace. His chapter explores how this process has unfolded, focusing on examples from three periods: the UN partition of Palestine (1940s), the Oslo Peace Process (1990s), and Western-led Palestine state-building after the Second Intifada (mid-2000s/2010s). This Western intervention has happened in an age of global decolonization and Western-driven global liberalism, where racist colonial ways of thinking remained inherent with how Western powers approached Palestine-Israel, demonstrably favoring the more “Europeanized” Israelis at the expense of the “Orientalized” Palestinians. The consistency with which Western states have prioritized Israeli perspectives and reinforced its illiberal settler colonial regime raises questions if Palestinians can trust Western intervention in the region.

In the book’s final chapter, Melanie Meinzer takes a close look at Palestinian popular education post-Oslo. Palestinian NGOs’ dependence on foreign aid during Oslo redirected civil society’s energies toward donor priorities and weakened Palestinian resistance movements. Meinzer argues that despite these obstacles, the spirit and pedagogies of the Intifada-era popular education movement are alive today and serve as a bulwark against cultural erasure under donor-enabled Israeli settler colonialism. Drawing on interviews and surveys, she shows how NGOs, community-based organizations, and educators have reconstituted the popular education movement by using political theater, visual arts, debate, and storytelling to conscientize and mobilize young people. She concludes that while aid dependence restricts Palestinian self-determination, popular education continues to be a vehicle for personal and collective liberation.

Conclusion

Labeled by human rights organizations as the world’s largest open-air prison, the occupied Gaza Strip is one of the most densely populated places on earth. Since 2007 Israel has imposed a blockade on Gaza that human rights organizations also call a form of collective punishment—an act in violation of international humanitarian and human rights law (UN OHCHR 2020; Middle East Eye 2020). During the Great March of Return in Gaza, a series of protests that began in March 2018 along the Gaza-Israel frontier to challenge the Israeli-imposed blockade, another poignant story emerged that embodies the contradictions between domination and resistance in Palestine. Razan Al-Najjar, a 21-year-old Palestinian volunteer medic, was a beacon of hope and compassion amid the chaos and violence that unfolded during the protests.

Razan dedicated herself to providing first aid to injured protesters, putting her own life at risk to save others. Her unwavering commitment to humanitarian aid and her bravery in the face of danger gained her recognition and admiration, both locally and internationally. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Razan said, “We have one goal: to save lives and evacuate people. And to send a message to the world: Without

weapons, we can do anything” (Abuhweila and Kershner 2018). The Great March of Return was characterized by popular demonstrations and protests that were exploited by the Israeli military as a testing ground for its new high-tech weapons (Dana 2020). In the *Times* interview, Razan went on to describe her work and the work of the other volunteer medics as acts of humanitarianism and love. “We do this for our love for the country,” she said. “We don’t do it for money, we do it for God.”

On June 1, 2018, while tending to the wounded during a protest, Razan was tragically killed by Israeli sniper fire. She was wearing a white paramedic’s uniform, which clearly identified her as a medical worker. Her death shocked the world and served as a stark reminder of the perils faced by Palestinians who dare to defy the forces of domination and stand up for their rights.

The story of Razan Al-Najjar represents the courageous spirit of resistance against settler colonial oppression and serves as a testament to the selflessness and dedication of those who struggle tirelessly to alleviate the suffering of their people.

As we embark on the journey through this edited volume, we invite you to let the stories of both Muna El-Kurd and Razan Al-Najjar serve as an embodiment of the indomitable spirit of resistance in the face of domination and oppression and as a testament to the transformative power of grassroots activism, popular struggle, and resistance.

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