**Updated October 2026.1**

**Full bibliography of titles & categories in one old-fashioned PDF.**

# Categories

**History Today ~ Older History ~ Culture ~ Fiction ~ Poetry ~ Biography**
**Christian Palestinians ~ LGBT**

**palestinebooks.net**

**Your guide to Palestinian history, fiction and culture in English-language books, compiled by Andy Simons.**
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**Welcome** to a bibliography of the most significant books on the Palestinian struggle. Printed books have been published for several centuries although they are likely to be less relevant by the mid-21st Century. This site takes its inspiration from Naomi Foyle, who years ago established British Writers in Support of Palestine. Your compiler here was a curator at The British Library for twenty years and the titles included here have been confirmed by held copies at the BL, various university libraries in the UK and the Irish Republic listed on JISC, WorldCat OCLC, and from online book sellers. Printed bibliographies at the back sometimes misspell author's names so I've made an effort to correct them by using the official catalogue records, which also have human errors, but are more reliable than any author, book indexer, or publisher.

**SEARCHING:** These are splayed out into several categories, to make it easier for browsing, what people used to do in physical libraries. So, if you don't find quite what you want in one list, check another one. Over the years of this project, it's been a struggle to separate the HISTORY TODAY and the OLDER HISTORY sections, so keyword searching is best. Eventually both categories will be merged.

**PALESTINIAN BOOKS' listings are not intended to be complete**, and could never be. The poetry strand is admittedly a weak one for your editor. A very few "Liberal Zionist" works are included, but these, like numerous outright Zionist books are included for their historical importance worldwide. Some vintage Zionist tracts are included, offering period evidence of that movement, and these include Poale Zion, Labour Friends of Israel, and the Jewish Socialist Labour Federation. The Christian movement for Palestinian rights is, hopefully, well-represented, but Christian Zionists seeking tracts will have to look elsewhere. Uncredited comments about individual titles are mine, otherwise they're credited to the publisher. Appreciation and outright applause for Prof. Rashid Khalidi, who nudged me to about 200 unusual titles. NOTHING at all is for sale on this site, and listings do not indicate my endorsement, only significance in the long canon. This resource is updated and amended regularly, so suggestions for additions and corrections are appreciated.

Some academic imprints publish expensively-priced titles, but these are likely printed-on-demand, with e-book versions costing less. Many 19th century publications by individual authors, the Palestine Exploration Fund, church bodies, and HM Govt are available digitally via the Hathi Trust Digital Library.

**OTHER SOURCES:**

There are many magazines / journals in existence, the best of which is the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, which picked up the torch lit by Walid Khalidi's Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS), in Beirut. The IPS has published many individual book titles (palestine-studies.org). A great many magazines, journals, and worldwide newspapers are held at the British Library and numerous university libraries. A volume of selected

articles from the Palestinian press is Fred Pragnell's *Palestine Chronicle, 1880-1950,* listed in the OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section of this site. The British Library holds many United Nations resolutions and reports, plus much vintage ephemera (thin pamphlets), which aren't included here and are unlikely to get catalogued individually; you can search their main catalogue: search.bl.uk

Also valuable are **other periodicals**. *The Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies* [JPRS], was published by The Palestinian Return Centre, in London. The *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* has a dedicated focus on Palestinian struggle; subscriptions from $10 online – wrmea.org). With a more regional focus and an occasional nod to the Palestinians are: *Middle East Report*, published from Washington DC by the Middle East Research & Information Project/MERIP (merip.org); *The Middle East,* published by Alliance Media (enquiries to: institutions@exacteditions.com); the Los Angeles-published *al-Jadid* aka *Aljadid: A Record of Arab Culture & Arts* (Nagam Cultural Project, 1995-); and the *Arab News Bulletin,* published by the Arab Office in London (1946-1949) and Washington DC (1946-1948). The Palestine Police Old Comrades' Association has published its *News Letter,* from issue no. 1 (March 1950) to at least no. 244 (Winter 2013), and this run is held at the British Library.

# ~ ONLINE ONLY~

***Palestine Land Society*** (plands.org), is Salman Abu Sitta's cartographic gift of several decades' research, updating British 19thC mapping to every dunam at the point of the 1948 Nakba. 87% of the land from which Palestinians were ethnically cleansed…still has no housing.

***Institute for Palestine Studies*** (palestine-studies.org), a huge and hugely important archive in Beirut.

***Blake Alcott: The Rape of Palestine*** (blakealcott.jimdofree.com/publications) Free download of book documenting the UK's establishing the Jewish state, 1 March 1899-27 April 1948, 1,499 pages.

***palpapers.net*** (free download of vintage Arabic Palestinian and regional newspapers, 1930s-1960s, and English Palestine activism publications, 1980s+.

***Palestinian Youth Movement*** (palestinianyouthmovement.com) features critical references to books and some history free to download.

***Electronic Intifada*** (electronicintifada.net) News website.

***B'Tselem*** (btselem.org) **–** The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.

***Al-Haq Centre*** (alhaq.org) – "Defending Human Rights in Palestine since 1979" – numerous downloadable reports on topics including settler violence and Israel's resource-pillage of the Dead Sea.

**Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question** (palquest.org)

***PFLP Bulletin*** [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine], issues from 1974-1983 digitised online (www.marxists.org/subject/israel-palestine/periodicals/pflp-bulletin/index.htm).

**Palestinian Papers** (palpapers.net), a downloadable archive of Palestinian-related publications, including Palestinian and regional Arabic newspapers, 1930s-1960s and a wide range of English-language newspapers and magazines, including from UNRWA.

**Arablit & Arablit Quarterly** (arablit.org) A collective, keeping up with current fiction in the wider Arabic world that has been translated into English.

# Palestine Today

See also the reading list on
**Older Palestine History**
which follows below

**Nahla Abdo**

***Captive Revolution: Palestinian Women's Anti-Colonial Struggle within the Israeli Prison System***
(Pluto Press, 2014).
Both a story of present detainees and the historical Socialist struggle throughout the region.

***Women in Israel: Race, Gender and Citizenship***
(Zed Books, 2011)

***Women and Poverty in the OPT***
(? – 2007)

**Nahla Abdo-Zubi, Heather Montgomery & Ronit Lentin**

***Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation***
(New York City: Berghahn Books, 2002)

**Nahla Abdo, Rita Giacaman, Eileen Kuttab & Valentine M. Moghadam**

***Gender and Development***
(Birzeit University Women's Studies Department, 1995)

**Stéphanie Latte Abdallah** (CNRS researcher at CERI-Sciences Po, Francd)

***A History of Confinement in Palestine: The Prison Web***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 416 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book deals with the contemporary history of the imprisonment of Palestinians in Israeli prisons since 1967, and, since the 2000s, in Palestinian facilities. The prison experience is widely shared in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It endurably marks personal and collective stories. Since the Occupation of the Palestinian Territories in 1967, mass incarceration has spun a *prison web*, a kind of suspended detention. Approximately, 40 percent of the male population has been to prison. It shows how the judicial and prison practices applied to Palestinian residents of the OPT are major fractal devices of control contributing to the management of Israeli borders, and shape a specific bordering system based on a mobility regime: such borders are mobile, networked, and endless. This history of confinement is that of the *prison web,* and of the in-between political, social, and personal spaces people weave between Inside and Outside prison. Based on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork, oral and written sources, archives, and extensive institutional documentation, this political anthropology book deals with carceral citizenships and subjectivities. Over time, imprisonment has had profound effects on personal experiences: on masculinities, femininities, gender relations, parentality, and intimacy. Woven like a web, this story is built around places, moments, people, and their testimonies."

**Stéphanie Latte Abdallah** (French Institute of the Near East) **& Cédric Parizot** (Aix-Marseille University), editors

***Israelis and Palestinians in the Shadows of the Wall: Spaces of Separation and Occupation***
(Ashgate, 2015 – originally published in French, Paris: MMSH, 2011)
Contents: Shira Havkin: Geographies of Occupation – Outsourcing the checkpoints – when military occupation encounters neoliberalism / Stéphanie Latte Abdallah: Denial of borders: the Prison Web and the management of Palestinian political prisoners after the Oslo Accords (1993-2013) / Emilio Dabed: Constitutionalism in colonial context – the Palestinian basic law as a metaphoric representation of Palestinian politics (1993-2007) / Ariel Handel: What are we talking about when we talk about 'geographies of occupation'? / Yaakov Garb: The Economy of Separation – Porosity, fragmentation, and ignorance: insights from a study of freight traffic / Basel Natsheh and Cédric Parizot: From chocolate bars to motor cars – separation and goods trafficking between Israel and the West Bank (2007-2010) / Nicolas Pelham: The rise and fall of Gaza's tunnel economy (2007-2014) / Lev Luis Grinberg: Economic discourses and the construction of borders in the Israeli Palestinian space since the 1967 occupation / Dganit Manor: Stories at the Margins – Operationalizing nationalism – the security practice and the imagined figure of the 'Arab' enemy among Israeli 'security amateurs' / Elisabeth Marteu: Identity, solidarity, and socioeconomic networks across the separation lines: a study of relations between Palestinians in Israel and in the Occupied Territories / Valérie Pouzol: From a 'gay paradise' to a pioneer frontier: constructs of the 'frontier' in the activist struggle and activist discourse of LGBTQs in Israel and Palestine, 1988-2012 / Marc Hecker: Political Crossings – Activists without borders? Tours to Israel and the Palestinian Territories organized from France / Karine Lamarche: Israel to Palestine, and back: meeting with post-2000 Israeli activists against the occupation / Esmail Nashif: Bodily relief – some observations on martyrdom operations in Palestine.

**Rabab Abdulhadi**, **Evelyn Alsultany** & **Nadine Naber**, editors

***Arab & Arab American Feminisms*** (Syracuse University Press, 2011) Numerous entries on Palestine, Palestinian identity in the USA, and queer representation. Contributors include: editors, Suheir Hammad, Mervat F. Hatem, Amal Amireh, Ella Shohat (interview), Zeina Zaatari, Nadine Naber, Elizabeth Winslow, Youmna Chlala, Mony El-Ghobashy, L.A. Hyder, Mohja Kahf, Kyla Wazana Tomkins, Nada Elia, Noura Erakat, Therese Saliba, Dena Al-Adeeb (interview), Amira Jarmakani, Susan Muaddi Darraj, Moulouk Berry, Imani Yatouma, Lisa Suhair Majaj, Huda Jadallah, Joe Kadi (interview), Amal Hassan Fadalalla, Randa Jarrar, Sherene Seikaly, and Emmane Bayoumi.

**Daud Abdullah** (Director, Middle East Monitor)

Edited with **Ibrahim Hewitt**: ***The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe: Changing Perceptions of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*** with foreword by **Karen Koning AbuZayd**.
(Middle East Monitor, 2012)
Tim Llewellyn: *A Public Ignored – The Broadcasters' False Portrayal of the Israel-Palestine Struggle*; David Cronin: *The Rise of the Israel Lobby in Europe*; Hanan Chehata: *The Biggest Obstacles to Peace in the Middle East*; Ilan Pappe: *Is Israel a Democracy?*; Corinna Mullin: *Israel, the Biggest Threat to World Peace*; Azzam Tamimi: *The Inclusion and Exclusion of Hamas*; Daud Abdullah: *A Reading of European Attitudes toward Jerusalem*; Robert Lambert: *Extremist Nationalism in Europe and Support for Israel*; Maria Holt: *Changing Public Perceptions Relating to the Palestine-Israel Conflict*; Daud Abdullah: *The End of the Love Affair.* See Ibrahim Hewitt: *Israel and Gaza: Behind the Media Veil*

with **Mohamad Nasrin Nasir :** The Universal Theology of Liberation: Views from Muslim History (Wembley, London: Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2011) with foreword by **Arzu Merali**

***Concerns about British and EU Roles in Palestinian Authority Human Rights Abuses in the Occupied West Bank***
(Middle East Monitor, 2009)

***A History of Palestinian Resistance***
(Leicester: Friends of al-Aqsa, 2005)

**Karen Abi-Ezzi** (University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies)

***Peacemaking Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Re-evaluation***
(Routledge, 2015, 2018)

***Music as a Discourse of Resistance: The Case of Gilad Atzmon,***
in **Oliver Urbain**, editor: ***Music and Conflict Transformation***
(London, I.B. Tauris, 2008)

**Thomas Philip Abowd** (Tufts University)

***Colonial Jerusalem: The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948-2012***
(Syracuse University Press, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "This book shows how colonialism, far from being simply a fixture of the past as is often suggested, remains a crucial component of Palestinian and Israeli realities today. Abowd deftly illuminates everyday life under Israel's long military occupation as it is defined by processes and conditions of "apartness" and separation as Palestinians are increasingly regulated and controlled. Abowd examines how both national communities are progressively divided by walls, checkpoints, and separate road networks in one of the most segregated cities in the world. Drawing upon recent theories on racial politics, colonialism, and urban spatial dynamics, Colonial Jerusalem analyzes the politics of myth, history, and memory across an urban landscape integral to the national cosmologies of both Palestinians and Israelis and meaningful to all communities."

**Faida Abu-Ghazaleh**

*Ethnic Identity of Palestinian Immigrants in the United States: The Role of Cultural Material Artifacts*
(El Paso, Texas: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2011)
Study of a community in the American state of Maryland.

**Nurhan Abujidi** (VUB, Brussels)

***Urbicide in Palestine: Spaces of Oppression and Resilience***
(Routledge, 258 pages, 2014)
Focus mainly on Nablus Old Town, with some attention to the Jenin Refugee Camp and Hebron Old Town.

**Yasmeen Abu-Laban** (University of Alberta) and **Abigail B. Bakan**

***Israel, Palestine and the Politics of Race: Exploring Identity and Power in a Global Context***
(IB Tauris, 2019)
Includes focus on South African apartheid. Publisher's blurb: "As the situation in Israel/Palestine seems to become ever more intractable and protracted, the need for new ways of looking at recent developments and its historical roots is more pressing than ever. Bearing this in mind, Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Abigail B. Bakan discuss the historic and contemporary developments in Israel/Palestine, and their international reverberations, from the unique vantage point of 'race', racialization, racism and anti-racism. They therefore offer close analysis of the 'idea' of Israel and the 'absence' of Palestine by examining the concepts of race and identity in the region. With fresh coverage of themes relating to gender, indigeneity, the environment , surveillance and the war on terror, Israel, Palestine and the Politics of Race will appeal to scholars in political science, sociology and Middle East studies."

**Ali Abunimah** (editor of *Electronic Intifada*)

***The Battle for Justice in Palestine: The Case for a Single Democratic State in Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014)

***One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse***

(New York City: Metropolitan Books, 2006)
'One-State' proposal.

**Rania Abouzeid** (Middle East journalist for the *Guardian,* the *New Yorker*, etc.)
***No Turning Back: Life, Loss, and Hope in Wartime Syria***
(WW Norton, 2018)
Tangential to Palestinian history.

**Jamileh Abu-Duhou** (OPT-born medical anthropologist)
***Giving Voices to the Voiceless: Gender-Based Violence in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(American University in Cairo Press /
Highclere, Berkshire: Berkshire Academic Press, 208 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "Gender-based violence (GBV) affects women throughout their lives and occurs in different forms including physical, psychological, sexual and economic abuse. GBV has a diverse impact on women and may result in homicides, suicides, and many adverse health problems. It occurs as a result of gender roles and cultural norms, which influence the expression of violence within intimate relationships. In Palestinian society such violence is about exertion of control and a sanctioned way of life, a way of life that is legitimized by religion and culture. The level of violence experienced is heightened by the on-going violent conflict in Palestine, which adds to the level of violence against women due to increased feelings of despair, loss of control and emasculation among Palestinian men. Regardless of their age, religion or social economic status, Palestinian women are rarely heard. They have loud voices and they are outspoken; yet the culture requires that they are not to be seen or heard outside the confines of the home. This book, a collection of voices of Palestinian women victimized both by the ongoing violent conflict and at the hands of their husbands, is intended to redress this balance."

**Nurhan Abujidi** (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium; San Jorge University, Spain)
***Urbicide in Palestine: Spaces of Oppression and Resilience***
(Routledge, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "Exploring the way urbicide is used to un/re-make Palestine, as well as how it is employed as a tool of spatial dispossession and control, this book examines contemporary political violence and destruction in the context of colonial projects in Palestine. The broader framework of the book is colonial and post- urban destruction urbanism; with a working hypothesis that there are links, gaps and blind spots in the understanding of urbicide discourse. Drawing on several examples from the Palestinian history of destruction and transformations, such as; Jenin Refugee Camp, Hebron Old Town, and Nablus Old Town, a methodological framework to identify urbicidal episodes is also generated."

**Karen Koning AbuZayd**
***Reflecting on Palestine's Grief, Humour and Steadfastness***
(MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 12pp, 2015)
Address at the Palestine Book Awards, 2015

**Avigail Abarbanel** (Ex-Israeli, British psychotherapist)
***Beyond Tribal Loyalties: Personal Stories of Jewish Peace Activists***
(Cambridge Scholars, 314 pages, 2012)
Includes chapters on Jeff Halper, Ilan Pappe, Susan Nathan, Anna Baltzer, and others from the UK, Israel, the USA, and Australia.

**Einas Abdullah** [NYC]
Chapter from ***There are No Angels in Ramallah,*** translated by **Robin Moger**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012).

**Matthew Abraham** (University of Arizona)
***Intellectual Resistance and the Struggle for Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
Analysis of the canon, including Edward Said and Franz Fanon.

***Out of Bounds: Academic Freedom and the Question of Palestine***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 2014)

**Izzeldin Abuelaish**
***I Shall Not Hate: A Gaza Doctor's Journey on the Road to Peace and Human Dignity***
(Walker Books, 2012)
Includes Jabalia camp, Gaza, which led a resistance in 1967.

**Bishop Riah Abu Elsal** [Palestinian Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem 1998-2007]
***Caught in Between: The Story of an Arab-Christian Israeli***
(Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1999)

**Susan Abulhawa** and **Huzama Habayeb**, editors
***Every Moment is a Life: Gaza in a Time of Genocide***
(Atria/One Signal/Simon & Schuster, 224 pages, 2026)
Arabic-English bilingual. Publisher's blurb: "In early 2024, writer and activist Susan Abulhawa managed to enter Gaza twice through the Rafah crossing. There, at the Culture and Free Thought Association, susan held a series of workshops for young people who had been displaced to tent encampments. The lives of all participants were marked by unrelenting Israeli violence and extraordinary loss—of home, family, safety, education, electricity, and all the structures of life. They'd fled from place to place as Israel's colonial violence swirled around them, complete with food and water insecurity and constant threat. Still, despite the bitterness of life in tents and the dangers of travel, they came together to share in the refuge of writing and community. Samya recounts a tender moment with an old man mending shoes in the street, while her cousin Saja hides books in her closet, hoping they and her home will still be there when she returns. Ghassan is haunted by the baby he rescued from the rubble, who for a time became his son. Fatima risks it all retrieve her clothes from a danger zone buzzing with drones and warplanes. Maram's loving aunt is gone, and chaos inhabits Amr's mind. Samah, Lubna, Rizq, and Nebal take us by the hand through raining death, trails of tears, classroom shelters, and shared clothes in crowded tents. *Every Moment Is a Life* delivers rare, unfiltered portraits of life under genocide, platforming the emerging voices struggling to survive in Gaza today. These essays are raw and real, capturing human moments—buying bread, going to the bathroom, sharing a meal, drinking coffee—all set against the backdrop of history's first livestreamed ethnic cleansing. With courage, anger, love, agony, and—impossibly—hope, these achingly tender voices from Gaza will stay with us, captured in these pages, forever."

Ali **Abunimah** (Electronic Intifada commentator)
***Battle for Justice in Palestine: The Case for a Single Democratic State in Palestine***
(Haymarket Books, 2014)
See also **OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY**.

**Gilbert Achcar** [SOAS, Centre for Palestine Studies]
***The Gaza Catastrophe: The Genocide in World-Historical Perspective***
(Saqi Books / University of California Press, 256 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "The destruction rained on Gaza has been seen by many as a vengeful overreaction to the reckless Hamas-led attack on 7 October 2023. However, the new catastrophe befalling the Palestinian people is the continuation of a decades-long course in which Israeli politics, policies and military strategies have inexorably shifted to the right. Gaza was the final nail in the coffin of the Atlanticist "international liberal order" before Donald Trump's return to the White House. *The Gaza Catastrophe* reckons with the lethal consequences and the significance of a war waged by an advanced military-industrial state – with full US participation and support from the West. Renowned political scientist Gilbert Achcar explores the dynamics of a complex historical process that culminated in the war on Gaza and wider conflict in the Middle East. He offers critical insights on the genocide's regional and international ramifications, as well as radical critiques of Zionism, Hamas and other state and non-state actors."

***Israel's War on Gaza***
(Resistance Books, 98 pages, 2023)
Contents: 1. Initial comments on Hamas's October counter-offensive; 2. The impending catastrophe and the urgency of stopping it; 3. Two Gaza scenarios: Greater Israel vs. Oslo; 4. The Plan to Complete the Nakba Revealed; 5. The Zionist Genocidal War and Its Accomplices; 5. The crisis in Gaza: an interview.

***The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising***
(Saqi Books, 2013)

***The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War on Narratives***
(Metropolitan Books, 386 pages, 2009)
Originally published as *Aces Sud as Les Arabes et la Shoah*. Contents: Part I: The Time of the Shoah -- Arab Reactions to Nazism and Anti-Semitism, 1933-47 -- 1. The Liberal Westernizers -- 2. The Marxists -- 3. The Nationalists -- 4. Reactionary and/or Fundamentalist Pan-Islamists -- Part II: The Time of Nakba -- Arab Attitudes to the Jews and the Holocaust from 1948 to the Present -- 5. The Nasser Years (1948-67) -- 6. The PLO Years (1967-88) -- 7. The Year of the Islamic Resistances (1988 to the Present) -- Conclusion: Stigmas and Stigmatization.

-with **Michel Warschawski**: ***The 33 Day War: Israel's War on Hezbollah in Lebanon and its Consequences***
(Saqi Books/Paradigm Books, 136 pages, 2007)

With **Noam Chomsky**: ***Perilous Power: The Middle East and US Foreign Policy: Dialogues on Terror, Democracy, War, and Justice***
(Hamish Hamilton, 276 pages, 2007)
Approximately half of the book is on Palestine.

**Luigi Achilli** (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)
***Palestinian Refugees and Identity: Nationalism, Politics and the Everyday***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "refugees fled over the border into Jordan, which in 1950 formally annexed the West Bank. In the wake of the 1967 War, another wave of Palestinians sought refuge in the Hashemite Kingdom. Today, 42 per cent of registered Palestinian refugees live in Jordan. In this historical context, one might expect Palestinian refugee camps to be highly politicised spaces. Yet Luigi Achilli argues in this book that there is in fact a relative absence of political activity. Instead, what is prevalent is a desire to live an 'ordinary life'. It is within the framework of the performing and creating everyday life – working, praying, leisure activities – that Achilli examines nationalism and identity. He concludes that it is through this focus on the everyday that these Palestinian refugees are able to assert their own

meanings and understandings of national identity against the more inflexible interpretations provided by the political systems in Gaza and the West Bank."

**Osie Gabriel Adelfang,** editor

***Shifting Sands: Jewish Women Confront the Occupation***

(Createspace, 2015, updated from 2010 edition)

Contributors include: Anna Baltzer, Sandra Butler, Tomi Laine Clark, Linda Dittmar, Hedy Epstein, Maia Ettinger, Kim Goldberg, Susan Greene, Amira Hass, Jen Marlowe, Hannah Mermelstein, Emma Rosenthal, Alice Rothchild, Starhawk

**Madelaine Adelman** (Arizona State University) & **Miriam Fendius Elman** (Syracuse University)

***Jerusalem: Conflict and Cooperation in a Contested City***

(Syracuse University Press, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "Jerusalem is one of the most contested urban spaces in the world. It is a multicultural city, but one that is unlike other multi-ethnic cities such as London, Toronto, Paris, or New York. This book brings together scholars from across the social sciences and the humanities to consider how different disciplinary theories and methods contribute to the study of conflict and cooperation in modern Jerusalem. Several essays in the book center on political decision making; others focus on local and social issues. While Jerusalem's centrality to the Israeli Palestinian conflict is explored, the chapters also cover issues that are unevenly explored in recent studies of the city. These include Jerusalem's diverse communities of secular and orthodox Jewry and Christian Palestinians; religious and political tourism and the "heritage managers" of Jerusalem; the Israeli and Palestinian LGBT community and its experiences in Jerusalem; and visual and textual perspectives on Jerusalem, particularly in architecture and poetry. Adelman and Elman argue that Jerusalem is not solely a place of contention and violence, and that it should be seen as a physical and demographic reality that must function for all its communities."

**Ghada Ageel,** editor (University of Alberta & columnist for *Middle East Eye*)

***Apartheid in Palestine: Hard Laws and Harder Experiences***

(University of Alberta Press, 2016)

Contributors: Abigail B. Bakan, Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Keith Hammond, Sherene Razack, Edward C. Corrigan, Ramzy Baroud, Rafeef Ziadah, Richard Falk, Samar El-Bekai, Reem Skeik, Tali Shapiro, Rela Mazali, Huwaida Arraf, James Cairns, Susan Ferguson

**Hussein Agha**

***A Framework for a Palestinian National Security Doctrine***

(London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 139 pages, 2006)

**Aida Refugee Camp** (near Bethlehem)

***Aida Camp Alphabet***

(Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016)

Bilingual art collage book by children, based on Arabic alphabet.

***The Boy and the Wall***

(Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016)

Bilingual book by children at the camp.

**Ghada Ageel,** editor (*Guardian* newspaper)

***Apartheid in Palestine: Hard Laws and Harder Experiences***

(University of Alberta Press, 2015)

Contents: Richard Falk: foreword / Ghada Ageel: *Beit Daras – Once Upon a Land* / Reem Skeik: *I am from There, I am from Here* / Samar El-Bekai: *Palestine – Via Dolorosa* / Ramzy Baroud: *The Man with the White Beard; Uniting the Palestinian Narrative* / Husaida Arraf: *International Solidarity and the Palestinian Freedom Struggle* / Rafeef Ziadah: *Palestine Calling – Notes on the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement* / Tali Shapiro: *Culture of Resistance – Why We Need You to Boycott, Divest, and Sanction Israel* / Rela Mazali: *Complicit Dissent, Dissenting Complicity – A Story and its Context* / Keith Hammond: *Israel's Legitimacy? Time for a European Moratorium* / Abigail B. Bakan & Yasmeen Abu-Laban: *Israeli Apartheid, Canada, and Freedom of Expression* / James Cairns & Susan Ferguson: *Political Truths – The Case of Pro-Palestine Discourse in Canada* / Sherene Razack: *A Hole in the Wall, A Rose at a Checkpoint – The Spatiality of Occupied Palestine* / Edward C. Corrigan: *Israel and Apartheid*

**Ashjan Ajour**

***Reclaiming Humanity in Palestinian Hunger Strikes: Revolutionary Subjectivity and Decolonising the Body***

(Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 342 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Rooted in feminist ethnography and decolonial feminist theory, this book explores the subjectivity of Palestinian hunger strikers in Israeli prisons, as shaped by resistance. Ashjan Ajour examines how these prisoners use their bodies in anti-colonial resistance; what determines this mode of radical struggle; the meanings they ascribe to their actions; and how they constitute their subjectivity while undergoing extreme bodily pain and starvation. These hunger strikes, which embody decolonisation and liberation politics, frame the post-Oslo period in the wake of the decline of the national struggle against settler-colonialism and the fragmentation of the Palestinian movement. Providing narrative and analytical insights into embodied resistance and tracing the formation of revolutionary subjectivity, the book sheds light on the participants' views of the hunger strike, as they move beyond customary understandings of the political into the realm of the 'spiritualisation' of struggle. Drawing on Foucault's conception of the technologies of the self, Fanon's writings on anti-colonial violence, and Badiou's militant philosophy, Ajour problematises these concepts from the vantage point of the Palestinian hunger strike."

**Hil Aked** (*Guardian, Independent,* Sky News, Al-Jazeera)

***Friends of Israel: The Backlash against Palestine Solidarity***

(Verso Books, 304 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "*Friends of Israel* provides a forensically researched account of the activities of Israel's advocates in Britain, showing how they contribute to maintaining Israeli apartheid. The book traces the history and changing fortunes of key actors within the British Zionist movement in the context of the Israeli government's contemporary efforts to repress a rising tide of solidarity with Palestinians expressed through the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement. Offering a nuanced and politically relevant account of pro-Israel actors' strategies, tactics, and varying levels of success in key arenas of society, it draws parallels with the similar anti-boycott campaign waged by supporters of the erstwhile apartheid regime in South Africa. By demystifying the actors involved in the Zionist movement, the book provides an anti-racist analysis of the pro-Israel lobby which robustly rebuffs anti-Semitic conspiracies. Sensitively and accessibly written, it emphasises the complicity of British actors - both those in government and in civil society. Drawing on a range of sources including interviews with leading pro-Israel activists and Palestinian rights activists, documents obtained through Freedom of Information requests and archival material, Friends of Israel is a much-needed contribution to Israel/Palestine-related scholarship and a useful resource for the Palestine solidarity movement."

**Omar El Akkad** (Egyptian-American novelist)

***One Day, Everyone Will Have Always Been Against This***

(Knopf, 208 pages, 2025)

Assessment of the United States' "betrayal of its fundamental values."

**Susan Akram & Terry Rempel**

***Out of Place, Out of Time: Refugees, Rights and the (Re)Making of Palestine/Israel***

(Pluto, 2016)

**Susan Akram** aka **Susan M. Akram** (Boston University School of Law), **Michael Dumper**, **Michael Lynk** (United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; Western University, Ontario) & **Iain Scobbie,** editors**:**

***International Law and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Rights-Based Approach to Middle East Peace***

(Routledge, 2011)

Contents: Susan M. Akram: Myths and Realities of the Palestinian Refugee Problem – Reframing the Right of Return / Scott Custer, Jr.: UNRWA: Protection and Assistance to Palestine Refugees / Terry Rempel & Paul Prettitore: Restitution and Compensation for Palestinian Refugees / Michael Dumper: Constructive Ambiguities? Jerusalem, International Law, and the Peace Process / Stephanie Koury: Legal Strategies at the United Nations: Namibia, Western Sahara, and Palestine / Omar Dajani: "No security without law": Prospects for Implementing a Rights-Based Approach in Palestinian-Israeli security Negotiations / John Quigley: Self-Determination in the Palestine Context / Iain Scobbie: Natural resources and belligerent occupation: perspectives from international humanitarian and human rights / Feras Milhem & Jamil Salem: Building the Rule of Law in Palestine: Rule of Law without Freedom / Ian Lustick: One State not Two? A Cruel Examination of the 'two states are impossible" Argument for a Single-State Palestine/the land of Israel / George Bisharat: Maximazing Rights – The One-State Solution to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.

**Malath Alagha** (Exeter University)

***Palestine in EU and Russian Foreign Policy***

(Routledge, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "…uses the school of constructivism to provide a new understanding of EU and Russian foreign policy. It explores the failure of these global actors to speed up the process of establishing a Palestinian state, despite this being a strategic objective and top priority of their involvement in the Middle East peace process. The book then analyses the role of identity and self-other perception in the making of EU and Russian foreign policy towards the Middle East peace process. It is argued that Palestinian statehood provides a telling empirical example of how, and to what extent, the search for global actorness, as a matter of international identity, informs foreign policy-making by global actors. The book then proceeds to discuss why the EU and Russia are so eager to be involved in initiating a peace settlement."

**Plestia Alaqad**

***The Eyes of Gaza: A Diary of Resilience***

(Macmillan/Guardian/Faber & Faber, 176 pages, 2025)

Written just prior to October 2023.

**Refaat Alareer**, editor (killed in the Israeli attack on Gaza, 2023)

***If I Must Die***

(OR Books, 280 pages, 2024)

Poetry, prose, and online writings from Gaza under siege. Edited and with an introduction by **Yousef M. Aljamal**; foreword by **Susan Abulhawa**.

**Refaat Alareer** & **Leila el-Haddad**, editors

***Gaza Unsilenced***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2015)

Authors include: Refaat Alareer, Leila el-Haddad, Ali Abunimah, Ramzi Baroud, Diana Buttu, Jonathan Cook, Belal Dabour, Richard Falk, Chris Hedges, Hatim Kanaaneh, Rashid Khalidi, Eman Mohammed, and a great many more.

**Samira Alayan** (Hebrew University)

***Education in East Jerusalem: Occupation, Political Power, and Struggle***
(Routledge, 174 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Uncovering a complex daily reality experienced in schools by principals, teachers and pupils, this book presents new findings, focusing on system-internal properties which manifest the macro effects inside the microsystem. The author draws on field studies and content analysis to show a need for educational action and suggest ample room for improvement. This study reveals that there is a significant relationship between the failures of the education system in East Jerusalem and the strategies implemented by the state, and outlines the responsibilities of the state."

**Ibrahim Al-Ali**

***Palestinians of Syria: The Story of Unending Suffering***
(Middle East Monitor/MEMO, 230 pages, 2019)
Annual field report compiled by the Action Group for Palestinians of Syria (AGPS), translated by **Safa Othmarni**; translated by **Tarek Hamoud**.

**Francesca Albanese** (Since 2022, UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Palestinian territories occupied since 1967; an affiliate scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University, until removed December 2025)

***When the World Sleeps: Stories, Words, and Wounds of Palestine***
(Other Press, 256 pages, 2026)
Translated by **Gregory Conti.** Publisher's blurb: "Reflecting on her years living in Jerusalem and her personal and professional journey toward understanding the Palestinian struggle, Albanese pays tribute to 10 people whose profoundly affecting stories opened her eyes, from Hind Rajab, a young Palestinian girl killed by Israeli forces, to the remarkable Jewish scholars who acted as Albanese's mentors: forensic architect Eyal Weizman, trauma expert Gabor Maté, and Holocaust historian Alon Confino. *When the World Sleeps* is a courageous testimony of the harsh reality that Palestinians face. It raises critical questions about the past, present, and future of Palestine: What are the consequences of the occupation? Where is a refugee's home? In what conditions do Palestinians live? And now that the end of the war seems to be getting closer, will there be a Palestinian state? Will Palestinians have the right to self-determination, and will they be able to live in peace, free at last from the coercion of Israel?"

***A Moon Will Rise from the Darkness: Reports on Israel's Genocide in Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 178, 219, or 224 pages, 2025)
Edited and preface by **Mandy Turner** and **Lex Takkenberg**; foreword by **Richard Falk**, **John Dugard** and **Michael Lynk**. Available as a free download from **plutobooks.com** (at time of publication).

***Anatomy of a Genocide: Report of the Special Rapporteur o the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian Territories Occupied since 1967***
(Human Rights Council, 2022)
A/HRC/55/73

With **Lex Takkenberg**: ***Palestinian Refugees in International Law,*** aka ***The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law***
(Clarendon/Oxford University Press, 411 pages, 1998, 2020)

**Abdalhadi M. Alijla** (Orient-Institute Beirut; Gothenburg University for Gulf Countries)

***Trust in Divided Societies: State and Governance in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 256 pages)

**Rana Alhasi** (Head of the Technical Assistance Unit Office of Mr Ahmad Qurei, Chief Palestinian Negotiator to Final Status Negotiations, Ex-Prime Minister)

***Post-Oslo Palestine: Public Policy and State Building***
(Routledge, 2017)
The author book examines the policy decision making process inside the Palestinian authority since Oslo. In particular the book explores the context, structures and participants involved.

**Yousef Al-Jamal** & **Norma Hashim**

***Dreaming of Freedom: Palestinian Child Prisoners Speak***
(Amazon Kindle, 2016)

**Norma Hashim, Hilal Jaradat, Richard Falk** and **Danny Morrison**

***Shared Struggle: Stories of Palestinian and Irish Hunger Strikers***
(Belfast: An Fhuiseog, 240 pages, 2021)
Translated by **Yousef Al-Jamal**. Contains poems by Khalil Abu Aram and Bobby Sands. Other contributors include: Fayhaa Shalash, Moaz Al-Amoudi, Asaad Abu Sharekh, and Lau Seon Shay. 31 narrations, with 24 on Palestinian detainees and the remaining 7 being Irish prisoners.

**Diana Allan (**McGill University, founder of the Nakba Archive – Lebanon)

As editor and author of the foreword: ***Voices of the Nakba – A Living History of Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 368 pages, 2021)
With an afterword by **Rosemary Sayigh**. Publisher's blurb: "During the 1948 war more than 750,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were violently expelled from their homes by Zionist militias. The legacy of the Nakba - which translates to 'disaster' or 'catastrophe' - lays bare the violence of the ongoing Palestinian plight. Voices of the Nakba collects the stories of first-generation Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, documenting a watershed moment in the history of the modern Middle East through the voices of the people who lived through it. The interviews, with commentary from leading scholars of Palestine and the Middle East, offer a vivid journey into the history, politics and culture of Palestine, defining Palestinian popular memory on its own terms in all its plurality and complexity." Contents: **Rochelle Davis**: *Village Life in Palestine* / **Sherene Seikaly**: *Of Forests and Trees: City Life in 1930s Palestine* / **Amirah Silmi**: *The Margin and the Centre in Narrating Pre-1948 Palestine* / **Dyala Hamzah**: *Mandated Memory – The Schooling of Palestine in Nicola Ziadeh and Anis Sayigh's Pre-1948 Recollections* / **Alex Winder**: *Motivations and Tensions of Palestinian Police Service under British Rule* / **Jacob Norris**: *Storying the Great Arab Revolt: Narratives of Resistance During 1936-1939* / **Ted Swedenburg**: *Songs of Resistance* / **Salman Abu Sitta**: *The Roots of the Nakba* ;/ **Saleh Abdel Jawad**: *Four Villages, Four Stories – Ethnic Cleansing Massacres in al-Jalil* / **Lila Parsons**: *Remembering the Flight* / **Lena Jayyusi**: *The Dispossession of Lydda* / **Ruba Salih**: *Scars of the Mind – Trauma, Gender and Counter-Memories of the Nakba* / **Cynthia Kreichati**: *The Politics of Listening*

***Refugees of the Revolution***
(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Some sixty-five years after 750,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled from their homeland, the popular conception of Palestinian refugees still emphasizes their fierce commitment to exercising their "right of return." Exile has come to seem a kind of historical amber, preserving refugees in a way of life that ended abruptly with "the catastrophe" of 1948 and their camps—inhabited now for four generations—as mere zones of waiting. While reducing refugees to symbols of steadfast single-mindedness has been politically expedient to both sides of the Arab-Israeli

conflict it comes at a tremendous cost for refugees themselves, overlooking their individual memories and aspirations and obscuring their collective culture in exile. *Refugees of the Revolution* is an evocative and provocative examination of everyday life in Shatila, a refugee camp in Beirut. Challenging common assumptions about Palestinian identity and nationalist politics, Diana Allan provides an immersive account of camp experience, of communal and economic life as well as inner lives, tracking how residents relate across generations, cope with poverty and marginalization, and plan—pragmatically and speculatively—for the future. She gives unprecedented attention to credit associations, debt relations, electricity bartering, emigration networks, and NGO provisions, arguing that a distinct Palestinian identity is being forged in the crucible of local pressures. What would it mean for the generations born in exile to return to a place they never left? Allan addresses this question by rethinking the relationship between home and homeland. In so doing, she reveals how refugees are themselves pushing back against identities rooted in a purely nationalist discourse. This groundbreaking book offers a richly nuanced account of Palestinian exile, and presents new possibilities for the future of the community."

**Lori Allen** aka **Lori A. Allen** (SOAS / Cambridge University)

***A History of False Hope: Investigative Commissions in Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book offers a provocative retelling of Palestinian political history through an examination of the international commissions that have investigated political violence and human rights violations. More than twenty commissions have been convened over the last century, yet no significant change has resulted from these inquiries."

***The Rise and Fall of Human Rights: Cynicism and Politics in Occupied Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2013)
A critical analysis of seemingly permanent NGO work.

***Sufering through a National Uprising: The Cultural Politics of Violence, Victimization and Human Rights in Palestine – Volume 1***
(Ann Arbor: UMI; University of Chicago PhD thesis, 446 pages, 2005)

**Udi Aloni** (filmmaker), **Slavoj Zizek, Alain Badiou,** & **Judith Butler**

***What Does a Jew Want? On Binationalism and Other Specters***
(Columbia University Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "In the hopes of promoting justice, peace, and solidarity for and with the Palestinian people, Udi Aloni joins with Slavoj Zizek, Alain Badiou, and Judith Butler to confront the core issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Their bold question: Will a new generation of Israelis and Palestinians dare to walk together toward a joint Israel-Palestine? Through a collage of meditation, interview, diary, and essay, Aloni and his interlocutors present a personal, intellectual, and altogether provocative account rich with the insights of philosophy and critical theory. They ultimately foresee the emergence of a binational Israeli-Palestinian state, incorporating the work of Walter Benjamin, Edward Said, and Jewish theology to recast the conflict in secular theological terms."

**Yossi Alpher** (former Israeli intelligence analyst – Mossad agent)

***No End of Conflict***
(Rowman & Littlefield, 2016)
Caution against the rise of messianic rage in Israel.

***Periphery: Israel's Search for Middle East Allies***
(Rowman & Littlefield, 2015)

**Walaa Alqaisiya** (University of Venice; Columbia University; London School of Economics)

***Decolonial Queering in Palestine***
(Routledge, 216 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book provides a vivid account of the political valence of weaving queer into native positionality and the struggle for decolonisation in the settler colonial context of Palestine, referred to as decolonial queering. It discusses how processes of gender and sexuality that privilege hetero-colonising authority shaped and continue to define both the Israeli-Zionist conquest of Palestine and the Palestinian struggle for liberation, thus future imaginings of free Palestine. This account emerges directly from the voices and experiences of Palestinian activists and artists; particularly, it draws on fieldwork with Palestine's most established queer grassroots movement, alQaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society, and a variety of artistic Palestinian productions (photography, fashion, music, performance, and video art). Offering a comprehensive and in-depth engagement with the situated context, history, and local practices of Palestinian queerness, scholars, students, and activists across (de)colonial, race, and gender/sexuality studies would appreciate its unique insights; its empirical focus also reaches to those academics in the wider fields of Middle Eastern, anthropological, and political studies."

**Alternative Tourism Group** (ATG, Beit Sahour, Bethlehem)
***Palestine & Palestinians***
(ATG, 2008, 455 pages)
See also: Sarah Irving's Bradt Guide to Palestine.

**Atef Alshaer** (SOAS Research Fellow and translator; University of Westminster)
***Language and National Identity in Palestine: Representations of Power and Resistance in Gaza***
(SOAS PhD thesis, 2009; IB Tauris, 2016)

***Poetry and Politics in the Modern Arab World***
(Hurst & Co., 2014)

with **Lina Khatib** (Middle East Institute, SOAS) & **Dina Matar** (Centre for Palestine Studies, SOAS):
***The Hizbullah Phenomenon: Politics and Communication***
(Hurst & Co., 2013)

also chapter: ***Islam in the Narrative of Fatah and Hamas***,
in: **Dina Matar** & **Zahera Harb**, editors: ***Narrating Conflict in the Middle East*** (IB Tauris, 2013)

**Eric Alterman**
***We Are Not One: A History of America's Fight Over Israel***
(Basic Books, 512 pages, 2022)
A history of the public debate in the US. See also Dov Waxman, Ilan Pelig.

**Ahmad Amara, Ismael Abu-Saad,** & **Oren Yiftachel,** editors
***Indigenous (in)justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev***
(Harvard University Law School, 2012)

**Suad Amiry** (Ramallah-based architect)
***Golda Slept Here***
(Bloomsbury Qatar, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "Suad Amiry traces the lives of individual members of Palestinian families and, through them, the histories of both Palestine and the émigré Palestinian community in other countries of the Middle East. Amiry mixes nostalgia with anger while mocking Israeli doublespeak that seeks to

wipe out any trace of a Palestinian past in West Jerusalem. She juxtaposes serial bombardments and personal tragedies, evokes the sights and smells of Palestinian architecture and food, and weaves for us the tapestry that is the Palestinian reality, caught between official histories and private memories. Through poetry and prose, monologue and dialogue, we glimpse the lost Palestinian landscape, obscured by the silent battle between remembering and forgetting."

***Menopausal Palestine: Women at the Edge***
(New Delhi: Women Unlimited, 2010)
Profiles of ten women of the "PLO generation." A partial lament for diminishing secularism.

***Nothing to Lose but Your Life: My 18 Hour Journey with Murad***
(Bloomsbury Qatar, 2010)

***Sharon and My Mother-in-Law***
(Granta, 2005)

***The Great Wall of Capital,*** in **Michael Sorkin**, ed: ***Against the Wall – Israel's Barriers to Peace***
(New Press, 2005)

As co-editor with **Mouhannad Hadid**: ***Earthquake in April***
(RIWAQ/Centre for Architectural Conservation & The Institute of Jerusalem Studies/ SIDA, Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation; Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003)
Contents: **Sahar Khalifeh** – *A Letter* / **Matthias Könsgen** – *Palestine in the Spring* / **Suad Amiry** – *Getting There* / **Naseer Arafat** – *Only the Grandparents Survived* / **Jafar Ibrahim Tukan** / *A Tale of Incomplete Memories* / **Nazmi Al-Ju'beh** / *Nablus, Nero, and other Names* / **Khaldun Bshara** – *A Breeze from the North* / **Mouhannad Hadid** / *Museums of Memory*. **Photographs** by **Mouyhannad Hadid**, **Khaldun Bshara**, **Rula Halawani**, **Matthias Könsgen**, and **Mis Gröndahl**. In both Arabic and English.

***Women in the Conflict***
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 1995)

***The Palestinian Village Home***
(London: British Museum Publications, 1989)

***An Obsession***, in **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shehadeh**, eds:
***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

**Zalman Amit** & **Daphna Levit**
***Israeli Rejectionism: A Hidden Agenda in the Middle East Peace Process***
(Pluto Press, 2011)

**Amnesty International** (International Secretariat) – many publications, including:
***Unlawful and Deadly: Rocket and Mortar Attacks by Palestinian Armed Groups During the 2014 Gaza/Israel Conflict***
(AI, 2015)

***'Strangling Necks': Abductions, Torture and Summary Killings of Palestinians by Hamas Forces during the 2014 Gaza/Israel Conflict*** (AI, 2015)

*'Nothing is Immune': Israel's Destruction of Landmark Buildings in Gaza* (AI, 2014)
See: The **OLDER PALESTINIAN HISTORY** Section for a more complete listing.

**Shireen Anabtawi** (Palestinian Mission/Embassy, Geneva) & **Daniela Norris** (diplomat and author)
***Crossing Qalandiya: Exchanges across the Israeli/Palestinian Divide***
(Reportage Press; 2nd edition, 2010)

**Farhad Analoui** (Bradford Centre for International Development, University of Bradford)
and **Mohammed Al-Madhoun** (Head of Strategic Planning Committee, Islamic University of Gaza)
***Empowering SME Managers in Palestine***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "SMEs create employment, wealth and a potential for future growth. In Palestine they can also mean survival and freedom. In Palestine they are not a choice but a necessity for sustainable development. But by their nature SMEs are vulnerable in a business environment characterized by uncertainty. To give the managers of SMEs in Palestine a realistic chance of success they need training to enable them to meet the challenge of running their enterprises effectively. Drawing on original research undertaken within Palestine this book explores how the challenge is being met (and considers how it might be even more successfully met) by enabling and empowering the owners and managers of these pioneering businesses."

**Tom Anderson** and **Eliza Egret**
***From Israel's Illegal Settlements to UK Supermarkets***
(Shoal Collective/Apartheid in the Fields, 88 pages, 2020)

***Resisting Demolitions in Palestine: A Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Guide***
(Shoal Collective, 182 pages, 2019)
With contribution from **Amy Hall**.

**Tom Anderson** with **Therizia Cooper**
***Besieging Health Services in Gaza: A Profitable Business***
(UK: Corporate Watch, 15 pages, 2014)

**Dr Swee Chai Ang** (likely the most experienced trauma surgeon in the United Kingdom)
***From Beirut to Jerusalem***
(Grafton Press, 1989 / The Other Press, 2013)
The author's years of service to Palestinians in the refugee camps of Lebanon, with experience of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, who organised Medical Aid to Palestinians (MAP). Originally published 1989, this edition is updated with work in Gaza. See also: **Dr Pauline Cutting**.

With **Hans Husum** & **Erik Fosse**: ***War Surgery: Field Manual***
(Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 763 pages, 1996)
With feature on work in Lebanon camps.

**Miriyam Aouragh**
***Palestine Online: Cyber Intifade and the Construction of a Virtual Community, 2001-2005***
(PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2008)

**Gotfred Appel**
***Why Do We Support the PFLP?*** [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine / PFLP]
(Richmond, British Columbia: Liberation Support Movement Information Center, 32 pages, 1972)

**Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem (ARIJ) –** also based in Bethlehem.
with Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und Humanitäre Hilfe (Switzerland**)**:
***Status of the Environment in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*** (ARIJ, 2007)

***Analysis of Waste Management Policies in Palestine: Domestic Solid Waste and Wastewater*** (ARIJ, 2005)

***An Atlas of Palestine: (The West Bank and Gaza)*** (ARIJ, ca. 2000)

**Arab Center Washington DC**
**Zeina Azzam** and **Imad K. Harb**, editors
***Biden and the Middle East: A Challenging Road Ahead***
(AC, 180 pages, 2021)
Contains **Zaha Hassan**: *Biden and Correcting the Course of Relations with Palestine*; **Yousef Munayyer**: *Biden and Israel: The Constraints are Plentiful*; further contributors: Gregory Aftandilian, Khalil al-Anani, Emadeddin Badi, Daniel Brumberg, Charles W. Dunne, Mustafa Gurbuz, Imad K. Harb, Khalil E. Jahshan, Kenneth Katzman, Nabeel A. Khoury, Joe Macaron, Karim Mezran, Diana Moukalled, Curtis R. Ryan, Abdelkhalig Shaib, Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, Sarah Yerkes, and Radwan Ziadeh.

**Khalid Arar** (Sakhnin Academic College, Israel) & **Kussai Haj-Yehia** (Beit Berl Academic College, Israel)
***Higher Education and the Arab Minority in Israel***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 213 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Higher Education and the Palestinian Minority in Israel examines perceptions concerning the characteristics of higher education acquisition in the indigenous Palestinian Arab minority in Israel. Arar and Haj-Yehia show that Palestinian Arabs in Israel clearly understand the benefit of an academic degree as a lever for social status and integration within the state of Israel. The authors discuss difficulties met by Palestinian high school graduates when they attempt to enter Israel's higher education institutes, and the alternative phenomenon of studying abroad. The cultural difference between Palestinian traditional communities and 'Western' Israeli campuses exposes Arab students to a mix of ethnicities and nationalities, which proves to be a difficult, transformative experience. The book analyzes patterns of higher education acquisition among the indigenous Palestinian minority, describing the disciplines they choose, the challenges they encounter, particularly for Palestinian women students, and explore the implications for the Palestinian minority and Israeli society."

**Gal Ariely** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
***Israel's Regime Untangles: Between Democracy and Apartheid***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Israel attracts enormous attention among scholars, journalists, politicians, and the general public. Some regard the country as an apartheid regime that can only be challenged through boycotts and sanctions. Others believe it is a stable liberal democracy, created under extreme conditions. This book seeks to unravel these conflicting interpretations by focusing on three questions: How can the Israeli regime be classified? What are the borders of the Israeli regime? And what are the key factors that shape the regime and support its relative stability? Gal Ariely calls for an approach which disaggregates democracy into specific dimensions, examining the diverse aspects of the Israeli regime to determine the level of 'democraticness' exhibited rather than classifying the regime as a whole. In doing so he provides a comprehensive account of the Israeli regime, untangling conflicting interpretations and illustrates the advantages of using this approach for analysing disputed regimes more widely."

**Vittorio Arrigoni** (International Solidarity Movement)
***Gaza Stay Human***

(Markfield: Kube Publications, ca. 2010)
Translated by **Daniela Filippin** of *Restiamo Umani* (Manifestolibri, 2009), with foreword by **Ilan Pappe**. Ground Zero chronicle of the days of the Israeli attack by Gaza from 27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009. The author himself was killed in Gaza on 15 April 2011.

**Sanjay Asthana** (Tennessee State University) & **Nishan Hanvandjan** (Qatar University)
***Palestinian Youth Media and the Pedagogies of Estrangement***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
An investigation on how Palestinian youth appropriate low-end information and communication technologies (ICTs) and digital media forms , Sanjay Asthana and Nishan Havandjian analyze how certain developments in globalization and media convergence enable young people to create new civic spaces.

**Andrew Ashdown**
***The Stones Cry Out: Reflections from Israel and Palestine***
-with foreword by Jerusalem's **Anglican Bishop Riah Abu Elsal**
(Christians Aware, 2006)

**Sa'ed Atshan** (Swarthmore College)
***Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique***
(Stanford University Press, 296 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "From Ramallah to New York, Tel Aviv to Porto Alegre, people around the world celebrate a formidable, transnational Palestinian LGBTQ social movement. Solidarity with Palestinians has become a salient domain of global queer politics. Yet LGBTQ Palestinians, even as they fight patriarchy and imperialism, are themselves subjected to an "empire of critique" from Israeli and Palestinian institutions, Western academics, journalists and filmmakers, and even fellow activists. Such global criticism has limited growth and led to an emphasis within the movement on anti-imperialism over the struggle against homophobia. With this book, Sa'ed Atshan asks how transnational progressive social movements can balance struggles for liberation along more than one axis. He explores critical junctures in the history of Palestinian LGBTQ activism, revealing the queer Palestinian spirit of agency, defiance, and creativity, in the face of daunting pressures and forces working to constrict it. Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique explores the necessity of connecting the struggles for Palestinian freedom with the struggle against homophobia.

**Naim Stifan Ateek**
***A Palestinian Christian Cry for Reconciliation***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, Books, 2008)
Note: See **OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY** and **Christian Palestinians** lists.

**Sa'ed Atshan** and **Katharina Galor**
***The Moral Triangle: Germans, Israelis, Palestinians***
(Duke University Press, 256 pages, 2020)
Analysis of Germany, home to Europe's largest Palestinian population.

**Katie Attwell** (Murdoch University, Perth)
***Jewish-Israeli National Identity and Dissidence: The Contradictions of Zionism and Resistance***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "This unique book provides a critical perspective on identity in questioning how Israeli Jews manage and manifest their concern for the Palestinian Other, eschewing presenting identities as concrete and, rather, examines their creation through discourse. Zionism and the Israeli state have constructed a Jewish national identity premised on demonisation of the Other. This book explores how internal critics use alternative discourses of identity to re-imagine this Jewish-Israeli national identity, and considers how they might fail. It combines a rigorous theoretical analysis of nationalism with an engaging examination of the identifications and contradictions of eleven Jewish-Israeli individuals. Featuring, among others, high profile journalist Gideon Levy, veteran maverick Uri Davis and literary novelist Dorit Rabinyan, Attwell provides a revealing insight into national identity, political dissent, conflict and resistance."

**Gilad Atzmon**

***The Wandering Who? A Study of Jewish Identity Politics***

(Zero Books, 2011)

A collection of essays approaching Jewish identity and self-importance. Topics range from internationally acknowledged international finance, demography, historical Jewish religious philosophy, the Zionists' relationship with anti-Jewish sentiment, and the proudly clannish separatism of many Jews. The author takes pains to denounce some Jewish stereotypes and has always highlighted the Jewish holocaust tragedy that was perpetrated by the Nazis. NOTE: Two first editions, one with an index and one without.

***Being in Time: A Post-Political Manifesto***

(Skyscraper Press, 2017) A philosophical analysis of the Jewish religion's rigid doctrinarian structure of obeyance, considered as ancient Greece's Sparta, versus later religious and non-religious "Athenian" approaches to moral issues. This is applied to the Jewish Zionist project and the opinionmakers who prop it up.

**Caryn Aviv** & **David Shneer**

***New Jews: The End of the Jewish Diaspora***

(New York University Press, 2005)

Authors debunk the Israeli v Jewish 'diaspora' dichotomy.

**Uri Avnery** – see OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.

**Buzar Ayyoub**

***Forced Displacement and Ethnic Cleansing: Israel's Violations of the Palestinians' Rights to Residency in Jerusalem***

(CCDPRJ, 45pp, 2008)

**Ariella Azoulay** (Tel Aviv University) & **Adi Ophir** (Tel Aviv University), translated by **Tal Haran**

***The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine***

(Stanford University Press, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "Since the start of the occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, Israel's domination of the Palestinians has deprived an entire population of any political status or protection. But even decades on, most people speak of this rule—both in everyday political discussion and in legal and academic debates—as temporary, as a state of affairs incidental and external to the Israeli regime. In *The One-State Condition*, Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir directly challenge this belief. Looking closely at the history and contemporary formation of the ruling apparatus—the technologies and operations of the Israeli army, the General Security Services, and the legal system imposed in the Occupied Territories—Azoulay and Ophir outline the one-state condition of Israel/Palestine: the grounding principle of Israeli

governance is the perpetuation of differential rule over populations of differing status. Israeli citizenship is shaped through the active denial of Palestinian citizenship and civil rights. Though many Israelis, on both political right and left, agree that the occupation constitutes a problem for Israeli democracy, few ultimately admit that Israel is no democracy or question the very structure of the Israeli regime itself. Too frequently ignored are the lasting effects of the deceptive denial of the events of 1948 and 1967, and the ways in which the resulting occupation has reinforced the sweeping militarization and recent racialization of Israeli society. Azoulay and Ophir show that acknowledgment of the one-state *condition* is not only a prerequisite for considering a one- or two-state *solution*; it is a prerequisite for advancing new ideas to move beyond the trap of this false dilemma."

**Tareq Baconi** (European Council on Foreign Relations; Columbia University)
***Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance***
(Stanford University Press, 368 pages, 2018, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Hamas rules Gaza and the lives of the two million Palestinians who live there. Demonized in media and policy debates, various accusations and critical assumptions have been used to justify extreme military action against Hamas. The reality of Hamas is, of course, far more complex. Neither a democratic political party nor a terrorist group, Hamas is a multifaceted liberation organization, one rooted in the nationalist claims of the Palestinian people. *Hamas Contained* offers the first history of the group on its own terms. Drawing on interviews with organization leaders, as well as publications from the group, Tareq Baconi maps Hamas's thirty-year transition from fringe military resistance towards governance. He breaks new ground in questioning the conventional understanding of Hamas and shows how the movement's ideology ultimately threatens the Palestinian struggle and, inadvertently, its own legitimacy. Hamas's reliance on armed struggle as a means of liberation has failed in the face of a relentless occupation designed to fragment the Palestinian people. As Baconi argues, under Israel's approach of managing rather than resolving the conflict, Hamas's demand for Palestinian sovereignty has effectively been neutralized by its containment in Gaza. This dynamic has perpetuated a deadlock characterized by its brutality—and one that has made permissible the collective punishment of millions of Palestinian civilians."

**Samer Bakkour** (Exeter University)
***The End of the Middle East Peace Process: The Failure of US Diplomacy***
(Routledge, 240 pages, 2022)

**Amjad Ab El Ezz Banishamsa** (political adviser to the British American Security Information Council)
***The European Union and the Palestinians***
(Routledge, 2016)

**Ana Barahona**
***Bearing Witness: Eight Weeks in Palestine***
(Metete Publications/author, 2016)
Not your usual travelogue: water rationing, drug dealing, checkpoints, school and wall builders.

**Gabi Baramki**
***Peaceful Resistance: Building a Palestinian University under Occupation***
(Pluto Press, 2010)
A personal account of the establishment and maintenance of the Birzeit University, the first Palestinian university, most interesting for the post-1967 Occupation years but before Oslo.

**Frank Barat**, editor (co-coordinator of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine, later president of the Palestine Legal Action Network).

***Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War against the Palestinians*** (Chicago: Haymarket Books / Hamish Hamilton, 2010) Contents: **Frank Barat** — The fate of Palestine: an interview with Noam Chomsky — Clusters of history: U.S. involvement in the Palestine question / **Ilan Pappe** — State of denial: Nakbah in Israeli history and today / **Ilan Pappe** — "Exterminate all the brutes": Gaza 2009 / **Noam Chomsky** — Blueprint for a one-state movement: a troubled history / **Ilan Pappe** — The ghettoization of Palestine: a dialogue with **Ilan Pappe** and **Noam Chomsky** — The killing fields of Gaza 2004-2009 / **Ilan Pappe** — A Middle East peace that could happen (but won't) / **Noam Chomsky**.

**Frank Barat, Angela Y. Davis** & **Cornel West**

***Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 180 pages, 2015)

**Gustavo Barbosa** (Universidade Federal Fluminese, Rio de Janeiro)

***The Best of Hard Times: Palestinian Refugee Masculinities in Lebanon***
(Syracuse University Press, 352 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "The Best of Hard Times explores the gendered identities of two generations of men in the Shatila Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut. Gustavo Barbosa compares the fida'iyyin, the men who served as freedom fighters to reconquer Palestine in the 1970s, to the shabab, their sons who lead seemingly mundane lives with limited access to power. While the fida'iyyinn displayed their masculinity through active resistance and fighting to return to their homeland, the shabab have a more nuanced relationship to Palestine and articulate their gender belonging in alternative ways. Through vivid ethnographic stories, Barbosa critically engages with certain trends in feminism, calling attention to their limits and considering nimble views on gender. Instead of presenting the shabab as emasculated or experiencing a crisis of masculinity, the book shows the pliability of masculinity in time and space and argues that "gender" has limited purchase to capture the experiences of today's youth from Shatila. Based on two years of fieldwork, The Best of Hard Times answers the burgeoning demand for anthropological literature on Arab masculinities and portrays refugees as inventive actors rather than agentless victims of circumstances beyond their control. The Best of Hard Times is a tour de force combining highbrow theory with gripping ethnography, challenging many of the stereotypes on gender, power, statehood, and the role of Islam in the Middle East.

**Mourid Barghouti**

***The Driver Mahmoud Home,*** in: **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shedadeh**, eds: ***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***I Was Born There, I Was Born Here*** -translated by Humphrey Davies
(Bloomsbury, 2011)

***Midnight and Other Poems*** - translated by **Radwa Ashour**
(Todmorden: Arc Publications, 2008)

***I Saw Ramallah*** – translated by **Ahdaf Soueif**
(American University in Cairo Press, 2000, 2002 / Bloomsbury, 2004)
Upon his return to Ramallah, the author is always poetic in attitude, never too busy to stop and look at things in a philosophical way. He questions himself more than others

**Omar Barghouti**

***Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights***

(Haymarket Books, 2011)

The author, a dance choreographer turned key architect of the BDS movement, argues the case for the Palestinian global campaign to boycott Israeli goods, academia and culture; divest from Israeli institutions; and sanction the Israeli government. Particularly good for artists to read, as it answers any questions you might have about cultural boycott. – NF

**Uri Bar-Joseph**

***The Best of Enemies: Israe and Transjordan in the War of 1948***

(Cass, 1987; Routledge, 254 pages 2013)

**Michael Barnett** (George Washington University), **Nathan J. Brown** (George Washington University), **Marc Lynch** (George Washington University), **Shibley Telhami** (University of Maryland; University of Massachusetts; Arab Center, Washington DC) editors

***The One State Reality: What is Israel/Palestine?***

(Cornell University Press, 372 pages, 2023)

Contents: **Ian S. Lustick**: *What and Where is Israel?* / **Gershon Shafir**: *From Jewish Privilege to Judaic Supremacy* / **Yousef Munayyer** (Arab Center, Washington DC): *Israel-Palestine* / **Yael Berda**: *Citizenship as a Mobility Regime* / **Diana B. Greenwald**: *Delegating Domination* / **Nathan J. Brown** & **Iman Elbanna**: *The Thorough Insinuation of the One State reality into Palestinian Political Life* / **Mohanad Mustafa** & **As'as Ghanem**: *Palestinians in Israel and the One State Reality* / **Michael Barnett** & **Lara Friedman** (Foundation for Middle East Peace): *American Jewry and the One State Reality* / **Nadav G. Shelef**: *Lessons from How Nationalisms Evolve for a One State Reality* / **Shibley Telhami**: *Arab and American Dimensions of the Israel-Palestine Issue* / **Omar H. Rahman** & **Dahlia Scheindlin**: *Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Resolution and Public Opinion* / **Kevin Huggard** & **Tamara Cofman Wittes**: *Palestinian Statehood in American Policy* / **Khaled Elgindy**: *Beyond Oslo* / **Muriel Asseburg**: *The Europeans and the Israeli-Palestinian Conundrum* / **Marc Lynch**: Conclusion

**Michael N. Barnett** (George Washington University)

***The Star and the Stripes: A History of the Foreign Policies of American Jews***

(Princeton University Press, 348 pages, 2016)

**Ramzy Baroud** (Journalist and editor of *Palestine Chronicle,* Senior Research Fellow at Istanbul Zaim University; who studied at both the University of Exeter and UC Santa Barbara)

***Before the Flood: From Gaza to Paradise***

(Seven Stories Press, 300 pages, 2026)

With foreword by **Ilan Pappe**. Publisher's blurb: "A profound exploration of Palestinian history and resilience through the personal stories of the author's family – the al-Badrasawi's. Beginning with intimate details of village life in Beit Daras before the *Nakba*, Ramzy Baroud vividly portrays the rich cultural heritage, deeply rooted traditions, and daily struggles faced by ordinary people whose lives were radically disrupted by the violent upheavals and ongoing conflicts driven by British colonialism and Zionist aggression. Baroud weaves together past and present, illuminating how historical forces shaped the collective consciousness and steadfast resilience of the Palestinian people. His storytelling reveals not only the harsh realities of occupation, displacement, and loss but also the extraordinary courage, faith, and solidarity that underpin a powerful and enduring spirit of resistance, encapsulated in what the author refers to as the Palestinian *longue durée*. Ultimately, Baroud aims to humanise and reclaim Palestinian narratives from distorted portrayals, highlighting their perseverance and the universal quest for justice and liberation."

As co-editor, with **Ilan Pappe**: ***Our Vision for Liberation: Engaged Palestinian Leaders and Intellectuals Speak Out***
(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 442 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Our Vision for Liberation: Engaged Palestinian Leaders & Intellectuals Speak Out aims to challenge several strata of the current Palestine discourse that have led to the present dead end: the American pro-Israel political discourse, the Israeli colonial discourse, the Arab discourse of purported normalization, and the defunct discourse of the Palestinian factions. None promote justice, none have brought resolution; none bode well for any of the parties involved. Here, an alternative Palestinian view of liberation and decolonization is provided by engaged Palestinian leaders and intellectuals, those who been actively involved in generating an ongoing Palestinian discourse on liberation, taking into account the parameters of their struggle as it now stands. Drawing on their own remarkable personal experiences and successes -- as archaeologists, artists, authors, community leaders, educators, filmmakers, historians, human rights activists, journalists, lawyers, spiritual leaders, political prisoners, and the like -- they address what now, what next, is to be done, in a manner that reflects not only Palestinian aspirations, but their view of what is possible. 'Liberation' is a term that was dropped from the official Palestinian lexicon simply because it was incompatible with the US-championed political discourse, but it has resurfaced here because without its justice dimensions, there can be no peace. Now that the international community is able to see that Oslo, along with the 'two-state solution' model, has irreversibly failed, the paradigmatic void has opened space for the articulation of new possibilities. Our Vision for Liberation embraces this opportunity to introduce a new Palestinian discourse, one that is able to address current challenges and obstacles to Palestinian rights and freedom, and provide diverse paths, all leading forward."

***These Chains Will be Broken: Palestinian Stories of Struggle and Defiance in Israeli Prisons***
(Clarity Press, 2020).
With foreword by former prisoner **Khalida Jarrar** and afterward by **Richard A. Falk**.
Publisher's blurb: "Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have experienced life in Israel's prisons since 1967, as did many more in previous decades during the course of the ongoing Israeli military occupation. Yet rarely has the story of their experiences in Israeli jails been told by the prisoners themselves. Typically the Western media portrays them as 'terrorists' while well-meaning third-party human rights advocates paint them as hapless victims. They are neither. This book permits the reader to access the reality of Palestinian imprisonment as told by Palestinian prisoners themselves — stories of appalling suffering and determination to reclaim their freedom. The stories in this book are not meant to serve as an account of Israeli torture methods. Instead, each story highlights a distinct experience — each so personal, so profound — in order to underline the humanity of those who are constantly dehumanized by Israeli hasbara and the mainstream corporate media's biased accounts.. While highlighting Israel's brutality, readers come to grips with the resilience and grit of Palestinians and their ability to rise above Israel's cruelty and be emblems of power for their people. Palestinian prisoners are an essential element in the collective resistance against Israeli colonialism, apartheid and military occupation. Rather than being viewed as unfortunate victims, their steadfastness exemplifies the ongoing fight of the Palestinian people as a whole. Despite Palestinian factionalism and lack of a unified political movement, Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli prisons serve as one of the remaining platforms for unity. Regardless of affiliation, they are treated by their captors in the same debasing manner, often in total disregard for human rights conventions. These heroes of resistance, as viewed by Palestinians, often transcend factional divides. Despite numerous obstacles, they resist their jailers as a collective, enduring their pain and fostering their will together. In reality, all Palestinians living under Israeli occupation and siege are also prisoners. The Gaza Strip is often referred to as the "world's largest open-air prison." Indeed, the "prison" in this book is a metaphor for the collective Palestinian prison experience. All Palestinians are prisoners – those held in besieged Gaza or those trapped behind walls, fences and checkpoints in the West Bank. All experience some manifestation of prison every day of their lives. Even those trapped in their seemingly endless exiles, unable to reunite with their families or visit their Palestinian homes, are also enduring that prison experience in one way or another."

***The Last Earth: A Palestinian Story***
(Pluto Press, 2018)
Spanning decades, the author tells the story of modern Palestine through both familiar and surprising revelations from the memories of those who have lived it. Accounts range from villages, refugee camps, prisons, cities, and of course the Palestinian diaspora. Each chapter/story could have been the basis of a book on its own.

***My Father was a Freedom Fighter: Gaza's Untold Story***
(Pluto Press, 2010)

***The Second Palestinian Intifada: A Chronicle of People's Struggle*** (Pluto Press, 2006)

As editor: ***Searching Jenin: Eyewitness Accounts of the Israeli Invasion 2002***
(Seattle: Cune Press, 2003)
Forward by **Noam Chomsk**y ; photojournalist, **Mahfouz Abu Turk** ; project facilitator, **Ali Samudi**

**Nora Barrows-Friedman** (Electronic Intifada)
***In Our Power: US Students Organize for Justice in Palestine***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 276 pages, 2014)
Interviews with American university activists.

**Shaul Bartal** (Bar-Ilan University lecturer; former West Bank IDF securitarian)
***Jihad in Palestine: Political Islam and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "*Jihad in Palestine* provides a comprehensive study of the variety of Islamic extremist groups operating inside Israel/Palestine today, examining their philosophies and views concerning martyrdom, as well as their attitudes to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These ideologies are presented in their own words, thanks to the author's extensive translations and commentary of primary sources in Arabic, including the writings of the Islamic Jihad, al-Jama'a al-Islamiya, Hizbal-Tahrir al-Islami, Hamas and the Islamic Movement. The book studies the attitudes of these organisations towards the fundamental issues surrounding *Jihad*, including the concept of personal obligation, the relationship of the movement to the peace agreements and attitudes towards Jews expressed in the movement's writings. Exploring the basic theories of sacrifice and analysing modern day Palestinian society, it promotes a greater understanding of the religious angle of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."

**Orit Bashkin**
***New Babylonians: A History of Jews in Modern Iraq***
(Stanford University Press, 305 pages, 2012, 2017)

**Bashir Bashir** and **Leila Farsakh**, editors
***The Arab and Jewish Questions: Geographies of Engagement in Palestine and Beyond***
(Columbia University Press, 2020)
Contributors also include: **Amal Ghazl**, **Brian Klug**, **Derek Penslar**, **Ella Shohat**, **Gil Anidjar**, **Hakem Al-Rustom**, **Jacqueline Rose**, **Maram Masarwi**, **Moshe Behar**, and **Yuval Evri**.

**Gershon Baskin** (Israeli journalist, co-founder, with Samer Sinjlawi, of the Alliance for Two States)
***In Pursuit of Peace in Israel and Palestine***
(Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2017)

***The Negotiator: Freeing Gilad Shalit from Hamas***

(Toby Press, 2013)

-as editor, with **Zakaria al Qaq**: ***Creating a Culture of Peace***
(Jerusalem: IPCRI ~ Israeli/Palestine Center for Research and Information, 1999).

-as editor: ***Water: Conflict or Cooperation***
(Jerusalem: IPCRI, 1993)

-as editor, with **Robin Twite**: ***The Future of Jerusalem: Proceedings of the First Israeli-Palestinian International Academic Seminar on the Future of Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: IPCRI, 1993)

**Warren Bass**

***Support any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the US-Israel Alliance***
(Oxford University Press, 336 pages, 2003)

***A Surprise out of Zion? Case Studies in Israel's Decisions on Whether to Alert the United States to Preventive Strikes, from Suez to the Syrian Nuclear Reactor***
(Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 78 pages, 2015)

**Petter Bauck** (Norwegian Embassy, Kyiv, Ukraine) and **Mohammed Omer** (journalist, author of ***Shell Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault***, 312pp, OR Books, 2015), editors

***The Oslo Accords: A Critical Assessment***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2016)
Forewords by **Desmond Tutu** and **Össur Skarphédinsson**; Contents: **Noam Chomsky**: The Oslo Accords: Their Context, Their Consequences / **Ilan Pappe**: Revisiting 1967 – The False Paradigm of Peace, Partition, and Parity / **Hilde Henriksen Waage**: Champions of Peace? Tools in Whose Hands? Norwegians and Peace Brokering in the Middle East / **Amira Hass**: The Illusion of Palestinian Sovereignty / **Liv Tørres**: The Oslo Accords and Palestinian Civil Society / **Lotta Schüllerqvist**: "We Have Opened Doors, Others Have Been Closed"- Women under the Oslo Accords / **Richard Falk**: After Oslo: A Legal Historical Perspective / **John V. Whitbeck**: A Legal Perspective on Oslo / **Petter Bauck**: The Oslo Accords: A Common Savior for Israel and the PLO in Exile? / **Ahmed Yousef**: Out of the Ashes of Oslo: The Rise of Islamism and the Fall of Favoritism / **Are Hovdenak**: Hamas in Transition -The Failure of Sanctions / **Dr. Sufian Abu Zaida:** Palestinian Prisoners from Oslo to Annapolis / **Mohammed Omer**: Some Gaza Impressions, Over Two Decades after Oslo / **Gideon Levy**: The Shattered Dream / **Ahmed Abu Artema** (Gazan who inspired the Great March of Return, 2018): Palestinian Identity in the Aftermath of Oslo / **Mads Gilbert**: Israeli Impunity / **Haakon Aars**: Public and Primary Healthcare before and after the Oslo Accords: A Personal Reflection / **Matt Sienkiewicz**: Facts in the Air: Palestinian Media Expression since Oslo / **Helga Tawil-Souri**: Networking Palestine: The Development and Limitations of Television and Telecommunications since 1993 / **Harry van Bommel**: The European Union and Israel since Oslo / **Laura Dawn Lewis**: A War of Ideas: The American Media on Israel and Palestine post Oslo / **Yasmine Gado**: Corporate Complicity in Human Rights Abuses under Oslo.

**Dan Bavly** (Israeli author and accountant)

***For the Palestinian Entity a Viable Economy is Crucial***
(Anglo-Israel Association, 1993

-with **Eliahu Salpeter:** ***Fire in Beirut – Israel's War in Lebanon with the PLO***
(New York City, Stein & Day, 1984)

-with **David Farhi**: **Israel** ***and the Palestinians***
(Anglo-Israel Association, 1971)

-with **David Kimche** (Mossad operative, contributing to Israel's Lebanon involvement, 1981-1982):
***Sandstorm – The Arab Israeli War of June 1967 – Prelude and Aftermath***
(Secker & Warburg, 1968)

**Shadi Bayadsy** (Old Dominion University)
***Redefining Palestinian Women Organizations' Activism under Jewish Democratic State Restriction***
(Lanham, Mayland: Lexington Books, 184 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian women living in Israel are discriminated against in many aspects of their daily lives. In this book, Shadi Bayadsy examines how this situation motivated Palestinian women to organize and advocate for emancipation and equality through the professional Palestinian women organizations established in Israel. The author demonstrates the different strategies each organization employs to navigate challenging restrictions and to avoid being shut down by state apparatuses or by societal institutions and localities. This book will be of interest to scholars of women and gender studies as well as Middle Eastern studies."

**Moustafa Bayoumi**, editor (also edited ***The Edward Said Reader*** (Granta, 2000, 2001)
***Midnight on the Mavi Marmara: The Attack on the Gaza Freedom Flotilla and How it Changed the Course of the Israel/Palestine Conflict***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books / OR Books, 2010)
Contributors include: Ali Abunimah, Omar Barghouti, George Bisharat, Max Blumenthal, Noam Chomsky, Martha B. Cohen, Juan Cole, Murat Dagli, Jamal Elshayyal, Sümeyye Ertekin, Norman Finkelstein, Gisha.org, Neve Gordon, Glenn Greenwald, Arun Gupta, Amira Hass, Adam Horowitz, Rashid Khalidi, Stephen Kinzer, Paul Larudee, Iara Lee, Gideon Levy, Daniel Luban, Alia Malek, Henning Mankell, Mike Marqusee, Lubna Masarwa, Yousef Munayyer, Ken O'Keefe, Kevin Ovenden, Ilan Pappe, Doron Rosenblum, Sara Roy, Ben Saul, Eyad Al Sarraj, Adam Shapiro, Raja Shehadeh, Henry Siegman, Ahdaf Soueif, Raji Sourani, Richard Tillinghast, Alice Walker, Stephen M. Walt, and Haneen Zoabi.

**Sue Beardon, Patricia Cockrell** & **David Mitchell**
***Olives and Barbed Wire: Impressions of Palestine and Israel***
(Zaytoon Press, 2011)

**Moshe Behar**
***In Search of a Game Changer in Israel/Palestine***
(Manchester University Press, 2020)

**Moshe Behar** and **Zvi Ben-Dor Benite**, editors
***Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics, and Culture***
(Brandeis University Press, 301 pages, 2013)
Contents: 1 | East and West; Ya'qub Sannu'; 2 | Some Teachings of the Koran; 3 | Transvaal's Exemplary Rebels; 4 | The Koran; 5 | Ottoman Imperial Schools; 6 | My Last Dream; 7 | John Bull and the Egyptian Student; 8 | My Poor Eyes; 9 | Letter to Philip Tarrazi; Esther Azhari Moyal; 10 | Address at the American College for Girls in Beirut; 11 | Our Renaissance; Murād Farag; 12 | The War for Our Nation; Nissim Ya'acov Malul; 13 | Our Status in the Country, or the Question of Learning ArabicBen-Zion Meir Hai Uziel; 14 | Angels of Peace; 15 | A Speech in the Celebration of My Jubilee; Joseph Aslan Cattaui Pacha; 16 | On Solidarity and on Diversity; Hayyim Ben-Kiki; 17 | European Culture in the East; 18 | On the Question of All Questions Concerning the Settling of the Land; Menahem Salih Daniel; 19 | Letter to Chayyim Weizmann; David Avisar; 20 | A Proposal Concerning the Question of Understanding and Reaching an Agreement with the Arabs of the Land

of Israel; Elie (Eliyahu) Eliacha; 21 | A Jew of Palestine before the Royal Commission22 | Jews and Arabs; Ibrahim al-Kabir; 23 | Evidence Given to Palestine's Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Which Visited Baghdad; Yusuf Harun Zilkha and Sasson Shalom Dallal; 24 | Zionism against Arabs and Jews; 25 | Last Letter; Marsil Shirizi; 26 | Anti-Zionism for the Sake of Jews and the Sake of Egypt; Henri Curiel; 27 | Egyptian Communists and the Jewish Question; 28 | What Ought to Be the First Official Message from the DMNL to the Israeli Communist Party?; 29 | Some Clarifications on "Social Democracy"; Sami Michael; 30 | The Newly Arrived Men of LettersJacqueline Shohet Kahanoff; 31 | Bridge to the Oriental Immigrants; David Sitton; 32 | A Call for Deepening "The Mizrahi Consciousness" among Us; Avraham Abbas; 33 | From Ingathering to Integration: The Communal Problem in Israel

**Yossi Beilin** (initiator of Taglit-Birthright Israel, enticing foreign Jewish youth to support Israel)
***His Brother's Keeper: Israel and Diaspora Jewry in the Twtnty-First Century***
(Schoken Books, 2000)

***Israel: A Concise Political History***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson/St. Martin's Press, 276 pages, 1992/1993)

**Peter Beinart** (City University New York; New American Foundation; Open Zion blog)
***Being Jewish after the Destruction of Gaza: A Reckoning***
(Knopf, 192 pages, 2025)

***The Crisis of Zionism***
(Times Books, 289 pages, 2012 / Picador, 2013)
Liberal Zionist, critical of the Israeli Government.

**Joel Beinin**, **Bassam Haddad**, and **Sherene Seikaly**, editors
***A Critical Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa***
(Stanford University Press, 344 pages, 2021)
Contains chapters: *The US-Israeli Alliance* and *Repercussions of Colonialism in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.*

**Joel Beinin** & **Rebecca L. Stein,** editors
***The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005***
(Stanford University Press, 2006)
Contents: Histories and futures of a failed peace / **Joel Beinin and Rebecca L. Stein** -- pt. 1. The political economy of peace. The Oslo Process and the limits of a Pax Americana / **Joel Beinin** -- From Zionism to capitalism: the political economy of the neoliberal warfare state in Israel / **Yaov Peled** -- Buying poverty: international aid and the peace process / **Emma C. Murphy** -- The 94 percent solution: Israel's matrix of control / **Jeff Halper** -- pt. 2. Inside Palestine: occupation, social movements, and governance. Palestinian authority, Israeli rule / **Mouin Rabbani** -- Palestinian NGOs since Oslo: from politics to social movements? / **Rema Hammami** -- Gender, social citizenship, and the women's movement in Palestine / **Rita Giacaman**, **Islah Jad**, and **Penny Johnson** -- Competing political cultures / interview with **Marwan Barghouti**; introduction by **Lisa Hajjar** -- Coming of age: HAMAS's rise to prominence in the post-Oslo era / **Charmaine Seitz** -- Back to the center : post-Oslo revival of the refugee issue / **Rosemary Sayigh** -- Opening the debate on the right of return / **Sari Hanafi** -- pt. 3. Inside Israel: militarism, citizenship, and struggle. Post-Zionist scholarship in Israel / **Ilan Pappé** -- The shrinking space of citizenship: ethnocratic politics in Israel / **Oren Yiftachel** -- Acts of refusal: Israeli militarism, gender, and the politics of dissent / interview with **Rela Mazali** -- "Why we refuse to serve in the Israeli Defense Forces" / letters to Ariel Sharon by Israeli students -- "Land grab: Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank" / B'Tselem: the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied

Territories -- Living on the edge: the threat of "transfer" in Israel and Palestine / **Robert Blecher** -- Israel's glass wall: the Or Commission / **Jonathan Cook** -- pt. 4. The cultural politics of conflict. "Chic point": fashion for Israeli checkpoints / **Sharif Waked** -- The art of dissent / **David Tartakover** -- A love story between an Arab poet and his land / interview with **Mahmud Darwish** -- In memory of Fadwa Tuqan -- The Oslo Process, Israeli popular culture, and the remaking of national space / **Rebecca L. Stein** -- My hairdresser is a sniper / **Shira Robinson** -- Poetry in a time of conflict / **Ammiel Alcalay** and **Khaled Furani** -- Solidarity in the time of anti-normalization / **Elliott Colla** -- pt. 5. Occupation and rebellion. Anatomy of another rebellion: from Intifada to Interregnum / **Rema Hammami** and **Salim Tamari** -- Economic siege and political isolation: the Gaza Strip in the second Intifada / **Sara Roy** -- Palestinians debate "polite" resistance / **Lori A. Allen** ; responses by **Salim Tamari** and **Issam Nassar** -- "Urgent appeal to stop suicide bombings" / statement by Palestinian intellectuals -- The challenge to the two-state solution / **Gary Sussman** -- International law and Palestinian resistance / **Richard Falk** -- The politics of curfew in the Occupied Territories / **Adam Hanieh** -- The Separation Barrier: walling in people, walling out sovereignty / **Catherine Cook** and **Adam Hanieh** -- "Contrary to international law--" / International Court of Justice ruling on the Separation Barrier.

**Joel Beinin**

***Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1946-1965***

(University of California Press / IB Tauris, 1990)

**Zvi Bekerman** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

***The Promise of Integrated Multicultural and Bilingual Education: Inclusive Palestinian-Arab and Jewish Schools in Israel***

(Oxford University Press, 2016)

***Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond***

(Cambridge University Press, 2014)

as co-editor, with **Claire McGlynn**: ***Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Relevant chapters: **Zvi Bekeman**: *Peace Education in a Bilingual and Biethnic School for Palestinians and Jews in Israel ~ Lessons and Challenges* / **Joanne Hughes** & **Caitlin Donnelly**: *Is the Policy Sufficient? An Exploration of Integrated Education in Northern Ireland and Bilingual/Binational Education in Israel*

**Valerie Belair-Gagnon**

***Social Media at BBC News: The Re-Making of Crisis Reporting***

(Routledge 2015)

Tangential, as the Palestinians and Israel aren't covered, but relevant in understanding the process of news dissemination.

**Orna Ben-Naftali, Michael Sfard** and **Hedi Viterbo**

***The ABC of the OPT: A Legal Lexicon of the Israeli Control over the Occupied Palestinian Territory***

(Cambridge University Press, 580 pages, 2018)

"Israel's contortion of law to obstruct and obfuscate justice is beyond the legal mind to comprehend." – Mais Qandeel, Örebro University, Sweden, in book review in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

**Gilad Ben-Nun** (University of Verona)
***Seeking Asylum in Israel: Refugees and Migration Law***
(IB Tauris, 2016)
Tangential to the right of return.

**Guy Ben-Porat** & **Fany Yuval** (both of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
***Policing Citizens: Minority Policy in Israel***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "What does police violence against minorities, or violent clashes between minorities and the police tell us about citizenship and its internal hierarchies? Indicative of deep-seated tensions and negative perceptions; incidents such as these suggest how minorities are vulnerable, suffer from or are subject to police abuse and neglect in Israel. Marked by skin colour, negatively stigmatized or rendered security threats, their encounters with police provide a daily reminder of their defunct citizenship. Taking as case studies the experiences and perceptions of four minority groups within Israel including Palestinian/Arab citizens, ultra-Orthodox Jews and Ethiopian and Russian immigrants, Ben-Porat and Yuval are able to explore different paths of citizenship and the stratification of the citizenship regime through relations with and perceptions of the police in Israel. Touching on issues such as racial profiling, police brutality and neighbourhood neglect, their study questions the notions of citizenship and belonging, shedding light on minority relationships with the state and its institutions."

**Lihi Ben Shitrit**
***Women and the Holy City: The Struggle over Jerusalem's Sacred Space***
(Cambridge University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Jerusalem's Temple Mount/al-Haram al-Sharif is the holiest place in the world for Jews, the third holiest place for Muslims and a constant feature in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet the gendered dimensions of inter-communal disputes over sacred space in Jerusalem, as well as in other holy places around the world, have been largely neglected, as have women's roles in these site-specific conflicts. An implicit association of women with peaceful politics and syncretic religious practices has obscured the fact that women are often key actors in inter-communal contestation of holy places. This study looks to three contemporary women's movements in and around Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade: Women for the Temple - a Jewish Orthodox movement for access to Temple Mount; The Murabitat - Muslim women activists devoted to the protection of Al-Aqsa Mosque from Jewish claims; and Women of the Wall - a Jewish feminist mobilization against restrictive gender regulations at the Western Wall. Lihi Ben-Shitrit demonstrates how attention to gender and to women's engagement in conflict over sacred places is essential for understanding what makes contested sacred sites increasingly 'indivisible' for parties in the inter-communal context.

**Yael Berda**
***Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank***
(Stanford Briefs/Stanford University Press, 143 pages, 2018)
Berda notes 9 degrees of state-recognised presence in Israel. Publisher's blurb: "In 1991, the Israeli government introduced emergency legislation cancelling the general exit permit that allowed Palestinians to enter Israel. The directive, effective for one year, has been reissued annually ever since, turning the Occupied Territories into a closed military zone. Today, Israel's permit regime for Palestinians is one of the world's most extreme and complex apparatuses for population management. Yael Berda worked as a human rights lawyer in Jerusalem and represented more than two hundred Palestinian clients trying to obtain labour permits to enter Israel from the West Bank. With *Living Emergency*, she brings readers inside the permit regime, offering a first-hand account of how the Israeli secret service, government, and military civil administration control the Palestinian

population. Through interviews with Palestinian laborers and their families, conversations with Israeli clerks and officials, and research into the archives and correspondence of governmental organizations, Berda reconstructs the institutional framework of the labyrinthine permit regime, illuminating both its overarching principles and its administrative practices. In an age where terrorism, crime, and immigration are perceived as intertwined security threats, she reveals how the Israeli example informs global homeland security and border control practices, creating a living emergency for targeted populations worldwide.

**Liat Berdugo**

***The Weaponized Camera in the Middle East: Videography, Aesthetics and Politics in Israel and Palestine***

(IB Tauris, 272 pages, with 65 greyscale and 32 colour images, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on unprecedented access to the video archives of B'Tselem, an Israeli NGO that distributes cameras to Palestinians living in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, Liat Berdugo lays out an argument for a visual studies approach to videographic evidence in Israel/Palestine. Using video stills as core material, it discusses the politics of videographic evidence in Israel/Palestine by demonstrating that the conflict is one that has produced an inequality of visual rights. The book highlights visual surveillance and counter surveillance at the citizen level, how Palestinians originally filmed to "shoot back" at Israelis, who were armed with shooting power via weapons as the occupying force. It also traces how Israeli private citizens began filming back at Palestinians with their own cameras, including personal cell phone cameras, thus creating a simultaneous, echoing counter surveillance. Complicating the notion that visual evidence alone can secure justice, *the Weaponized Camera in The Middle East* asks how what is seen, but also who is seeing, affects how conflicts are visually recorded. Drawing on over 5,000 hours of footage, only a fraction of which is easily accessible to the public domain, this book offers a unique perspective on the strategies and battlegrounds of the Israel/Palestine conflict."

**Greta Berlin** & **Bill Dienst**, editors

***Freedom Sailors: The Maiden Voyage of the Free Gaza Movement and How We Succeeded in Spite of Ourselves***

(Free Gaza Press, 2012)

Contributors: **Gamaal Al-Attar** (Gaza), **Vittorio Arrigoni** (Italy), **Greta Berlin** (USA-France), **Lauren Booth** (UK), **Renee Bowyer** (UK-Australia), **Bill Dienst** MD (USA), **Ren Tawil** (Palestinian-American), **Donna Wallach** (USA), **Col. Ann Wright** (USA)

**Khaled A. Beydoun** (Arizona State University)

***Eyes on Gaza: Witnessing Annihilation***

(Street Noise Books, 168 pages, 2025)

Essays, with over 50 illustrations by **Mohammad Sabaaneh**.

**Tithi Bhattacharya** (Purdue University) and **Susan Ferguson** (Wilfrid Laurier University), editors

***Making Death and Life in Palestine: Social Reproduction in Settler Colonialism***

(Pluto Press, 224 pages, 2025)

**Brenna Bhandar**

***Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership***

(Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 272 pages, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "examines how modern property law contributes to the formation of racial subjects in settler colonies and to the development of racial capitalism. Examining both historical cases and ongoing processes of settler colonialism in Canada, Australia, and Israel and Palestine,

Bhandar shows how the colonial appropriation of indigenous lands depends upon ideologies of European racial superiority as well as upon legal narratives that equate civilized life with English concepts of property. In this way, property law legitimates and rationalizes settler colonial practices while it racializes those deemed unfit to own property. The solution to these enduring racial and economic inequities, Bhandar demonstrates, requires developing a new political imaginary of property in which freedom is connected to shared practices of use and community rather than individual possession."

**Lisa Bhungalia**
***Elastic Empire: Refashioning War through Aid in Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 288 pages, 2023)
US counterterrorism aspects of foreign aid that regulate Palestinian life.

**Fatima Bhutto** and **Sonia Faleiro**, editors
***Gaza: The Story of a Genocide***
(Verso, 304 pages, 2025)
Contributors include **Tareq Baconi**, Al-Shabaka co-director **Yara Hawari**, journalists **Mariam Marghouti**, **Yara Eid** and **Nina Lakhani**, **Mary Turfah, Al-Jazeera's Laila Al-Arian**, Doctors Without Borders medic **Dr. Tania Haj-Hassan**, novelist **Susan Abulhawa**, and Columbia University student **Maryam Iqbal**. Publisher's blurb: "Ahmed Alnaouq recounts the devastating loss of twenty-one family members. Noor Alyacoubi offers a searing reflection on starvation. Mariam Barghouti examines the brutality of Israeli settler violence in the West Bank, while Eman Bashir describes the phenomenon of a "wounded child, no surviving family." These voices, among many others, illuminate the enduring psychological, physical, and generational toll of state violence. With contributions from recipients of the Palestine Book Award, Arab American Book Award, Pulitzer Prize, Emmy Award, National Book Award, and Gandhi Peace Award, this collection also honors the late poet Hiba Abu Nada—killed in an Israeli airstrike on her home in Khan Younis, Gaza, on October 20, 2023."

**Bidisha** (novelist and multimedia social critic)
***Beyond the Wall: Writing a Path through Palestine***
(Seagull Books, 2012)
Testimonies of the occupied.

**Victoria Biggs** (University of Sheffield)
***Youth and Conflict in Israel-Palestine: Storytelling, Contested Space and the Politics of Memory***
(IB Tauris, 208 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "How are forbidden histories told and transmitted among young people in Israel/Palestine? What can their stories teach us about their everyday experiences of segregation and political violence? This book investigates how young people use storytelling to navigate borders, memory, and unseen spaces, and to confront questions of belonging and those they see as the 'other'. The study is unique in its inclusion of children from a broad spectrum of communities, including Palestinian refugee camps and right-wing Israeli settlement homes. The book shows that boundary spaces are fertile ground for the transmission of forbidden stories and memories. Young people are at the centre of the research and Victoria Biggs argues that storytelling reveals much more about their experiences and perceptions than either quantitative data or qualitative interviews. Through analysis of the language, metaphor, violence, and endings employed in the stories, storytelling is shown to be a political act that plays a vital role in shaping conflict-affected young people's concepts of community, exclusion, and belonging."

**Akeel Bilgrami** & **Jonathan R. Cole** (both of Columbia University), editors
***Who's Afraid of Academic Freedom?***

(Columbia University Press, 2015).
Of relevance to university teaching and the Palestinian struggle. Chapters include editors' contributions plus: **Stanley Fish** – *Academic Freedom and the Boycott of Israeli Universities* / **Judith Butler** – *Exercising Rights: Academic Freedom and Boycott Politics* / **John Mearsheimer** – *Israel and Academic Freedom* / **Noam Chomsky** – *Academic Freedom and the Subservience to Power.*

**Birzeit University Institute of Law**

***Law and Politics of the Gaza Strip: The Impact of the Palestinian Internal Political Division on the Rule of Law***

(Birzeit University Institute of Law, 2016)
Contributors include: **Mohammed Abu Matar, Mahmoud Alawneh, Alaa' Hammad, Razan al Barghouthi, Adnan al Hajjar, Ibrahim Abu Shammalah, Mohammed al Tilbani, Zeinab Abdul Fattah al Ghuneimi, Omar Sha'ban, Haya Hajj Ahmed**, and **Nidhal Barham.** Topics range from "judicial reality," the security services, women's access to justice, and tax regulations.

**Amahl A. Bishara** aka **Amahl A. Bishara** (Tufts University)

***Crossing a Line: Laws, Violence, and Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression***

(Stanford University Press, 384 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinians living on different sides of the Green Line make up approximately one-fifth of Israeli citizens and about four-fifths of the population of the West Bank. In both groups, activists assert that they share a single political struggle for national liberation. Yet, obstacles inhibit their ability to speak to each other and as a collective. Geopolitical boundaries fragment Palestinians into ever smaller groups. Crossing a Line enters these distinct environments for political expression and action of Palestinians who carry Israeli citizenship and Palestinians subject to Israeli military occupation in the West Bank, and considers how Palestinians are differently impacted by dispossession, settler colonialism, and militarism. Amahl Bishara looks to sites of political practice-journalism, historical commemorations, street demonstrations, social media, in prison, and on the road-to analyze how Palestinians create collectivities in these varied circumstances. She draws on firsthand research, personal interviews, and public media to examine how people shape and reshape meanings in circumstances of constraint. In considering these different environments for political expression and action, Bishara illuminates how expression is always grounded in place-and how a people can struggle together for liberation even when they cannot join together in protest."

***Back Stories: US News Production and Palestinian Politics***

(Stanford University Press, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "Few topics in the news are more hotly contested than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—and news coverage itself is always a subject of debate. But rarely do these debates incorporate an on-the-ground perspective of what and who newsmaking entails. Studying how journalists work in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah, and Nablus, and on the tense roads that connect these cities, Amahl Bishara demonstrates how the production of U.S. news about Palestinians depends on multifaceted collaborations, typically invisible to Western readers. She focuses on the work that Palestinian journalists do behind the scenes and below the bylines—as fixers, photojournalists, camerapeople, reporters, and producers—to provide the news that Americans read, see, and hear every day. Ultimately, this book demonstrates how Palestinians play integral roles in producing U.S. news and how U.S. journalism in turn shapes Palestinian politics. U.S. objectivity is in Palestinian journalists' hands, and Palestinian self-determination cannot be fully understood without attention to the journalist standing off to the side, quietly taking notes. *Back Stories* examines news stories big and small—Yassir Arafat's funeral, female suicide bombers, protests against the separation barrier, an all-but-unnoticed killing of a mentally disabled man—to investigate urgent questions about objectivity, violence, the state, and the production of knowledge in today's news. This book reaches beyond the headlines into the lives of Palestinians during the second intifada to give readers a new vantage point on both Palestinians and journalism."

**Azmi Bishara** (Advocate of One Democratic State)

***Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice***

(Hurst, 360 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on extensive research and rich theoretical analysis, Bishara examines the overlap between the long-discussed 'Jewish Question' and what he calls the 'Arab Question', complicating the issue of Palestinian nationhood. He addresses the Palestinian Liberation Movement's failure to achieve self-determination, and the emergence of a 'Palestinian Authority' under occupation. He contends that no solution to problems of nationality or settler colonialism is possible without recognising the historic injustices inflicted on Palestinians since the Nakba.

This book compellingly argues that Palestine is not simply a dilemma awaiting creative policy solutions, but a problem requiring the application of justice. Attempts by regional governments to marginalise the Palestinian cause and normalise relations with Israel have emphasised this aspect of the struggle, and boosted Palestinian interactions with justice movements internationally. Bishara provides a sober perspective on the current political situation in Palestine, and a fresh outlook for its future."

**Marwan Bishawa** aka **Marwan Bishara** (Al Jazeera English senior editor)

***Twelve Days That Shook the Middle East: Origins of a Genocide***

(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 424 pages, 2026)

***The Invisible Arab: The Promise and Peril of Arab Revolutions***

(Nation Books/Perseus, 284 pages, 2012)

***Palestine/Israel: Peace or Apartheid***

(Zed Books, 173 pages, 2003)

Contents: Introduction -- Violence -- 1. The second Intifada -- 2. Israel's enemy within: the million forgotten Palestinians -- -- Interim -- 3. Impasse in the Oslo diplomatic process -- 4. The real role of the United States in the peace process -- -- Final status negotiations -- 5. The Palestinian refugees -- 6. Jerusalem -- -- Apartheid -- 7. Seven fat years for Israel, seven lean years for Palestine -- 8. The West Bank settlements: apartheid in practice -- -- No end in sight -- 9. Betrayal

**Max Blumenthal**

***The 51 Day War: Ruin and Resistance in Gaza***

(Nation Books aka Bold Type Books, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "On July 8, 2014, Israel launched air strikes on Hamas-controlled Gaza, followed by a ground invasion. The ensuing conflict led to 51 days of war that left over 2,000 people dead, the vast majority of whom were Palestinian civilians. During the assault, at least 10,000 homes were destroyed and, according to the United Nations, nearly 300,000 Palestinians were displaced. Max Blumenthal was on the ground during what he argues was an entirely avoidable catastrophe. In this explosive work of reportage, Blumenthal reveals the harrowing conditions and cynical deceptions that led to the ruinous war — details that slipped through the cracks of the mainstream media. Here, for the first time, Blumenthal unearths and presents shocking evidence of atrocities he gathered in the rubble of Gaza after much of the Western media had packed up. He radically shifts the discussion around a number of controversial issues, like the use of civilians as human shields by Israeli forces; the arbitrary targeting of Palestinian civilians; and widespread incitement to genocide by Israeli military personnel, political leaders, and state-sponsored clerics. Blumenthal recorded testimonies from scores of Gazan residents, documenting potential war crimes committed by the Israeli armed forces. He also documented details of the battles that took place between Israeli forces and the armed guerrilla factions of the Gaza Strip, explaining their military and political significance with intimate proximity to the subject. And he explains the outcome of the ceasefire agreement that arrived after 51 days of fighting, showing how US and Egyptian-led diplomacy makes another, even more horrifying war almost inevitable.

The horrors the world witnessed in Gaza, Blumenthal argues, did not occur in a vacuum. They are reflections of the political trajectory of the state of Israeli society today. Here, Blumenthal demonstrates that while residents of Gaza are indeed victims who suffer immensely, they also engaged in dramatic acts

of resistance. The 51 Day War exemplifies the fearless reporting and unflinching style that Blumenthal has become known for."

***Goliath: Life and Loathing in Greater Israel***
(Nation Books aka Bold Type Books / Verso Books, 2013)
"Publisher's blurb: "Beginning with the national elections carried out during Israel's war on Gaza in 2008-09, which brought into power the country's most right-wing government to date, Blumenthal tells the story of Israel in the wake of the collapse of the Oslo peace process. As Blumenthal reveals, Israel has become a country where right-wing leaders like Avigdor Lieberman and Bibi Netanyahu are sacrificing democracy on the altar of their power politics; where the loyal opposition largely and passively stands aside and watches the organized assault on civil liberties; where state-funded Orthodox rabbis publish books that provide instructions on how and when to kill Gentiles; where half of Jewish youth declare their refusal to sit in a classroom with an Arab; and where mob violence targets Palestinians and African asylum seekers scapegoated by leading government officials as "demographic threats." Immersing himself like few other journalists inside the world of hardline political leaders and movements, Blumenthal interviews the demagogues and divas in their homes, in the Knesset, and in the watering holes where their young acolytes hang out, and speaks with those political leaders behind the organized assault on civil liberties. As his journey deepens, he painstakingly reports on the occupied Palestinians challenging schemes of demographic separation through unarmed protest. He talks at length to the leaders and youth of Palestinian society inside Israel now targeted by security service dragnets and legislation suppressing their speech, and provides in-depth reporting on the small band of Jewish Israeli dissidents who have shaken off a conformist mindset that permeates the media, schools, and the military."

**Clifford Bob** (Duquesne University)
***Rights as Weapons: Instruments of Conflict, Tools of Power***
(Princeton University Press, 280 pages, 2019)
Relevant to Palestine, analysing the weaponization of identity politics.

**Arie Bober**
***The Other Israel: The Radical Case against Zionism***
(Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 264 pages, 1972)

**Omri Boehm** (New York School for Social Research)
***A Future for Israel: Beyond the Two-State Solution*** aka ***Haifa Republic: A Democratic Future for Israel***
(New York Review Books, 200 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "In the last two decades, Israeli politics has been changing rapidly, but Zionist thinking on the left is lagging dangerously behind. Given the demise of a viable two-state solution, the struggle for a worthwhile political future in Israel depends not on establishing borders, but on securing human and citizen rights. Denying this is by now akin to denying global warming, and will lead to a catastrophe. 70 years after Israel's establishment, Palestinians are again verging on becoming the majority within Israel's borders and Israeli leaders across the political spectrum can be heard speaking of ethnic cleansing. Ignoring reality will invite scenarios worse than apartheid. This book will reclaim the vital centre from Zionist chauvinism on the right and anti-Zionism on the left, by articulating an alternative to two-state politics from within a liberal Zionist perspective."

**Seyed Hadi Borhani**
***Textbooks on Israel-Palestine: The Politics of Education and Knowledge in the West***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, Unsettling Colonialism in Our Times series, 264pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "How is the Israel/Palestine question narrated in Western academia? What ideas dominate the key textbooks on the subject and what is presented as 'truth'? This book answers these

critical questions. It is widely known that Western support of Israel played a vital role in the realization of Zionist objectives in Palestine. But academic support of Israel in the West has been a neglected issue, with Western academic knowledge being regarded as impartial and objective. This book reveals that this understanding of Western academic knowledge is wrong when it comes to the Israel/Palestine question. Rather, knowledge has been biased, misleading, and dogmatic and Western college students are subscribing to 'factual histories' based on theories at best, if not fiction. The book is the first empirical investigation able to document this partial reporting of history. Seyed Hadi Borhani examines the most popular college-level textbooks used to teach the history of the Israel/Palestine in Western universities, combining 'textbook analysis' (to determine how the dominant academic texts report the question) and a 'context analysis' (to identify who 'manufactures' the dominant knowledge). The book provides a historical map of how the Israel-Palestine conflict is understood in the West. The book can be used as a critique for students and professors to use alongside textbooks and is a vital and much-needed intervention into the state of affairs in Western academia."

**Dr Dimitris Bouris**

***The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: State-Building without a State***
(Routledge, 2014)
Note – author's PhD University of Warwick, 2011: *State-Building without a State: The European Union's Role in the Occupied Palestinian Territories after the Oslo Accords*

**Francis A. Boyle**

***Palestinian Right of Return under International Law***
(Clarity Press, 2010)
A concise interpretation, highlighting 'Israel as a Jewish banustan.'

***Palestine, Palestinians and International Law***
(Clarity Press, 2006)

**Irus Braverman** (State University of New York at Buffalo)

***Settling Nature: The Conservation Regime in Palestine-Israel***
(University of Minnesota Press, 344 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "*Settling Nature* draws on more than a decade of ethnographic fieldwork to document how the administration of nature in Palestine-Israel advances the Zionist project of Jewish settlement alongside the corresponding dispossession of non-Jews from this space. Highlighting the violent repercussions of Israel's conservation regime, Braverman plants the seeds for possible re-imaginings of nature that transcend the grip of the state's settler ecologies."

***Planted Flags: Trees, Land and Law in Israel/Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 254 pages, 2014)

**Breaking the Silence** (Israeli activists' organisation)

***Our Harsh Logic: Israeli Soldiers' Testimonies for the Occupied Territories, 2000-2010***
(Metropolitan Books, 2013)

**Marshall J. Breger** (Catholic University of America) and **Leonard Hammer**, editors

***The Contest and Control of Jerusalem's Holy Sites***
(Cambridge University Press, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The Holy Places of Jerusalem's Old City are among the most contested sites in the world and the 'ground zero' of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Tensions regarding control are rooted in misperceptions over the status of the sites, the role of external bodies such as religious

organizations and civil society, and misunderstanding regarding the political roles of the many actors associated with the sites. In this volume, Marshall J. Breger and Leonard M. Hammer clarify a complex and fraught situation by providing insight into the laws and rules pertaining to Jerusalem's holy sites. Providing a compendium of important legal sources and broad-form policy analysis, they show how laws pertaining to Holy Places have been implemented and engaged. The book weaves aspects of history, politics, and religion that have played a role in creation and identification of the 'law.' It also offers solutions for solving some of the central challenges related to the creation, control, and use of Holy Places in Jerusalem."

**Marshall J. Breger** (Catholic University of America), **Yitzhad Reiter** (Ashkelon Academic College) and **Leonard Hammer**, editors

***Sacred Space in Israel and Palestine: Religion and Politics***

(Routledge, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Religion and religious nationalism have long played a central role in many ethnic and national conflicts, and the importance of religion to national identity means that territorial disputes can often focus on the contestation of holy places and sacred territory. Looking at the case of Israel and Palestine, this book highlights the nexus between religion and politics through the process of classifying holy places, giving them meaning and interpreting their standing in religious and civil law, within governmental policy, and within international and local communities. Written by a team of renowned scholars from within and outside the region, this book follows on from *Holy Places in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Confrontation and Co-existence* to provide an insightful look into the politics of religion and space. Examining Jerusalem's holy basin from a variety of perspectives and disciplines, it provides unique insights into the way Jewish, Christian and Muslim authorities, scholars and jurists regard sacred space and the processes, grass roots and official, by which spaces become holy in the eyes of particular communities. Filling an important gap in the literature on Middle East peacemaking, the book will be of interest to scholars and students of the Middle East conflict, conflict resolution, political science, urban studies and history of religion."

**Björn Brenner** (Swedish Defence University)

***Gaza Under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance***

(IB Tauris, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "The book is based on hard-to-secure interviews with a wide range of key political and security figures in the Hamas administration, as well as with military commanders and members of the feared Qassam Brigades. Brenner has also sought out those that Hamas identifies as local trouble makers: the extreme Salafi-Jihadis and members of the now more quiescent mainstream Fatah party led by Mahmoud Abbas."

**British Committee for the Universities of Palestine** (BRICUP)

***Why Boycott Israeli Universities?***

(BRICUP, 35 pages 2007; 2nd edition, 58 pages, 2025)

**Victoria Brittain** (former *Guardian* correspondent and Foreign Editor, extensively travelled)

***The Meaning of Waiting: Tales from the War on Terror ~ Prisoners' Wives Verbatim***

(Oberon Books, 2010)

Stories of real women, from cultures as varied as Palestine, Senegal, Jordan, Libya, St. John's Wood, and the English Midlands. All came to the UK as refugees, or married refugees. After 9/11, the world they loved there vanished almost overnight. One after another they were engulfed by isolation and private terror.

**Michael Bröning**

-with **Christoph Dinkelaker**: ***Political Parties in Palestine: Leadership and Thought***

(New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)
Summary: "Political Parties in Palestine is an up-to-date elucidation of the Palestinian political landscape. The book offers vital background information on movements such as Hamas and Fatah, as well as smaller political factions that have defined the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for decades but, due to lack of available information, have not been subject to academic scrutiny. The book provides a comprehensive discussion of the ideological outlook, historical development, and political objectives of all major political actors in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). A well-informed but accessible overview, it combines analytical introductions with engaging profiles of party founders, interviews with current party leaders, organizational charts, and excerpts from party programs previously unavailable in English"

***The Politics of Change in Palestine: State-Building and Non-Violent Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 2011)

**Brian J. Brown** (Rev. Brian J. Brown, South African anti-apartheid activist)
***Apartheid South Africa! Apartheid Israel!***
(Author, 250 pages, 2022)

**Eitan Bronstein Aparicio** & **Eleonora Merza Bronstein**
***Nakba: The Struggle to Decolonise Israel***
(Nomad Publishing, 355 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This important book explores the experience of Eitan Bronstein, a leading voice for political change in Israel. How did this young Israeli kibbutznik, once a left-wing Zionist, become a radical anti-Zionist? This account draws together a moving personal story with the unrolling of an epic section of history. It highlights how Israelis see the Nakba and explores their responses to Palestinian insistence on the right of return. In essence, it is a window on Israeli society itself. What emerges is the hope that a new generation of Israelis will free themselves from a collective colonial identity and will conceive of a way of cohabiting on this land legitimately, in a way that will be fair for all."

**Brendan Ciaran Browne** (Trinity College Dublin)
***Transitional (in)Justice and Enforcing the Pease on Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 97 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This book considers the growing interest in transitional justice practices that take place against the backdrop of ongoing settler-colonialism in Palestine. By critiquing the role of common top-down and bottom-up interventions, namely truth recovery and international criminal justice, the book argues that transitional justice acts as an extension of a deeply flawed peacebuilding process that has been so destructive in Palestine and has a deflating effect when it comes to advancing calls for meaningful decolonisation. A 'radicalisation' of transitional justice that takes place in settler-colonial contexts, one that prioritises conversations around meaningful decolonisation, is therefore required. The book will appeal to those with an interest in peacebuilding, conflict transformation and transitional justice. "

**Rex Brynen & Roula el-Rifai,** editors
***Compensation to Palestinian Refugees and the Search for Palestinian-Israeli Peace***
(Pluto Press, 2013)
Contributors – **Leila Hilal**: *Palestinian Negotiation Priorities on Reparations for Refugees* / **Orit Gal**: *Compensation for Palestinian Refugees: An Israeli Perspective* / **Lena El-Malak**: *An Analysis of the Palestinian Refugees' Right to Reparation under International Law with a Focus on the Right to Compensation* / **Michael R. Fischbach**: *The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine's Records on Palestinian Refugee Property Losses* / **Roby Nathanson** & **Hagar Tzameret-Kertcher**: *Israel's Policy Regarding Palestinian Refugee Real Estate Holdings: Israel's State Records* / **Elia Zureik** & **Jaber Suleiman:**

*In Search of Information about Refugee Property Ownership* / **Thierry J. Senechal & Leila Hilal**: *The Value of 1948 Palestinian Refugee Material Damages – An Estimate Based on International Standards* / **Atif Kubursi**: *Palestinian Refugee Losses in 1948* /**Heike Niebergall & Norbert Wühler**: *Implementation of an Agreed Solution for Palestinian Refugee Claims – Learning from the Experience of other Claims Mechanisms* / **Megan Bradley**: *Gender Dimensions of Redress for the Palestinian Refugees* / **Megan Bradley**: *Redressing Internally Displaced Persons in Israel* / **Michael R. Fischbach**: *Linking Palestinian Compensation Claims with Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries* / **Rex Brynen**: *Palestinian Refugee Compensation – Connections and Complexities* / **Anne Massagee**: *Beyond Compensation – Reparations, Transitional Justice and the Palestinian Refugee Question*

**Martin P. Bunton**

***Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Very Short Introduction*** (Oxford University Press, 2013)

***Land Legislation in Modern Palestine***
(Cambridge Archive Editions, 2009)
9-volume set including standard reference works, official reports and memoranda, council orders, ordinances and maps, 1917-1948.

**Daniel Burgos** (An-Najah University; Universidad Internacional de La Rioja) & **Saida Affouneh** (An-Najah University), editors

***Radical Solutions in Palestinian Higher Education: Research from An-Najah National University***
(Singapore: Springer, Verlag, 204 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book brings together education research and practice carried out by An-Najah National University, a lead Higher Institution in Palestine that managed to move from a face-to-face setting to a fully online learning and teaching environment during the initial COVID-19 outbreak, within a month, seamlessly, which makes a success cases study of virtualization. This book concentrates on approaches to ensure the continuous improvement and quality of higher education provision across the country, with particular focus on: a) learning and teaching methodologies in online settings; b) use of open education as a key resource; and c) development of academic capability building, along with academic and knowledge exchange with other higher education partners. Innovative ideas, best practices, and comparative case studies are presented, discussed, and compared with international ones to make specific recommendations for a successful and sustainable implementation."

**Shahar Burla** (Sydney Jewish Museum)

***The Diaspora and the Homeland: Political Goals in the Construction of Israeli Narratives to the Diaspora***
(Routledge, 2015)

-as co-editor, with Dashiel Lawrence, editors:
***Australia & Israel: A Diasporic, Cultural and Political Relationship***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2015)

**Iyad Burnat** aka **Purnat** (Head of Bil'in Popular Committee against the Israeli Wall and Settlements)

***Bil'in and the Nonviolent Resistance***
(author, 208pp, 2016)
West Bank farming community's pacifist revolt against Israeli settlement expansion. Contains many photographs.

**Carole Monica Burnett**, editor

***Zionism Through Christian Lenses: Ecumenical Perspectives on the Promised Land***

(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014) – authors include the Palestinian Anglican priest, **Rev. Naim Ateek**, and Palestinian Roman Catholic Sociology Prof. **Bernard Sabella**.

**Gary M. Burge**

***Whose Land? Whose Promise ? What Christians are Not Being Told about Israel and the Palestinians***

(Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, part of the United Church of Christ / UCC, 2003/2004, 2013)
Wheaton College (Illinois) theologian's analysis, with a focus on Hebron.

**Carole Monica Burnett**, editor (theologian with USA section of Rev. Dr. Naim Ateek's Sabeel organisation)

***Zionism through Christian Lenses: Ecumenical Perspectives on the Promised Land***

(Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2013)
Contributors: Carole Monica Burnett, Daryl P. Domning, Stephen H. France, David W. Good, Beverly Eileen Mitchell, Bernard Sabella, Paul H. Verduin.

**Jan Busse** (Bundeswehr University, Munich)

***Deconstructing the Dynamics of World-Societal Order: The Power of Governmentality in Palestine***

(Routledge, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "To get a better sense of power dynamics in global politics, this book presents an innovative theoretical framework, combining a critical engagement with, and further development of, Michel Foucault's governmentality on the one hand, and the theory of world society of the Stanford School of Sociology on the other. Making an original contribution to academic debates about power and global political order, this book develops a comprehensive theoretical perspective on power relations and political dynamics. The book starts from the presupposition that any theoretical engagement of that kind requires nuanced empirical study as well. It therefore analyzes the dynamics of world-societal order in the concrete empirical example of Palestine, and raises the question of how its political and societal order comes into existence. The author argues that governmentality represents a fundamental pattern of political order in world society that also profoundly affects power dynamics in Palestine. This insight has two important implications: First, power relations do not follow dichotomous distinctions such as international/domestic or global/local, but manifest themselves within world society. Second, therefore, order that comes into existence in Palestine needs to be understood as world-societal order. Offering a comprehensive understanding of power relations and patterns of political order(ing) embedded in world society, the book provides a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics that contribute to the political and societal order of Palestine. This book will be of interest to scholars and students of Middle East Studies, Palestine Studies, International Relations, International Political Sociology, International Relations Theory, Governmentality Studies, and Political Theory."

**Justin Butcher**

***Walking to Jerusalem: Blisters, Hope, and other Facts on the Ground***

(Hodder & Stoughton, 2018)
Empathetic, six-month march from London to Palestine.

**Daniel Byman**

***A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism***

(Oxford University Press, 2011)

**Paola Caridi** (Reporter based in Cairo & Jerusalem, 2001-2012)

***Jerusalem without God: Portrait of a Cruel City***
(American University Press in Cairo, June 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "There is no escaping the Jerusalem of the religious imagination. Not once but three times holy, its overwhelming spiritual significance looms large over the city's complex urban landscape and the diurnal rhythms and struggles that make up its earthbound existence. Nonetheless, writes Paola Caridi, in this intimate and hard-hitting portrayal of the city, it is possible to close one's eyes and, "like the blind listening to sounds," discern the conflict and plurality of belonging that mark out the city's secular character. Jerusalem without God leads the reader through the streets, malls, suburbs, traffic jams, and squares of Jerusalem's present moment, into the daily lives of the men and women who inhabit it. Caridi brings contemporary Jerusalem alive by describing it as a place of sights and senses, sounds and smells, but she also shows us a city riven by the harsh asymmetry of power and control embodied in its lines, limits, walls, and borders. She explores a cruel city, where Israeli and Palestinian civilians sometimes spend hours in the same supermarkets, only to return to the confines of their respective districts, invisible to each other; a city memorable for its ancient stones and shimmering sunsets but dotted with Israeli checkpoints, "postmodern drawbridges," that control the movement of people, ideas, and potential attackers. Describing Jerusalem through the lenses of urban planners and politicians, anthropologists and archaeologists, advertisers and scholars, Jerusalem without God reveals a city that is as diverse as it is complex, and ultimately, argues its author, one whose destiny cannot be tied to any single religious faith, tradition, or political ideology."

***Hamas: From Resistance to Government***
(Seven Stories Press, 416 pages, 2012/updated edition as ***Hamas: From Resistance to Regime***, 496 pages, 2023)
Translated from Italian by **Andrea Teti**; with an introduction by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi.

**Bren Carlill** (Australia Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade & Department of Home Affairs)
***The Challenges of Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Dispute ~ An Impossible Peace?***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 309 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This book explains why the Israeli–Palestinian dispute is so difficult to resolve by showing that it consists of multiple distinct conflicts. Because these tend to be conflated into a single conflict, attempts at peace have not worked. Underpinned by conflict theory, observations of those involved and analyses of polling data, the book argues that peace will not be possible until each of the dispute's distinct conflicts are managed. Early chapters establish a theoretical framework to explain and define the different conflicts. This framework is then applied to the history of the dispute. The actions and perceptions of Israelis and Palestinians make sense when viewed through this framework. The Oslo peace process is examined in detail to explain how and why each side's expectations were not met. Ultimately, lessons in ways to build a future viable peace are drawn from the failures of the past.

**Gregg Carlstrom**
***How Long Will Israel Survive? The Threat from Within***
(Oxford University Press, 2018) A tumble of internal tribal struggles.

**Michael Carpenter** (University of Victoria)
***Palestinian Popular Struggle: Unarmed and Participatory***
(Routledge, 212 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book summarizes Palestinian traditions of popular struggle and presents original field research from the West Bank, drawing on several months of participant observation, over twenty-five hours of recorded interviews with Palestinian activists, and more than 200 questionnaires gaging public perceptions about the strategies of the popular committees. One of the book's major case studies is the village of Nabi Saleh, which recently became well known when one

of its activists, a sixteen-year-old girl named Ahed Tamimi, was imprisoned for slapping Israeli soldiers outside her family home. The book offers insight into new waves of Palestinian popular protest, from the 2017 prayer protests in Jerusalem to the 2018 march of return in Gaza. *Palestinian Popular Struggle* is a valuable resource for researchers and students interested in War and Conflict Studies, Politics and the Middle East."

**Valentina Carraro**

***Jerusalem Online: Critical Cartography for the Digital Age***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2021)

Focus on new mapping technologies, incuding Waze and Google Maps, and naming Jerusalem in OpenStreetMap.

**Ammon Cavari** & **Guy Freedman**

***American Public Opinion toward Israel: From Consensus to Divide***

(Routledge, 288 pages, 2020)

Features an online appendix, including all surveys used in the book and a Roper-Center data tool that allows readers to create their own figures based on the book's data. Publisher's blurb: "This book examines trends in American public opinion about Israel in over 75 years, from 1944 to 2019. Analyzing data from hundreds of surveys in jargon-free writing, the authors show that public support for Israel has seen a dramatic shift toward increased division between partisan and select demographic groups, elaborating on the implications that this important change may have for the countries' special relationship. Scholars and students of American foreign policy, public opinion, Middle East politics and international relations, as well as policy analysts, policymakers, journalists and anyone interested in American policy toward Israel, will want to read this book."

**Centre for Democracy and Community Development**

***The Arab Peace Initiative and the Lebanese Track***

(Centre for Democracy and Community Development, 2015)

The API's platform, since its inception in 2002.

**Michael Chabon, Ayelet Waldman,** editors

***Kingdom of Olives and Ash: Writers Confront the Occupation***

(Fourth Estate, 2017)

Contents: Geraldine Brooks: *The Dovekeeper* / Jacqueline Woodson: *One's Own People* / Ala Hlehel: *Bloated Time and the Death of Meaning* / Michael Chabon: *Giant in a Cage* / Madeleine Thien: *The Land in Winter* / Rachel Kushner: *Mr. Nice Guy* / Raja Shehadeh: *Sami* / Lars Saabye Christensen: *Occupied Words* / Dave Eggers: *Prison Visit* / Emily Raboteau: *Sumud* / Mario Vargas Llosa: *Journey to the West Bank* / Awssaf Gavron: *Playing for Palestine* / Taiye Selasi: *Love in the Time of Qalandiya* / Colm Toibin: *Imagining Jericho* / Eimear McBride: *The End of Reasons* / Hari Kunzru: *High Places* / Lorraine Adams: *Storyland* / Helon Habila: *The Separation Wall* / Eva Menasse: *A Hundred Children* / Anita Desai: *Visible, Invisible – Two Worlds* / Porochista Khakpour: *Hip-Hop is Not Dead* / Fida Jiryis: *Occupation's Untold Story* / Arnon Grunberg: *An Unsuitable Place for Clowns* / Ayelet Waldman: *Justice, Justice You Shall Pursue* / Colum McCann: *Two Stories, So Many Stories* / Maylis De Kerangal: *H2*

**Colin Gilbert Chapman** (former lecturer in Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut)

*Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* – several editions; alternate title: *Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Future of Peace in the Middle East* (Oxford: Lion, 2004 / Baker, 2005) – Author has written several books on Christianity in the Middle East.

**Catherine Charrett** (Queen Mary University London)

***Hamas, the EU and the Palestinian Elections: A Performance in Politics***
(Routledge, 260 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This book addresses how institutional and diplomatic rituals shaped the European Union's sanction of Hamas after the latter's success in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. Through a lens of performance and performativity it explains how socialisation and the duress of performative rituals shapes agency and prevents the possibility of being creative with policy initiatives when confronted with difficult decisions. Interviews with senior Hamas representatives, EU bureaucrats, members of the European External Action Service, and electoral observers from Palestine and Europe, in addition to ethnographic research in Gaza and in Brussels, recreate the details of the failed diplomacy between Hamas and the EU. The book explores the social and visual cultures and discourses that shape the recognition of contemporary subjects, and it presents Hamas's response to being treated as a terrorist movement. It advances queer and postcolonial understandings of European-Palestinian political encounter by interrogating the bureaucratic and professional pressures that shape the political agency of EU civil servants and the recognition of Palestinian politics. This is a performative and interdisciplinary text; it juxtaposes empirical investigation, with critical theory, performance art and everyday experiences. It will appeal to students of International Relations, Interdisciplinary Studies, Middle-East Area Studies, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy Analysis and Gender Studies."

***A Performance in Politics: Hamas and the EU through the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Elections***
(Aberystwyth University PhD thesis, 2014)

**Noam Chayut**
***The Girl Who Stoke My Holocaust***
(Verso, 2014)
Memoir of ex-IDF conscript, now active in the Breaking the Silence group of soldiers against the occupation.

**Zaki Chehab**
***Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of Militants, Martyrs and Spies***
(IB Tauris, 2007)
Despite the sensational title, it reveals the electoral strategies of Hamas, including their opinion survey research, that got them a solid democratic victory in Gaza elections.

**Erica Chenoweth & Maria Stephan**
***Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategie Logic of Nonviolent Conflict***
(Columbia University Press, 2011)

**Lionis Chrisoula** (University of New South Wales)
***Laughter in Occupied Palestine: Comedy and Identity in Art and Film***
(IB Tauris, 2015)

**Andy Clarno**
***Neoliberal Apartheid: Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994***
(University of Chicago Press, 288 pages, 2017)

**Civic Coalition for Defending the Palestinians' Rights in Jerusalem:**
**Nasser Arayes**
***The Separation Wall and International Law***
(Civic Coalition for Defending the Palestinians' Rights in Jerusalem/CCDPRJ & Al-Haq, 32pp, 2008)

**Nir Avashi Cohen** (former spokesperson for the 'Breaking the Silence' organisation of ex-IDF supporters of Palestinian rights)

***Love Israel, Support Palestine: An Israeli Story***
(Author, 171 pages, 2023)
Published to much criticism in Israel due to the author's anti-occupation stance, despite being pro-Israel.

**Stanley Cohen**

***States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering***
(Polity Pres, 2001)

**Garry Cook** (Photojournalist)

***Palestiniana: Two Thousand Years of History Crammed into Five Fun-Packed Days***
(author, 182 pages, 2013)
With foreword by **Yvonne Ridley**.

**Jonathan Cook**

***Disappearing Palestine: Israel's Experiments in Human Despair***
(Zed Books, 2008, 2010) The West Bank and Gaza have been transformed into laboratories for testing the infrastructure of confinement, creating a lucrative 'defence' industry by pioneering technologies for crowd control, surveillance, collective punishment and urban warfare. The goal of these ever more sophisticated systems of curfews, checkpoints, walls, permits and land grabs is the disappearance of Palestine.

***Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran, and the Plan to Remake the Middle East***
(Pluto Press, 2008)
A wide focus, in which the author argues that Israel's desire to be the sole regional power in the Middle East has shaped the Bush Administration's objectives in the "war on terror". The book examines a host of inter-related issues, from the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians and the Second Lebanon War to the role of Big Oil and the demonisation of the Arab world. The current chaos in the Middle East, far from being a disastrous mistake, is the true goal of the neocons and Israel.

***Blood and Religion: The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State***
(Pluto Press, 2006)
An assessment of the Second Intifada and the resulting separation wall. See also: Pappe: *People's Apart*

**William A. Cook**

***The Plight of the Palestinians: A Long History of Destruction***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
From the publisher:" A collection of voices from around the world that establishes in both theoretical and graphic terms the slow, methodical genocide taking place in Palestine beginning in the 1940s, as revealed in the Introduction. From Dr. Francis A. Boyle's detailed legal case against the state of Israel, to Uri Avnery's "Slow Motion Ethnic Cleansing," to Richard Falk's "Slouching toward a Palestinian Holocaust," to Ilan Pappe's "Genocide in Gaza," these voices decry in startling, vivid, and forceful language the calculated atrocities taking place, the inhumane conditions inflicted on the people, and the silence that exists despite the crimes, nothing short of state-sponsored genocide against the Palestinians."

**Anthony H. Cordesman** (ABC television news; Center for Strategic and International Studies; editor, *Armed Forces Magazine*)

***Perilous Prospects: The Peace Process and the Arab-Israeli Military Balance***
(Routledge, 2018)

***Arab-Israeli Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars***
(Stanford University Press, 2008)

with **Ionut C. Popescu**

***Israel and Syria – The Military Balance and Prospects of War***
(Praeger Security International, 2008)

***Peace and War: The Arab-Israeli Military Balance Enters the 21st Century***
(Praeger, 2002)

***The Arab-Israeli Military Balance and the Art of Operations: An Analysis of Military Lessons and Trends and Implications for Future Conflicts***
(American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 205 pages, 1987)
Faulty military and historical analysis of Zionist conflicts up through the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, relying on Zionist sources.

***The Gulf and the Search for Strategic Stability: Saudi Arabia, the Military Balance in the Gulf, and Trends in the Arab-Israeli Military Balance***
(Mansell, 1984)

**Rachel Corrie**

***Let Me Stand Alone: The Journals of Rachel Corrie***
(Granta, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "Rachel Corrie was a young American activist killed on 16 March 2003 as she tried to block the demolition of a Palestinian family's home in the Gaza Strip. She was twenty-three years old. *Let Me Stand Alone* reveals Corrie's striking gifts as a poet and writer, and tells Corrie's story in her own words, from her earliest reflections as a precociously creative and assured young child, to her final eloquent emails from Gaza. Corrie wrote movingly of her relationships with family and friends and of the defining love affair of her life. She wrote with insight and intensity about her creative life, her desire to write and draw. Above all, the book describes her growing political conscience – her desire to break out of a blinkered American perspective and make a difference in the world. Throughout, Corrie's writing displays an extraordinary level of eloquence and self-awareness, humour and compassion. It is hard not to imagine what extraordinary books she would have produced had she lived."

**Renatho Costa**, **Rodrigo D.E. Campos**, and **Lucas Bonatto Diaz**

***No Way to Gaza: A Chronicle of Adventure and Fraud under the Egyptian Blockade***
(Middle East Monitor/MEMO, 152 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "A group of Brazilian filmmakers on an academic mission attempt to reach the Gaza Strip via Egypt. What was supposed to be an alternative route to the Israeli-controlled Erez Crossing, which allows only accredited journalists and humanitarian organisations to pass, soon became a dangerous adventure into the depths of Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi's dictatorship and his controversial war on terror in the Sinai Peninsula. This chronicle, which gathers the group's anecdotes and adventures, also tells the story of the Palestinians who risk everything to get to their homeland. It exposes an Egypt that, after the seed of its first democratic experiment was sown in 2011, has buried the voices of hope that once echoed from Tahrir Square in the days of the Arab Spring."

**Cathryn Costello**, **Michelle Foster**, and **Jane McAdam**
***The Oxford Handbook of International Refugee Law***
(Oxford University Press, 2021)
Includes a chapter by **Maja Janmyr** and **Dallal Stevens** on regional refugee regimes in the Middle East, and one by **Susan M. Akram** on UNRWA and Palestine refugees.

**David M. Crump** (American Christian Haitian, Calvin University)
***The Power of Myth: Israeli Propaganda and Christian Zionism***
(Cascade Books/ Wipf & Stock Publishers, 152 pages, 2026)
With foreword by **Brian Zahnd**. Publisher's blurb: "Every nation crafts a national mythology depicting its noble origins and the sanctity of its birth. The Zionist state of Israel is no different. For instance, every Israeli school child is indoctrinated in the founding myth of Israel's miraculous birth in 1948 (one tiny, ill-prepared Jewish state surprisingly victorious over five Arab behemoths armed to the teeth). The problem is that such state-sponsored mythology plays fast and loose with actual history. Israel's victory in 1948 was no miracle. Yet, state-sponsored propaganda drowns this historical fact in the murky depths of Zionist myth-making. Unfortunately, no audience has been more receptive to Israeli mythology and state propaganda than evangelical Christian Zionists. Yet, the Christian commitment to standing firmly on the side of honesty and truth-telling requires every Christian Zionist, whether firmly entrenched or uncertain and merely curious, to dig into the foundations of their Zionism and to fearlessly (re)examine the facts. Faithfulness to Jesus must take priority over devotion to Israel. This book may help to set you free."

***Like Birds in a Cage: Christian Zionism's Collusion in Israel's Oppression of the Palestinian People***
(Cascade Books/ Wipf & Stock Publishers, 350 pages, 2021)
Foreword by **Gary M. Burge**. Publisher's blurb: "When Christians collude in crimes against humanity, they betray their citizenship in the kingdom of God, demonstrating that Christ's Lordship does not rule over every area of their lives. The popular ideology known as Christian Zionism is a prime enabler of such widespread discipleship--failure in western Christianity. As the state of Israel continues to violate international law with colonial settlement in lands captured by warfare, legalized racial discrimination, and the creation of what many have called "the world's largest open-air prison" in Gaza, Christian Zionists continue their unqualified support for Zionist Israel. Though Israel advertises itself as "the only democracy in the Middle East," it is actually a rigid ethnocracy--its entire society built on the foundations of Jewish supremacy over a Palestinian underclass. History will eventually judge Christian Zionist support for Israel's crimes against the Palestinians in the same way people of conscience now condemn the Christian church in the American South for its defense of slavery and hostility towards the civil rights movement. Just as the Southern Baptist church finally repudiated its pro-slavery past, so everyone genuinely devoted to Jesus Christ must repudiate both the ideology and the legacy of Christian Zionism."

**Karen Culcasi** (West Virginia University)
***Displacing Territory: Syrian and Palestinian Refugees in Jordan***
(University of Chicago Press, 200 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Based on fieldwork with Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Jordan, *Displacing Territory* explores how the lived realities of refugees are deeply affected by their imaginings of what constitutes territory and their sense of belonging to different places and territories. Karen Culcasi shows how these individual conceptualizations about territory don't always fit the

Western-centric division of the world into states and territories, thus revealing alternative or subordinated forms and scales of territory. She also argues that disproportionate attention to "refugee crises" in the Global North has diverted focus from other parts of the world that bear the responsibility of protecting the majority of the world's refugees. By focusing on Jordan, a Global South state that hosts the world's second-largest number of refugees per capita, this book provides insights to consider alternate ways to handle the situation of refugees elsewhere. In the process, Culcasi brings the reader into refugees' diverse realities through their own words, inherently arguing against the tendency of many people in the Global North to see refugees as aberrant, burdensome, or threatening."

**Suraya Dadoo & Firoz Osman**
***Why Israel? The Anatomy of Zionist Apartheid – A South African Perspective***
(Porcupine Press, 2013)
With foreword by **Ronnie Kasrils**

**Henriette Dahan-Kalev** (Hebrew University), **Amal El'Sana-Alh'jooj**, and **Emilie Le Febvre** (Oxford)
***Palestinian Activism in Israel: A Bedouin Woman Leader in a Changing Middle East***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)
All on Amal El'Sana-Alh'jooj

**Leena Dallasheh, Kaoutar Buediri, & Andreas Muller**; edited by **Michael Warschawski**
***Cleansing and Apartheid in Jerusalem: An Alternative Guide to Jerusalem*** [pamphlet]
(Jerusalem & Bethlehem: Alternative Information Center, 2004)

**Rob Dalrymple**
***These Brothers of Mine: A Biblical Theology of Land and Family and a Response to Christian Zionism***
(Wipf and Stock, 182 pages, 2015)

**Joyce Dalsheim** (University of North Carolina)
***Israel Has a Jewish Problem: Self-Determination as Self-Elimination***
(Oxford University Press, 2019)

***Producing Spoilers: Peacemaking and the Production of Enmity in a Secular Age*** (Oxford University Press, 2014)

***Unsettling Gaza: Secular Liberalism, Radical Religion, and the Israeli Settlement Project***
(Oxford University Press, 2011)

**Giulia Daniele** (Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging, University of East London)
***Women, Reconciliation and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Road Not Yet Taken***
(Routledge, 2014)
Based on PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2011, *Along an Alternative Road: Women, Reconciliation, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.*

**Marwan Darweish** & **Andrew Rigby** (both of the Centre for Peace Studies, Coventry University) See also Rigby as sole author.
***Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 2015)

Damning of Palestinian leadership for discouraging anything but localised protest, but lauding of the exogenous BDS campaign. Focus includes the villages of Bil'in, Nabi Salih, the Jerusalem neighborhoods of Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah, and the South Hebron Hills.

With **Andrew Rigby:** ***Palestinians in Israel: Nationality and Citizenship***
(University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, 1995)

**Marwan Darweish & Carol Rank**, editors
***Peacebuilding and Reconciliation***
(Pluto Press, 2012)
Contents: 1 How has the 'Liberal Peace' served Afghanistan? – **Chrissie Hirst** / 2 The Obstacles to Sustainable Peace and Democracy in Post-Independence Kosovo – **Gëzim Visoka** / 3 Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflicts, and Secessionism in Ethiopian Politics – **Bezawit Beyene** / 4 State Failure and Civil Society Potential: Reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of Congo – **Verity Mould** / 5 Remembering the Past and Reconciling for the Future: The Role of Indigenous Commemorative Practices in Sierra Leone – **Steven Kaindaneh** / 6 Unsettling the Settler Within: Decolonisation as Reconciliation with regard to Residential Schools in Canada – **Patricia Elgersma** / 7 Is 'Interreligious' Synonymous with 'Interfaith'? The Roles of Dialogue in Peacebuilding – **Sarah Bernstein** / 8 Health and Violent Conflict: the Role of Health in Building Peace – **Wossen Kifle** / 9 The New Economy of Terror: Motivations and Driving Forces behind Contemporary Islamist Insurgencies – **Peter Keay** / 10 The Question of Home: Refugees and Peace in the Israel/Palestine conflict – **Abigail Bainbridge** / 11 Hamas: Between Militarism and Governance – **Ibrahim Natil** / 12 Returning Home towards a New Future: Nepal's Reintegration Programme for Former Child Soldiers – **Dilli Binadi**

***The Palestinians in Israel between Their State and Their Nation***
(PhD thesis, University of Bradford Department of Peace Studies, 501 pages, 1993)

**Richard Davis** (former White House policy advisor)
***Hamas, Popular Support and War in the Middle East: Insurgency in the Holy Land***
(Routledge, 2017)

**Rochelle Davis & Mimi Kirk** – editors
***Palestine and the Palestinians in the 21st Century***
(Indiana University Press, 282 pages, 2013)
Contents: **Gabriel Piterberg** – *The Zionist Colonization of Palestine in the Context of Comparative Settler Colonialism* / **Leila Farsakh**: *Colonial Occupation and Development in the West Bank and Gaza: Understanding the Palestinian Economy through the Work of Yusif Sayigh* / **Tamim al-Barghouti**: *War, Peace, Civil War: A Pattern?* / **As'ad Ghanem**: *Hamas Following the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Election: A Critical Victory* / **Sara Roy**: *Before Gaza, After Gaza: Examining the New Reality in Israel/Palestine* / **Susan Akram**: *The Legal Trajectory of the Palestinian Refugee Issue: From Exclusion to Ambiguity* / **Islah Jad**: *The Debate on Islamism and Secularism: The Case of Palestinian Women's Movements* / **Loren Lybarger**: *Other Worlds to Live In: Palestinian Retrievals of Religion and Tradition under Conditions of Chronic National Collapse* / **Michael C. Hudson**: *Palestine in the American Political Arena: Is a "Reset" Possible?* / **Noura Erakat**: *Human Rights and the Rule of Law* / **Ali Abunimah**: *Lessons for Palestine from Northern Ireland: Why George Mitchell Couldn't Turn Jerusalem into Belfast* / **Saree Makdisi**: *One State: The Realistic Solution*

**Rochelle Davis** (Georgetown University)
***Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced***
(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "Throughout modern-day Israel, over four hundred Palestinian villages were depopulated in the 1947-1949 war. With houses mostly destroyed, mosques and churches put to other uses, and cemeteries plowed under, Palestinian communities were left geographically dispossessed. Palestinians have since carried their village names, memories, and possessions with them into the

diaspora, transforming their lost past into local histories in the form of 'village memorial books'. Numbering more than 100 volumes in print, these books recount family histories, cultural traditions, and the details of village life, revealing Palestinian history through the eyes of Palestinians. Through a close examination of these books and other commemorative activities, *Palestinian Village Histories* reveals how history is written, recorded, and contested, as well as the roles that Palestinian conceptions of their past play in contemporary life. Moving beyond the grand narratives of 20th century political struggles, this book analyzes individual and collective historical accounts of everyday life in pre-1948 Palestinian villages as composed today from the perspectives of these long-term refugees."

**Uri Davis** [A member of Fatah since 1984, long at the University of Bradford; see his extensive bibliography in the **OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY** list]

**Ashley Dawson & Bill V. Mullen**, editors, with foreword by **Ali Abunimah**
***Against Apartheid: The Case for Boycotting Israeli Universities***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015)
Contributors include **Kristian Davis Bailey, Omar Barghouti, Tithi Bhattacharya, Vincente M. Diaz, Haidar Eid, Noura Erakat, Diane Feeley, David Finkel, Sami Hermez, Rima Kapitan, David Lloyd, Sunaina Maira, Joseph Massad, Nerdeen Mohsen, Nadine Naber, Rima Najjar-Merriman, David Palumbo-Liu, Ilan Pappe, Andrew Ross, Steven Salaita, Malini Schueller, Sarah Schulman, Joan Scott, Magid Shihade, Mayssun Sukarieh, Lisa Taraki, Salim Vally**.

**Chiara De Cesari** (University of Amsterdam)
***Heritage and the Cultural Struggle for Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "In recent decades, Palestinian heritage organizations have launched numerous urban regeneration and museum projects across the West Bank in response to the enduring Israeli occupation. These efforts to reclaim and assert Palestinian heritage differ significantly from the typical global cultural project: here it is people's cultural memory and living environment, rather than ancient history and archaeology, that take center stage. It is local civil society and NGOs, not state actors, who are "doing" heritage. In this context, Palestinian heritage has become not just a practice of resistance, but a resourceful mode of governing the Palestinian landscape. With this book, Chiara De Cesari examines these Palestinian heritage projects—notably the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, Riwaq, and the Palestinian Museum—and the transnational actors, practices, and material sites they mobilize to create new institutions in the absence of a sovereign state. Through their rehabilitation of Palestinian heritage, these organizations have halted the expansion of Israeli settlements. They have also given Palestinians opportunities to rethink and transform state functions. *Heritage and the Cultural Struggle for Palestine* reveals how the West Bank is home to creative experimentation, insurgent agencies, and resourceful attempts to reverse colonial violence—and a model of how things could be."

**Myriam Denov and Bree Akesson**, editors
***Children Affected by Armed Conflict: Theory, Method and Practice***
(Columbia University Press, 2017) – Survey that includes Palestine.

**Larry Derfner** (*Ha'aretz*, formerly with the *Jerusalem Post*)
***No Country for Jewish Liberals***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017)
Los Angeles born, Israeli journalist describes a society provocatively out of step with Jewish liberals and the Left.

**Marcello Di Cintio** (Canadian journalist)

***Pay No Heed to Rockets: Palestine in the Present Tense***
(Saqi Books, 2018)
A lyrical travelogue of the author's meetings with Palestinian writers, poets, librarians, booksellers, readers and literary salon hosts.

**Yoram Dinstein** (Tel-Aviv University)
***The International Law of Belligerent Occupation***
(Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Belligerent occupations existed in both World Wars and have occurred more recently in all parts of the world (including Iraq, Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia, Congo, Northern Cyprus, Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, Eritrea and Ethiopia). Owing to its special length – exceeding half a century and still in progress – and the unprecedented flow of judicial decisions, a special focus is called for as regards to the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel. International law addresses the subject of belligerent occupation in some detail. This second, revised edition updates the text (originally published in 2009) in terms of both State practice and doctrinal discourse. The emphasis is put on decisions of the Security Council; legislation adopted by the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq; and predominantly case law: international (Judgments of the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the European Court of Human Rights; Advisory Opinions and Arbitral Awards) as well as domestic courts."

**James M. Dorsey**
***The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer***
(Hurst & Co., 2016)

**Beshara Doumani**
***A Song from Haifa****,* in: , in Penny Johnson & Raja Shehadeh, eds: ***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian*** *Writing on Exile and Home* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***The Rise of the Sanjak in Jerusalem in the Late Nineteenth Century****,* in Ilan Pappe, ed: ***The Israel/Palestine Question***
(Routledge, 2007)

***Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property and Gender***
(State University of New York Press, 2003)

***Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900*** (University of California Press, 1995)

**Michael Dumper**
***Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History and the Future of the Holy City***
(Columbia University Press, 2014)

**Tristan Dunning** (University of Queensland)
***Hamas, Jihad and Popular Legitimacy***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book investigates the many faces of Hamas and examines its ongoing evolution as a resistance organisation in the context of the Israel/Palestine conflict. Specifically, the work interrogates Hamas' interpretation, reinterpretation and application of the twin concepts of muqawama (resistance) and jihad (striving in the name of God). The text frames the movement's capacity to accrue popular legitimacy through its evolving resistance discourses, centred on the notion of jihad, and the practical applications thereof. Moving beyond the dominant security-orientated approaches to Hamas,

the book investigates the malleable nature of both resistance and jihad including their social, symbolic, political and ideational applications. The diverse interpretations of these concepts allow Hamas to function as a comprehensive social movement. Where possible, this volume attempts to privilege first-order or experiential knowledge emanating from the movement itself, its political representatives, and the Palestinian population in general. Many of these accounts were collected by the author during fieldwork in the Middle East. Not only does this work present new primary data, but it also investigates a variety of contemporary empirical events related to Palestine and the Middle East. This book offers an alternative way of viewing the movement's popular legitimacy grounded in theoretical, empirical and ethnographic terms."

**Marwan Adech Dwairy** (Nova Southeastern University, Florida; Director of Municpal Psychological Services Center, Nazareth)

***Cross-Cultural Counseling: The Arab-Palestinian Case***
(Routledge, 252 pages, 2020)

**Albana S. Dwonch** (Birzeit University)

***Palestinian Youth Activism in the Internet Age***
(IB Tauris, 224 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Since the Arab uprisings of 2011, Palestinian youth movements have formed unofficial and leaderless networks of political activism, using the internet to mobilise and bring together three generations of Palestinian activists. This book focuses on three key case studies that have marked a turning point in the development of youth-organised and grassroots Palestinian politics: the 15 March movement in Gaza, the Palestinians for Dignity movement in the West Bank, and the Prawer movement of young Palestinians in Israel. Drawing on extensive fieldwork composed of interviews with leading Palestinian activists in the West Bank and Gaza and detailed analysis of social media patterns, this book offers a fresh reading of Palestinian youth and their central online and offline role in popular protests against both Israeli and Palestinian power structures."

**Ben Ehrenreich**

***The Way to the Spring: Life and Death in Palestine***
(Granta, 2016) Travel reportage.

**Haidar Eid** (South African-Palestinian; Al-Aqsa University, Gaza)

***Banging on the Walls of a of the Tank: Disapatches from Gaza***
(Between the Lines, 220 pages, 2025)
With a foreword by **Richard Falk**. Publisher's blurb: "*Banging on the Walls of the Tank* is a collection of reflections and analysis written over eighteen years in Gaza by Palestinian academic and activist, Haidar Eid. Providing an insider's perspective on the blockade of Gaza since 2007, the Israeli attacks in 2009, 2012, 2014, and 2021, the Great March of Return, and the ongoing genocide committed by the apartheid Israeli state, Eid's essays examine political alternatives, opportunities for resistance, and prospects for a just peace after more than a century of dispossession."

***Decolonizing the Palestinian Mind***
(LeftWord Books, 105 pages, 2025)
Criticism of both the 1993 Oslo Accord and Yassir Arafat, and proposes One Democratic State.

**Ehud Eilam**

***Israel's Military Doctrine***
(Lexington Books, 2018)

***Israel's Way or War: A Strategic and Operational Analysis, 1948-2014***

(Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co, 209 pages, 2016)

**Musheir El-Farra** (Chair, Sheffield PSC)

***Gaza: When the Sky Rained White Fire***

(Sheffield Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 2012) with foreword by Illan Pappe.
Coverage of the Israeli's "Operation Cast Lead," which commenced on 27 December 2008. The military campaign lasted three weeks, with the IDF lauching thousands of missiles, including white phosphorous bombs and cluster bombs. 17 family tragedies profiled herein.

**Barzoo Eliassi** (Linnaeus University, Sweden)

***Narratives of Statelessness and Political Otherness: Kurdish and Palestinian Experiences***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 304 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This book argues that citizenship is an inadequate solution to the problem of statelessness based on a critical investigation of the lived experiences of Kurdish and Palestinian diasporas in western Europe. It examines how statelessness affects identity formations, homelessness, belonging, non-belonging, otherness, voices, status, (non)recognition, (dis)respect, (in)visibility and presence in the uneven world of nation-states. It also demonstrates that the undoing of non-sovereign identities' subjection to structural subalternization and everyday inferiorization requires rights in excess of the mere acquisition of juridical citizenship, which tends to assume national sameness. That assumption in turn involves sovereign practices of denial and assimilation of ethnic alterity. The book therefore highlights the necessity of de-ethnicizing and decolonizing unitary nation-states that are based on the politico-cultural supremacy of a single, "core" ethnicity as the sovereign legislator of the rules and regimes of national belonging and un-belonging. It therefore broaches questions of "majority" and "minority," mobility, nationalism, home-making, equality, difference and universalism in the context of the nation-state and illustrates how stateless peoples such as Kurds and Palestinians endure and challenge their subordinate position in a hierarchical (geo-)political order and how in so doing remain bound by political otherness."

**Yasmeen El Khoudary**

***Gaza's Historical Cycles of Prosperity and Destruction: Is the Present an Aberration?*** - Chapter in **Haim Yacobi** & **Mansour Nsasra**, editors: ***Routledge Handbook on Middle East Cities***

(Routledge, 2019)

**Dana El Kurd** (Doha Institute for Graduate Studies; University of Richmond)

***Polarized and Demobilized: Legacies of Authoritarianism in Palestine***

(Oxford University Press, 226 pages, 2020; Hurst & Col, 2022)
The Oslo Accord's result of authoritarianism by the Palestinian Authority, suppressing grassroots opposition.

**Nada Elia**

***Greater than the Sum of Our Parts: Feminism, Inter/Nationalism, and Palestine***

(Pluto Press, 192 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian activist Nada Elia unpacks Zionism, from its hypermilitarism to incarceration, its environmental devastation and gendered violence. She insists that Palestine's fate is linked through bonds of solidarity to other communities crossing racial and gender lines, weaving an intersectional feminist understanding of Israeli apartheid throughout her analysis. She also looks deeper into the interconnectedness of Palestine with Black, migrant, and queer movements, and with other indigenous struggles against settler colonialism, including that of Native Americans."

**Marc H. Ellis** (Baylor University, Texas; Deir Yassin Remembered; Council for Palestinian Restitution and Repatriation)

***Finding Our Voice: Embodying the Prophetic and other Misadventures***
(Cascade Books, 2018)

***Judaism Does Not Equal Israel***
(New Press, 2009)

***Reading the Torah Out Loud: A Journey of Lament and Hope***
(Fortress Press, 2007)
A time to mourn: the golden age of Constantinian Judaism — Politicizing the Holocaust: Richard Rubenstein and Israel after — Encountering a prophetic Christianity: political realities and spiritual questions — Liberation and loneliness: searching for God and community in North America — Gustavo Gutiérrez and liberation theology: the voice of faithful struggle — Among the Palestinian people: discovering a Jewish theology of liberation — Speaking truth: Israel and Palestine in the American Jewish understanding — Struggling for fidelity: encountering post-Holocaust theologians — Surveying the Jewish-Christian landscape: reflections on the political and ecumenical "deal" — Shattered hopes: loss and solidarity in the Jewish and Palestinian Diaspora — An unexpected blessing: Edward Said's religious secularity — Reading the Torah out loud: reclaiming the text in an age when Israeli Star of David helicopter gunships fly — Standing up.

***Israel and Palestine Out of the Ashes: The Search for Jewish Identity in the Twenty-first Century***
(Pluto, 2002)

***O, Jerusalem! The Contested Future of the Jewish Covenant***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications / Augsburg: Fortress Publishers, 209 pages, 1999)

**Marc H. Ellis & Daniel A. McGowan,** eds.

***Remembering Deir Yassin: The Future of Israel and Palestine***
(Olive Branch Press, 1998)
Contents: The Purpose of Deir Yassin Remembered by **Daniel A. McGowan** / Remembering Deir Yassin: A Reflection on Memory and Justice by **Marc H. Ellis** / The End of Innocence by **Salma Khadra Jayyusi** / Jewish Eye-Witness: An Interview with Meir Pa'il by **Daniel A. McGowan** / Assault and Massacre by **Sheila Cassidy** / The Surviving Children of Deir Yassin by **Pat McDonnell Twair** / A Memorial Landscape Design for Deir Yassin by **Fuad Bassim Nijim** / The Last Memorials to Atrocity in the Holy Land? By **Rami Khouri** / On the New Diaspora: A Jewish Meditation by on the Future of Israel/Palestine by **Marc H. Ellis** / Toward an Arab-Jewish Humanism by **Muhammad Hallaj** / Christianity and the Future of Israeli-Palestinian Relations by **Rosemary Radford Ruether** / A Vision for the Palestinian Future by **Souad Dajani**

**Sharif S. Elmusa**

As editor: ***Culture and the Natural Environment***
(American University in Cairo, 2005)

***Water Conflict: Economics, Politics, Law and Palestinian-Israeli Water Resources***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1998)

**Morad Elsana** (American University, Washington DC)

***Indigenous Land Rights in Israel: A Comparative Study of the Bedouin***
(Routledge, 190 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "Introducing the Negev–Bedouin land issue from the international indigenous land rights perspective, this comparative study suggests options for the recognition of their land. The book demonstrates that the Bedouin land dispossession, like many indigenous peoples', progressed through several phases that included eviction and displacement, legislation, and judicial decisions that support acts of dispossession and deny the Bedouin's traditional land rights. Examining the *Mawat* legal doctrine on which the State and the Court rely on to deny Bedouin land rights, this volume introduces the relevant international law protecting indigenous land rights and shows how the limitations of this law prevent any meaningful protection of Bedouin land rights. In the second part of the work, the Aborigines' land in Australia is introduced as an example of indigenous peoples' successful struggle for their traditional land rights. The final chapter analyzes the basic elements of judicial recognition of the land and shows that the basic elements needed for Bedouin land recognition exist in the Israeli legal system."

**Noura Erakat** (Palestinian-American legal scholar, George Mason University)

***Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine***

(Stanford University Press, 2919)

Publisher's blurb: "Justice in the Question of Palestine is often framed as a question of law. Yet none of the Israel-Palestinian conflict's most vexing challenges have been resolved by judicial intervention. Occupation law has failed to stem Israel's settlement enterprise. Laws of war have permitted killing and destruction during Israel's military offensives in the Gaza Strip. The Oslo Accord's two-state solution is now dead letter. Justice for Some offers a new approach to understanding the Palestinian struggle for freedom, told through the power and control of international law. Focusing on key junctures-from the Balfour Declaration in 1917 to present-day wars in Gaza-Noura Erakat shows how the strategic deployment of law has shaped current conditions. Over the past century, the law has done more to advance Israel's interests than the Palestinians'. But, Erakat argues, this outcome was never inevitable. Law is politics, and its meaning and application depend on the political intervention of states and people alike. Within the law, change is possible. International law can serve the cause of freedom when it is mobilized in support of a political movement. Presenting the promise and risk of international law, Justice for Some calls for renewed action and attention to the Question of Palestine."

as co-editor, with **Tareq Radi**: ***Gaza in Context: War and Settler Colonialism***

(Arab Studies Institute, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: " This compendium, in combination with the pedagogical project Gaza in Context, uses Operation Protection Edge to demonstrate the temporal and spatial continuity of Israel's settler-colonial policies across Israel and the Occupied Territories in order to disrupt the language of exceptionalism surrounding Gaza today. The volume scrutinizes Israeli settler-colonialism through a multidisciplinary lens including history, law, development, political economy, and gender. In addition to the articles within this volume, *Gaza in Context: War and Settler Colonialism* features several teaching guides and a bibliography that are intended for teaching and research purposes, respectively. Together, the aforementioned components and the short film Gaza in Context seek to provide an assertive framework for understanding Israel's systematic attacks as part of the larger question of Palestine."

As co-editor, with **Nizar Saghieh**: ***NGOs in the Arab World Post-Arab Uprisings: Domestic and International Politics of Funding and Regulation***

(Washington DC: Tadween Publishing /Arab Studies Institute / Forum on Arab and Muslim Affairs, 155 pages, 2016)

A collection of field-based research that contributes to the literature on the impact of the Arab Uprisings on civil society throughout the Middle East. It does so by examining the development of non-governmental organizations in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Palestine. With an introduction by **Noura Erakat** and **Firas Jaber** & **Iyad Al Riyahi**: *Palestinian Civil Society: A Study of Changes in Palestinian NGOs, 2006-2014*.

with **Mouin Rabbani** (Palestinian-Dutch Middle East analyst): ***Aborted State? The UN Initiative and New Palestinian Junctures***

(Washington DC/Beirut: Tadween Publishing & Arab Studies Institute, 286 pages, 2013)
Contents: Foreword / Richard Falk -- 1. National liberation struggles. On the possible recognition of a Palestinian state at the United Nations / Rashid Khalidi -- Can the Palestinian leadership pave the way from statehood to independence? / Noura Erakat -- Palestinian options at the United Nations / Camille Mansour -- Going to the United Nations, sanctions, and the tick-tock of the Palestinian Spring / Raja Khalidi -- Palestine at the UN, again / O.I.L. editors ; Noura Erakat ... [et al.] -- Abbas's next move / Mouin Rabbani -- Is there a Palestinian strategy? / Salim Tamari -- 2. International law and statehood. Occupation law and the one-state reality / Darryl Li -- Roundtable on occupation law: part of the conflict or part of the solution? / Noura Erakat ... [et al.] -- The Palestinian statehood strategy in the United Nations: lessons from Namibia / Susan Akram -- ICC rejects Palestine bid / Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court -- Imagining justice beyond the ICC / Samar Al-Bulushi -- Israel and Palestine: international law updates / Sharon Weill -- 3. US foreign policy. Obama's Palestine problem, and ours / Anthony Alessandrini -- United States should step aside as Mideast broker / Mouin Rabbani -- An apocalyptic air of approaching peril: Zionism at the United Nations / Sherene Seikaly -- 4. Representation. Roundtable on Palestinian diaspora and representation / Naseer Aruri ... [et al.] -- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill Legal opinion on Palestinian statehood bid / Guy S. Goodwin-Gill -- John Quigley Critique of Goodwin-Gill legal opinion on Palestine statehood bid / John Quigley -- A note on the Palestinian diplomatic initiative at the United Nations / a group of Palestinians -- Statement by Palestinian Youth Movement on the September 2011 declaration of statehood / Palestinian Youth Movement -- US Palestinian Community Network's Response to the Palestinian Authority September statehood bid / US Palestinian Community Network -- BNC reiterates its position on September / BDS National Committee -- Beyond sterile negotiations: looking for a leadership with a strategy / Noura Erakat -- 5. Back at the UN again 2012. Statehood bid one year later: no state, no bid, no freedom / Noura Erakat -- Quick thoughts on the significance of the November 2012 Palestine UN bid / Noura Erakat -- More quick thoughts on Palestine at the United Nations / Mouin Rabbani -- Citizenship and the new "State of Palestine" / Lauren Banko -- The Palestinian Authority, UNESCO, and the illusion of triumph / Ryvka Barnard -- Palestine at the United Nations? / Mouin Rabbani -- Colonial planning of my grandfather's hilltop / Dana Erekat -- Conclusion / Nadia Hijab.

**Azad Essa** (Middle East Eye, Al Jazeera, Guardian, Washington Post)
***Hostile Homelands: The New Alliance between India and Israel***
(Pluto Press, 225 pages, 2023)
With foreword by **Linah Alsaafin**. Publisher's blurb: "India once called Zionism racism, but, as Azad Essa argues, the state of Israel has increasingly become a cornerstone of India's foreign policy. Looking to replicate the 'ethnic state' in the image of Israel in policy and practice, the annexation of Kashmir increasingly resembles Israel's settler-colonial project of the occupied West Bank. The ideological and political linkages between the two states are alarming; their brands of ethnonationalism deeply intertwined. *Hostile Homelands* puts India's relationship with Israel in its historical context, looking at the origins of Zionism and Hindutva; India's changing position on Palestine; and the countries' growing military-industrial relationship from the 1990s. Lucid and persuasive, Essa demonstrates that the India-Israel alliance spells significant consequences for democracy, the rule of law and justice worldwide."

**Kareem Estefan, Carin Kuoni and Laura Raicovich,** editors
***Assuming Boycott: Resistance, Agency and Cultural Production***
(OR Books, 2017)
Contributors: Nasser Abourahme, Ariella Azoulay, Tania Bruguera, Noura Erakat, Kareem Estefan, Mariam Ghani with Haig Aivazian, Nathan Gray and Ahmet Öğüt, Chelsea Haines, Sean Jacobs, Yazan Khalili, Carin Kuoni and Laura Raicovich, Svetlana Mintcheva, Na'eem Mohaiemen, Hlonipha Mokoena, John Peffer, Joshua Simon, Ann Laura Stoler, Radhika Subramaniam, Eyal Weizman and Kareem Estefan, and Frank B. Wilderson III.

**Richard Falk** (legal scholar; former UN Special Rapporteur for Palestine, 2008-2014) See also: **OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY** Section.

As co-editor, with **Ahmet Davutglu**: ***Genocide in Gaza: Voices of Global Conscience***
(Clarity Press, 468 pages, 2025)
Contributors: **Abdullah Ahsan, Alfred de Zayas, Arlene Clemesha, Avi Shlaim, Basil Farraj, Bilgehan Uçak, Chandra Muzaffar, Craig Mokiber, Ferhan Güloğlu, Francesco Schettino, Grace Spence Green, Hans von Sponeck, Hilal Elver, Irene Gendzier, Izzeldin Abuleish, Javad Zarif, Joseph Camilleri, Juan Cole, Lisa Hajjar, Meymune Topç, Mohammad Hashim Kamali, Penny Green, Phyllis Bennis, Ramzy Baroud, Reza Nasri, Sare Davutoğlu, Sevinç Alkan, Susan Abulhawa, Victoria Brittain, Walden Bello**.

**Richard Falk** (former United Nations human rights investigator for the Occupied Palestinian Territories) and **Hans Von Sponeck** (former United Nations Assistant Secretary General)

***Liberating the United Nations*** (Stanford University Press, 430 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "The United Nations (UN) has always loomed large in international conflicts, but today accepted wisdom declares that the organization has lost its way. Liberating The United Nations is a thorough review of its founding and history that tracks critical junctures that obscured or diverted the path to a powerful and just UN that abides by international law. Based on the extensive expertise of two former UN-insiders, Richard Falk and Hans von Sponeck, the book goes beyond critique and diagnosis, proposing ways to achieve a more effective and legitimate UN. The historical sweep of the book offers a uniquely broad perspective on how the UN has evolved from the time of its establishment, and how that evolution reflects, and was defined by, world politics. The book explores these themes through the specific cases of intervention in Palestine, Iraq, and Syria. Liberating The United Nations hopes to reinvigorate the original vision of the UN by asserting its place in a world of amplifying chauvinistic nationalism. Falk and von Sponeck argue for how important the UN has become, and could be, in aiding with the transnational and global challenges of the present and future, including pandemics, environmental crises, and mass migration."

**Richard Falk** (United Nations human rights investigator for the Occupied Palestinian Territories), **John Dugard** (Cambridge and Leiden Universities), **and Michael Lynk** (United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; Western University, Ontario)

***Protecting Human Rights in Occupied Palestine: Working Through the United Nations***
(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 381 pages, 2022; 416 pages, 2023)
With a foreword by **Francesca Albanese**. Contents: Introduction : Protecting human rights in occupied Palestine : perspectives of UN special rapporteurs / John Dugard, Richard Falk, Michael Lynk -- Part I : Experiences of three special rapporteurs -- Chapter one. Protecting human rights in occupied Palestine / John Dugard (2001-2008) -- Chapter two. On becoming and being special rapporteur for occupied Palestine / Richard Falk (2008-2014) -- Chapter three. Working within the United Nations human rights system / Michael Lynk (2016-2022) -- Part II : Selections from annual reports to the Human Rights Council and General Assembly -- Chapter four. Selection from the reports of special rapporteur John Dugard (2001-2008) -- Chapter five. Selection from the reports of special rapporteur Richard Falk (2008-2014) -- Chapter six. Selection from the reports of special rapporteur Michael Lynk (2016-2022) -- Part III : Accomplishments and frustrations -- Chapter seven. Accomplishments, frustrations and the future / John Dugard -- Chapter eight. Challenges and responses / Richard Falk -- Chapter nine. Looking backward, looking forward / Michael Lynk-- Part IV : Joint concluding statement -- Chapter ten. Future prospects / John Dugard, Richard Falk, Michael Lynk.

**Richard Falk & Howard Friel**

***The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times Misreports US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*** aka ***Israel-Palestine on Record: How the New York Times Misreports Conflict in the Middle East***
(Verso, 304 pages, 2007)

***Public Intellectual: The Life of a Citizen Pilgrim***
(Clarity Press, 474 pages, 2021)
Autobiographical memoir.

***Palestine's Horizon: Toward a Just Peace***
(Pluto Press, 2017)

As co-editor, with **Virginia Tilley** (Southern Illinois University), editors.
***Israeli Practices Towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid – ESCWA Report: Palestine and the Israeli Occupation, Issue No. 1***
(Beirut: United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, 74 pages, 2017)
Report withdrawn:
https://web.archive.org/web/20170316054753/https://www.unescwa.org/sites/www.unescwa.org/files/publications/files/israeli-practices-palestinian-people-apartheid-occupation-english.pdf

***Chaos and Counterrevolution after the Arab Spring***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: One World Books, 2015)
Princeton University international law professor's essays and blogs on Egypt, Libya, Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

***Palestine: The Legitimacy of Hope***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: One World Books, 2014)

**Anwi Fares & Hasan Kaddoumi**, authors; **Adeeb Ziahed & Omar Kachouh**, editors
***Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank: Research on Their Demography and Determination of Return***
(Palestinian Return Centre / Academy of Refugee Studies, 2013)
More than a historical outline, this handy reference book is background for each camp's development.

**Hani Faris** aka **Hani A. Faris** (University of British Columbia)
***The Failure of the Two-State Solution: The Prospects of One State in the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(IB Tauris, 400 pages, 2013)
Contents: "1: Delimiting the One State Idea (Hani Faris) PART I: Is the Two State Settlement Feasible? 2: The Deeper Politics of Jewish Settlements (Virginia Tilley) 3: A Radicalized Space: Social Engineering in Jerusalem (Saree Makdisi) 4: Building a Palestinian State under Occupation: Reassessing the Oslo Process (Husam Zomlot) 5: Is the Two State Solution Still Viable? An Overall Assessment of the Present Situation (Naseer Aruri) 6: Israel's War on Gaza: Zionism's Pyrrhic Victory? (Nancy Murray) PART II: Ideologies and the Idea of a Historic Settlement 7: Deconstructing the Zionist Settler Narrative and Constructing an Alternative (Gabriel Piterberg) 8: In the Golden Age of Constantinian Judaism - The Future of the Indigenous Jewish Prophetic: Israel, Ethnic Particularism and Universalist Values (Marc Ellis) 9: Challenging the Consensus Favouring the Two-State Model (Ali Abunimah) 10: A Blueprint for a One-State Movement: A Troubled History (Ilan Pappe) PART III: Practicalities in the Search for a Resolution of the Conflict 11: The Rights of Palestinian Refugees and Territorial Solutions in Historic Palestine (Susan Akram) 12: The Geographic and Demographic Imperatives of a Single State (Salman Abu Sitta) 13: Mizrahi Feminism and the Question of Palestine: Two States or One? (Smadar Lavie) PART IV: Mobilisng for a Solution 14: Mobilising Palestinians in Support of One State (George Bisharat) 15: Mobilising Israel and the World Jewry for the One-State Solution (Norton Mezvinsky) 16: Palestinians in Israel and Binationalism: Escape from the Impasse (As'ad Ghanem) 17: Reversing Defeat Through Non-violent Power (Nadia Hijab) 18: Building Movements for the One-State Solution in Palestine and the

Arab World (Leila Farsakh) 19: Awakening the American Conscience about Israel/Palestine (Joel Kovel) 20: Building an International Movement to Promote the One-State Solution (Ghada Karmi)

**Musheir El-Farra** (groundwater scientist) and Charlotte Hubback
***Gaza: When the Sky Rained with Fire***
(Sheffield Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 250 pages, 2012)
with foreword by Ilan Pappe

**Didier Fassin**
***Moral Abdication: How the World Failed to Stop the Destruction of Gaza***
(Verso, 122 pages, 2025)
Translated from French by **Gregory Elliott**. Author questions why, "for political leaders and intellectual personalities of the principal Western countries…the lives of Palestinian civilians are worth several hundred times less than the lives of Israeli civilians?" And also asks why demonstrations demanding peace are banned?

**Michael Feige**
***Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories***
(Wayne State University Press, 2009)
Gush Emunim focus.

**Dani Filc** (Ben Gurion University)
***The Political Right in Israel: Different Faces of Jewish Populism***
(Routledge, 2010, 2013)

**Esther Farmer**, **Rosalind Pollack Petchesky** & **Sarah Sills**, co-editors
***A Land with a People: Palestinians and Jews Confront Zionism***
(New York: Monthly Review Press, 194 pages, 2022)
Foreword by **Noura Erakat**. Project of Jewish Voice for Peace – New York City.

**Giovanna Fassetta**, **Namzi Al-Masri**, and **Alison Phipps**
***Multilingual Online Academic Collaborations as Resistance: Crossing Impassable Borders***
(De Gruyter, 224 pages, 2020)
Contents: Collaborating under Siege: A WhatsApp Tale -- Introduction: Can You 'Here' Me? Editors' Reflections on Online Collaborations between the Gaza Strip and the Global North -- 1 Engineers Operating Multilingually: Reflections on Four Years of Glasgow-Gaza Pre-sessional English Telecollaboration -- 2 Islamic University of Gaza Internationalization Endeavours at the Level of Postgraduate Programs -- 3 Exploring Mobile Support for English Language Teachers in a Context of Conflict: Syrian Refugee Teachers in Jordan -- 4 Motivational Strategies and Online Technologies: Are Palestinian EFL University Students in the Gaza Strip Empowered to be Bilingual? -- 5 'Really Talking' to Gaza: From Active to Transformative Learning in Distributed Environments and under Highly Pressured Conditions -- 6 Gaza Teaches Arabic Online: Opportunities, Challenges and Ways Forward -- 7 (In)articulability of Pain and Trauma: Idioms of Distress in the Gaza Strip -- 8 The Experience of the Islamic University of Gaza in Cross-border Academic Collaboration: T-MEDA Project as a Case Study -- 9 From the Kitchen to Gaza: Networked Places and the Collaborative Imagination -- Afterword. 'I am Here': Savouring the 'Selfie Moments' -- Index .

**James Fergusson** (*The Times, Independent, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail,* and *The Economist*)

***In Search of the River Jordan: A Story of Palestine, Israel and the Struggle for Water***

(Yale University Press, 304 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "Access to water has played a pivotal role in the Israel-Palestine dispute. Israel has diverted the River Jordan via pipes and canals to build a successful modern state. But this has been at the expense of the region's cohabitants. Gaza is now so water-stressed that the United Nations has warned it could soon become uninhabitable; its traditional water source has been ruined by years of over-extraction and mismanagement, the effects exacerbated by years of crippling blockade. Award-winning author and journalist James Fergusson travels to every corner of Israel and Palestine telling the story of the River Jordan and the fierce competition for water. Along the way, he meets farmers, officials, soldiers, refugees, settlers, rioting youth, religious zealots, water experts, and engineers on both sides of the Green Line. Fergusson gives voice to the fears and aspirations of the region's inhabitants and highlights the centrality of water in negotiating future peace."

**Gary Fields**

***Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror***

(University of California Press, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "*Enclosure* marshals bold new and persuasive arguments about the ongoing dispossession of Palestinians. Revealing the Israel-Palestine landscape primarily as one of enclosure, geographer Gary Fields sheds fresh light on Israel's actions. He places those actions in historical context in a broad analysis of power and landscapes across the modern world. Examining the process of land-grabbing in early modern England, colonial North America, and contemporary Palestine, *Enclosure* shows how patterns of exclusion and privatization have emerged across time and geography. That the same moral, legal, and cartographic arguments were copied by enclosers of land in very different historical environments challenges Israel's current rationale as being uniquely beleaguered. It also helps readers in the United Kingdom and the United States understand the Israel-Palestine conflict in the context of their own, tortured histories."

**Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!**

***End British Support for Zionism: Isolate the Israeli State***

(London: Revolutionary Communist Group aka Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! [FRFI], 96 pages, 2024)

Articles from issues of *FRFI* 1983-2024. Contents: Louis Brehony: *Palestine Resists* /Steve Palmer: *The British Labour Party and Zionism* / Robert Clough: *Labour Defends Genocide* and *Corbyn Capitulates to Zionism* / Bob Shepherd: *Gaza Resists Israeli Occupation* and *Hamas Wins Palestinian Elections* / Ria Aibhilin: *British Media Supports Zionist Genocide* / Terry O'Halloran and David Reed: *Communists and National Liberation Movements* / Wesam Khaled: *20 Years of Intifada* and *Why is Solidarity with Palestine under Attack?* / Jackie Kaye: Review of Norman Finkelstein's *The Holocaust Industry* / Eddie Abrahams: *Israel/PLO Agreement at Oslo*

**Norman G. Finkelstein**

***Gaza's Gravediggers: An Inquiry into Corruption in High Places***

(O/R Books, 406 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Finkelstein turns his critical lens to the global enablers of genocide—those who distort truth and manipulate justice as they prostitute themselves to power and privilege. He exposes how a United Nations special representative lent credence to an Israeli smear campaign, how officials in the world's highest court perverted international law in Israel's defence, and how even Israel's severe critics colluded in misrepresenting genocide as a war.

***I Accuse! Herewith a Proof Beyond Reasonable Doubt that ICC Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda Whitewashed Israel***

(OR Books, 208 pages, 2019)

***Gaza: An Inquest into its Martyrdom***
(University of California Press, 440 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Gaza is among the most densely populated places in the world. Two-thirds of its inhabitants are refugees, and more than half the population is under eighteen years of age. Since Israel occupied Gaza in 1967, it has systematically de-developed the economy. After Hamas won democratic elections in 2006, Israel intensified its blockade of Gaza, and after Hamas consolidated its control of the territory in 2007, Israel tightened its illegal siege another notch. In the meantime, Israel has launched no less than eight military operations against Gaza-culminating in Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9 and Operation Protective Edge in 2014-that left behind over three million tons of rubble. Recent UN reports predict that Gaza will be unlivable by 2020. Norman G. Finkelstein presents a meticulously researched and devastating inquest into Israel's actions of the last decade. He argues that although Israel justified its blockade and violent assaults in the name of self-defense, in fact these actions were cynical exercises of brutal power against an essentially defenseless civilian population. Based on hundreds of human rights reports, the book scrutinizes multifarious violations of international law Israel committed both during its operations and in the course of its decade-long siege of Gaza. It is a monument to Gaza's martyrs and a scorching accusation against their tormenters." Focus includes the Goldstone Report and the Mavi Marmara humanitarian ship.

***Method and Madness: The Hidden Story of Israel's Assaults on Gaza***
(O/R Books, 215 pages, 2014/2015)
Publisher's blurb: "In the past five years Israel has mounted three major assaults on the 1.8 million Palestinians trapped behind its blockade of the Gaza Strip. Taken together, Operation Cast Lead (2008-9), Operation Pillar of Defense (2012), and Operation Protective Edge (2014), have resulted in the deaths of some 3,700 Palestinians. Meanwhile, a total of 90 Israelis were killed in the invasions. On the face of it, this succession of vastly disproportionate attacks has often seemed frenzied and pathological. Senior Israeli politicians have not discouraged such perceptions, indeed they have actively encouraged them. After the 2008-9 assault Israel's then-foreign minister, Tzipi Livni, boasted, "Israel demonstrated real hooliganism during the course of the recent operation, which I demanded." However, as Norman G. Finkelstein sets out in this concise, paradigm-shifting new book, a closer examination of Israel's motives reveals a state whose repeated recourse to savage war is far from irrational. Rather, Israel's attacks have been designed to sabotage the possibility of a compromise peace with the Palestinians, even on terms that are favorable to it. Looking also at machinations around the 2009 UN sponsored Goldstone report and Turkey's forlorn attempt to seek redress in the UN for the killing of its citizens in the 2010 attack on the Gaza freedom flotilla, Finkelstein documents how Israel has repeatedly eluded accountability for what are now widely recognized as war crimes. Further, he shows that, though neither side can claim clear victory in these conflicts, the ensuing stalemate remains much more tolerable for Israelis than for the beleaguered citizens of Gaza. A strategy of mass non-violent protest might, he contends, hold more promise for a Palestinian victory than military resistance, however brave."

***Old Wine, Broken Bottle: Ari Shavit's Promised Land***
(OR Books, 100 pages, 2014)
Critique of former *Ha'aretz* Editor Ari Shavit's autobiography.

***US Support for Israeli State Terror,* in: *Weapon of the Strong: Conversations on US State Terrorism*** [interviews by Cihan Aksan and Jon Bailes]
(Pluto Press, 2013)

***Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel is Coming to an End***
(O/R Books, 470 pages, 2012)

***What Ghandi Says about Nonviolence, Resistance and Courage***
(O/R Books, 2012)

***This Time We Went Too Far: Truth and Consequences of the Gaza Invasion***

(OR Books, 2011)
Expanded edition of 2010 original book on the practices and consequences of Operation Cast Lead in 2008. "Essential and courageous scholarship. " – Sara Roy.

***Goldstone Recants: Richard Goldstone Renews Israel's Licence to Kill***
(OR Books, 2011)
See also: Adam Horowitz, et al. Publisher's blurb P: "ON APRIL 1 2011, in the pages of the Washington Post, the international jurist Richard Goldstone dropped a bombshell. He effectively disowned the massive evidence assembled in the United Nations' report carrying his name that Israel had committed multiple war crimes and possible crimes against humanity in Gaza during its 2008-9 invasion. Israel was jubilant. "Everything that we said proved to be true," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu crowed. "We always said that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] is a moral army that acted according to international law," Defense Minister Ehud Barak declared. "We had no doubt that the truth would come out eventually," Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman proclaimed. The Obama administration used the occasion of Goldstone's recantation to affirm that Israel had not "engaged in any war crimes" during the Gaza assault while the U.S. Senate unanimously called on the United Nations to "rescind" the Goldstone Report. Some commentators have endeavored to prove by parsing his words that Goldstone did not actually recant. While there are grounds for making this argument on a technical basis, such a rhetorical strategy will not wash. Goldstone is a distinguished jurist. He knows how to use precise language. If he did not want to sever his connection with the Report he could simply have said "I am not recanting my original report by which I still stand." He must have known exactly how his words would be spun and it is this fallout-not his parsed words-that we must now confront. There has been much speculation on why Goldstone recanted. Was he blackmailed? Did he finally succumb to the relentless hate campaign directed against him? Did he decide to put his tribe ahead of truth? What can be said with certainty, and what Norman Finkelstein demonstrates in these pages, is that Goldstone did not change his mind because the facts compelled him to reconsider his original findings."

***Civility and Academic Life***, in: ***Academic Freedom in the Post-9/11 Era***
edited by Edward J. Carvalho and David B. Downing
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

***Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History***
-regarding Alan M. Dershowitz
(Verso, 2005, 2008)

***Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(Verso, 1995, 1996, 2003, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "First published in 1995, this acclaimed study challenges generally accepted truths of the Israel-Palestine conflict as well as much of the revisionist literature. This new edition critically reexamines dominant popular and scholarly images in the light of the current failures of the peace process."

***Ariel Sharon***
(Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 112 pages, 2005)
Covers Sharon's revenge commando Unit 101, the Six-Day War, the Lebanon invasion of 1982, and his political career.

***The Holocaust Industry Reflection on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering***
(Verso, 2000, 2001, 2003)
Publisher's blurb: "In an iconoclastic and controversial study, Norman G. Finkelstein moves from an interrogation of the place the Holocaust has come to occupy in American culture to a disturbing examination of recent Holocaust compensation agreements. It was not until the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, when Israel's evident strength brought it into line with US foreign policy, that memory of the Holocaust began to acquire the exceptional prominence it enjoys today. Leaders of America's Jewish community were delighted that Israel was now deemed a major strategic asset and, Finkelstein contends, exploited the Holocaust to enhance this newfound status. Their subsequent interpretations of the

tragedy are often at variance with actual historical events and are employed to deflect any criticism of Israel and its supporters. Recalling Holocaust fraudsters such as Jerzy Kosinski and Binjamin Wilkomirski, as well as the demagogic constructions of writers like Daniel Goldhagen, Finkelstein contends that the main danger posed to the memory of Nazism's victims comes not from the distortions of Holocaust deniers but from prominent, self-proclaimed guardians of Holocaust memory. Drawing on a wealth of untapped sources, he exposes the double shakedown of European countries as well as legitimate Jewish claimants, and concludes that the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket. Thoroughly researched and closely argued, The Holocaust Industry is all the more disturbing and powerful because the issues it deals with are so rarely discussed."

***The Rise and Fall of Palestine***
(University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

**Michael R. Fischbach** (Randolph-Macon College)

***The Movement and the Middle East: How the Arab-Israeli Conflict Divided the American Left***
(Stanford University Press, 312 pages, 2019)
Topics include the 1970s American Jewish shift toward the GOP, as defending Israeli policy became part of that party's foundation, and the split in American feminism over Palestinian rights via SNCC in 1968.

***Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color***
(Stanford University Press, 296 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "The 1967 Arab–Israeli War rocketed the question of Israel and Palestine onto the front pages of American newspapers. Black Power activists saw Palestinians as a kindred people of color, waging the same struggle for freedom and justice as themselves. Soon concerns over the Arab–Israeli conflict spread across mainstream black politics and into the heart of the civil rights movement itself. *Black Power and Palestine* uncovers why so many African Americans—notably Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Muhammad Ali, among others—came to support the Palestinians or felt the need to respond to those who did. Americans first heard pro-Palestinian sentiments in public through the black freedom struggle of the 1960s and 1970s. Michael R. Fischbach uncovers this hidden history of the Arab–Israeli conflict's role in African American activism and the ways that distant struggle shaped the domestic fight for racial equality. Black Power's transnational connections between African Americans and Palestinians deeply affected U.S. black politics, animating black visions of identity well into the late 1970s. *Black Power and Palestine* allows those black voices to be heard again today. In chronicling this story, Fischbach reveals much about how American peoples of color create political strategies, a sense of self, and a place within U.S. and global communities. The shadow cast by events of the 1960s and 1970s continues to affect the United States in deep, structural ways. This is the first book to explore how conflict in the Middle East shaped the American civil rights movement.

***Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 467 pages, 2004)
Sections include: UNCCP (United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine), Arab and international activity on the refugee property question.

**Leonie Fleischmann**

***The Israeli Peace Movement: Anti-Occupation Activism and Human Rights since the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(IB Tauris, 248 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israeli peace movement has been in decline since the 2000s. In particular, the liberal Zionist groups, who call for peace for the sake of the security and continuity of Israel, have become paralysed and almost voiceless since the second Intifada. However, despite the stagnation around the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, this book argues that other important groups have emerged that present new ways to challenge the status quo. These are radical groups that act in solidarity with the Palestinians and human rights organisations and whose aim is to reveal the realities of the occupation

and hold the government to account. Leonie Fleishmann argues that these groups have been, and remain, the agenda setters, pushing the more moderate groups to mobilise more quickly and encouraging them to take up more confrontational ideas. Using social movements theory, and based on 50 interviews and participant observation, this book sheds light on contemporary Israeli peace activism."

**Dan Fleshler**

***Transforming America's Israel Lobby: The Limits of its Power and the Potential for Change***
(Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2009) with foreword by MJ Rosenberg

**Richard Forer** (ex-AIPAC member)

***Wake Up and Reclaim Your Humanity: Essays on the Tragedy of Israel-Palestine***
(Mindstir Media, 312 pages, 2020)

***Breakthrough: Transforming Fear into Compassion: A New Perspective on the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(Insight Press, 371 pages, 2010)
Focus includes the excesses of Zionists Abraham Foxman and Alan Dershowitz, and the Christian Zionist media in the USA.

**Chas. W. Freeman, Jr.**

***America's Misadventures in the Middle East***
(Charlottesville, Virginia, 2010)
Career diplomat for the White House reflects on mistakes.

**Ru Freeman**

***Extraordinary Rendition: (American) Writers on Palestine***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press; O/R Books, 2015/2016)
Contributors: **Corban Addison, Mariana Aitches, Xhenet Aliu, Ammiel Alcalay, Kazim Ali, Sinan Antoon, Phillip B. Williams, Kafah Bachari, Frank Barat, Matt Bell, Dwayne Betts, Chana Bloch, Nate Brown, Hayan Charara, Teju Cole, Michael Collier, Ted Conover, Ramola Dharmaraj, Marlene Dumas, Mary Jane Nealon, Duranya Freeman, Tess Gallagher, Cristina Garcia, Suzanne Gardinier, David Gorin, Marilyn Hacker, Nathalie Handal, Jane Hirshfield, Fanny Howe, Leslie Jamison, Kim Jensen, Lawrence Joseph, Nancy Kricorian, Rickey Laurentiis, Kiese Laymon, Farid Matuk, Colum McCann, Askold Melnyczuk, Christopher Merrill, Claire Messud, Philip Metres, Peter Mountford, Susan Muaddi Darraj, Dina Omar, Alicia Ostriker, Ed Pavlic, Tomas Q. Morin, Roger Reeves, Alice Rothchild, George Saunders, Jason Schneiderman, Sarah Schulman, Alan Shapiro, Robert Shetterly, Naomi Shihab Nye, Tom Sleigh, Ahdaf Soueif, Adam Stumacher, William Sutcliffe, Janne Teller, Philip Terman, Diego Vazquez Jr., Alice Walker, Steve Willey, Tiphanie Yanique,** and **Clarence Young**.

**Elie Friedman** (Ashkelon College/Bar-Ilan University, **Michael Neubaure-Shani** (Ashkelon College)and **Paul Scham** (University of Maryland) editors

***Polarization and Consensus-Building in Israel: The Center Cannot Hold***
(Routledge, 400 pages, 2023)
Includes religious extremism, BDS, and specific topics not usually covered in English-language publications. Contents: 1. The Great Division: The Fateful Polarization of (Jewish) Israeli Society in the 1980s - *Paul Scham* / 2. The Political Polarization Surrounding the Oslo Accords and the National Religious Party in Israel - *Aharon (Roni) Kampinsky* / 3. To Drink or to Boycott? Israel's Borders, the BDS Movement, and the Case of SodaStream - *Noy Assraf and Omri Shamir* / 4. A Summary of the Relationships between the Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI and the Jewish People: Closer

Theological Relations, Conflicting Political Relations - *Eliav Taub* / 5. The Two Ongoing Narratives and Current Disputes on the Affair of "The Missing Yemenite Children" in Israel - *Dov Levitan* / 6. An Examination of the Liberal-Conservative Polarization in Mediated Discourse on Civic Studies in Israel - *Michal Neubauer-Shani and Elie Friedman* / 7. Government by Consensus? A Comparison of the Alignment-Likud (1984-1988) and the Likud-Blue and White (2020) National Unity Coalitions - *Csaba Nikolenyi* / 8. Israel's Secular-Religious Cleavage: Postsecular Genealogies and Remedies - *David Barak-Gorodetsky and Ofer Zalzberg* / 9. The Politics of Arab Israelis: The Quest for Legitimacy - *Yitzhak Reiter and Victoria Feher* / 10. Adversarial Heritage as Consensus Heritage in a Jewish City: Arab Heritage Preservation in Ashkelon - *Avraham (Avi) Sasson* / 11. Israel's First Antitrust Law, the Agricultural Exemption, and the Mapai-Right Liberal Rift - *Eli Goldstein and Daniel Schiffman* / 12. The Controversy Surrounding Prime Minister Netanyahu's Position Regarding the Two-State Solution – Background and Implications - *Zaki Shalom* / 13. Polarization, Integration & Moderation: The Case of Ra'am - *Anwar Mhajne* / 14. When State Meets Community: Trends of Consensus and Polarization - COVID-19 and Ultra-Orthodox Society in Israel - *Shlomi Doron* / 15. Visible, Blurred or Concealed: Religion and Gender in 21st Century Textbooks - *Zehavit Schenkolewski*

**Nell Gabiam** (Iowa State University)

***The Politics of Suffering: Syria's Palestinian Refugee Camps***
(Indiana University Press, 2016).
Publisher's blurb: "The Politics of Suffering examines the confluence of international aid, humanitarian relief, and economic development within the space of the Palestinian refugee camp. Nell Gabiam describes the interactions between UNRWA, the United Nations agency charged with providing assistance to Palestinians since the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, and residents of three camps in Syria. Over time, UNRWA's management of the camps reveals a shift from an emphasis on humanitarian aid to promotion of self-sufficiency and integration of refugees within their host society. Gabiam's analysis captures two forces in tension within the camps: politics of suffering that serves to keep alive the discourse around the Palestinian right of return; and politics of citizenship expressed through development projects that seek to close the divide between the camp and the city. Gabiam offers compelling insights into the plight of Palestinians before and during the Syrian war, which has led to devastation in the camps and massive displacement of their populations."

**Raimond Gaita**, editor

***Gaza: Law, Morality & Politics***
University of Western Australia Press, 2010)

**Evyn Le Espiritu Gandhi**

***Archipelago of Resettlement: Vietnamese Refugee Settlers and Decolonization across Guam and Israel-Palestine***
(University of California Press, 284 pages, 2022)

**Luisa Gandolfo** (University of Aberdeen)

***Palestinians in Jordan: The Politics of Identity***
(IB Tauris, 2012)

**Chaim Gans** (Tel Aviv University)

***A Political Theory for the Jewish People***
(Oxford University Press USA, 2016)
Contrasting analysis of Zionism with models of post-Zionism.

***A Just Zionism: On the Morality of the Jewish State***
(Oxford University Press USA, 2011)

**Xeriqa Garfinkel**

***A Soldier's Life: Inside the Israeli Army***
(Exploration Society Press, 2002) – photography book supporting the IDF.

**Lee Garratt**, with **Jeff Weston** (editor), **Tommy Sheridan** (foreword) and **Ammar Kazmi** (photography)

***Labour, the Anti-Semitism Crisis & The Destroying of an MP***
(Thinkwell Books, 199 pages 2021)
Account of the 2019, pre-General election expelling of Chris Williamson MP from the Labour Party, under the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn.

**Fawaz A Gerges** (London School of Economics professor & Al Jazeera commentator)

***The Great Betrayal: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in the Middle East***
(Princeton University Press, 384 pages, 2025)
Sweeping historical overview, from the British-French Sykes-Picot Agreement to various stages of pan-Arabism. Includes the author's analysis of how "the decisions of post-colonial Arab rulers contributed to the region's authoritarian governance, social divisions and endemic conflict." – *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*.

***The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World***
(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

***The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda***
(Oxford University Press, 2011)

***The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global***
(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

***Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy***
(Wadsworth, 2007)

**As'ad Ghanem** (Al-Shabaka Policy Advisor / University of Haifa)

With **Mohanad Mustafa** (Beit Berl College/University of Haifa) & **Salim Brake** (University of Haifa)
***Israel in the Post Oslo Era: Prospects for Conflict and Reconciliation with Palestinians***
(Routledge, 160 pages, 2020)

***Palestinians in Israel: The Politics of Faith after Oslo***
(Cambridge University Press, 200 pages, 2018)
Topics include the politicisation of Islamic activism, Palestinian NGOs and political leadership.

with **Dan Bavly** (University of Haifa): ***Towards a Bi-National Homeland for Israelis and Palestinians: In Search of a Double Solution – A United Democracy***
(Saarbrücken, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2015)

***Ethnic Politics in Israel: The Margins and the Ashkenazi Center***
(Routledge, 2010)

***Palestinian Politics after Arafat: A Failed National Movement***
(Indiana University Press, 2010)
See also **OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY**

**Wafa Ghnaim** (founder of the Tatreez Institute; Metropolitan Museum of Art), with editor **Safa Ghnaim**

***Tatreez and Tea: Embroidery and Storytelling in the Palestinian Diaspora***

(author, 448 pages, colour & greyscale editions, 2016, 2018)

Also published in digital form. Contents include: 27 design patterns by **Feryal Abbasi-Ghnaim**, including six complete sets of patterns to create a full traditional dress (chest, sleeve and panel); Seven organic family tea recipes passed on through generations of Palestinian women; Detailed traditional Palestinian embroidery technique and rare northern Palestinian Arabic craft terminology; Complete guide to the techniques, meanings and origins of each embroidery thread stitch and color; Guidance and instructions detailed enough for inexperienced embroiderers, and inspiration ideas for those with needlework experience; Design histories and meanings of traditional and popular Palestinian embroidery designs in the diapora, including *The Missiles, The Birds, The Snakes, The Ducks, The Scorpions, The Story of Cleopatra, The Gardens* and *The Wheat Harvesta*

With **Taita Leila**: ***Palestinian Embroidery***

(author, 16 pages, ca. 2018)

**Benjamin Gidron, Stanley N. Katz,** & **Yeheskel Hasenfeld**

***Mobilizing for Peace: Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, and South Africa***

(Oxford University Press, 2002)

**Yotam Gidron** (Durham University PhD)

***Israel in Africa: Security, Migration, Interstate Politics***

(Zed Books, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "Facing a growing international backlash, Israel has had to look beyond its traditional Western allies for support, and many African governments in turn have been happy to receive Israeli political support, security assistance, investments and technology. But what do these relationships mean for Africa, and for wider geopolitics? With an examination of Africa's authoritarian development politics, the rise of Born-Again Christianity and of Israel's thriving high-tech and arms industries, from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the migration of Africans to Israel and back again, Gidron provides a comprehensive analysis of the various forces and actors shaping Israel's controversial relationships with countries on the continent. In particular, the book demonstrates that Israel's interest in Africa forms part of a wider diplomatic effort, aimed at blocking Palestine's pursuit of international recognition."

**Dr. Mads Gilbert** (Norwegian anaesthesiologist and professor of anaesthesiology at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of North Norway)

***Night in Gaza***

(Skyscraper Publications, 2015)

with foreword by Max Blumenthal; afterword by Mohammed Omer. Norwegian surgeon's lengthy experience, with many photographs, of the Israelis' aerial bombardment assaults on Gaza's 1.8 million residents since 2008 ('Operation Cast Lead'), with an emphasis on the most severe, 'Operation Protective Edge' in 2014.

**Dr. Mads Gilbert** (Norwegian anaesthesiologist and professor of anaesthesiology at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of North Norway) & **Dr. Erik Fosse** (Norwegian cardiothoracic and general surgeon and professor of surgery at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Oslo) with foreword by **Noam Chomsky**; **Guy Puzey** & **Frank Stewart**, translators

***Eyes in Gaza***

(Quartet Books, 368 pages, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "During the course of Israel's twenty-two-day military offensive in 2009 on the Gaza Strip 1,300, mostly civilian, Palestinians were killed, with many thousands more injured. Once again, the Palestinian Community lay in ruins. Despite the Israeli authorities' attempt to shut out aid workers and

the media from the conflict zone, NORWAC (the Norwegian Aid Committee) succeeded in getting some of its envoys into the heart of Gaza City, including two doctors: Mads Gilbert and Erik Fosse. For some time, the two were the only Western eyewitnesses in Gaza. This book is an account of their experience during sixteen harrowing days from 27 December 2008 to 12 January 2009. Each chapter covers just one day, as the reader follows the doctors' journey through the ravaged city, treating local Palestinians and hearing their stories. Hailed by the influential Norwegian newspaper *Klassekampen* as 'the best book of 2009', this shocking yet sober account sheds much-needed light on this recent chapter of one of the most prolonged and complex conflicts of our time."

**David Gilmour**

***Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians***
(Sphere Books, 1982, 1984)

**Norbert Goldfield** (physician, editor of *Ambulatory Care* Management)

***Peace Building through Women's Health: Phsychoanalytic, Sociopsychological, and Community Perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 259 pages, 2021)
Contents: *1. Peace Building Through Health – A Review with Specific Attention to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. 2. Psychic Trauma and Competing Nationalisms in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 3. Ahli Balatah Al-Balad Club: Impacting Diabetes Control with a Focus on Chronic Disease Self-Management 4. Al-Maqdese: Drug Abuse Prevention Among Palestinian Youth in East Jerusalem; 5. Assaf/Israel Aids Task Force: Promoting Equal Rights for HIV positive Refugee Asylum Seekers in Israel 6. Beterem: Grandmothers for Social Change in an Arab Town in Northern Israel 7. Family Defense Society – Decreasing Obesity and Early Detection of Domestic Violence in Refugee Camps and Metropolitan Nablus, Occupied Palestinian Territory 8. Hadassah Optimal: **E**xercise and Nutrition in the Immediate Post-Partum Period in Israel – a successful intervention accompanied by government adoption 9. Kayan: Sustainable New Leadership and Health Improvement for Palestinian Women in Northern Israel 10. Ma'An – Impacting Domestic Violence Against Bedouin Women in Southern Israel 11. One in Nine: Community Based Breast Cancer Initiatives 12. Palestinian Working Women's Society and Development – Building Resilience in the Hebron Hills in Occupied Palestinian Territory 13. White Hill Farm: Desert Farming, Improving Nutrition and Communication between Israeli Jews and Bedouin in Southern Israel 14. Strengthening Women Leaders since Healing across the Divides was Founded in 2004 15. Can Health Professionals Effectively Engage in "Healing Across the Divides" in a Setting of Ongoing Conflict? 16. The Impact of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict on Palestinian Health Care Professionals Working in Occupied Palestinian Territory 17. Looking Forward: Peace Building through Health Options for Healing Across the Divides.*

**Alana Goodman** (*Washington Free Beacon, Washington Examiner,* & *Daily* Mail) and **David Halper** (*New York Post,* author of *Clinton, Inc.)*

***A Convenient Death: The Mysterious Demise of Jeffrey Epstein***
(Sentinel Publications, 256 pages, 2020)
Tangential to the Israeli lobby in the USA.

**Neve Gordon** (Ben-Gurion University) with **Nicola Perugini** (Brown University, Al-Jazeera)

***Human Shields: A History of People in the Line of Fire***
(University of California Press, 312 pages, 2020; 336 pages, 2026)
Tangential, with chapters: Antimilitary Activism in Iraq and Palestine; The Use of Medical Facilities as Shields; The Gaza Wars and Social Media; Drone Warfare and New Surveillance Technologies; Gender, Passivity, and Human Shields; and The Geneva Conventions and the Passive Civilian

***The Human Right to Dominate***
(Oxford University Press, 200 pages, 2015

**Neve Gordon** (Ben-Gurion University)
***Israel's Occupation***
(University of California Press, 2008)

**Uri Gordon & Ohal Grietzer, editors**
***Anarchists against the Wall: Direct Action and Solidarity with the Palestinian Popular Struggle***
-with foreword by **Alfred M. Bonanno**
(Oakland, California: AK Press / Institute for Anarchist Studies, 2013)

**Rebecca Ruth Gould** (University of Birmingham)
***Erasing Palestine: Free Speech and Palestinian Freedom***
(Verso Books, 192 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The widespread adoption of the IHRA definition of anti-semitism and the internalisation of its norms has set in motion a simplistic definitional logic for dealing with social problems that has impoverished discussions of racism and prejudice more generally, across Britain and beyond. It has encouraged a focus on words over substance. *Erasing Palestine* tells the story of how this has happened, with a focus on internal politics within Britain over the course of the past several years. In order to do so, it tells a much longer story, about the history of antisemitism since the beginning of the twentieth century. This is also a story about Palestine, a chronicle of the erasure of the violence against the Palestinian people, and a story about free speech, and why it matters to Palestinian freedom."

**Andrew Gowers & Tony Walker**
***Behind the Myth: Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution***
(Interlink Books, 2001)
Based on hundreds of hours of exclusive interviews with senior PLO figures, including Arafat, as well as senior American, Arab, Israeli and European officials, it is a comprehensive portrait of the evolution of the Palestinian resistance from its earliest days as an unruly and little noticed collection of guerrilla factions, through its rise to international prominence, right up to the position following the Gulf War and the historic Madrid Peace Conference of 1991. It is the story of internecine strife and external conflict; of weakness and over-confidence; of mistakes and miscalculations; and of many lost opportunities for peace. But it is above all the story of the dream that Arafat has done more than anyone to sustain in the face of daunting odds: the idea that Palestinian people should have the right to determine their own future.

**Sarah Graham-Brown**
***Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography in the Middle East, 1860-1950***
(Quartet Books, 1988)

***Education, Repression and Liberation: The Palestinians***
(World University Service, 1984)

***Palestinians and Their Society, 1880-1946: A Photographic Essay***
(Quartet Books, 1980)

***Palestinian Workers and Trade Unions***
(London: Middle East Research and Action Group / UK Palestine Co-ordination, 18 pages, 1980)
see also CULTURE section

**Erella Grassiani** (University of Amsterdam)

***Soldiering under Occupation: Processes of Numbing among Israeli Soldiers in the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(Berghahn Books, 2013)

**Ran Greenstein**
***Zionism and its Discontents: A Century of Radical Dissent in Israel / Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2014)
Covers the Palestinian Marxist Jabra Nicola, the Palestinian Communist Party, Matzpen, and the Bi-Nationalist perspective during the British Mandate.

**Ran Greenstein**
***Genealogies of Conflict: Class, Identity, and State in Palestine / Israel and South Africa***
(Wesleyan University Press, 1995)

**Grassroots Al-Quds**
***Wujood: The Grassroots Guide to Jerusalem***
(Al-Quds: Grassroots, 433 pages plus map, 2019)
Political tour guide.

**Maryam S. Griffin** (University of Washington Bothell)
***Vehicles of Decolonisation: Public Transit in the Palestinian West Bank***
(Temple University Press, 231 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Examining the border-enclosure strategy Israel uses to impose Palestinian im/mobilization, Maryam Griffin considers the ways public transportation in the Palestinian West Bank is a constant site of social struggle. Her book, studies collective movement, resistance, and everyday life in the West Bank to show how Palestinians assert a kind of indigenous self-determination over mobility that Israeli settler colonialism seeks to undermine. Having immersed herself in a year of fieldwork, Griffin maps multiple engagements with the flexible bus, shared van, and private taxi services to demonstrate that the politics of mobility are shaped by ongoing settler colonialism and indigenous struggle. Griffin uses critical border studies to look at the contested nature of mobility at the sites of transit, where Palestinians practice self-determination through routine participation, spectacular political organizing and demonstration, and artistic renderings. Featuring a variety of street images, *Vehicles of Decolonization* shows that multiple registers of people power work in concert not only to resist settler colonial logics but to reinhabit the land through the practice and preservation of alternative relations of mobility."

As co-editor with **William I. Robinson** (University of California – Santa Barbara), with foreword by former US Congressional Rep. **Cynthia McKinney**: ***We Will Not be Silenced: The Academic Repression of Israel's Critics***
(Pluto Press, 2017)
Contents: The Trial of Israel's Campus Critics – David Theo Goldberg and Saree Makdisi
1. They Shoot Tenure, Don't They?: How I crossed the borders of acceptable academic discourse on Holocaust film and the question of Palestine, and never came back – Terri Ginsberg
2. My Ordeal with the Israel Lobby and the University of California – William I. Robinson
3. Power, Punishment, and Perseverance – The Irvine 11
4. A Problem Grows in Brooklyn – Kristofer J. Petersen-Overton
5. Speaking Truth to Power: Advocating for Justice in/for Palestine – Rabab Abdulhadi
6. Hanlon's Razor Cuts Both Ways – David Delgado Shorter
7. The Intolerability of Intolerance – Persis Karim
8. Responding to Columbia University's McCarthyism – Joseph Massad
9. A Multiyear Zionist Censorship Campaign – David Klein
10. Some Thoughts on Facts, Politics, and Tenure – Nadia Abu Al-Hajj

11. Censoring and Sanctioning Students for Justice in Palestine – Max Geller
12. A So-called Self-Hating: Anti-Semitic Jew Speaks Out – Lisa Rofel
13. Interrupted Destinies: Before and After the Forthwith – Steven Salaita

**Aeyal Gross**

***The Writing on the Wall: Rethinking the International Law of Occupation***

(Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "As Israel's control of the Occupied Palestinian Territory nears its fiftieth anniversary, The Writing on the Wall offers a critical perspective on the international law of occupation. Advocating a normative and functional approach to occupation and to the question of when it exists, it analyzes the application of humanitarian and human rights law, pointing to the risk of using the law of occupation in its current version to legitimize new variations of conquest and colonialism. The book points to the need for reconsidering the law of occupation in light of changing forms of control, such as those evident in Gaza. Although the Israeli occupation is a main focal point, the book broadens its compass to look at other cases, such as Iraq, Northern Cyprus, and Western Sahara, highlighting the role that international law plays in all of these cases."

**Jeroen Gunning**

***Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence***

(Columbia University Press, 310 pages, 2008)

**Gülistan Gürbey** (Freie Universität Berlin), **Sabine Hofmann** (Freie Universität Berlin) & **Ferhad Ibrahim Seyder** (University of Erfurt), editors

***Between State and Non-State: Politics and Society in Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "This edited volume compares the internal dimension, politics and society in Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine. In particular, it focuses on internal processes in Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine (Palestinian Territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip) in their specific shaping, development and transformation. The contributing authors analyze the transformation processes of the internal power structures, the economic basics, and the civil societies and provide an overview of the current political, economic and societal situation and challenges in both regions. The book presents the similarities and differences between both de facto states with regard to a set of guidelines: legitimacy, power relations, transformation of politics and society. It provides empirical explanations and contributes to a better understanding of both de facto states."

**Natalia Gutkowski** (Hebrew University Jerusalem) ***Struggling for Time: Environmental Governance and Agrarian Resistance in Israel/Palestine***
**(Stanford University Press, 336 pages, 2024)**

Publisher's blurb: "Natalia Gutkowski unpacks power structures to show how a settler society lays moral claim on indigenous time through agrarian environmental policies, science, technologies, landscapes, and bureaucracy. Shifting the analysis of Israel/Palestine from land and space to time, she offers new insight into the operation of power in agrarian environments and develops a contemporary framework to understand land and resource grabs under temporal justifications. Traveling across both policymaking arenas and Palestinian citizens' agrarian fields, Gutkowski follows the multiple ways that state officials, agronomists, planners, environmentalists, and agriculturalists use time as a tool of collective agency. Through investigations of wetland drainage in Galilee, transformations in olive agriculture, sustainable agrarian development, and regulation of the shmita biblical commandment, the "year of release" for agricultural fields, this work highlights how Palestinian citizens' agriculture has become a site for the state to settle and mediate time conflicts to justify its existence. As Struggling for Time demonstrates, time politics will take on ever greater urgency as societies and governments plan for an uncertain future in our era of climate change."

**Stacey Gutkowski** (Kings College London)

***Religion, War and Israel's Secular Millennials***

(Manchester University Press, 296 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "How do secular Jewish Israeli millennials feel about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, having come of age in the shadow of the Oslo peace process, when political leaders have used ethno-religious rhetoric as a dividing force? This is the first book to analyse blowback to Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli religious nationalism among this group in their own words, based on fieldwork, interviews and surveys conducted after the 2014 Gaza War. Offering a close reading of the lived experience and generational memory of participants, Stacey Gutkowski offers a new explanation for why attitudes to Occupation have grown increasingly conservative over the past two decades. Examining the intimate emotional ecology of Occupation, this book offers a new argument about neo-Romantic conceptions of citizenship among this group. Beyond the case study, Religion, war and Israel's secular millennials also provides a new theoretical framework and research methods for researchers and students studying emotion, religion, nationalism, secularism and political violence around the world."

**Mat Guy**

***Minnows United: Adventures at the Fringes of the Beautiful Game***

(Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2017)

Reporter's observations of global 'fringe' football. Contains material on football in Gaza.

**Janette Habashi** (University of Oklahoma)

***Political Socialization of Youth: A Palestinian Case Study***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "This book increases the awareness of youth political agency and how it relates to adults, governments, communities, and local and global discourse. It reveals the complexity of youth's political lives as it intersects with social identifiers such as location, gender, and political status, and interacts with neoliberal discourse embedded in media, local politics, education, and religious idioms. This book fills a gap in existing research to provide a body of literature on the political socialization and its manifestation in youth political agency. The research findings aid in understanding the abilities of youth to reason, reflect upon, articulate, and act upon their political views. This research is not only pertinent to children in Palestine, but can also be applied to children living everywhere as global discourse of oppression is not limited to a location, age or a group."

**Laila El-Haddad**

***Gaza Mom: Palestine, Politics, Parenting and Everything in Between***

(Just World Books, 2010 and edited ed., 2013)

**Laila El-Haddad** and **Maggie Schmitt**

***The Gaza Kitchen***

(Just World Books, 2013)

More than a cookbook, Gazans' stories reflect farming and the food distribution system.

**Toufic Haddad** (formerly with the United Nations in Jerusalem)

***Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territories***

(IB Tauris, 2016) Part of the SOAS Palestine Studies series.

Publisher's blurb: "Since the 1993 Oslo Accords, the Occupied Palestinian Territory has been the subject of extensive international peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts coordinated by Western donor states and international finance institutions. Despite their failure to yield peace or Palestinian statehood, the role of these organisations in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is generally overlooked owing to their depiction as tertiary actors engaged in technical missions. In Palestine Ltd., Toufic Haddad explores how

neoliberal frameworks have shaped and informed the common understandings of international, Israeli and Palestinian interactions throughout the Oslo peace process. Drawing upon more than 20 years of policy literature, field-based interviews and recently declassified or leaked documents, he details how these frameworks have led to struggles over influencing Palestinian political and economic behaviour, and attempts to mould the class character of Palestinian society and its leadership. A dystopian vision of Palestine emerges as the by-product of this complex asymmetrical interaction, where nationalism, neo-colonialism and 'disaster capitalism' both intersect and diverge. This book is essential for students and scholars interested in Middle East Studies, Arab-Israeli politics and international development." See also title with: Tikva Honig-Parnass

**Thea Renda Abu El-Haj** (Rutgers University)

***Unsettled Belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth after 9/11***

(University of Chicago Press, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "Unsettled Belonging tells the stories of young Palestinian Americans as they navigate and construct lives as American citizens. Following these youth throughout their school days, Thea Abu El-Haj examines citizenship as lived experience, dependent on various social, cultural, and political memberships. For them, she shows, life is characterized by a fundamental schism between their sense of transnational belonging and the exclusionary politics of routine American nationalism that ultimately cast them as impossible subjects. Abu El-Haj explores the school as the primary site where young people from immigrant communities encounter the central discourses about what it means to be American. She illustrates the complex ways social identities are bound up with questions of belonging and citizenship, and she details the processes through which immigrant youth are racialized via everyday nationalistic practices. Finally, she raises a series of crucial questions about how we educate for active citizenship in contemporary times, when more and more people's lives are shaped within transnational contexts. A compelling account of post-9/11 immigrant life, Unsettled Belonging is a steadfast look at the disjunctures of modern citizenship."

**Nadya Hajj** (Wellesley College)

***Networked Refugees: Palestinian Reciprocity and Remittances in the Digital Age***

(University of California Press, 146 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Almost 68.5 million refugees in the world today live in a protection gap, the chasm between protections stipulated in the Geneva Convention and the abrogation of those responsibilities by states and aid agencies. With dwindling humanitarian aid, how do refugee communities solve collective dilemmas, like raising funds for funeral services, or securing other critical goods and services? In *Networked Refugees*, Nadya Hajj finds that Palestinian refugees utilize Information Communication Technology platforms to motivate reciprocity—a cooperative action marked by the mutual exchange of favors and services—and informally seek aid and connection with their transnational diaspora community. Using surveys conducted with Palestinians throughout the diaspora, interviews with those inside the Nahr al Bared Refugee camp in Lebanon, and data pulled from online community spaces, these findings push back against the cynical idea that online organizing is fruitless, emphasizing instead the productivity of these digital networks."

***Protection amid Chaos: The Creation of Property Rights in Palestinian Refugee Camps***

(Columbia University Press, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "The right to own property is something we generally take for granted. For refugees living in camps, in some cases for as long as generations, the link between citizenship and property ownership becomes strained. How do refugees protect these assets and preserve communal ties? How do they maintain a sense of identity and belonging within chaotic settings? *Protection Amid Chaos* follows people as they develop binding claims on assets and resources in challenging political and economic spaces. Focusing on Palestinians living in refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan, it shows how the first to arrive developed flexible though legitimate property rights claims based on legal knowledge retained from their homeland, subsequently adapted to the restrictions of refugee life. As camps increased in

complexity, refugees merged their informal institutions with the formal rules of political outsiders, devising a broader, stronger system for protecting their assets and culture from predation and state incorporation. For this book, Nadya Hajj conducted interviews with two hundred refugees. She consults memoirs, legal documents, and findings in the United Nations Relief Works Agency archives. Her work reveals the strategies Palestinian refugees have used to navigate their precarious conditions while under continuous assault and situates their struggle within the larger context of communities living in transitional spaces."

**Andreas Hackl** (University of Edinburgh)

***The Invisible Palestinians: The Hidden Struggle for Inclusion in Jewish Tel Aviv***
(Indiana University Press, 230 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Within the heart of the Jewish city of Tel Aviv, there is a hidden reality—Palestinians who work, study, and live as an unseen minority without access to equal urban citizenship. Grounded in the everyday lives of Palestinians in Tel Aviv, The Invisible Palestinians offers an ethnographic critique of the city's self-proclaimed openness and liberalism. Andreas Hackl reveals that Palestinians' access to the social and economic opportunities afforded in Tel Aviv depends on an invisibility that not only disrupts opportunities for true urban citizenship but also draws opposition from other Palestinians. They are unable to belong in Tel Aviv as Palestinians and struggle to reconcile Tel Aviv with being Palestinian. By looking at the city from the perspective of this hidden urban minority, Hackl uncovers a critical opportunity to imagine and build a more inclusive and just future for Tel Aviv. An important read, The Invisible Palestinians explores the marginalized urban presence of both Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian labourers from the West Bank in this quintessential Jewish Israeli city. Andreas reveals a highly diverse Palestinian population that includes young people, manual workers and middle class professionals, residents and commuters, students, artists, and activists, as well as members of an underground Palestinian LGBT community that carefully navigates their place in a city that refuses to recognize them."

**Lisa Hajjar** (University of California Santa Barbara; Jadaliyya/Arab Studies Journal)

***Torture: A Sociology of Violence and Human Rights***
(Routledge, 83 pages, 2012/2013)

As co-editor, with **Richard Falk** and **Hilal Elver**: ***Human Rights***
(Routledge, 2008)
5 volumes in the 'Critical Concepts in Political Science' series.

***Courting Conflict: The Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza***
(University of California Press, 312 pages, 2005)
Contents: A political geography off law and conflict / Legal discourses and the conflict in Israel/Palestine / Going to court / The face and arms of military justice / The politics of language / Cause lawyering and national conflict / Political subjects, legal objects / A Suq of deals.

**Ossama Halabi**

***Legal Status of East Jerusalem Population since 1967 and the Implications of Annexation on Their Civil and Social Rights***
(CCDPRJ, 2008)
Based on Chapter Four of author's book, *The Legal Status of Jerusalem City and its Arab Population* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1997)

**Malu Halasa, Zaher Omareen & Nawara Mahfoud**, editors

***Syria Speaks: Art and Culture from the Frontline***

(Al-Saqi Books, 2014)
About three-dozen essays, some with reference to Palestinian refugees, especially the Yarmouk Camp near Damascus. See also **Malu Halasa** in **Olivia Snaije** and **Mitchell Albert**, editors: *Keep Your Eye on the Wall: Palestinian Landscapes* (Saqi Books, 2013)

**Ilan Halevi** (Jew born in Vichy France, French journalist and politican, PLO associate of Yassir Arafat)
***A History of the Jews, Ancient and Modern***
(Zed Books, 1987)
Translated by **A.M. Berrett.**

**Maia Carter Hallward** (Kennesaw State University)
***Transnational Activism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) The author compares four US-based case studies in which activists for and against BDS struggle over issues of identity, morality, legitimacy, and conceptions of peace. Focus includes CodePink, divestment by the University of California and the Olympia Food Co-op boycott.

with **Julie M. Norman**, editors
***Nonviolent Resistance in the Second Intifada: Activism and Advocacy***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

**Jeff Halper** (head of ICAHD, the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions)
***Decolonizing Israel, Liberating Palestine: Zionism, Settler Colonialism, and the Case for a One-Democratic State***
(Pluto Press, 2021)
Chapter 5 focuses on the 'neoliberal' regime in the West Bank.

***War Against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification***
(Pluto Press, 2015)
publisher's blurb: "Long-awaited, *War Against the People* is a powerful indictment of the Israeli state's "securocratic" war in the Palestinian Occupied Territories. Anthropologist and activist Jeff Halper draws on firsthand research to show the pernicious effects of the subliminal form of unending warfare conducted by Israel, an approach that relies on sustaining fear among the populace, fear that is stoked by suggestions that the enemy is inside the city limits, leaving no place truly safe and justifying the intensification of military action and militarization in everyday life. Eventually, Halper shows, the integration of militarized systems—including databases tracking civilian activity, automated targeting systems, unmanned drones, and more—becomes seamless with everyday life. And the Occupied Territories, Halper argues, is a veritable laboratory for that approach." Note: See OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY.

**Raja Halwani** and **Tomis Kapitan,** eds.
***The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Philosophical Essays on Self-Determination, Terrorism and the One-State Solution***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
Contents: Kapitan & Halwani: *Self-Determination* / Kapitan: *Right of Return* / Halwani: *Terrorism* / Kapitan: *The One-State Solution*

**Duaa Abu Hamde**
***Performance Measurement in Palestinian Companies: The Use of the Balanced Scorecard (BSC) Method by Private Firms Operating in Ramallah***
(GRIN Verlag, 38pp, 2016)

Bachelor Thesis from the year 2013 based on research of 46 private Palestinian firms operating in Ramallah from different sectors, allowing for non-financial measures in the evaluation mix.

**Ariel Handel** (Tel Aviv University), **Marco Allegra** (University of Lisbon), and **Erez Maggor** (New York University / Israel Institute), editors

***Normalizing Occupation: The Politics of Everyday Life in the West Bank Settlements***
(Indiana University Press, 2017)
Stressed in particular are such factors as urban planning, rising inequality and the retreat of the welfare state, and the changing political economy of industry and employment. Contents: Introduction: **Marco Allegra**, **Ariel Handel** and **Erez Maggor**: *Normalizing the Occupation: The Making of the Jewish West Bank Settlements* /: **Dan iel Gutwein:** *Across the Green Line: Suburbanization, Privatization and the Settlements* / **David Newman**: *Settlement as Suburbanization: The Banality of Colonization* / / **Marco Allegra**: *"Outside Jerusalem-Yet so Near": Ma'ale Adumim, Jerusalem, and the Suburbanization of Israel's Settlement Policy* / **Miki Kratsman** and **Ruthie Ginsburg**: *Educating Architecture* (photo essay) / **Hadas Weiss**: *Between Cities and Outposts: The Heterogeneity of the Settlements and the Settlers Embedded Politics in a West Bank Settlement* / **Erez Tzfadia**: *Informal Outposts in the West Bank: Normality in Gray Space* / **Lee Cahaner**: *From Ghetto-Politics to Geo-Politics: Ultar-Orthodox Settlements in the West Bank* / **Assag Harel**: *"A Blessed Deviation in Jewish History" - On Contemporary Forms of Messianism among Religiously Motivated Settlers in the West Bank* / **Honaida Ghanem** aka **Honaida Ghanim**: *Forces Co-Existence: Palestinians and Jewish Settlers, from Kubniya to Outpost, a Genealogy of the Palestinian Conceptualization of Jewish Settlement in a Shifting National Context* / **Amir Paz-Fuchs** & **Yael Ronen**: *Integrated or Segregated? Employment Relations in the Settlements* / **Wendy Pullan** & **Haim Yacobi**: Jerusalem's Colonial Space as Paradox: Palestinians Living in the Settlements.

**Jeremy R. Hammond**

***Why Israel Has No 'Right to Exist'***
(author, 2019)
free e-book download: jeremyhammond.com

***Obstacle to Peace: The US Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Cross Village, Michigan: Worldview Publications, 2015

**Theodor Hanf**

***Coexistance in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation***
(IB Tauris, 2014)
Lebanon's civil war seen as primarily a surrogate war over Palestine.

**Adam Hanieh** (SOAS)

With **Rob Knox and Rafeef Ziadah**: ***Resisting Erasure: Capital, Imperialism and Race in Palestine***
(Verso Books, 128 pages, 2025)
Part of the publisher's 'Palestine Pamphlets' series.

***Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East***
(Haymarket Books, 2013)

**Howayda Al-Harithy** (American University of Beirut), editor

***Urban Recovery: Intersecting Displacement with Post War Reconstruction***
(Routledge, 456 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Reconstruction and displacement have often been studied independently as two different processes of physical recovery and human migration towards safety and shelter. It is hoped that

by intersecting or even bridging reconstruction with displacement we can cross-fertilize and exploit both discourses to reach a greater understanding of the notion of urban recovery as a holistic and multi-layered process. This book brings multidisciplinary perspectives into conversation with each other to look beyond the conflict-related displacement and reconstruction, and into the greater processes of crises and recovery. It uses empirical research to examine how trauma, crisis, and recovery overlap, coexist, collide and redefine each other. The core exploration of this edited collection is to understand how the oppositional framing of destruction versus reconstruction and place-making versus displacement can be disrupted; how displacement is spatialized; and how reconstruction is extended to the displaced people rebuilding their lives, environments, and memories in new locations. In the process, displacement is framed as agency, the displaced as social capital, post-conflict urban environments as archives, and reconstructions as socio-spatial practices." Chapters include focus on Palestine and Lebanon.

***Lessons in Post-War Reconstruction: Case Studies from Lebanon in the Aftermath of the 2006 War***
(Routledge, 218 pages, 2010)
Contents: **Howayda Al-Harithy**: The politics of post-war reconstruction in Lebanon / **Mona Harb** and **Mona Fawaz**: Influencing the politics of reconstruction in Haret Hreik / **Hana Alamuddine**: Wa'd: the reconstruction project of the southern suburb of Beirut / **Howayda Al-Harithy**: The politics of identity reconstruction in post-war reconstruction / **Habib Debs**: Reconstruction of Bint Jbeil and social representations of the urban space / **Jala Makhzoumi**: Marginal landscapes, marginalized rural communities: sustainable post-war recovery in southern Lebanon / **Abir Saksouk Sasso**, **Nadine Bekdache** and **Ismael Sheikh Hassan**: Beyond compensations: the post-war reconstruction battles of "Aita Al-Cha'b / **Rabih Shibli**: In the turmoil of chaos: Beit Bil-Jnoub: a grass roots approach towards a rational reconstruction process.

**Richard Hardigan**

***The Other Side of the Wall: An Eyewitness Account of the Occupation of Palestine***
(Cune Publishing, 2018)
with Foreword by **Ilan Pappe**.
Author's account of visiting the West Bank during Israel's 2014 war on Gaza.

**Christopher Harker** (University College London)

***Spacing Debt: Obligations, Violence, and Endurance in Ramallah, Palestine***
(Duke University Press, 208 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Harker traces the emergence of debt in Ramallah after 2008 as part of the financialization of the Palestinian economy under Israeli settler colonialism. Debt contributes to processes through which Palestinians are kept economically unstable and subordinate. Harker draws extensively on residents' accounts of living with the explosion of personal debt to highlight the entanglement of consumer credit with other obligatory relations among family, friends, and institutions. He offers a new geographical theorization of debt, showing how debt affects urban space, including the movement of bodies through the city, localized economies, and the political violence associated with occupation. Bringing cultural and urban imaginaries into conversation with monetized debt, Harker shows how debt itself becomes a slow violence embedded into the everyday lives of citizens. However, debt is also a means through which Palestinians practice endurance, creatively adapting to life under occupation."

**Alan Hart**

***Zionism – The Real Enemy of the Jews***
(World Focus Publications, various editions, in two-and-three-volume editions, 2005, 2012)
Zionist political muscle in both Tel Aviv and Washington is unpacked in this fascinating insider's history given that the author knew well, both Yassir Arafat and Golda Meir! Someone just had to put these candid observations into print, but Hart is the one of the rare news correspondents who really did.

**Eric Hasan**

***Notes on the Occupation: Palestine Lives*** [Israeli colonisation of the West Bank]
Translated by **George Holoch**
(New Press, 2006)

**Norma Hashim** (Viva Palestina Malaysia), editor
Co-edited with **Yousef M. Aljamal**:
***A Shared Struggle: Stories of Palestinian and Irish Hunger Strikers***
(An Fhuiseon, 240 pages, 2021)

***Dreaming of Freedom: Palestinian Child Prisoners Speak***
(Malaysia: Saba Islamic Media, 2016)
Foreword by **Richard Falk**
translated by **Yousef M. Aljamal**

**Amira Hass**

***Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land***
(Semiotxt(e), 2003)
Hass is a rare Jewish Israeli news correspondent (*Ha'aretz*) on Palestinian affairs.

***Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land under Siege***
Translated by **Elana Wesley** & **Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta**
(Hamish Hamilton Press, 1979)

**Frances S. Hasso**

***Resistance, Repression, and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan***
(Syracuse University Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "This book focuses on the central party apparatus of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP aka PDFLP), the Democratic Front (DF) branches established in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Jordan in the 1970s, and the most influential and innovative of the DF women's organizations: the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees in the occupied territories. Until now, no study of a Palestinian political organization has so thoroughly engaged with internal gender histories. In addition, no other work attempts to systematically compare branches in different regional locations to explain those differences."

**Nancy Hawker**

***Palestinian-Israeli Contact and Linguistic Practices***
(Routledge, 2013)

**Reuven Y. Hazan**, **Alan Dowty**, **Menachem Hofnung**, and **Gideon Rahat**

***The Oxford Handbook of Israeli Politics and Society***
(Oxford University Press, 752 pages, 2021)
Addresses the Israeli elections of 2019 and 2020. Of note are **Itzhak Galnoor**: *Arab Citizen in the "Jewish" State of Israel*; **Amal Jamal**: *Conceptualising Palestinian Politics in Israel in the Shadow of the Arab Spring.*

**Shay Hazkani** (University of Maryland)

***Dear Palestine: A Social History of the 1948 War***
(Stanford University Press, 352 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "In 1948, a war broke out that would result in Israeli independence and the erasure of Arab Palestine. Over twenty months, thousands of Jews and Arabs came from all over the world to join those already on the ground to fight in the ranks of the Israel Defense Forces and the Arab Liberation Army. With this book, the young men and women who made up these armies come to life through their letters home, writing about everything from daily life to nationalism, colonialism, race, and the character of their enemies. Shay Hazkani offers a new history of the 1948 War through these letters, focusing on the people caught up in the conflict and its transnational reverberations. *Dear Palestine* also examines how the architects of the conflict worked to influence and indoctrinate key ideologies in these ordinary soldiers, by examining battle orders, pamphlets, army magazines, and radio broadcasts. Through two narratives—the official and unofficial, the propaganda and the personal letters—*Dear Palestine* reveals the fissures between sanctioned nationalism and individual identity. This book reminds us that everyday people's fear, bravery, arrogance, cruelty, lies, and exaggerations are as important in history as the preoccupations of the elites.

**Jennifer Heath** (editor)

***"The Map is Not the Territory: Parallel Paths – Palestinian, Native Americans, Irish***

(Boulder, Colorado: Baksun Books & Arts, (2015)

Book accompanying the touring art exhibition, with themes of maps, walls, resistance, food, identity, diaspora and persistence. Includes essays by Aisling B. Cormack, Valeria Behiery, Phoembe Farris, Farah Mébarki, Germán Gil-Curiel, John Halaka, Valentin Lopez, Rawan Arar, and Nessa Cronin.

**Chris Hedges** (Pulitzer Prize wikking Middle East Bureau Chief for the New York Times; Toronto University; Columbia University; Princeton University)

***A Genocide Foretold: Reporting on Survival and Resistance in Occupied Palestine***

(Seven Stories Press, 224 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Hedges wrote the first section of the book when he was in Ramallah in July 2024, and he draws from his experience doing extensive reporting from the Middle East, including Gaza, for the *New York Times*. *A Genocide Foretold* confronts the stark realities of life under siege in Gaza and the heroic effort ordinary Palestinians are waging to resist and survive. Weaving together personal stories, historical context, and unflinching journalism, Chris Hedges provides an intimate portrait of systemic oppression, occupation, and violence. The book includes chapters on: What life is like in Gaza City and Ramallah in the midst of approaching bombs and gunfire. The history of the dispossession of Palestinians of their land in relation to the ideology of Zionism. A portrait of Amr, a 17-year-old highschool student who is forced to evacuate his village with his family. Psychoanalysis of the state of permanent war that has led to the destruction of hospitals, telecommunications centers, governmental buildings, roads, homes universities, schools, and libraries and archaeological and heritage sites in Gaza. The ways in which the collective retribution against innocents is a familiar tactic employed by colonial rulers. A heartbreaking final chapter called *Letter to the Children of Gaza*."

***The World as it is: Dispatches on the Myth of Human Progress***

(Nation Books, 350 pages, 2010; 407 pages, 2013)

**Neil Hertz**

***Pastoral in Palestine***

(Prickly Paradigm Press, 122 pages, 2013)

Travelogue of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, by a teacher in Ramallah and Abu Dis.

**Shir Hever** (Frei University, Berlin; Economist with the Alternative Information Center/AIC, Jerusalem & Beit Sahour; organiser of Jewish Voice for a Just Peace, Germany)

***The Privatization of Israeli Security***

(Pluto Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Charts the rise of neoliberal Israel to show how Israeli security elites turn violence into a commodity."

***The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression Beyond Exploitation***
(Pluto Press, 240 pages, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "In this highly original book, Shir Hever shows that understanding the economic dimensions of the occupation is crucial to unravelling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hever rejects the premise that Israel keeps control over Palestinian territories for material gain, and also the premise that Israel is merely defending itself from Palestinian aggression. Instead, he argues that the occupation has reached an impasse, with the Palestinian resistance making exploitation of the Palestinians by Israeli business interests difficult, but the Israeli authorities reluctant to give up control."

***The Economy of the Occupation: Academic Boycott of Israel and the Complicity f Israeli Academic Institutions in Occupationof Palestinian Territories***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 62 pages, 2009)

***The Question of Sanctions and a Boycott against Israel***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 27 pages, 2006)

**Garth Hewitt** (Canon of St George's Anglican Church, Jerusalem, singer, and head of the Amos Trust)
***Occupied Territories: The Revolution of Love from Bethlehem to the Ends of the Earth***
(USA: InterVarsity Press [note: not IVP UK], 2014)

***Bethlehem Speaks: Voices from the Little Town Cry Out***
(SPCK, 2008)

***Pilgrims and Peacemakers: A Journey Towards Jerusalem***
(BRF – Bible Reading Fellowship, 1996)

Note: Numerous other books and recordings.

**Ibrahim Hewitt** [Founder of Al-Aqsa school in Leicester; Chair of Interpal, a British Palestinian relief and development charity; former editor of *Middle East Monitor*]
***Israel and Gaza Behind the Media Veil***
(MEMO / Middle East Monitor, 2014-2015)
Essays on Israel's media coverage of 'Operation Protective Edge,' 2014. Dr Daud Abdullah, Nasim Ahmed, Shazia Arshad, Victoria Brittain, Yousef Al-Helou, Dr Sarah Marusek, Jessica Purkiss, Walan Ramadan, Alastair Sloan, Ben White and Asa Winstanley contribute to this book of essays about the media, "dependent on advertising revenue and corporate sponsorship, with associated vested interests." – Muhammad Khan – *Muslim News*.

***Memo to the Editor: Letters 2009-2011***
(MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 308 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "A timely, revealing and important book, 'Memo to the Editor' is a compilation of letters authored by Ibrahim Hewitt, the Middle East Monitor's Senior Editor, and addressed to the Editors of major newspapers on issues of the day. 'Curated' in forward chronological order and with a précis included, the letters which date from December 2009 deliver insightful and up-to-the-minute commentary and analysis on events of the Israel-Palestine Conflict as they occur. Woven into this is a shrewd, and frequently humorous, critique of the way these events are often misrepresented in mainstream media. One of the author's fundamental premises in writing these letters was to let journalists know that their work was under scrutiny. As such, the book also speaks to issues of freedom of the press and the space allowed to dissenting voices. The end result is a powerful and

unique offering that provides the reader with a sustained argument and narrative from an alternative perspective. The quasi-conversational format that it employs also allows the incredulity and helpless horror at the injustices of the conflict felt by so many to be keenly articulated."

**Jamil Hilal** (Bir Zeit University)

***Where Now for Palestine? The Demise of the Two-State Solution***
(Zed Books, 2013)
Topics include the changing face of Fateh, Israeli perceptions of Palestine, and the influence of the Palestinian diaspora. The book also analyzes the environmental destruction of Gaza and the West bank, the economic viability of a Palestinian state and the impact of US foreign policy in the region.
See also: Ilan Pappe

**Marc Lamont Hill** (Temple University; Al Jazeera) and **Mitchell Plitnick** (B'Tselem / Jewish Voice for Peace)

***Except for Palestine: The Limits of Progressive Politics***
(The New Press, 240 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "argues that progressives and liberals who oppose regressive policies on immigration, racial justice, gender equality, LGBTQ rights, and other issues must extend these core principles to the oppression of Palestinians. In doing so, the authors take seriously the political concerns and well-being of both Israelis and Palestinians, demonstrating the extent to which U.S. policy has made peace harder to attain. They also unravel the conflation of advocacy for Palestinian rights with anti-Semitism and hatred of Israel. Hill and Plitnick provide a timely and essential intervention by examining multiple dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conversation, including Israel's growing disdain for democracy, the effects of occupation on Palestine, the siege of Gaza, diminishing American funding for Palestinian relief, and the campaign to stigmatize any critique of Israeli occupation"

**Rosemary Hollis**

***Britain in the Middle East in the 9/11 Era***
(Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

as editor w/**Mark A. Heller**
***Israel and the Palestinians: Israeli Policy Options***
(Chatham House, 2005)

With **Mustafa Hamarneh** & **Khalil Shikaki**
***Jordanian-Palestinian Relations – Where To?***
(Chatham House, 1997)

***Lebanon on Hold: Implications for Middle East Peace***
(Chatham House/Centre for Lebanese Studies, 96 pages, 1996)

***Israel on the Brink of Decision: Division, Unity and Crosscurrents in the Israeli Body Politic***
(Conflict Studies, 29 pages, 1990)
Focus on the influence of the First Intifada of 1987.

**Constance Hilliard**

***Does Israel Have a Future? The Case for a Post-Zionist State***
(Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2009)

**Gil Z. Hochberg** (UCLA)

***Becoming Palestine: Toward an Archival Imagination of the Future***

(Duke University Press, 208 pages, 2021)

Author examines how contemporary Palestinian artists, filmmakers, dancers and activists use archival materials in their work. Subjects include Jumana Manna, Kamal Aljafari, Larissa Sansour, Farah Saleh, Basel Abbas and Ruanne Abou-Rahme.

***Visual Occupations: Violence and Visibility in a Conflict Zone***

(Duke University Press, 2015).

Publisher's blurb: "Hochberg shows how the Israeli Occupation of Palestine is driven by the unequal access to visual rights, or the right to control what can be seen, how, and from which position. Israel maintains this unequal balance by erasing the history and denying the existence of Palestinians, and by carefully concealing its own militarization. Israeli surveillance of Palestinians, combined with the militarized gaze of Israeli soldiers at places like roadside checkpoints, also serve as tools of dominance. Hochberg analyzes various works by Palestinian and Israeli artists, among them Elia Suleiman, Rula Halawani, Sharif Waked, Ari Folman, and Larry Abramson, whose films, art, and photography challenge the inequity of visual rights by altering, queering, and manipulating dominant modes of representing the conflict. These artists' creation of new ways of seeing—such as the refusal of Palestinian filmmakers and photographers to show Palestinian suffering or the Israeli artists' exposure of state manipulated Israeli blindness —offers a crucial gateway, Hochberg suggests, for overcoming and undoing Israel's militarized dominance and political oppression of Palestinians."

See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

**Robert Hostetter**

***Peacemakers in Israel-Palestine: Dialogues for a Just Peace***

(Routledge, 376 pages, 2022 / 2023)

Methodologies plus interviews with Abdelfattah Abusrour, Ghassan Andoni, Arik Ascherman, Hanan Ashrawi, Naim Ateek, Uri Avnery, Sami Awad, Sam Bahour, Eitan Bronstein, Emad Burnat, Elias Chacour, Mona El-Farra, Jeff Halper, Jonathan Kuttab, Godeon Levy, Jessica Montell, Ilan Pappe, Mitri Raheb, Estephan Salemeh, Yonatan Shapira, and Gila Svirsky.

**Jacob Hoiglit, Walid Salem, Karam Dana & Bilal Salameh**

***Islamic Hizb Ut-Tahrir in Palestine: Intellectual Foundation and the Politics between Theory and Implementation***

(University of Oslo / Jerusalem: Centre for Democracy and Community Development / Hebron: Palestinian Centre for Media Research and Development, 2015)

Authors compare Hizb's ideology to that of Hamas and Salafism, and examine its rise and growth, positions on democracy and human rights, and political Islam. See also: Centre for Democracy and Community Development

**Mateo Hoke & Cate Malek**

***Palestine Speaks: Narratives of Life under Occupation***

(Verso Books, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "For more than six decades, the Israel–Palestine conflict has been one of the world's most widely reported, yet least understood, human rights crises. Too often the everyday lives and voices of the people in Gaza and the West Bank are forgotten. In Palestine spokesmen and women living under the occupation describe in their own words how it has shaped their lives. This includes eyewitness accounts of the most recent attacks on Gaza in 2014."

**Maria Holt** (University of Westminster)

***Women and Conflict in the Middle East: Palestinian Refugees and the Response to Violence***

(IB Tauris, 2014)

***Women, Islam and Resistance in the Arab World***
(Lynne Rienner Publications, 2013)

Note – PhD University of London, 2004: ***Testimonies of Violence – Testimonies of Violence: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Violence and Islamic Teachings on Shi'i and Palestinian Women in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations in Lebanon***

**Adam Horowitz, Lizzy Ratner & Philip Weiss**, editors
***The Goldstone Report: The Legacy of the Landmark Investigation of the Gaza Conflict***
(Nation Books, 2011)

**Dylan Howard**, (Hollywood scandal reporter), **Melissa Cronin** (*Star Magazine*), **James Robertson** (*Daily Mirror, OK!, National Enquirer*)
***Epstein: Dead Men Tell No Tales: Spies, Lies & Blackmail***
(Skyhorse, 232 pages, 2019)

**Harry N. Howard** aka **Harry Nicholas Howard**
***The King-Crane Commission: An American Enquiry in the Middle East***
(Beirut: Khayats Publishing, 369 pages, 1963)

**Khaled Hroub** aka **Khaled Al-Hroub** (Cambridge University, Birzeit University, Northwestern University Qatar, all via Bethlehem)
as editor: ***Religious Broadcasting in the Middle East***
(Hurst, 2012)

as editor: ***Political Islam: Context versus Ideology***
(Saqi Books & SOAS Middle East Institute, 315 pages, 2010)

***Hamas – A Beginner's Guide***
(Pluto Press, 170 pages, 2006; revised ed., 196 pages, 2010; 2nd edition, 225 pages, 2010; 256 pages, 2025)

***Hamas: Political Thought and Practice***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000)

**Bruno Huberman** (Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo)
***The Palestinians and East Jerusalem: Under Neoliberal Settler Colonialism***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury SOAS Palestine Studies series, 216 pages; 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Over the last two decades, the Israeli government has implemented policies for the development of East Jerusalem. These comprise urban revitalization as well as professional training and the promotion of entrepreneurship for the Palestinians. But how do these policies co-exist under Israeli settler colonial power? This book focuses on the contradiction between the rise of neoliberal development in East Jerusalem and the simultaneous continuation of Israeli settler colonialism. It argues that the combination of settler colonialism and neoliberalism allows for the 'primitive accumulation of capital' to also occur permanently through deceptive soft forms. More than this, based on theoretical research, interviews, and an analysis of race and class relations in East Jerusalem, the book shows that neoliberal development is used to facilitate the reproduction of racial hierarchies, settler privileges and the pacification of the Palestinian residents, where these outcomes are presented as the 'natural' result of market relations. The author calls this environment 'neoliberal

settler colonialism' and explores Palestinians' new acts of resistance that exist ambivalently within this structure. A significant theoretical contribution, the study highlights a new settler colonial and neoliberal sociability that co-opts the exploited and oppressed."

**Matthew Hughes** (Brunel University)

***British Ways of Counter-Insurgency: A Historical Perspective***
(Routledge, 258 pages, 2024)

***Britain's Pacification of Palestine: The British Army, the Colonial State, and the Arab Revolt, 1936-1939***
(Cambridge University Press, 478 pages hardback, 2019/504 pages paperback, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "In this complete military history of Britain's pacification of the Arab revolt in Palestine, Matthew Hughes shows how the British Army was so devastatingly effective against colonial rebellion. The Army had a long tradition of pacification to draw upon to support operations, underpinned by the creation of an emergency colonial state in Palestine. After conquering Palestine in 1917, the British established a civil Government that ruled by proclamation and, without any local legislature, the colonial authorities codified in law norms of collective punishment that the Army used in 1936. The Army used 'lawfare', emergency legislation enabled by the colonial state, to grind out the rebellion. Soldiers with support from the RAF launched kinetic operations to search and destroy rebel bands, alongside which the villagers on whom the rebels depended were subjected to curfews, fines, detention, punitive searches, demolitions and reprisals. Rebels were disorganised and unable to withstand the power of such pacification measures."

As editor: ***Allenby in Palestine: The Middle East Correspondence of Field Marshal Viscount Allenby, June 1917-October 1919***
(Sutton, 370 pages, 2004)

**Human Rights Defenders Fund**

***Disturbing the Peace: The Use of Criminal Law to Limit the Actions of Human Rights Defenders in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Jaffa: HRDF, 2016, 80pp)
Report also offers chilling first-hand testimonies of brutal arrests, savage beatings, and many accounts of inventive punishments and humiliations of activists (very often women) by police and soldiers.

**Sahar Huneidi**

***A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians***
(IB Tauris, 2001)
Sir Herbert Samuel, the first British High Commissioner in Mandatory Palestine (1920–25) has been generally regarded as an impartial administrator. But most of the measures Samuel took during his time in Palestine were designed to prepare the ground not simply for the "Jewish national home" promised in both the Balfour Declaration and the mandate for Palestine, but also for a Jewish state.

**Cherine Hussein** (Sussex University and Council for British Research in the Levant / CBRL)

***The Re-Emergence of the Single State Solution in Palestine/Israel: Countering an Illusion***
(Routledge, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Providing the first in-depth intellectual and organizational mapping of the single state idea's recent resurgence in Palestine/Israel, this book enquires into its nature as a phenomenon of resistance, as well as into its potential as a counterhegemonic force in the making against the processes of Zionism. Reconstructing this moment of re-emergence through primary material and interviews with diverse influential intellectuals—its analysis highlights their self-understandings, worldviews, strategies and perceptions of the phenomenon in which they are involved, while questioning whether the single

state idea has the potential to become a Gramscian inspired movement of resistance against Zionism. In presenting this rare insight into a resistance movement in the making, this book resurrects an empowering image of Antonio Gramsci infused with the writings of Edward Said. This it does in an effort to both problematize the dominant interpretations of Gramsci's writings in International Relations, and to decolonise the abstract way in which resistance and counter hegemony are often studied in the discipline. Contributing a mapping of a silenced alternative and hopeful way forward in the context of escalating violence, this book is essential reading for those studying the Arab-Israeli conflict, Middle East Politics and International Relations."

**Hadeel S. Abu-Hussein** aka **Hadeel Abu Hussein**

***The Struggle for Land under Israeli Law: An Architecture of Exclusion***

(Routledge, 250 pages, 2023)

Includes case study of Sheikh Jarrah. Publisher's blurb: "Land is one of the core resources of human existence, development and activity. Therefore, it is also a key basis of political power and of social and economic status. Land regimes and planning regulations play a dynamic role in deciding how competing claims over resources will be resolved. According to legal geography, spatial ordering impacts legal regimes; whilst legal rules form social and human space. Through the lenses of international law, colonisation and legal geography, the book examines the land regime in Israel. More specifically, it endeavours to understand the spatial strategies adopted by Israel to organise the entire territorial expanse of the country as Jewish, while also excluding Arab Palestinian citizens of Israel and residents of East Jerusalem from the landscape. The book then details how the systematic nature and processes of marginalisation are mapped out across the civil, political and socio-economic landscape. This monograph will be of interest to international legal theorists, legal geographers, land lawyers and human rights practitioners and students; as well as to international scholars, NGOs and others focusing on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict."

**Nassar Ibrahim**

***Illusion of Development under Israeli Occupation: The Political Motivations of Donors to the Palestinians***

(Bethlehem: the author & the Alternative Information Center, 2011)

with **Dr. Majed Nassar**

***The Stupidity of Power vs the Palestinian Resistance***

(Ramallah: Bailasan Design, 2003)

***The Palestinian Intifada – Cry Freedom***

With an introduction by **Michel Warschawski**

(Ramallah: Bailasan Design, 2002)

See also: Fiction

**Motti Inbari** (Professor of Jewish Studies, University of North Carolina)

***Messianic Religious Zionism Confronts Israeli Territorial Compromise***

(Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Gush Emunim focus.

***Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount: Who Will Build the Third Temple?***

(State University of New York Press, 2009)

**International Solidarity Movement (ISM)**:

**Ghassan Andoni**, **Huwaida Arraf**, **Marissa McLaughlin, Nicholas Blincoe**, **Josie Sandercock**, **Radhika Sainath**, & **Hussein Khalili**, editors

***Peace under Fire: Israel, Palestine and the International Solidarity Movement***
(Verso, 297 pages, 2004)
Non-violent, direct action efforts in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza. Foreword by **Edward W. Said**.

**Anas Iqtait** (Australian National University Centre for Arab & Islamic Studies)
***Funding and the Quest for Sovereignty in Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 154 pages, 2023)
Focus on 'Dual Rentierism' in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza. Publisher's blurb: "This book explores the political economy of governance in Palestine. It makes a unique contribution to studies of governance and political economy using the Palestinian Authority (PA) as a case study, introducing and developing the concept of 'dual rentierism'. The author uses primary research to chart the evolution of the fiscal sociology of the PA and explore how it has shaped the PA's economic policies and the state–society relationship in the Palestinian Territories. The book adopts a critical political economy approach, making the case that external sources of PA income represent political rents that need to be disaggregated and studied concurrently. It further focuses on the drivers and constraints that have shaped the PA's policy development and state-building associated with its dependence on external revenues. Ultimately, the book elaborates on how the need for fiscal survivability has thwarted the Palestinian quest for statehood. "

**Sarah Irving** (Staffordshire University; editor of *Contemporary Levant*) See also: CHRISTIAN PALESTINIANS, PALESTINE POETRY)
As editor: ***The Social and Cultural History of Palestine: Essays in Honour of Salim Tamari***
(Edinburgh University Press, 232 pages, 2023/2024)
Salim Tamari: historical Palestinian sociologist; Institute of Palestine Studies; Birzeit and Georgetown Universities. Contents: **Sarah Irving**: *The social and cultural in the historiography of Mandate Palestine* / **Mahmoud Yazbak**: *Jaffa before the Nakba: Palestine's thriving city, 1799-1948* / **Karène Summerer-Sanchez**: *To 'strengthen Mediterranean resistance'? Albert Antebi and the porous boundaries of cultural identification in Ottoman Jerusalem, 1896-1919* / **Dotan Halevy** and **Amin Khalaf**: *Sharing a school-bench? Jewish and Arab students in late-Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine* / **Sary Zananiri**: *Costumes and the Image: Authenticity, Identity and Photography in Palestine* / **Nadi Abusaada**: *'The Reconstruction of Palestine': Geographical Imaginaries after World War I* / **Rawda Morkus-Makhoul**: *Decolonising the Social History of Rural Palestinian Women: the economic activity of rural women in the Galilee during the British Mandate* / **Chris Sandal-Wilson**: *Ethnographies of madness: Père Antonin Jaussen, Shaykh Sa'ad al-Din and the management of mental illness in mandate-era Nablus* /**Sarah Irving**: *'Irrespective of community or creed': charity, solidarity and the 1927 Jericho earthquake* / **Issam Nassar**: *Photographing the Palestinian Nakba: Rethinking the Role of Photography in Historical Writing*

As co-editor with **Anthony Gorman**: ***Cultural Entanglement in the Pre-Independence Arab World: Arts, Thought and Literature***
(IB Tauris, 2021)

***Leila Khaled: Icon of Palestinian Liberation***
(Pluto Press, 2012)
An improvement on Khaled's own 1975 autobiography, long since out of print. Irving allows the subject's voice to come through, and her own critical assessment as well.

***Palestine***
(Bradt Travel Guides, ca. 2010)
An insightful walking guide for intrepid ramblers, but an indispensable reference work too. Keep it handy.

With **Sharyn Lock**

***Gaza: Beneath the Bombs***
(Pluto Press, 2010)With an afterword from **Richard Falk**.

**Rami K. Isaac, C. Michael Hall, Freya Higgins-Desbiolles**, editors
***The Politics and Power of Tourism in Palestine***
(Routledge, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Tourism in Palestine has been receiving an increasingly important profile given its economic and religious importance and the significant role it plays in Israeli-Palestinian relations, representation of Palestinian statehood and identity, and wider Middle Eastern politics. Nevertheless, Palestine, like much of the Middle East as a whole, remains extremely underrepresented in tourism literature. This title aims to fill this void by being the first book dedicated to exploring the significance of tourism in relationship to Palestine. The book examines the role of tourism in Palestine at three main levels. First, it provides an overview of destination management and marketing issues for the tourism industry in Palestine and addresses not only the visitor markets and the economic significance of tourism but also the realities of the difficulties of destination management, marketing and promotion of the Palestinian state. Second, it provides a series chapters and case studies that interrogate not only the various forms of tourism in Palestine but also its economic, social, environmental and spiritual importance. This section also conveys a dimension to tourism in Palestine that is not usually appreciated in the Western mainstream media. The third section indicates the way in which tourism in Palestine highlights broader questions and debates in tourism studies and the way in which travel in the region is framed in wider discourses. A significant dimension of the book is the attention it gives to the different voices of stakeholders in Palestinian tourism at varying levels of scale."

**Runo Isaksen**
As editor
***Literature and War: Conversations with Israeli and Palestinian Writers***
Translated by **Kari Dickson**
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2009)
Contents: What really matters is the quality of what's in our heads / Etgar Keret — In morality's catastrophe zones / David Grossman — We have to act as if there is a chance. Maybe / Yoram Kaniuk — In conflicts, few people are able to understand the suffering of others / Amos Oz — Dissension is an old Jewish tradition / Meir Shalev — Arabophobia! / Orly Castel-Bloom — A perfect bridge / Dorit Rabinyan — Life is so much richer / Mahmoud Shuqair — I want to be free / Ghassan Zaqtan — My aim is to survive / Liana Badr — I write to release the violence inside / Zakariyya Muhammad — We have to be humane in our fight / Yahya Yakhlif — Men dominate society / Sahar Khalifeh — It is our duty to know about the other side / Mahmoud Darwish and Izzat Ghazzawi — Or should we do something about it? an Israeli-Palestinian contribution / Salman Natour.

**Islamic Human Rights Commission**
**Adam Majeed**
***Policing, Protest, and Conflict – A Report into the Policing of the London Gaza Demonstrations in 2008-2009***
(IHRC, 2010)

**Musthak Ahmed** & **Fahad Ansari**
***Aftermath – Gaza in the Days after the 22 Day War***
(IHRC, 2009)

**Arzu Merali** & **Javad Sharbaf**, editors
***Towards a New Liberation Theology – Reflections on Palestine***
(IHRC, 2009)
Conference papers, 2005: Rabbi Yisroel Weiss, Neturei Karta USA / Dr. Ilan Pappe, Haifa University / Rabbi Avri Cohen, Neturei Karta, Manchester / Fr. Joe McVeigh, Belfast/ Professor Saied Reza

Ameli, University of Tehran / Dr. Ghada Ramahi / Rima Fakhry, political council of Hizbullah, Beirut / Rev. Stephen Sizer, Guildford / Imam Muhammad Al-Asi, Washington DC / Imam Achmad Cassiem, chair Islamic Unity Convention, Cape Town / Leah Tsemel, human rights lawyer, Jerusalem / Archmandrite Attallah Hanna, Jerusalem – available as free download: http://shop.ihrc.org

**Yisroel Dovid Weiss**
***Judaism – An Alternative to Zionism***
(IHRC, 8 pages, 2001)

**Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed**
***Apartheid in the Holy Land – Racism in the Zionist State of Israel***
(IHRC, 2001)

**Perla Issa** (Historian and filmmaker, Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut)
***The Endurance of Palestinian Political Factions: An Everyday Perspective from Nahr el-Bared Camp***
(University of California Press/Beirut:
Institute for Palestine Studies, 228 pages, 2021)
Also available as open access: DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.107**.** Publisher's blurb: "The Endurance of Palestinian Political Factions is an ethnographic study of Palestinian political factions in Lebanon through an immersion in daily home life. Perla Issa asks how sometimes unpopular and discredited political factions [popular committees] remain the center of political life in the Palestinian camps in diaspora. Through an examination of the daily, mundane practices of refugees in Nahr el-Bared camp in particular, this book shows how intimate, interpersonal and kin-based relations are transformed into political networks and offers a fresh analysis of how those networks are in turn metamorphosed into political structures. By providing a detailed and intimate account of this process, this book reveals how factions are produced and reproduced in everyday life even often despite widespread condemnation."

**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**
***The First Well***
Translated by **Issa J. Boullata**
(Hesperus Press, 217pp, 2012)
Autobiography on growing up in Bethlehem and Jerusalem

***Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories***
Translated by **Issa J. Boullata**
(University of Arkansas Press, 185pp, 2005)

**Islah Jad** (Birzeit University)
***Palestinian Women's Activism: Nationalism, Secularism, Islamism***
(Syracuse University Press, 260 pages, 2018)
Relevant to Hizb al-Khalas. Publisher's blurb: "Jad traces the transformation of the Palestinian women's movement from the 1930s to the post-Oslo period and through the Second Intifada to examine the often-fraught relationship between women and nationalism in Palestine. Offering one of the first intensive studies of Islamist women's activism, Jad also explores the impact of emerging feminist NGOs in depoliticizing the secular Palestinian women's movement. Studying these two developments together illuminates the nature of women's engagement in the Palestinian space, challenging myths of gender roles' "immutability" under Islam and the supposed "modernizing" benefits of Western-style activism."

**Manal A. Jamal** (James Madison University)
***Promoting Democracy: The Force of Political Settlements in Uncertain Times***

(New York University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Democracy promotion is a central pillar of the foreign policy of many states, but the results are often disappointing. In Promoting Democracy, Manal A. Jamal examines why these efforts succeed in some countries, but fail in others. A former journalist and researcher in the Palestinian territories, she offers an up-close perspective of the ways in which Western donor funding has, on one hand, undermined political participation in cases such as the Palestinian territories, and, on the other hand, succeeded in bolstering political engagement in cases such as El Salvador. Based on five fieldwork trips and over 150 interviews with grassroots activists, political leaders, and directors and program officers in donor agencies and NGOs, Jamal brings into focus an often-overlooked perspective: the experiences of those directly affected by this assistance. Promoting Democracy makes an important and timely argument about how political settlements ultimately shape democracy promotion efforts, and what political choices Western state sponsored donors can make to maximize successful outcomes in different contexts across the world."

**Mya Guarnieri Jaradat** (journalist for Al Jazeera English, *The Guardian, Foreign Policy,* etc).
As **Mya Guarnieri**: ***Crossing the Line: An Israeli-Palestinian Love Story***
(Red Lightning Books/Indiana University Press, 264 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In *Crossing the Line* , journalist Mya Guarnieri recounts the story of a real-life Romeo and Juliet: herself, a Jewish American immigrant to Israel lecturing at a Palestinian university, and Mohamed, the son of a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In this timely memoir, Guarnieri chronicles how, despite the Israeli-built separation barrier that stood between them, the two journalists managed to meet, fall in love, and overcome both the external and internal obstacles that stood between them. With a reporter's eye for detail and a storyteller's knack for nuance, she details the political, cultural, and family problems the star-crossed lovers faced throughout their courtship. This is not only a reflection on her own story, however; this compelling memoir also offers an intimate look at daily life in Palestinian areas of the Israeli-occupied West Bank; it explores the complexity of loving one's "enemy"; and it serves as a tortured love letter to the land and the two peoples that, paradoxically, nurtured Mya and Mohamed's relationship while simultaneously casting them out. In a dark moment in the long history of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians,*Crossing the Line* is a spot of light that imagines a different future for the two peoples. It is a universal story about the challenges of overcoming our innermost emotional barriers and making ourselves vulnerable to love."

***The Unchosen: The Lives of Israel's New Others***
(Pluto Press, 2017)
On workers from Africa and Asia, but Tangential to Palestinian Israelis.

**Ewa Jasiewicz** (author), **Jon Sack** (illustrator)
***Prisoners of Love: A Story from the Freedom Flotilla***
Graphic novel format published by Jon Sack, 2011

**Lena Jayyusi**, editor
***Jerusalem Interrupted: Modernity and Colonial Transformation, 1917-Present***
(Olive Branch Press / Interlink Press, 2015)

**Sabeel** (Jerusalem)
***Kumi Now: An Inclusive Call for Nonviolent Action to Achieve a Just Peace***
(Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 2020)

**Jewish Voice for Labour**
***How the EHRC Got it So Wrong: Antisemitism and the Labour Party***
(Verso Books, 2021)

EHRC = Equality and Human Rights Commission. Introduction by **Sir Geoffrey Bindman QC**.

**Jewish Voice for Peace** (USA)

***On Antisemitism: Solidarity and the Struggle for Justice in Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books / JVP, 300 Pages, 2017)
With foreword by **Judith Butler** (University of California Berkeley).
Anthology of a multitude of contributors, including Omar Barghouti, Judith Butler, and Rebecca Vilkomerson.

***Reframing Anti-Semitism: Alternative Jewish Perspectives***
(JVP, 92 pages, 2004) 9 essays.

**Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London; Editor, *State Crime Journal*)

***Companions in Conflict: Animals in Occupied Palestine***
(Melville House, 2019)

**Joint Parliamentary Middle East Councils Commission of Enquiry**

***Right of Return***
(Labour, Conservative, and Middle East Councils: 317 pages, 2001)
Report of a 'Commission of Enquiry' tour of Palestinian refugee camps in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon by British MPs **Ernie Ross**, **Menzies Campbell**, **Neil Gerrard**, and **Nick St. Aubyn**.
Includes transcriptions of interviews with a wide range of Palestinians.

**Ahmad Hasan Joudah**

**Revolt in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century: The Era of Shaykh al-Umar**
(Princeton, New Jersey: Kingston Press, 163 pages, 1987; Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 246 pages, 2013)

**Sami Al-Jundi** and **Jen Marlowe**

***The Hour of Sunlight: One Palestinian's Journey from Prisoner to Peacemaker***
(Nation Books, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "As a teenager in Palestine, Sami al Jundi had one ambition: overthrowing Israeli occupation. With two friends, he began to build a bomb to use against the police. But when it exploded prematurely, killing one of his friends, al Jundi was caught and sentenced to ten years in prison. It was in an Israeli jail that his unlikely transformation began. Al Jundi was welcomed into a highly organized, democratic community of political prisoners who required that members of their cell read, engage in political discourse on topics ranging from global revolutions to the precepts of nonviolent protest and revolution. Al Jundi left prison still determined to fight for his people's rights—but with a very different notion of how to undertake that struggle. He cofounded the Middle East program of Seeds of Peace Center for Coexistence, which brings together Palestinian and Israeli youth."

**Musfaf Kabha** and **Dan Caspi**

***The Palestinian Arab In/Outsiders: Media and Conflict in Israel***
(Vallentine Mitchell Publishing, 2011)
The Arab press in Israel and how it resists state control.

**Mustafa Kabha**

***The Palestinian People: Seeking Sovereignty and State***
(Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2013)

**Charles S. Kame++n**

*Little Common Ground: Arab Agriculture and Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 19920-1948*
(University of Pittsburgh Press, 352 pages, 1991)

**Taysir Kamlah**

***What Al-Quds Means to Muslims***
(London: Al-Rafid, 1997)
in Arabic and English.

**Mehran Kamrava** (Georgetown University, Qatar)

***The Impossibility of Palestine: History, Geography and the Road Ahead***
(Yale University Press, 312 pages, 2016)
Author argues that Israel's "state-building" process has never risen above the level of municipal governance, and its goal has never been Palestinian independence.

**Hatim Kanaaneh**

***Chief Complaint: A Country Doctor's Tales of Life in Galilee***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2015)
Short stories based on his earlier, non-fiction work, *A Doctor in Galilee*.

***A Doctor in Galilee***
(Pluto Press, 2008)
"1948-er" Palestinian Israeli's story, heartily endorsed by Dr. Ghada Karmi, Emma Williams (*The Lancet*), Ilan Pappe, Rashid Khalidi, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

**Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh** (New York University)

as co-editor, with **Isis Nusair**
***Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender Among Palestinians in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 2010)
Contains **Leena Dallasheh**: ***Political Mobilization of Palestinians in Israel: The al'Ard Movement***.

***Surrounded: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military***
(Stanford University Press, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "An estimated 3,000 Palestinian citizens of Israel currently volunteer to serve in the Israeli military, a force fighting other Palestinians just miles away in occupied territories. *Surrounded* takes a close look at this controversial group of soldiers, examining the complex reasons these people join the army and the wider implications of their decisions in terms of security and citizenship. Most observers perceive a clear and powerful divide in the political tensions and open hostilities between the State of Israel and the Palestinian people, but often fail to notice those who straddle this divide—Palestinian citizens of Israel. These soldiers comprise no more than half a percent of this population, but their stories provide a powerful vantage point from which to consider a question faced by all Palestinians in Israel: to what extent are they, in fact, Israeli? *Surrounded* contains over seventy interviews with soldiers, and provides a unique glimpse of their conflicting experiences of acceptance, integration, and marginalization within the Israeli military. Concluding with comparisons to similar situations around the world, the book upends nationalist understandings of how wars and those who fight in them work. A key to a more complex understanding of ethnic conflict, this gripping and revealing look at a select group of soldiers will immensely alter ideas about the reasons why people choose to fight, particularly on "the wrong side" of a war."

***Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel***
(University of California Press, 2002)

**Tomis Kapitan**
***The Terrorism of 'Terrorism***
in **James Sterba**, editor
***Terrorism and International Justice***
(Oxford University Press, 2003)

**Amy Kaplan**
***Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance***
(Harvard University Press, 2018).
Scholar of American imperialism, focusing here on cultural ties between the US and the Zionist project. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's intended partition of Mandate Palestine, specifically the San Francisco attorney Bartley C. Crum's Americanization of Zionism and British Labour MP Richard Crossman similarly influencing UK attitudes. From there in the late 1940s, the author highlights future decades and takes into account the evangelical Christian appropriation of Israel.

**David Kaposi** (Psychotherapist lecturer, University of East London)
***Violence and Understanding in Gaza: The British Broadsheets' Coverage of the War***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: Kaposi critiques the newspapers' output, arguing that they without exception merely replicate the black and white logic of war. He contends that the newspapers defeat their own aims about a two-state solution based on compromise. For that to happen, the British media must in future cease to write about the conflict as if it were a mythical contest between Good and Evil.

**Carolyn L. Karcher**, editor (Temple University)
***Reclaiming Judaism from Zionism: Stories of Personal Transformation***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2019)
40 accounts of how American Jews grew to understand and reject Zionism. Contributors include: Joel Beinin • Sami Shalom Chetrit • Ilise Benshushan Cohen • Marjorie Cohn • Rabbi Michael Davis • Hasia R. Diner • Marjorie N. Feld • Chris Godshall • Ariel Gold • Noah Habeeb • Claris Harbon • Linda Hess • Rabbi Linda Holtzman • Yael Horowitz • Carolyn L. Karcher • Mira Klein • Sydney Levy • Ben Lorber • Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber • Carly Manes • Moriah Ella Mason • Seth Morrison • Eliza Rose Moss-Horwitz • Hilton Obenzinger • Henri Picciotto • Ned Rosch • Rabbi Brant Rosen • Alice Rothchild • Tali Ruskin • Cathy Lisa Schneider • Natalia Dubno Shevin • Ella Shohat • Emily Siegel • Rebecca Subar • Cecilie Surasky • Rebecca Vilkomerson • Jordan Wilson-Dalzell • Rachel Winsberg • Rabbi Alissa Wise • Charlie Wood

**Ghada Karmi** (British Palestinian medical doctor and leading Palestinian writer)
***One State: The Only Democratic Future for Palestine-Israel***
(Pluto Press, 208 pages, 2023)
A comparative study of One Democratic State with Bi-National State advocation by multiple parties.

***Return: A Palestinian Memoir***
(Verso Books, 2015)

Chapter: ***Said and the Palestinian Diaspora: A Personal Reflection***
In **Aden Iskandar & Hakem Rustom**, editors
***Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation***
(University of California Press, 2010)

***Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2007)
"This is her detailed, lucid and eloquent account of the impact of Israel on the Arab world, and its relationship with America and Europe."– Naomi Foyle. The author unpacks the illogic of the 'two-state solution', and clears a path to 'One Democratic State' (ODS).

***In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story***
(Verso, 2004)
This hugely successful account of how the author's childhood in Jerusalem became, in 1948, a lifetime in exile is much more than a gripping personal narrative. All the major events of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are covered here, by a Palestinian woman who grew up in Golders Green, and from wanting nothing more than to 'fit in' with her new surroundings, become one of the world's leading commentators on Palestine. – Naomi Foyle.

as co-editor, with **Eugene Cotran**
***The Palestinian Exodus: 1948-1998***
(Reading: Ithaca Press, 264 pares, 1999)

***The Egyptians of Britain: A Migrant Community in Transition***
(University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1997)

As editor
***Jerusalem Today: What Future for the Peace Process?***
(Ithica Press, 1996)
Contents: Edward Said: Keynote Essay / John Quigley: *Jerusalem in International Law* / Rodman Bundy: *Legal Approaches to the Question of Jerusalem* / Uri Avneri: *The Ownership of Jerusalem – An Israeli View* / Adnan Abu Odeh: *The Ownership of Jerusalem – A Jordanian View* / Mahdi Abdul Hadi: *The Ownership of Jerusalem – a Palestinian View* / Michael Dumper: *Demographic and Border Issues Affecting the Future of Jerusalem* / Tim Llewellyn: *The Stolen City* / Karen Armstrong: *Jerusalem in History* / Israel Shahak: *Jerusalem and the Jews* / David J. Goldberg: *Jerusalem and Judaism* / Zaki Badawi: *Jerusalem and Islam* / Kenneth Cragg: *ThePlace of the Name: A Christian Perspective*

**Sayed Kashua** (Palestinian-Israeli expat novelist)
***Native: Dispatches from an Israeli-Palestinian Life***
(Grove Press/Atlantic Monthly Press, 2016)
Memoir.

**Ahmad Katamesh**
***Approach to the Single Democratic State: Two Separate and Interlocked Communities***
(Ramallah: Munif Al-Barghouthi Cultural Centre, 98 pages, 2007)
Translated by **Nadia Ali Hamad**

**Yaakov Katz** (editor, *Jerusalem Post*; *Jewish Chronicle*) and **Amir Bohbot** (Ben Gurion University): ***While Israel Slept: How Hamas Surprised the Most Powerful Military in the Middle East***
(St. Martin's Press, 326 pages, 2025)

**Yaakov Katz** (editor, *Jerusalem Post*; *Jewish Chronicle*) and **Amir Bohbot** (Bar Ilan University)
***Weapon Wizards: How Israel Became a High-Tech Military Superpower***
(St. Martin's Press, 2017)
Unashamedly mythic. Publisher's blurb: "From drones to satellites, missile defense systems to cyber warfare, Israel is leading the world when it comes to new technology being deployed on the modern

battlefield. The Weapon Wizards shows how this tiny nation of 8 million learned to adapt to the changes in warfare and become the new prototype of a 21st century superpower, not in size, but rather in innovation and efficiency and as a result of its long war experience. Sitting on the front lines of how wars are fought in the 21st century, Israel has developed new weapons and retrofitted old ones so they remain effective, relevant, and deadly on a constantly-changing battlefield. While other countries begin to prepare for these challenges, they are looking to Israel and specifically its weapons for guidance. Israel is, in effect, a laboratory for the rest of the world. How did Israel do it? And what are the military and geopolitical implications of these developments? These are some of the key questions Yaakov Katz and Amir Bohbot address. Drawing on a vast amount of research, and unparalleled access to the Israeli defense establishment, this book is a report directly from the front lines."

**Edy Kaufman, Walid Salem & Juliette Verhoeven**, editors

***Bridging the Divide: Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Arab Conflict***

(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publications, 2006)

Walid Salem and Edy Kaufman: Palestinian-Israeli peacebuilding: a historical perspective; Manuel Hassassian (Palestinian Ambasssador in London) & Tamar Hermann: Civil society and NGOs building peace in Israel; Mohammed Dajani and Gershon Baskin: Israeli-Palestinian joint activities: problematic endeavor, but necessary challenge; Menachim Klein and Riad Malki: IIsraeli-Palestinian track II diplomacy; Mohammed Abu-Nimer: Nonviolent action in Israel and Palestine: a growing force; Shalom Dichter and Khaled Abu Asba: Two peoples, one civil society; Edy Kaufman, Walid Salem, and Juliette Verhoeven: Looking back, looking forward: toward transforming the conflict.

**Maxine Kaufman-Lucasta**, editor

***Refusing to be Enemies: Palestinian and Israeli Nonviolent Resistance to the Israeli Occupation***

(Ithica Press, 2011)

Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta lived in Jerusalem for seven years and has written widely on Palestinian and Israeli nonviolent activism and related topics. Ursula Franklin is a Quaker physicist, co-founder of Voice of Women for Peace (VOW-Canada) and author of 'The Ursula Franklin Reader: Pacifism as a Map' (Between the Lines, 2006). Ghassan Andoni is a cofounder of the Palestinian Center for Rapprochement and the International Solidarity Movement (ISM). Jeff Halper is cofounder and coordinator of the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions. His most recent book is 'An Israeli in Palestine: Resisting Dispossession, Redeeming Israel' (Pluto, 2008). Jonathan Kuttab has practised law in Palestine, Israel and New York State. His activism spans the realms of human rights, social and church advocacy, and he has written and lectured widely. His legal/human rights writing includes co-authorship of 'West Bank and the Rule of Law' (ICJ, 1980). Starhawk – a peace, environmental and global justice activist whose books include 'Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising' (New Society Publishers, 2002) – has volunteered with the ISM four times in the Occupied Territories.

**Widad Kamel Kawar** & **Margarita Skinner**

***Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950***

(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 280 pages, 2007)

Publisher's blurb: "Margarita Skinner of Switzerland in collaboration with Widad Kawar of Jordan provides us with a glimpse into the history of embroidery, starting with the invention of the needle some 20,000 years ago. Over 200 Palestinian motifs of the period 1850-1950 have been illustrated. Unlike previously published books on Palestinian Embroidery, this book, *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs 1850-1950: A Treasury of Stitches*, is the first to document all the different motifs by origin and names used on the old dresses."

**Widad Kamel Kawar**

***Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage***

(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "This book is a record of the 50 years Widad Kamel Kawar spent researching, collecting and preserving part of the heritage of Palestine. This endeavour evolved into the Widad Kawar Collection, the largest to date of Palestinian traditional dress and accessories, comprising more than 3,000 items. In the following chapters Kawar presents the story of how the collection evolved and she introduces the life stories of the women who produced the beautiful costumes it contains. For her, each item calls to mind an individual or a place: a wife, a mother, a daughter, a family, a house, a village, a town, a field, a market. Each item was worn on special occasions, happy and sad, that marked the owner's life. Much of Widad Kawar's knowledge stems from the personal narratives of these women whose embroidery and dress-making skills she so admires. *Threads of Identity* is a history of Palestinian women told through aspects of popular heritage, focusing on traditional dresses but also including textiles and rug weaving, rural and urban customs, jewellery, cuisine, and festivities. The interviews with women who lived through the traumas and changes of the 20th century are a contribution to oral history, augmenting standard historical accounts. While most writing about the Middle East concentrates on politics, her book focuses on the dignity of ordinary people, and women in particular, bridging the gap between the major events of history and everyday life. With this book Widad Kamel Kawar pays homage to Palestinian women."

**Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh** & **Isis Nusair**, editors
***Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender among Palestinians in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 2010)
See also Kanaaneh in OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY.

**Irit Katz** (Cambridge University)
***The Common Camp: Architecture of Power and Resistance in Israel-Palestine***
(University of Minnesota Press, 376 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "*The Common Camp* underscores the role of the camp as a spatial instrument employed for reshaping, controlling, and struggling over specific territories and populations. Focusing on the geopolitical complexity of Israel–Palestine and the dramatic changes it has experienced during the past century, this book explores the region's extensive networks of camps and their existence as both a tool of colonial power and a makeshift space of resistance. Examining various forms of camps devised by and for Zionist settlers, Palestinian refugees, asylum seekers, and other groups, Irit Katz demonstrates how the camp serves as a common thread in shaping lands and lives of subjects from across the political spectrum. Analyzing the architectural and political evolution of the camp as a modern instrument engaged by colonial and national powers (as well as those opposing them), Katz offers a unique perspective on the dynamics of Israel–Palestine, highlighting how spatial transience has become permanent in the ongoing story of this contested territory. *The Common Camp* presents a novel approach to the concept of the camp, detailing its varied history as an apparatus used for population containment and territorial expansion as well as a space of everyday life and subversive political action. Bringing together a broad range of historical and ethnographic materials within the context of this singular yet versatile entity, the book locates the camp at the core of modern societies and how they change and transform.

**Ernesto Katzenstein**
***October 7: Hamas against Israel: The Myths, the Propaganda, the Truth***
(Sweden: Vaktel Books/Vaktel Förlag, 176 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Ernesto Katzenstein, himself with Jewish roots, has undertaken a meticulous research into and analysis of the reporting of what took place and what allegedly took place in Israel on October 7. His analysis and deconstruction of the events shows, with clear source references, that the picture presented in needs to be be modified in many respects. Also presented here is the objective historical background, an analysis of the motives and goals of both sides, as well as a discussion on language as a prison and a trap. Among the book's many appendices are the current

programs of both Hamas and the Israeli Likud Party, a description of the Dahiya and Hannibal doctrines, as well as a thorough review of source-critical principles. The book focuses on the conflict in the Middle East, but its conclusions and lessons are applicable to other major political issues. This is a book for anyone interested in international politics, and the effects of propaganda and how to see beyond the propaganda."

**Adah Kay & Nadia Amu-Zahra**

***Unfree in Palestine: Registration, Documentation and Movement Restriction***
(Pluto, 2013)
Includes Israel's pressure on Palestinian informants.

**Adah Kay, Adam Hanieh & Catherine Cook**
***Stolen Youth: The Politics of Israel's Detention of Palestinian Children***
(Pluto / Defence for Children International, 2004)
See also other DCI Reports, such as:
***Palestinian Child Prisoners 2007*** (DCI Palestine Section, 48pp, 2007)
***Palestinian Child Prisoners 2009*** (DCI Palestine Section, 116pp, 2009), etc., and at dci-pal.org.

**Martin Kear** (University of Sydney)
***Hamas and Palestine: The Contested Road to Statehood***
(Routledge, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Analyses the Palestinian Islamist movement Hamas, between 2005 and 2017. The book expounds how Hamas has employed a dual resistance strategy, consisting of political and armed resistance, as a mechanism to achieve, maintain, and defend its continued political viability. Hamas entered politics to transform the role of the Palestinian Authority from an administrative institution into one driving the Palestinian quest for independence. To achieve this the analysis explains how Hamas implemented a process of soft-Islamisation in Gaza. This was intended to build the institutional capacity of the Authority based on the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of key institutions, while selectively increasing the role of Islam in society."

**Jennifer Lynn Kelly** (University of California Santa Cruz)
***Invited to Witness: Solidarity Tourism across Occupied Palestine***
(Duke University Press, 344 pages, 2023)

**Matt Kennard** (*Guardian, Financial Times,* and The Centre for Investigative Journalism)
***The Racket: A Rogue Reporter vs the Masters of the Universe***
(Zed Books, 2015)
Minimal coverage of Palestine, just half of one chapter, but covers the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) of recent years prior to publication.

**Sim Kern**
***Genocide Bad: Notes on Palestine, Jewish History and Collective Liberation***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 200 pages, 2025)

**Yehudit Kirstein Keshet**

***Checkpoint Watch: Testimonies from Occupied Palestine***
(Zed Books, 201 pages, 2013)
With a foreword by *Ha'aretz* reporter **Amira Hass**

**Gretchen Kewley** (Australian historian, not the Australian actor)
***Even Wars Have Limits: The Law of Armed Conflicts***
(Australian Red Cross National Office, Southbank, 2000)

***Humanitarian Law in Armed Conflicts***
(Victoria: Collingwood, 1984)

**Ahmad Khalidi** aka **Ahmed Khalidi**
***Common Ground on Jordan-Israel-Palestine Trilateral Relations***
(Washington DC: Search for Common Ground in the Middle East, 38 pages, 1999)
Edited by **Aliza Kaplan** and **Tim Werner**.

**Ahmad S. Khalidi** aka **Ahmed S. Khalidi**
***After Arafat – RIIA/8/6637***
(London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 20 pages, 2004)

***The Palestinian Elections: Some Preliminary Reflections and Remarks***
(London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 6 pages, 1996)

***Middle East Security: Arab Threat Perceptions, Peace, and Stability***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: International Security Studies Program, 50 pages, 1990)

***A Perspective on the Strategy of Attrition: The Egyptian-Israeli War of Attrition 1969-1970***
(University Thesis, King's College London, 378 pages, 1982)

With **Riad Ashkar**: ***Weapons and Equipment of the Israeli Armed Forces***
Beirut:Institute for Palestine Studies, 86 pages, 1971)

***The Arab Israeli War 1967***
(36 pages, 1968)

**Anbara Salam Khalidi**
***Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi***
Translated by **Tarif Khalidi**
**(**Pluto Press, 2014)

**Mohammad Ali Khalidi,** editor
***Manifestations of Identity: The Lived Reality of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon***
(Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies & Institut Francais du Proche-Orient, 2010)
Essays by various authors: Muhammad Ali Khalidi [York University, Toronto] and Diane Riskedahl[University of Toronto]:The Lived Reality of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon / Jihane Sfeir [Free University of Brussels]: *Palestinians in Lebanon ~ the Birth of the 'Enemy Within'* / Rima Afifi [American University Beirut] and Maya El Shareef: *How do Palestinian Youth in the Diaspora Self Identify? The Case of Burj Al-Barajneh Camp in Lebanon* / Sari Hanafi [American University Beirut]: *Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon ~ Laboratory of Indocile Identity Formation* / Mohamed Kamel Dorai [French National Centre for Scientific Research, Damascus / University of Poitiers]: *From Camp Dwellers to Urban Refugees? Urbanization and Marginalization of Refugee Camps in Lebanon* / Sylvain

Perdigon [John Hopkins University]: *Bachelors' Corniche ~Transnationality and the Unmaking of Intimacy among Palestinian Youths in Jal Al-Bahr, South Lebanon* / Nicolas Puig [Institut de Recherche pour le Developpement, Paris]: *"Welcome to the Camps" ~ The Emergence of Palestinian Rap in Lebanon, a New Social and Political Song* / Laleh Khalili [SOAS]: *Palestinians ~ The Politics of Control, Invisibility, and the Spectacle*

**Rashid Khalidi** (Edward Said Chair/Professor at Columbia University, New York City; pre-Oslo Palestinian advisor, former University of Chicago colleague of Barack Obama)

***The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017***
(Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt & Company, 2019)
Middle East Monitor/MEMO blurb: "This is a superb account of the history of settler colonial conquest of, and indigenous resistance in, Palestine told from the inside and by a distinguished Palestinian historian. This is the best researched history to date of the past century of struggle between the Zionist settler-colonial movement - a movement with its own distinctive characteristics and aspirations and its own Hebrew based nationalism - assisted by great powers such Britain and the United States on the one hand, and the indigenous people of Palestine on the other." Winner of the MEMO History category, Palestine Book Awards.

***Brokers of Deceit: How the US has Undermined Peace in the Middle East***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 2013)
Note: author had access to declassified CIA documents.

***Under Siege: PLO Decision-making during the 1982 War***
(Columbia University Press, 1985, 2012)

***Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 2009)

***The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood***
(Oneworld, 328 pages, 2006; 336 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Ranging from the Palestinian struggle against colonial rule and the establishment of the State of Israel to the current rivalry between Hamas and Fatah, this is an unflinching and sobering critique of the Palestinian failure to achieve statehood, as well as a balanced account of the odds ranged against them. Lucid yet challenging, Rashid Khalidi's engrossing narrative of this tortuous history is required reading for anyone concerned about peace in the Middle East."

***Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness***
(Columbia University Press, 1997, 2010)

***Refugees***
in ***Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture***, V.2 N.4
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 1995)

***The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism***
(Columbia University Press, 1991)

with **Itamar Rabinovich**
***The Palestinian Right of Return: Two Views***
Pamphlet
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: International Security Studies Program, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1990)

with **Camille Mansour**, as co-editors

***Palestine and the Gulf: Proceedings of an International Seminar***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981)
See also **Camile Mansour**: ***Transformed Landscapes*** (2009)

**Walid Khalidi** (Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut / Harvard University)
See: **Camille Mansour** and **Leila Fawaz**
***Transformed Landscapes: Essays on Palestine in Honor of Walid Khalidi***
(American University Press in Cairo, 2009)
Contents: Abdul-Karim Rafeq: 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi – Religious Tolerance and 'Arabness' / Andre Raymond: Badr al-Din al-Maqdisi – A Palestinian Shaykh Resisting French Occupation in Late Eighteenth-century Cairo / Philip S. Khoury: 'Abd al-Rahman Shahbandar – An Independence Leader of Interwar Syria / Butrus Abu-Manneh: The Later Tanzimat and the Ottoman Legacy in the Near Eastern Successor States / 'Adel Manna': Rereading the 1834 Revolt against Muhammad 'Ali in Palestine and Rethinking Ottoman Rule / Salim Tamari: The Great War and the Erasure of Palestine's Ottoman Past / Issam Nassar: Photography as Source Material for Jerusalem's Social History / May Seikaly: Excavating Memory – Oral History and the Case of Suhmata / Eric Rouleau: Abd al-Nasser and the Palestinian National Movement – Chronicle of a Stormy Affair / Camille Mansour: The Birth and Evolution of Palestinian Statehood Strategy,1948-1982 / Jamil Hilal: Palestinian Elites – Waiting for an Elusive Statehood /Laurie A. Brand: State, Citizenship, and Diaspora – A Comparative Study /William Roger Louis: Palestine and the Consequences of the Suez Crisis, 1957-1967 / Rashid Khalidi: Palestine and the Middle East – from Vienna to Washington, 1815-2008 / Michael C. Hudson: America's "Palestinian Fatigue" / Sara Roy: On Dignity and Dissent – The Journey ofr a Child of Holocaust Survivors / Biography of Walid Khalidi.

***Islam, the West, and Jerusalem***
(Washington DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, 1996)

***Palestine Reborn***
(IB Tauris, 1992)

as co-editor, with **Sharif S. Elmusa** & **Muhammad Ali Khalidi**
***All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992)

***Before the Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984)
Note: paperback reprints have poor image reproduction, compared with the original hardcover.

***Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East***
(Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1979)

As editor
***From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestinian Problem until 1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 914 pages, 1971, 1976)
Contents: **Ilene Beatty**: *The land of Canaan* / **Alfred Guillaume**: *Zionists and the Bible* / **Burhan ad-Din al Fazari**: *On the Merits of Jerusalem and Palestine* / **Miguel Asin**: *Jerusalem, Islam, and Dante* / **Cecil Roth**: *Influence of the Jews in the Arab Caliphate* / **Stanley Lane-Poole**: *To Save with Pity – Saladin Enters Jerusalem, 1187* / Rabbi Elmer Berger: *Mendelssohn and Dreyfus* / **Zia Al-Khalidi**: *Letter from Dr. Theodore Herzl to M. Youssuf* / **Oskar K. Rabinowicz**: *The Aliens Bill and Jewish Immigration to Britain, 1902-1905* / **L.M.C. van der Hoeven Leonhard**: *Schlomo and David, Palestine, 1907* / **Herbert Sidebotham**: *British Interests in Palestine, 1917* / *Edwin Montagu and Zionism, 1917* / **Leonard Stein**: *Contacts between German Zionist Leaders and the German Government during World War 1* / **Frank E. Manuel**: *Judge Brandeis and the Framing of the Balfour Declaration* / **J.M.N. Jeffries**: *Analysis of the Balfour Declaration* / *Chaim Weizmann in Jaffa and in Paris* / *An Interview in Mr. Balfour's Apartment, 23 Rue Nitot, Paris, on June 24th, 1919 at 4.45pm* / Memorandum

by Mr. Balfour Respecting Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, 1919 / The American King-Crane Commission of Inquiry, 1919 / *The House of Lords and Palestine, 1923* / **Lt. Col. W.F. Stirling**: *Palestine: 1920-1923* / **C.R. Ashbee**: *Palestine Notebook, 1923* / **Chaim Arlosoroff**: *The Stages of Zionism and Minority National Rule* / **Michael Ionides**: *Zionists and the Land* / **Vincent Sheean**: *Holy Land, 1929* / **Sir John Hope Simpson**: *On the Employment of Arab Labour* / **Kingsley Martin**: *Harold Laski and Palestine, 1929-1931* / **Alan Bullock**: *The Passfield White Paper and the Politics of Whitechapel, 1930-1931* / **Ernest Main**: *British Imperial Communications* / **Vladimir Jabotinsky**: *Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission, 1937 / Dr. Chaim Weizmann's Conversation with Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the Partition of Palestine, 1937* / **Nevill Barbour**: *The Dark Path of Repression, 1937-1938 / The "Town Planning of Jaffa, 1936," Judgements by Michael F.J. McDonell and R.J. Manning* / **Sir Alec Seath Kirkbride**: *"… Until You are Dead," (Palestine, 1937)* / **Frances E. Newton**: *The Jews in Palestine, 1938* / **Mahatma K. Gandhi**: *The Jews in Palestine, 1938* / **David Ben-Gurion**: *Britain's Contribution to Arming the Hagana* / **Leonard Mosley**: *Orde Wingate and Moshe Dayan, 1938* / **David Ben-Gurion**: *Our Friend – What Wingare Did for Us* / **A. Granott**: *The Strategy of Land Acquisition* / **David Nen-Gurion**: *Rechesh and Ta'as: Arms for the Hagana, 1935-1939/ The Immigration Policy of the British Dominions, 1938* / **Thomas Reid**: *Reservations on the Plans for the Partition of Palestine, 1938* / **Jon and Davie Kimche**:*Eichman and the Selection of Pioneers* / **Robert Briscoe**: *The Polish Rabbinate and Jewish Emigration to Palestine, 1939 / Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and the Immigration of German Jewish Children to the United States, 1939* / **Nevill Barbour**: *The White Paper of 1939* / **David Ben-Gurion**: *We Look Towards America, 1939* / **Morris L. Ernst**: *F.D.R.'s International Immigration Plan for Jewish Refugees / The Zionist (Biltmore) Programme, 11 May 1942* / **William Ernest Hocking**: *Arab Nationalism and Political Zionism* / **William A. Eddy**: *F.D.R. Meets Ibn Saud: The Conference and its Anticlimax, 1945* / **Kermit Roosevelt**: *The U.S. and the Arab World, 1939-1945* / **Lieut. General Sir Frederick Morgan**: *A "Displaced Person" in Post-War Germany, 1945-1946 / Aspects of an American Lobby, 1944-1947* / **Francis Williams**: *Prime Minister Attlee on President Truman's Palestine Policy, 1945-1946* / **Robert A. Divine**: *U.S. Displaced Persons Legislation: Enactment, 1945-1948 / The Zionist Military Organisations, 1946 / White Paper on Violence, 1946* / **Jon and David Kimche**: *The Mossad Machine ~ Confounding Military Intelligence, 1946-1947 / Palestine Perspectives of a U.S. Cabinet Member, 1947 – The Forrestal Diaries* / **Walter T. Stace**: *The Zionist Illusion / Binationalism not Partition* / **Abba Eban**: *President Truman and the Negev, November 19, 1947* / **Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan**: *Thanksgiving Day at Lake Success, November 27, 1947* / **General Carlos P. Romulo**: *The Philippines Changes its Vote* / **Kermit Roosevelt**: *The Partition of Palestine – A Lesson in Pressure Politics / "Politics Looks Very Simple to the Outsider," – Washington, December 1947 – February 1948 – The Forrestal Diaries* / **Abba Eban**: *Chaim Weizmann Calls Again on President Truman, March 18, 1948* / **Arnold Krammer**: *Arms for Independence: When the Soviet Bloc Supported Israel* / **Lieut. Colonel Netanel Lorch**: *Plan Dalet* / **Jacques de Reynier**: *Deir Yasin, April 10, 1948* / **Harry Levin**: *The Attach on the Arab Village of Kolonia, April 12, 1948* / **Major R.D. Wilson**: *The Battle for Haifa, April 21-22, 1948* / **Jon Kimche**: *Deir Yasin and Jaffa, April 1948* / **Abba Eban**: *"And on Passover Eve, April 23, the Breakthrough Came"* / **Lieut. General Sir John Bagot Glubb**: *The Battle for the Old City of Jerusalem, May 18-28, 1948* / **General Aage Lundstrom**: *The Death of Count Folke Bernadotte, September 17, 1948* / **Erskine B. Childers**: *The Other Exodus* / **Hans Kohn**: *Zion and the Jewish National Idea.* APPENDICES: *Population, Immigration and Land Statistics, 1919-1946 / Arab and Jewish Agricultural Statistics, 1944-1945 / Seizures of Arms and Ammunition by the British Authorities, 1936-1945 / Note on Arab Casualties in the 1936-1939 Rebellion / American Jewry's Financial Contributions to the Jews of Palestine / Note on American Immigration Legislation and Jewish Immigration to the U.S. and Palestine / Zionist Military Operations in Palestine, 1 April 1948 – 15 May 1948, within the Framework of Plan Dalet / Note on Arab Strength in Palestine, January – 15 May 1948 / Zionist Forces on 15 May 1948 / The Arab Expeditionary Forces to Palestine to 15 May 1948*

As co-editor, with **Jill Khaddini**
***Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(London: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1974)

***A Selected Reading List on the Palestine Problem and Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 7 pages, ca. 1968)

**Laleh Khalili**

***Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies***
(Stanford University Press, 2012)
Includes a chapter on Israeli imprisonment.

***Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration***
(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

As co-editor, with **Jillian Schwedler**
***Policing and Prisons in the Middle East: Formations of Coercion***
(C. Hurst & Col, 2010)

**Vivian Khamis** (Bethlehem University)
***Political Violence and the Palestinian Family: Implications for Mental Health and Well-Being***
(Routledge, 168 pages, 2020)

**Ghassan Khatib** [aka al-Khatib] (Birzeit University, Durham University)
***Palestinian Politics and the Middle East Peace Process: Consensus and Competition in the Palestinian Negotiating Team***
(Routledge, 216 pages, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "Eight years after the second Palestinian uprising, the Oslo accords signed in 1993 seem to have failed. The reasons for the failure continue to fascinate students, politicians, researchers and policymakers alike. This book explores one of the major aspects of the bilateral peace process – the composition and behaviour of the Palestinian negotiating team, which deeply impacted the outcome of the negotiations between 1991 and 1997. It focuses on the dynamics between the PLO leadership outside the occupied Palestinian territories and the grassroots leadership within the areas under Israeli control that led to conflicts of interest at the time of the final agreement. As the author was a part of the Palestinian leadership in the occupied territories, and was present during the negotiations process in Madrid and Washington DC, the book contains original, unpublished accounts, including those of the Washington bilateral negotiations and crucial internal Palestinian meetings. It is an excellent resource to gain an understanding of Palestinian behavior during peace talks, deterioration in peace-making efforts, the resulting radicalization, and the growing tendency towards violence."

***The Impact of the Composition and Behaviour of the Palestinian Leadership on the Outcome of the Madrid and Washington Negotiations, 1991-1997***
(PhD thesis, Durham University, 2007)

**Lina Khatib** (SOAS / Head Middle East analyst, Chatham House)
with **Dina Matar** (SOAS/Centre for Palestine Studies) & **Atef Alshaer**:
***The Hizbullah Phenomenon: Politics and Communication***
(Hurst, 2014)
Strategy of transformation from a local Shi'a movement to political agency within Lebanon and the Levant. Includes a chapter on Hezbollah poetry and one on the leader Hassan Nasrallah.

with **Ellen Lust**
***Taking to the Streets – The Transformation of Arab Activism***
(Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014)

***Image Politics in the Middle East: The Rise of the Visual in Political Struggle***
(IB Tauris, 2013)

***Lebanese Cinema: Imagining the Civil War and Beyond***
(IB Tauris, 2008)

***Filming the Modern Middle East: Politics in the Cinemas of Hollywood and the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2006)

**Nabil Khattab** (Hebrew University/University of Bristol) and **Sami Miaari** (University of Tel-Aviv)
***Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)
Contents – Nabil Khattab: *On the Reserve Bench: Palestinian Employees in Israel* / Talya Steiner: *Combating Discrimination against Arab Palestinians in the Israeli Workplace: The Current Enforcement Failure and the Role of the Newly Established EEOC* / Sami Miaari: *The Persistent Wage Gaps between Palestinians and Jews in Israel, 1997–2009* / Yuval Yonay: *Ethnicity, Gender, and Exclusion: Which Occupations Are Open to Israeli Palestinian Women?* / Haya Stier: *Changing Earnings Composition in Israeli-Palestinian Households: The Emergence of the Dual-Earner Family* / Erez A. Marantz: *Israeli-Palestinian Women in the Retail Industry: Social Boundaries and Job Search Techniques* / Michael Shalev: *The Welfare State as an Employer: An Unacknowledged Avenue of Opportunity for Palestinian Women in Israel* / Rassem Khamaisi: *Barriers to Developing Employment Zones in the Arab Palestinian Localities in Israel and Their Implications* / Khaled Abu Asbah: *Factors and Obstacles Impeding Economic Development within Palestinian Localities in Israel: The Case of the Food Industry* / Ilan Shdema: *Social and Spatial Examination of Palestinian Employment in Israel in Single Municipalities*.

**Rami G. Khouri** (editor of the *Daily Star* [Beirut] and *Jordan Times* / American University Beirut)
with **Helena Cobban** (war correspondent of the Lebanese Civil War; publisher of Just World Books):
***Understanding Hamas and Why That Matters***
(OR Books, 224 pages, 2024)
With contributions by **Paola Caridi**, **Jeroen Gunning**, **Khaled Hroub**, **Mouin Rabbani** and **Azzam Tamimi**. Publisher's blurb: "This book does not advocate for or against Hamas. Rather, in a series of rich and probing conversations with leading experts, it aims to deepen understanding of a movement that is a key player in the current crisis. It looks at, among other things, Hamas's critical shift from social and religious activism to national political engagement; the delicate balance between Hamas's political and military wings; and its transformation from early anti-Jewish tendencies to a stance that differentiates between Judaism and Zionism."

***New and Old Elements of Power and Politics in the Middle East***
(Tufts University, 29 pages, 2010)
Three lectures.

***The Jordan Valley: Life and Society Below Sea Level***
(Longman in association with the Jordan Valley Authority, 238 pages, 1981)
With photographs by the author

**Rami G. Khouri** (American University Lebanon), **Karim Makdisi** and **Martin Wählisch**, editors.
***Interventions in Conflicts: International Peacemaking in the Middle East***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 214 pages, 2016)
Contributors include the editors, Richard Falk, Filippo Grandi, and Jimmy Carter**.**

**Hani Q. Khoury** (Mercer University)
***Giving Up is Not an Option: Memoirs of a Palestinian American***
(Author, 164 pages, 2022)
Edited by **Patrick A. Gibby and Duane E. Davis**.

**Nada Kiswanson** and **Susan Power** (Al-Haq, Ramallah) editors
***Prolonged Occupation and International Law***
(Brill, 408 pages, 2023)

Contents: **John Quigley** (Ohio State University) – *Israel's Unlawful 1967 Invasion of Palestine* / **Vito Todeschini** – *Out of Time: On the (Il)legality of Israel's Prolonged Occupation of the West Bank* / **Ray Murphy** (National University of Ireland Galway), **Anita Ferrara** (National Library of Ireland Galway) and **Susan Power** – *The Occupation of Palestine from a TWAIL Lens* / **Aeyal Gross** (Tel-Aviv University) - *Reducing the Friction: A Functional Analysis of the Transformed Occupation of the Gaza Strip* / **John Reynolds** (National University Ireland, Maynooth University) – *Apartheid and International Law in Palestine* / **Rimona Afana** – *The Occupation-Colonialism Continuum: Impact on Transitional Justice in Palestine-Israel* / **Sahar Francis** (Addameer Prisoner Support) – *Israel's Military Justice System as an Annexationist Tool* / **Suha Jarrar** (Al-Haq) – *Adaptation under Occupation: Climate Change Vulnerability* / **John Dugard** (International Court of Justice) – *Israel's Impunity from Peremptory Norms* / **Manuel Devers** and **Tom Moerenhout** – *Third State Responsibility versus Sanctions in Regulating Trade with Illegal Settlements at the EU* / **Nada Kiswanson** – *Palestine, Israel, and the International Criminal Court* / **Shane Darcy** (National University of Ireland Galway) – *Private Sector Responsibility for the Treatment of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees in Light of the Law and Policy of the International Criminal Court* / **Susan Power** (Al-Haq) – *Prosecuting Systematic Economic Exploitation of Occupied Territory as Pillage* / **Halla Shoaibi** (Birzeit University) and **Asem Khalil** (Birzeit University) – *Criminal Jurisdiction under Occupation: The Oslo Accords and the ICC* / **Marya Farah** and **Maha Abdallah** (Kennesaw State University & Emory University) – *Domination, Transformation, and Annexation via Utilities* / **Thomas Hammarberg** (Swedish diplomat) – *Palestinian Refugees and International Law*

**Maria C. (Kouremenou) Khoury** (Taybeh Brewery/Taybeh Oktoberfest) n& **Grace Khoury** (Director of the MBA programme at Birzeit University)

***Cases on Management and Organizational Behavior in an Arab Context***

(IGI GLobal, 2014)

Tangential to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: "a presentation of teaching cases emphasizing the positive and negative experiences on a variety of management topics. Focusing on organizational behavior and leadership in Arab countries and the impact of culture in management and behavior, this publication is an essential resource for business professionals, managers, and upper-level students seeking real-life examples of management and organizational situations in the Arab business world."

**Peretz Kidron**, editor

***Refusenik! Israel's Soldiers of Conscience***

(Zed Books, 2004)

Foreword: **Susan Sontag** / Introduction: *Israel's Refusnik movement:* Peretz Kidron / *Balance*: Yitzhak Laor / *Saying 'no' loudly and clearly*: Ishai Menuchin / *An artist at Ansar*: Zvi Goldstein / *Discovering the Palestinians*: Mike Levine / *In solidarity with the almond trees*: Peretz Kidron / *I'm no martyr*: Hanoch Livneh / *Whatever the price*: Rami Hasson / *The problem is in Jewish society:* Menahem Hefetz / *Refusal to collaborate*: Dudu Palma / *I am an Arab Jew*: Meir Amor / *Father and son: refuseniks*: Carlos and Amit Levinhoff / *Spiral of evil*: Stephen Langfur / *The limit is human life:* David Ovadia / *The privilege of saying 'No!'*: Adi Ofir / *Silences that cry out*: Doron Vilner / *Benighted fanaticism*: Nitzan Levy / *A typical 'NO' poem*: Nathan Zach / *A policy that demeans my country*: Shaul Schwartz / *The refusnik answers the writer*: Mario Weinstein in correspondence with Yizhar Smilansky / *On the festival of freedom I waive my freedom, or, What shall I tell my daughter?:* Dubi Hayun / *No to 'Always at command'*: Danny Zamir / *'You don't have to do anything wicked':* Daniel Padnes / *Decent people don't shoot children*: Itamar Pitovsky / *I owe my children at least one refusal*: Dan Sagir / *The philosophy of selective refusal*: Peretz Kidron / *The story of Yuval and Imad* / *Letter to the editor of Koteret Rashit:* Dov Barak / *Statements by jailed conscripts* / *Those who enlist and those who don't*: Uri Yaakovi / *Militarism and racism have reached a fascist level*: Haggai Matar / *I am a prisoner, yet free:* David Haham-Herson / *A violent and racist society*: Itamar Shahar / *Statements by jailed reservists* / *Vile injustice:* David Enoch / *The red line*: Michael Sfard / *Collaboration makes me a criminal*: Ro'i Kozlovsky / *A cause which is not mine*: Alex Lyakas / *An enormous 'black flag'*: Avner Kochavi / *A letter to the commander of Battalion 719*: Ehud Shem Tov / *I killed three innocent civilians*: Idan Kaspari / The shattered dream: Omry Yeshurun / The IDF teaches that it's okay to molest an Arab: Ishai Sgi / *Black Flag*: Itai Haviv / *Three exercises in refusal*: Ishai Rosen-Zvi / *Is Marwan Barghouti your uncle?*: Itai Ryb / *Why am I mad at the IDF?*: Ron Gerlitz / *My reply to the general:* Yigal Bronner / *Israel today is a prison*: Matin Kaminar.

**Elvira King**

***The Pro-Israel Lobby in Europe: The Politics of Religion and Christian Zionism in the European Union***

(IB Tauris, 2016)

**Mary Elizabeth King**

***A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance***

(Nation Books, 2007)

**Nick King**

***Education under Occupation – Learning to Improvise***

(Discovery Analytical Resourcing, 182 pages, 2005)

Foreword by novelist, essayist, translator **Adhaf Souif**.

Brief yet rare insight into Birzeit University, the West Bank's oldest and best-funded university, near Ramallah. A not entirely encouraging narrative resulting from staff cynicism and occupation fatigue, but important for that regardless.

**Mhosin Kirindi**

***Into Occupation: Peace Activism in Israel and Palestine***

(Author, ca. 2013)

The core of the book focuses on life as part of the resistance to the occupation. This covers a whole gamut of actions: Attending bi-weekly protests in places such as Bil'in, Ni'lin, Hebron and Iraq Burin, and the concomitant gross IDF violence. / Witnessing and monitoring settler infractions in East Jerusalem and all over the Nablus region. / Assisting in community projects, such as rebuilding Bedouin villages demolished by IDF bulldozers in the Jordan Valley, leading children's summer camps in Silwan, and theatrical projects in Jenin. / Dealing with the Israeli legal system to attempt to stop arbitrary imprisonment, torture and beatings of international peace activists and Palestinians.

**Adam Kirsch** (*Wall Street Journal, The New Yorker,* and *The Tablet*)

***On Settler Colonialism: Ideology, Violence, and Justice***

(WW Norton, 160 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "Kirsch shows that it is really a new political ideology, aimed at delegitimising not only Israel but also the United States, Canada and Australia."

**Orde F. Kittrie** (Arizona State University)

***Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War***

(Oxford University Press, 2016)

Includes focus on the Israeli government's hidden hand in lawfare. Contains two relevant chapters: Chapter 3 - Palestinian Instrumental Lawfare Against Israel, and Israeli Reaction; Chapter 4 - Hamas Battlefield Lawfare Against Israel.

**Dorothee Klaus**

***Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Where to Belong?***

(Berlin: Schwarz, 2003)

**Alex Klaushofer**

***Paradise Divided: A Portrait of Lebanon***

(Signal Books, 2007)
Drawing on interviews with community leaders and relationships with ordinary people, it reveals a richly-textured social and religious fabric in which Sunni and Shia Muslims, Druze and Christians of all kinds, from Maronite Catholics to evangelical Protestants, strive to maintain a delicate balance. It offers an insight into how Lebanon's religious communities, their identities formed by history, landscape and their relationships with one another, came to be what they are today—and how their different perspectives can lead to potentially destructive tensions. What emerges is a quintessentially Middle Eastern form of coexistence, poised between tolerance and sectarianism—a theme powerfully developed through the author's privileged access to the normally secretive Druze.

**Menachem Klein** (Bar-Ilan University, contributor to Al Jazeera English)

***Arafat and Abbas: Portraits of Leadership in a State Postponed***
(Oxford University Press, 256 pages, 2019)
Collection and expansion of authors writings in the *Palestine-Israeli Journal, +972* and the Hebrew-language *Local Call*. Author fears that annexation will further the likelihood of a balkanisation leading to ethnic cleansing.

***Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Hebron***
(Oxford University Press, 336 pages, 2014)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**. Contents: Introduction : Jerusalem, Jaffa Gate/Bab al-Khalil the gate of forked ways -- Chapter 1 Arab Jews -- Neither oxymoron nor aspersion -- The Locals -- Chapter 2 Mixed cities -- A Holy Site chooses a city-a city chooses a holy site -- Coexistence disturbed by confrontation -- Chapter 3 Life On the verge of the future -- A Large problem in a small place -- Conflict as routine -- Chapter 4 Expanding the boundaries of the possible -- A New land -- An Ambiguous V -- Chapter 5 Like owners -- Transferring the deed -- Houses from within, people from without -- Chapter 6 Occupation, assimilation, opposition -- Jerusalem : A bustling and noisy place -- Jaffa : Abandoned and attractive -- Hebron and Jerusalem : The force of history.

***The Shift: Israel-Palestine from the Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict***
(Hurst, 206 pages, 2010)

***A Possible Peace between Israel and Palestine: An Insider's Account of the Geneva Initiative***
(Columbia University Press, 235 pages, 2007)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

***The Jerusalem Problem: The Struggle for Permanent Status***
(University of Florida Press, 235 pages, 2003)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

***Jerusalem: The Contested City*** aka ***Jerusalem: The Future of a Contested City.***
(Hurst / Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 363 pages, 2001)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**. Includes the PLO and the Palestinian identity in East Al Quds.

**Kent Klich** (photographer)

***Kent Klich: Gaza Works***
(Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther Konig / Hasselblad Centre, Gothenburg, 2017)
With text by: Judith Butler, Susan Meiselas, Mette Sandbye, Raji Sourani, Eyal Weizman, Louise Wolthers & Dragana Vujanovic Ostlind

***Black Friday***
(Kehrer Verlag, 2015)
Subjects: Salah al-Din, Oroba, Deir Yassin and Al Najaar

***Gaza Photo Album***

(Umbrage Editions, 2010)
Depicting residential destruction during Israel's Operation Cast Lead, December 2008-January 2009)

**Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman**

***The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

**Alexander Koensler**

***Israeli-Palestinian Activism: Shifting Paradigms***
(Ashgate, 2015 / Routledge, 2016)
Post-Oslo focus.

**Hagar Kotef**

***The Colonizing Self: Or, Home and Homelessness in Israel/Palestine***
(Duke University Press, 304 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Colonizers continuously transform spaces of violence into spaces of home. Israeli Jews settle in the West Bank and in depopulated Palestinian houses in Haifa or Jaffa. White missionaries build their lives in Africa. The descendants of European settlers in the Americas and Australia dwell and thrive on expropriated indigenous lands. In *The Colonizing Self* Hagar Kotef traces the cultural, political, and spatial apparatuses that enable people and nations to settle on the ruins of other people's homes. Kotef demonstrates how the mass and structural modes of violence that are necessary for the establishment and sustainment of the colony dwell within settler-colonial homemaking, and through it shape collective and individual identities. She thus powerfully shows how the possibility to live amid the destruction one generates is not merely the possibility to turn one's gaze away from violence but also the possibility to develop an attachment to violence itself. Kotef thereby offers a theoretical framework for understanding how settler-colonial violence becomes inseparable from one's sense of self."

***Movement and the Ordering of Freedom***
(Duke University Press, 248 pages, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Hagar Kotef examines the roles of mobility and immobility in the history of political thought and the structuring of political spaces. Ranging from the writings of Locke, Hobbes, and Mill to the sophisticated technologies of control that circumscribe the lives of Palestinians in the Occupied West Bank, this book shows how concepts of freedom, security, and violence take form and find justification via "regimes of movement." Kotef traces contemporary structures of global (im)mobility and resistance to the schism in liberal political theory, which embodied the idea of "liberty" in movement while simultaneously regulating mobility according to a racial, classed, and gendered matrix of exclusions."

**Joel Kovel**

***Overcoming Zionism: Creating a Single Democratic State in Israel / Palestine***
(Pluto Press 2007)
"The author is the Jewish American former leader of the US Green Party. This book is a sustained critique of Zionism as 'state-sponsored racism', and a compelling argument for the One State solution. The author has particular insights into the psychology of Zionism, and the state of denial that the ideology attempts to engender in Jews." – Naomi Foyle

**Vered Kraus & Yuval P. Yonay**

***Facing Barriers: Palestinian Women in a Jewish-Dominated Labour Market***
(Cambridge University Press, 2018)
Focus is on discrimination and the inequitable distribution of resources and social services, amongst the Bedouin, Druze, Christian and Muslim communities.

**Adi Kuntsman & Rebecca L. Stein**
***Digital Militarism: Israel's Occupation in the Social Media Age***
(Stanford University Press, 2015)

**Yossi Kuperwasser** (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs; formerly Government strategic opponent to BDS)
***Israel's Role in the Struggle over the Iranian Nuclear Project***
(Ramat Gan, Israel: Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University 2015)

**Ivan Kushnir**
***Economy of Palestine***
(Author, 2019)
Analysis from the 1970s to the 2010s, sourced from United Nations data, including agriculture, construction, transportation, services, and imports and exports.

**Jonathan Kuttab** (co-founder of Al-Haq; Director of FOSNA – Friends of Sabeel Liberation Theology movement in the US)
***The Truth Shall |Set You Free: The Story of a Palestinian Human Rights Lawyer Working for Peace and Justice in Palestine/Israel***
(Hawakati Publishing, 328 pages, 2023)

***Beyond the Two-State Solution***
(Nonviolence International, 92 pages, 2020)
Author endorses a one-state democracy.

***Administrative Detention in the Occupied West Bank: Appending Relevant Extracts from Israeli Military Order n. 378 and Related Regulations Translated into English***
(Ramallah: Law in the Service of Man, 51 pages, 1986)

With **Raja Shehadeh**: ***Civilian Administration in the Occupied West Bank: Analysis of Israeli Military Government Order no. 947***
(Ramalah: Law in the Service of Man, 63 pages, 1982)

With **Raja Shehadeh**: ***The West Bank and the Rule of Law***
(Geneva; International Commission of Jurists/Ramallah: Law in the Service of Man, ca.1980)

***Analysis of Military Order no. 854 and Related Orders Concerning Educational Institutions in the Occupied West Bank***
(Ramallah, 16 pages, n.d.)

**Edward Kwakwa** (University of Ghana, Queen's University Canada, Yale University)
***The International Law of Armed Conflict: Personal and Material Fields of Application***
(Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992)

**Michael Kwet** (Yale University), editor
***The Cambridge Handbook of Race and Surveillance***
(Cambridge University Press, 2023)
Includes a section on Palestine.

**David Landy**

***Jewish Identity and Palestinian Rights***

(Zed Books, 2011)

**David Landy**, **Ronit Lentin**, and **Conor McCarthy**, editors, with contribution from **Jeff Handmaker**.

***Enforcing Silence: Academic Freedom, Palestine and the Criticism of Israel***

(Zed Books, 288 pages, 2020)

Sunaina Maira (Asian-American Studies, UC Davis): " This book is a thoughtfully curated and insightful collection of essays that will give scholars, students, and activists important lines of analysis to counter enforced silenced." Includes focus on Associate Professor Rabab Abdulhadi (San Francisco State University), the target of three failed lawsuits by the pro-Israel Lawfare Project.

Contents: PART I: Universities and academic governance -- ONE: Whose university? Academic freedom, neoliberalism, and the rise of 'Israel Studies' -- Introduction -- Neoliberal universities, the Zionist movement, and the roots of Israel Studies -- Brand Israel and the uses of Israel Studies: 'delegitimization' and re-legitimization -- Supply and demand: donor influence and entrepreneurial academics -- Performing objectivity, creating academic 'facts on the ground' -- Elite organization, state power, and academic freedom -- TWO: Disciplinarity and the boycott -- THREE: The academic field must be defended: excluding criticism of Israel from campuses -- Academic field -- The conference -- Defending free speech and defending balance -- Surveillance and invective – Conclusion -- FOUR: Lebanese and American law at American universities in Beirut: a case of legal liminality in neoliberal times -- Introduction -- The legal predicament at AUB -- Academic boycott at AUB? -- Activists' dilemma: the neoliberalization of AUB -- A note on LAU and other American universities in Lebanon -- Conclusion -- FIVE: Precarious work in higher education, academic freedom, and the academic boycott of Israel in Ireland -- Introduction -- What is precarious work? -- Higher education and precarity in Ireland -- Higher education institutions, permanent/tenured-track academics, and the BDS movement -- Precarious work, contractual and financial insecurity, and self-censorship in academia -- Precarious work and relationships of dependency -- The transient nature of precarious work and collegiality -- Concluding comments -- PART II: Colonial erasure in higher education -- SIX: Colonial apologism and the politics of academic freedom -- Introduction -- Colonial apologism -- Colonial victimhood -- Academic freedom's contingency -- SEVEN: The academic boycott and beyond: towards an epistemological strategy of liberation and decolonization -- Introduction -- Hierarchies in the academy -- Scholarship with a political agenda -- Conclusion -- EIGHT: Colonial academic control in Palestine and Israel: blueprint for repression? -- Introduction -- Academic complicity in the colonization of Palestine -- Resisting academic control: PACBI and Academia for Equality -- Conclusion: blueprint for global control of academic freedom? -- PART III: Interrogating academic freedom

**Yitzhak Laor**

***The Myths of Liberal Zionism***

(Verso, 2010, 2017)

Essays critical of Israeli liberal Zionist writers Amos Oz, AB Yehoshua, and David Grossman. Publisher's blurb: "Yitzhak Laor is one of Israel's most prominent dissidents and poets, a latter-day Spinoza who helps keep alive the critical tradition within Jewish culture. In this work he fearlessly dissects the complex attitudes of Western European liberal Left intellectuals toward Israel, Zionism and the 'Israeli peace camp.' He argues that through a prism of famous writers like Amos Oz, David Grossman and A.B. Yehoshua, the peace camp has now adopted the European vision of 'new Zionism,' promoting the fierce Israeli desire to be accepted as part of the West and taking advantage of growing Islamophobia across Europe. The backdrop to this uneasy relationship is the ever-present shadow of the Holocaust. Laor is merciless as he strips bare the hypocrisies and unarticulated fantasies that lie beneath the love affair between 'liberal Zionists' and their European supporters."

**Stephen Law**, editor

***Israel, Palestine and Terror***

(Continuum, 2008)

Contents: Terrorisms in Palestine / Ted Honderich — Terror / Tomis Kapitan — The morality of Palestinian terrorism / Timothy Shanahan — Killing the innocent / Richard Norman — Terrorism in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Igor Primoratz — Terrorism and justice: some useful truisms / Noam Chomsky — Terror in Palestine: a non-violent alternative? / Stephen Law — Casting the first stone: who can, and who can't, condemn the terrorists / Gerald Cohen — Murder and morality: Professor Honderich on Israel and the Palestinians / Ardon Lyon — Terror and expected collateral damage: the case for moral equivalence / Michael Neumann — In a world of uneasy virtue / William L. McBride — Talk and terror: the value of just-war arguments in the context of terror / Patrick Riordan — Territory and terrorism in Israel / Tamar Meisels — Cosmopolitanism in a time of terror / Sharon Anderson-Gold — Tricks of memory: Auschwitz and the question of Palestinian terrorism / Brian Klug

**Lior Lehrs**

***Unofficial Peace Diplomacy: Private Peace Entrepreneurs in Conflict Resolution Processes***

(Manchester University Press, 328 pages, 2022)

Contains relevant chapter: "Uri Avnery and his dialogue with the PLO in the contexts of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 1975-1985."

**Ronit Lentin** (Trinity College Dublin)

As co-editor, with **Lana Tatour** (University of New South Wales): ***Race and the Question of Palestine***

(Stanford University Press, 342 pages, 2025)

Contributors: **Lana Tatour** – Introduction, **Ronit Lentin** – *Zionist Racialized Sexual Politics and Palestinian Refusal,* **Yasmeen Abu-Laban** – *The Racial Hierarchy of Refugees*, **Seraj Assi** and **Abigail B. Bakan** – *The Invention of the 'Bedouin Race'*, **Zvi Ben-Dor Benite** – *Proletarianization of the Mizrahim*, **Neve Gordon** and **Yinon Cohen** – *Race and Space in Israel/Palestine*, **Noura Erakat** – *Zionism as a Form of Racism*, **Michael R. Fischbach** – *Black-Palestinian Solidarity and the Global Color Line*, **Alana Lentin** – *Antisemitism and the Proxification of Antiracism*, **David Palumbo-Liu** – *Martin Luther King* [Jr.] *and the Struggle for Palestinian Rights*, **John Reynolds** – *Apartheid without Race*, **Kieron Turner** – *Racial Capitalism and Militarized Occupation.*

***Traces of Racial Exception: Racializing Israeli Settler Colonialism***

(Bloomsbury, 2018)

***Co-Memory and Melancholia: Israelis Memorialising the Palestinian Nakba***

(Manchester University Press, 2010)

Publisher's blurb: "The 1948 war that led to the creation of the State of Israel also resulted in the destruction of Palestinian society when some 80 per cent of the Palestinians who lived in the major part of Palestine upon which Israel was established became refugees. Israelis call the 1948 war their 'War of Independence' and the Palestinians their 'Nakba', or catastrophe. After many years of Nakba denial, land appropriation, political discrimination against the Palestinians within Israel and the denial of rights to Palestinian refugees, in recent years the Nakba is beginning to penetrate Israeli public discourse. This book explores the construction of collective memory in Israeli society, where the memory of the trauma of the Holocaust and of Israel's war dead competes with the memory claims of the dispossessed Palestinians. Against a background of the Israeli resistance movement, Lentin's central argument is that co-memorating the Nakba by Israeli Jews is motivated by an unresolved melancholia about the disappearance of Palestine and the dispossession of the Palestinians, a melancholia that shifts mourning from the lost object to the grieving subject. Lentin theorises Nakba co-memory as a politics of resistance, counterpoising co-memorative practices by internally displaced Israeli Palestinians with Israeli Jewish discourses of the Palestinian right of

return, and questions whether return narratives by Israeli Jews, courageous as they may seem, are ultimately about Israeli Jewish self-healing rather than justice for Palestine."

**Marion Lecoquierre** (University of Helsinki)

***Emplaced Resistance in Palestine and Israel: The Cases of Hebron, Silwan, and al-Araquib***
(Routledge, 324 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israeli-Palestinian conflict gravitates constantly around the question of territorial control due to the settler-colonial principle present at the core of the Zionist project. Acknowledging space as a central tool of domination used by the Israeli authorities, this volume sheds light on the way space can become both a resource for and an outcome of protest, with an emphasis placed on the way it is used and produced through practices of resistance by subaltern groups. The research relies on a comparative approach, relying on data collected in the course of fieldwork conducted between 2012 and 2015 in Palestine and Israel. It focuses on three "sites of contention", which include the H2 area in Hebron (the occupied Old City, under Israeli authority), the "core" neighbourhoods of Silwan (Wadi Hilwe and al-Bustan) and the unrecognized Bedouin village of al-Araqib, in the Negev desert. Through these three case studies, the book tackles different strategies that engage with the materiality of space, place, sense of place, territory, landscape, network and scale, showing the mobilization of a real "spatial repertoire" of contention. The different regimes of control give rise to strategies that are first and foremost *emplaced*, i.e. rooted in the local. Providing an original comparison between flashpoints of the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli politics of dispossession and expulsion, the book is a key resource for scholars and readers interested in political geography, political science, sociology, and the Israel-Palestine conflict."

**Itzhak Levav** (University of Haifa), **Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), and **Ora Nakash** (Smith College; Interdisciplinary Centre, Herzliya, Israel), co-editors

***Mental Health and Palestinian Citizens in Israel***
(Indiana University Press, 430 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Minorities face particular social strains, and these are often manifested in their overall mental health. In Israel, just under a quarter of the citizens are Arab Palestinians, yet very little has been published exploring the spectrum of mental health issues prevalent in this population. The work collected here draws on the first-hand experience of experts working with Israeli Palestinians to highlight the problems faced by service users, their families, and their communities. Palestinians in Israel face unique social, gender, and family-related conditions that also need reliable research and assessment. *Mental Health and Palestinian Citizens in Israel* offers research and observation on three central topics: socio-cultural determinants of mental health, mental health needs, and mental health service utilization. From suicidal behaviors and addiction to generational trauma and the particular concerns of children and the elderly, this broad and careful collection of research opens new dialogues on treatment, prevention, and methods for providing the best possible care to those in need."

**Rabbi Michael Lerner** (co-founder of *Tikkun* magazine)

***Embracing Israel/Palestine: A Strategy to Heal and Transform the Middle East***
(Tikkun Publications, 2012)

***The Geneva Accord and other Strategies for Healing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Berkeley: North Atlantic, 2004)

***Healing Israel/Palestine: A Path to Peace and Reconciliation***
(Tikkun Publications, 2003)

**Barry Levine** (Huffington Post; co-author of *All the President's Men*)
***The Spider: Inside the Criminal Web of Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell***
(Crown Publishing, 384 pages, 2020)
Tangential to the Israeli lobby in the USA.

**Mark Levine & Mathias Mossberg**
***One Land, Two States: Israel and Palestine as Parallel States***
(University of California Press, 2014)

**Mark Levine**
***An Impossible Peace: Israel/Palestine since 1989***
(Zed Books, 2013)

**Mark Levine & Gershon Shafir**, editors
***Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel***
(University of California Press, 2012)
Contents: 1. "Left Naked on the Beach": The Villagers of Aylut in the Grip of the New Templers -- 2. The Sephardi Entrepreneur and British Vice-Consul Haim Amzalak -- 3. A Musician's Lot: Wasif Jawhariyyeh's Old Jerusalem -- 4. Revolutionary Pioneer: Manya Shochat and Her Commune -- 5. Hero or Antihero? S. Yizhar's Ambivalent Zionism and the First Sabra Generation -- 6. "A Son of the Country": Dr. Tawfiq Canaan, Modernist Physician and Palestinian Ethnographer -- 7. The Ordeal of Henya Pekelman, a Female Construction Worker -- 8. "A Nation in a Hero": Abdul Rahim Hajj Mohammad and the Arab Revolt -- 9. Hillel Kook: Revisionism and Rescue -- 10. Matar Abdelrahim: From a Palestinian Village to a Syrian Refugee Camp -- 11. Joseph Spronz: From the Holocaust to a Safe Shore -- 12. The Trees Die Standing: A Story of a Palestinian Refugee -- 13. The Brief Career of Prosper Cohen: A Would-Be Leader of Moroccan Immigrants -- 14. A Tale of Baghdad and Tel Aviv -- 15. Is Slavery Over? Black and White Arab Bedouin Women in the Naqab (Negev) -- 16. Of Possessions and Dispossessions: A Story of Palestinian Property in Jewish Israeli Lives -- 17. The Rise and Fall of the Russian-Speaking Journalist in Israel -- 18. The Village against the Settlement: Two Generations of Conflict in the Nablus Region -- 19. Majed al-Masri in Two Intifadas in Nablus -- 20. Benni Gaon: From Socialist to Capitalist Tycoon -- 21. From Religion to Revenge: Becoming a Hamas Suicide Bomber -- 22. Yigael Amir: The Making of a Political Assassin -- 23. Mais in the War of the Words -- 24. Jonathan Pollak: An Anarchist "Traitor" in His Own Society -- 25. Abu Ahmad and His Handalas. Publisher's blurb: "…takes advantage of new sources about everyday life and the texture of changes on the ground to put more than two dozen human faces on the past and present of the region. With contributions from a leading cast of scholars across disciplines, the stories here are drawn from a variety of sources, from stories passed down through generations to family archives, interviews, and published memoirs. As these personal narratives are transformed into social biographies, they explore how the protagonists were embedded in but also empowered by their social and historical contexts. This wide-ranging and accessible volume brings a human dimension to a conflict-ridden history, emphasizing human agency, introducing marginal voices alongside more well-known ones, defying 'typical' definitions of Israelis and Palestinians, and, ultimately, redefining how we understand both 'struggle' and 'survival' in a troubled region."

**Daphna Levit**, editor (ex-Israeli; Tel Aviv, Indiana & Cornell Universities)
***Wrestling With Zionism: Jewish Voices of Dissent***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 2020)
Chronology of anti-Zionist statements by notable Jews: Theodor Herzl, Ahad Haam [aka Ahad Ha'am], Martin Buber, Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, Yeshayahu Leibowitz, Noam Chomsky, Tanya Reinhart, Zeev Sternhell, Uri Avnery, Tikva-Honig Parnass, Shlomo Sand, Tom Segev, Simha Flapan, Baruch Kimmerling, Benny Morris, Avi Shlaim, Ilan Pappe, Gideon Levy, Amira Hass, and Michael Sfard.

**Daphna Levit** (Concordia University) & **Zalman Amit**

***Israeli Rejectionism: A Hidden Agenda in the Middle East Peace Process***

(Pluto Press, 2011)

History covering the Peel Commission to the death of Yassir Arafat.

**Noah Lewin-Epstein & Moshe Semyonov**

***The Arab Minority in Israel's Economy: Patterns of Ethnic Inequality***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993)

See also: Moshe Semyonov

**Gideon Levy** [journalist for the English-language Israeli newspaper, *Ha'aretz*]

***The Killing of Gaza: Reports on a Catastrophe***

(Verso Books, 320 pages, 2024)

Translated by **David B. Green**. Publisher's blurb: "Gideon Levy is one of the most respected critics of Israel's apartheid policies against the Palestinian people. He is the outspoken award-winning journalist who has been writing on the conflict for decades. In *The Killing of Gaza*, he brings together his on-the-ground perspectives of the events leading up to the 7th October and the ensuing devastation of Gaza. His clear-eyed analysis is a vital aperture into current events but he also brings essential historical and political context to the moment. He is unafraid to speak truth to power, and his work is an urgent rebuttal to the propaganda that is distributed through the mainstream liberal press, throughout the world. Levy's words should be read by anyone who wants to get the heart of this most brutal conflict and see for themselves that silence is no longer possible in the face of such atrocity."

***The Punishment of Gaza***

(Verso Books, 160 pages, 2010)

**Andrea Lim**, editor

***The Case for Sanctions against Israel***

(Verso Books, 2011)

Contributors include John Berger, Slavoj Žižek, Angela Davis, Mustafa Barghouti, Ken Loach, Neve Gordon, Naomi Klein, Omar Barghouti, and Ilan Pappe.

**Andrew Lim**

***Political Marketing and Public Diplomacy by Pro-Israel and Pro-Palestinian Advocacy Groups***

(Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 149 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "This book looks at how both advocacy groups in New Zealand and Australia use political marketing to conduct advocacy and support Israeli and Palestinian public diplomacy and nation branding. The focus lies on their marketing orientation, segmentation/ targeting/ positioning (STP), and internal marketing practices. The theoretical framework will draw upon several political marketing frameworks and concepts including the product/sales/market-oriented framework, the STP process, and Petitt's internal stakeholder marketing approaches. The book examines four case studies: (1) the Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa (PSNA), (2) the Israel Institute of New Zealand (IINZ), (3) the Australia/Israel & Jewish Affairs Council (AIJAC), and (4) the Australia Palestine Advocacy Network (APAN). To ensure balance and comparison, four groups representing both the pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian camps in NZ and Australia were selected. Other criteria included their broad scope of activity, approachability and accessibility, as well as connections to state actors through advocacy, public diplomacy, and nation branding."

**Tim Llewellyn** (former Middle East Editor, BBC)

***A Public Ignored: The Broadcasters' False Portrayal of the Israel-Palestine Struggle***
in **Daud Abdullah** & **Ibrahim Hewitt**, editors: ***The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe: Changing Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*** (Fulsome details noted earlier)
**(**MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 2012)

**Diana Lodge**

***The Palestine Yearbook 2015: The Genocide the World Ignores***
(Stone Bridge Publishing, 216 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "For well over 60 years the Palestinian people, in Israel, the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza and refugee camps scattered around the borders of Israel, have been suffering a slow, grinding, very deliberate, calculated and determined form of genocide. This book details one year of the human rights abuses inflicted on a host of ordinary people whose only 'fault' is to be Palestinian. In 2015 and to this day, Palestinians have had/are having their land stolen from them by the Israeli state, in contravention of all international law. The construction of illegal settlements continues. Houses are being demolished, leaving children homeless. Palestinian water is stolen, without compensation. Adults are held without trial under a system dating back to British imperial rule. Children are arrested, beaten, interrogated without access to their parents or lawyers, tried in military courts and then held in jail in Israel. Olive trees and other crops are wantonly destroyed. Illegal settlers attack Palestinians, young and old, and their property day after day. And there's more, much more… It is hoped that this will prove a useful handbook, packed with facts, for those fighting this system of injustice. It is also hoped that it will lead to a more informed debate on the issue and more robust action to put a stop to it."

**Anthony Löwstedt** (Webster University, Vienna)

***Apartheid: Ancient, Past and Present – Gross Racist Human Rights Violations in Graeco-Roman Egypt, South Africa, and Israel/Palestine***
(Vienna: Gesellschaft für Phänomenologie und kritische Anthropologie, 2014)

**Antony Loewenstein & Ahmed Moor**, eds.

***After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine***
(Al-Saqi Books, 256 pages, 2012, 2024)
Contents: **Ahmed Moor**: *Presence, Memory and Denial* / **Ilan Pappe:** *The Nakba in the Israeli Zionist Landscape* / **Sara Roy**: *Reconfiguring Palestine – A Way Forward?* / **Diana Buttu**: *Success in Oslo* / **Saree Makdisi**: *The Power of Narrative – Reimagining the Palestinian Struggle* / **Joseph Dana**: *Protest and Privilege* / **Jeff Halper**: *Beyond Regional Peace to Global Reality* / **John J. Mearsheimer**: *The Future of Palestine – Righteous Jews vs the New Afrikaners* / **Johnathan Cook**: *Israel's Liberal Myths* / **Phil Weiss**: *The Contact* / **Antony Loewenstein**: *Zionist Media Myths Unveiling* / **Omar Barghouti**: *A Secular Democratic State in Historic Palestine – Self-Determination through Ethical Decolonisation* / **Ghada Karmi**: *How Feasible is the One-State Solution?* / **Jeremiah Haber**: *Zionism after Israel.* Note: Rumoured to have been withdrawn from publication, possibly for the Diana Buttu piece.

**Antony Loewenstein** (journalist and filmmaker)

***The Palestine Laboratory: How Israel Exports the Technology of Occupation around the World***
(Verso, 272 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This book shows in-depth, for the first time, how Palestine has become the perfect laboratory for the Israeli military-techno complex: surveillance, home demolitions, indefinite incarceration and brutality to the hi-tech tools that drive the 'Start-up Nation'. From the Pegasus software that hacked Jeff Bezos' and Jamal Khashoggi's phones, the weapons sold to the Myanmar army that has murdered thousands of Rohingyas and drones used by the European Union to monitor refugees in the Mediterranean who are left to drown. Israel has become a global leader in spying technology and defence hardware that fuels the globe's most brutal conflicts."

***My Israel Question***

(Melbourne University Press, 2006)

**Yosefa Loshitzky** (SOAS)

***Screening Strangers: Migration and Diaspora in Contemporary European Cinema***
(Indiana University Press, 2010)

***Identity Politics on the Israeli Screen***
(University of Texas Press, 2002)

**Lila Abu-Lughod** aka **Lila Abu-Lughod** (Princeton and New York Universities)

***Do Muslim Women Need Saving?***
(Harvard University Press, 324 pages, 2013)

***Pushing at the Door: My Father's Political Education and Mine***
in **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shehadeh**, editors
***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***Singing with the Taxi Driver: from Bollywood to Babylon***
in **Marianne Hirsch** & **Nancy K. Miller**, co-editors
***Rites of Return – Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory***
(Columbia University Press, 328pp, 2011)

with **Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh**
***Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender among Palestinians in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 2010)

***Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories***
(University of California Press, 267 pages, 2008)
Tangential, with focus on Egyptian Bedouins.

as co-editor, with **Ahmad H. Sadi**
***Nakba – Palestine, 1948, and Claims of Memory***
(Columbia University Press, 2007)
Places of memory. The rape of Qula, a destroyed Palestinian village / Susan Slyomovics — Mapping the past, recreating the homeland: memories of village places in pre-1948 Palestine / Rochelle Davis — Return to half-ruins: memory, post-memory, and living history in Palestine / Lila Abu-Lughod — Modes of memory. Iterability, cumulativity and presence: the relational figures of Palestinian memory / Lena Jayyusi — Women's Nakba stories: between being and knowing / Rosemary Sayigh — The continuity of trauma and struggle: recent cinematic representations of the Nakba / Haim Bresheeth-Zabner — Faultlines of memory: The secret visitations of memory / Omar Al-Qattan — Gender of Nakba Memory / Isabelle Humphries and Laleh Khalili — Memories of conquest: witnessing death in Tantura / Samera Esmeir — The politics of witness: remembering and forgetting 1948 in Shatila camp / Diana Keown Allan — Afterword: reflections on representations, history, and moral accountability / Ahmad Sadi [aka Ahmad Sa'di].

***Secularism and Islam*** in **Nermeen Shaikh**, editor
***The Present as History: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Global Power***
(Columbia University Press, 2007)

***Local Contexts of Islamism in Popular Media***
(Amsterdam University Press, 2006)

***Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt***

(University of Chicago Press, 2005)

***On Shifting Ground: Bonding and Breaking with the Past***, in **Fereshteh Nouraie-Simone**, editor
***On shifting Ground: Muslim Women in the Global Era***
(Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2002)

***Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society***
(University of California Press, 317 pages, 1999)
Tangential, with focus on Egyptian Bedouins.

***Second Life: A West Bank Memoir***
(University of Minnesota Press, 159 pages, 1995)

**Michael T. Luongo**
as editor: ***Gay Travels in the Muslim World***
(Routledge, 2007)
Actually, the diverse Arab world.

**Ian S. Lustick** (University of Pennsylvania, former president of the Israel Studies Association)
***Paradigm Lost: From Two-State Solution to One-State Reality***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 232 pages, 2019)
Author shifts from former two-state advocacy, an enlightening challenge for liberal Zionists.

**Joris Luyendijk**
***Hello Everybody! One Journalist's Search for Truth in the Middle East***
Translated from Dutch by **Michele Hutchinson**
(Profile Books, 2010, from 2006 original)

**Loren D. Lybarger** (Ohio State University)
***Palestinian Chicago: Identity in Exile***
(University of California Press, 286 pages, 2020)

***Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Secularism and Islamism in the Occupied Territories***
(Princeton University Press, 2007)

**Jake Lynch**
***A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict***
(Routledge, 2014)

with **Johan Galtung:** ***Reporting Conflict – New Directions in Peace Journalism***
(University of Queensland Press, 2010)

***Debates in Peace Journalism***
(Sydney University Press, 2006)

with **Annabel McGoldrick**: ***Peace Journalism***
(Stroud: Hawthorn Press, 2005)

***Reporting the World: A Practical Checklist for the Ethical Reporting of Conflicts in the 21st Century Produced by Journalists for Journalists***

(Taplow: Conflict and Peace Forums, 2002

**John Lyons** (Head of Investigative Journalism, ABC-TV, *Sydney Morning Herald*)

***Dateline Jerusalem: Journalism's Toughest Assignment***

(Monash University Publishing, 96 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Rarely is the public taken deep into the inner sanctum of major news organisations. In this extraordinary book, award-winning journalist John Lyons goes to the heart of how the media reports -- or does not report -- one of the biggest stories of our time: the conflict in the Middle East. He looks at the power of lobby groups and shows how they determine much of what is written about Israel, and he turns the spotlight on his own profession and its failings. For Lyons, the six years he spent in Jerusalem as Middle East correspondent for The Australian were the toughest of his forty-year career. He explains how lobby groups attempt to prevent the real story being told, revealing how he himself became a target, and the dirty tricks that are used. He describes how journalists who accurately report what they see can be hounded and vilified, part of a practice of intimidation, harassment and influence peddling that is designed to stop the truth from being told -- a practice that must stop. This is an insider's account of why the real story of the Israel-Palestine conflict goes largely unreported. It is also the story of why, in the wake of the international backlash against media coverage of the May 2021 Israel-Hamas violence, this could be about to change."

***Balcony over Jerusalem***

(HarperCollins 2017)

Married couple's account, 2009-2015.

**Ofra Yeshua-Lyth** (Journalist with *Ma'ariv*)

***Politically Incorrect: Why a Jewish State is a Bad Idea***

(Skyscraper Books, 2016)

Although in part a memoir of family and professional life, this book is revealing for the attitudes and contradictions which go to the heart of the exclusivity that threads through the Jewish Israeli society. Cultural quarter-tones sing from the pages.

***The Case for a Secular New Jerusalem – A Memoir***

(Createspace, 2014)

Translation from Hebrew of *Erietz, Brith* (Nimrod, 2004)

**John Lyons** (Middle East correspondent for *The Australian*) & **Sylvie Le Clezio** (filmmaker, emphasising documentaries)

***Dateline Jerusalem: Journalism's Toughest Assignment***

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Publisher's blurb: "Rarely is the public taken deep into the inner sanctum of major news organisations. In this extraordinary book, award-winning journalist John Lyons goes to the heart of how the media reports -- or does not report -- one of the biggest stories of our time: the conflict in the Middle East. He looks at the power of lobby groups and shows how they determine much of what is written about Israel, and he turns the spotlight on his own profession and its failings. For Lyons, the six years he spent in Jerusalem as Middle East correspondent for The Australian were the toughest of his forty-year career. He explains how lobby groups attempt to prevent the real story being told, revealing how he himself became a target, and the dirty tricks that are used. He describes how journalists who accurately report what they see can be hounded and vilified, part of a practice of intimidation, harassment and influence peddling that is designed to stop the truth from being told -- a practice that must stop. This is an insider's account of why the real story of the Israel-Palestine conflict goes largely unreported. It is also the story of why, in the wake of the international backlash against media coverage of the May 2021 Israel-Hamas violence, this could be about to change."

***Balcony over Jerusalem***

(HarperCollins 2017)
Married couple's account, 2009-2015.

**Simon Mabon** and **Lucia Ardovini** (both of the University of Lancaster), editors
***Sectarianism in the Contemporary Middle East***
(Routledge, 2017)
Originally published as a special issue of *Global Discourse*. With relevance to Hamas and Lebanon.

**Donald Macintyre** (*Independent* newspaper's Jerusalem bureau chief)
***Gaza: Preparing for Dawn*** [aka ***Gaza – A Place of Contrasts***]
(Oneworld, 2017)
Observations of Gaza residents' resiliency under Occupation.

**Jurgen Mackert** (Potsdam University), **Bryan S. Turner** (Australian Catholic University, Sydney), and **Hannah Wolf** (Potsdam University), editors
***The Condition of Democracy, Volume 3: Postcolonial and Settler Colonial Contexts***
(Routledge, 240 pages, 2021)
Contents: **Jürgen Mackert** - A 'Master-Race Democracy': Myths and Lies of Western Liberal Civilization / **Jessica Ayesha Northey** - The Algerian Hirak: Citizenship, Non-Violence and the New Movement for Democracy / **Zeynep Kivilcim** - Stateless Radical Democracy and Law in Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria / **Thiven Reddy** - South Africa and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy: Settler Colonial Modernity and a Dominant Friend-Enemy Conception of Politics / **Tariq Dana** - Israeli Conception of 'Peace' as an Indirect Colonial Rule / Helga Baumgarten - The Struggle for Democratic Space Under Violent Settler Colonialism and Authoritarian Rule / **Rebecca Burkert** - Moving Mountains? Palestinian Claim Making from Oslo Onwards / **Scott A. Bollens** - Political Resistance and Contested Citizenship / **Munir Nusseibah** - Municipal Elections in Occupied Jerusalem: Why Do Palestinians Boycott? / **Hassan Jabareen** - How the Law of Return Creates One Legal Order in Palestine / **Ilan Pappe** - The Discourse of Exceptionalism: Civil and Human Rights in Israel

**Sandra Mackey**
***Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict***
(WW Norton, 2008)
A concise unpacking of Lebanon, in some ways the centre of the Middle East, with borders contrived by others, a weak state housing weak institutions, a Palestinian presence, resistance to societal and political change, Sunni/Shia sectarianism, occupation, militant Islam as a political ideology, conflict over the common identity essential to turning a fragile state into a viable nation, and civil war perpetrated by forces both inside and outside its borders.

**Nina Maadad** & **Grant Rodwell**
***Schooling and Education in Lebanon: Syrian and Syrian Palestinian Refugees Inside and Outside the Camps***
(Peter Lang Verlag, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book provides insights into the education and schooling of Syrian and Palestinian Syrian children inside and outside Lebanese refugee camps. It describes what is happening to these children and young refugees in terms of their schooling. Investigating the perspectives of children, their parents, teachers, community leaders, and state politicians and bureaucrats on the schooling provisions and educational opportunities for refugee children in Lebanon, this book reveals the condition of social disadvantage that Syrian and Syrian Palestinian refugee children and their families are experiencing in Lebanon. Maadad and Rodwell propose the idea of the pedagogy of the displaced that recognises socio-economic disadvantage and refocuses the nature of the learner and their learning and

the philosophy of teaching. A collaborative action of society – the refugee families, the schools, the communities, the host state, the international aid agencies and the rest of the world – in addressing the barriers to education and schooling of the refugee children must break ground and be sustained."

**Lisa Suhair Majaj, Paula W. Sunderman,** & **Therese Saliba,** editors
***Intersections: Gender, Nation, and Community in Arab Women's Novels***
(Syracuse University Press, 2002)
Contents: Modernist Arab women writers: a historical overview / Salma Khadra Jayyusi — Framing Nawal El Saadawi: Arab feminism in a transnational world / Amal Amireh — Reenvisioning national community in Salwa Bakr's The golden chariot / Magda M. al-Nowaihi — The sixth day of compassion: the im/possible communities of life toward death / Mary N. Layoun — Partitions and precedents: Sahar Khalifeh and Palestinian political geography / Barbara Harlow — A country beyond reach: Liana Badr's Writings of the Palestinian diaspora / Therese Saliba — Strategic androgyny: passing as masculine in Barakat's The stone of laughter / Mona Fayad — The fourth language: subaltern expression in Djebar's Fantasia / Nada Elia — Voice, representation, and resistance: Etel Adnan's Sitt Marie Rose / Lisa Suhair Majaj 10. Hanan al-Shaykh's Hikayat Zahra: a counter-narrative and a counter-history / Sabah Ghandour.

**Karim Makdisi** (American University Beirut) **& Vijay Prashad** (Trinity College, Connecticut), editors
***Land of Blue Helmets: The United Nations and the Arab World***
(University of California Press, 2017)
Relevant contents: Andrew Gilmour – *The Role of the UN Secretary-General, a Historical Assessment* / Lori Allen – *Palestine, the Third World and the UN as Seen From a Special Commission* / Richard Falk – *On Behalf of the United Nations – Serving as Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Council for Palestinian Territories Occupied since 1967* / Noura Erakat – *The UN Statehood Bid – Palestine's Flirtation with Multilateralism* / Asli Bâli & Aziz Rana – *The Wrong Kind of Intervention in Syria* / Jalal Al Husseini – *An Agency for the Palestinians?* / Filippo Grandi – *Challenged but Steadfast: Nine Years with the Palestinian Refugees and the UN Relief and Words Agency* / Mandy Turner – *Peacebuilding in Palestine: Western Strategies in the Context of Colonization*

**Karim Makdisi** (American University Beirut), **Rami G. Khouri** (American University Beirut), **Martin Wählisch** (University of Birmingham, UN Special Coordinator for Lebanon - UNSCOL), editors
***Interventions in Conflict: International Peacemaking in the Middle East***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Contributors include **Amr Moussa**, **Filippo Grandi**, **Alastair Crooke**, **Richard Falk** and **President Jimmy Carter**.

**Saree Makdisi** (Palestinian raised in Lebanon; University of California Los Angeles)
***Tolerance is a Wasteland: Palestine and the Psychogeography of Denial***
(University of California Press, 244 pages, ca. 2021)
On the 'Museum of Tolerance' project, reportedly on the ruins of a Muslim cemetery in Jerusalem.

***Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation***
(WW Norton, 365 pages, 2008)
With foreword by **Alice Walker**. "This is his highly articulate and informed account of the mistreatment of Palestinians within Israel; also his analysis of the failed peace process, during which Israel has never acknowledged the rights of the refugees it created in 1948. Another educated plea for a One State solution." – Naomi Foyle

**Andreas Malm** (Lund University, Sweden)

***The Destruction of Palestine is the Destruction of the Earth***
(Verso Palestine Pamphlets Series, 144 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Israel's pulverization of Gaza since October 7, 2023 is not only a humanitarian crisis, but an environmental catastrophe. Far from the first event of its kind, the devastation Israel has inflicted on Palestine since October 2023 has merely ushered in a new phase in a long history of colonization and extraction that reaches back to the nineteenth century. In this book, Andreas Malm argues that a true understanding of the present crisis requires a longue durée analysis of Palestine's subjugation to fossil empire. Returning to the British empire's first use of steam-power in war, in which it destroyed the Palestinian city of Akka, Malm traces the development of Britain's fossil empire and shows how this enduring commitment to fossil energy continues to drive Western support for the destruction of Palestine today."

**Daniel Mann**
***Occupying Habits: Everyday Media as Warfare in Israel-Palestine***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Palestine Studies series, 192 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "How did the Israeli military learn to cope with the ubiquity of media technologies that routinely document their power abuses? Why did they re-appropriate these to tighten their grip on Palestinian civilians? This book explains why a high-tech nation with advanced military technologies came to rely on the everyday media habits performed by soldiers and civilians. Daniel Mann argues that the intensification of the security regime in Palestine, and the increasingly personal use of media technologies by both soldiers and civilians, are deeply entangled. The book traces how, beginning in the 1990s, the integration of media into the lives of civilians and Israeli soldiers enabled Israel to transfer responsibilities to individual users, who in turn became legally and ethically liable for state abuses of power. Drawing on declassified documents, found footage, and social media, Mann shows how both media and warfare have been remodelled around the figure of the defensive, isolated, and insular 'individual'. Mann suggests that the focus on representations and their close visual analysis paradoxically hinders our ability to understand media. Instead of zooming into fine details, we must step back to reveal the assemblage of images, users, and infrastructure that together serve to maintain the racial, legal and aesthetic divide between Israel and Palestine."

**Camille Mansour** (ed., Birzeit University) and **Leila Fawaz** (ed., Tufts University)
***Transformed Landscapes: Essays on Palestine in Honor of Walid Khalidi***
(American University Press in Cairo, 2009)
Contributors include Laurie A. Brand, Leila Fawaz, Jamil Hilal, Michael C. Hudson, Rashid Khalidi, Philip S. Khoury, William Roger Louis, Adel Manna, Butrus Abu-Manneh, Camille Mansour, Abdul-Karim Rafeq, André Raymond, Sara Roy, Eric Rouleau, May Seikaly, and Salim Tamari.

**Philip Marfleet** & **Rabab El-Madhi**, editors
***Egypt: The Moment of Change***
(Zed Books, 2009)
Note: contains perspective on the Muslim Brotherhood, which embraces Hamas in Gaza.

**Philip Marfleet**
***Palestine, Imperialism and the Struggle for Freedom***
(possibly London: Bookmarks, 358 pages, 2025)

***Refugees in a Global Era***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 324 pages, 2006)
The Palestinians are repeatedly forced into migration.

**Phil Marfleet**

***Palestine Lives!***

(Socialist Workers Party, 32 pages, 1979)

**Meir [ Me'ir ] Margalit** (Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions / ACAHD)

***The City of Jerusalem: The Occupation and Subjugation of Palestinian Jerusalemites***

(Sussex Academic Press, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "This book is centered on the political and economic mechanisms practiced by Israel in East Jerusalem over the last decade. These mechanisms reinforce the occupation and keep Jerusalem's Palestinians subjugated through co-optation into the Israeli system. Analysis is centered on the changes wrought during the mayoralty of Nir Barkat (2008–2018), who came into politics from the business world and introduced management concepts to the workings of municipal government. While Barkat succeeded in creating the illusion of a "new era" in eastern Jerusalem, the result is heartbreaking displacement and vulnerability toward East Jerusalem's residents."

**Meir Margalit** & **Robert D. Brooks**

***Discrimination in the Heart of the Holy City***

(International Peace and Cooperation Center, 2007)

**Joel Margolis**

***The Israeli-Palestinian Legal War: This Land is Ours***

(Author, 434 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "To the public, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an endless, variable-intensity war, where attacks and reprisals ricochet in a desensitizing 'cycle of violence.' The opposing leaders exchange timeworn denunciations. Foreign affairs experts warn, 'There's no military solution.' Academics proclaim the path to peace is 'well known' - even though the most widely recognized paths have led nowhere. Rarely do the public-facing figures reveal what the fighting is about. At root in the Israeli-Palestinian rivalry is a tangle of legal claims. To understand the origins of the conflict, what the parties want, and how their goals might be reconciled, one must learn the relevant contentions of international law. The media is a poor starting point. News reports disperse legal terms like 'Green Line,' 'occupation,' and 'right of return' without explanation. Often the journalists spin the words to favor one protagonist or the other. The Israeli-Palestinian Legal War is a primer for those seeking a complete and accurate description of the legal interplay behind the gunfire. In these pages, anyone from a college student to a seasoned litigator can learn the basic official positions of both parties as articulated by their leading legal champions. A background section traces the legal history of the quarrel from ancient times to 2020. Each major issue in the debate is represented by a 'pro-Palestinian argument' and a 'pro-Israeli argument.'"

**Rayyar Marron** (former vocational school teacher in Shatila Camp)

***Humanitarian Rackets and Their Moral Hazards: The Case of Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon***

(Routledge, 2017)

Challenging work, of which the focus is mainly on Shatila Camp. Publisher's blurb: "The humanitarian crisis in the Palestinian refugee camps of Lebanon has become one of the most populist causes in the world, yet the causes of the crisis have been misrepresented, whilst on-going humanitarian assistance could arguably be said to amplify problems that exist in the camps. Shedding light on the disturbing occurrence of corruption, rent-seeking and racketeering, together with the emergence of zones of privatised territory based on self-enrichment, this book challenges the conception of refugees in camps as helpless, vulnerable individuals. Based on detailed and sustained research at the camp of Shatila in Beirut, *Humanitarian Rackets and their Moral Hazards* reveals that even the access of humanitarian agencies to the camp is determined by payment to certain refugee groups, whilst the degree of humanitarian interaction has created a sense of entitlement amongst some, based on a belief in their own

exceptionalism as a displaced ethnic group. Detailing the everyday economic transactions that transpire in refugee camps, this book shows that, far from being helpless victims with no power over their circumstances, many Palestinian refugees have created lucrative ventures from humanitarian assistance. A rich, yet troubling study of refugee life and the 'cartelisation' of camp space, this book will be of interest to sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists working in the fields of humanitarian intervention, development, criminology and informal economies."

**Maram Masarwi** (Tel-Aviv University/ Al-Qasemi Academic College)

***The Bereavement of Martyred Palestinian Children: Gendered, Religious and National Perspectives***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)

**Nur Masalha** (Palestinian historian at St. Mary's University London and SOAS London; "The rupture of 1948 and the ethnic cleansing of Palestine are central to both the Palestinian society of today and Palestinian social history and collective identity. Resisting ethnic cleansing and politicide has been a key feature of the modern history of the Palestinians as a people.")

***The Ancient Cities and Global Trade of Palestine: A 7,000 Year History***

(Bloomsbury/IB Tauris, 384 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "For millennia, and despite its relatively small size, Palestine enjoyed wealth, prosperity and flourishing cities and civilisations. Based on extensive archaeological discoveries, Nur Masalha brings iconic, famous and forgotten trade brands to life. These include: the Neolithic Age obsidian trade; the Calcolithic Age and Bronze Age copper industry of the Naqab; the ancient cities of frankincense and spices; the Red Sea-Gaza silk route; the textiles of Beisan; Gaza wine; gauze and silk weaving from Asqalan and Gaza; Al-Khalil glassware; acre and cotton export to Europe; Nablus soap; and Jaffa orange. The book is a record and testament of the real cultural, intellectual and historical significance of Palestine. Contents: Chapter I: Palestine as a Transit Country: International Highways, Commercial Geography and the Ancient Trade Routes of Palestine / Chapter 2: Ancient Obsidian and Copper Regional Trade Systems: The Mining Industries and Urbanisation in Ancient Palestine and Egypt (From the late Neolithic Ages to the Iron Age) / Chapter 3: Cities of Spice, Frankincense and Aromatics: The Trans-Arabian Incense Trade and the Transformation of the Palestinian Cities of the Naqab (Classical and Late Antiquity) / Chapter 4: The Myth of the Single 'Silk Road' and the Palestine Red Sea Silk Route from China: The Rise of the Maritime Trade Route of Iotabe-Aylah-Elusa-Gaza and the Ghassanid Arabs of Palaestina Tertia / Chapter 5: Elite Fashion, Linen, Silk and Purple Dye: The Palestine Clothing Industry and a Tale of Five Textile Cities in Antiquity / Chapter 6: The Christian Revolution and Palestinian Wines on Western Tables: Monasteries, Urban Boom and the Golden Age of the Wine Industry of Byzantine Palestine (4th-early 7th Centuries) / Chapter 7: A Tale of Two Cities: Seamen, Merchants and Clergymen and the Maritime City of Gaza Maiumas / Chapter 8: The Founding of a New Capital City in Palestine in Early Islam: Al-Ramla, the Administrative and Commercial Centre of the Arab Province of Palestine (7th-11thCentury) / Chapter 9: Regulating Trade and Inspecting Urban Markets in Byzantine and Islamic Palestine: The Agoranomos and Muhtasibs in Historical and Comparatives Perspective / Chapter 10: The Rise and Decline of a Trademark of Palestinian Identity: The Glassware and Ceramic Industries of Al-Khalil (Thirteen-Twenty-First Centuries) / Chapter 11: Cities of Stone: Quarries and the Stone and Marble Industries of Palestine / Chapter 12: Cross-Weaving and Gauze from Palestine to Europe: The Silk and Linen Industries of Asqalan and Gaza under the Mamluks / Chapter 13: Caravansarais, Markets and Urban Life: The Urban and Rural Merchants' Khans of Mamluk and Ottoman Palestine / Chapter 14: Palestine's Cottonopolis and Dhaher al-'Umar: The Cotton Industry, Urbanisation in Galilee and the Rise of Modern Acre / Chapter 15: The Soap Factories of Jerusalem and Nablus: Olive Oil and the Soap Industry of Palestine from the Middle Ages to the Modern Period / Chapter 16: Tobacco, Urban Coffeehouses and the Leisure Industry of Palestine / Chapter 17: Sweets as a Modern Trademark: Urban Life, Sweet Bakeries and the Confectionary Culture of Palestine / Chapter 18: City of Oranges: Jaffa Orange, Palestine's Citrus Industry and the Transformation of Jaffa into a Modern Metropolis (1845-1948)

As co-editor, with **Ahmad H. Sa'di**: ***Decolonizing the Study of Palestine – Indigenous Perspectives and Settler Colonialism after Elia Zureik***
(Bloomsbury/IB Tauris, 304 pages, 2023)
Essays building on Elia Zureik's writing on Israel's colonial project. Contents: 1. **Ahmad Sa'di**, (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel) - *Towards a Decolonization of Palestinian Studies* / 2. **Nur Masalha** (SOAS) - *Indigenous versus Colonial-Settler Toponymy and the Struggle over the Cultural and Political Geography of Palestine: The Appropriation of Palestinian Place-Names by the Israeli State* / 3. **Raef Zreik** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute) *What's the Problem with the Jewish State?* / 4. **Amal Jamal** (Tel Aviv University) - *The Epistemology of Zionist Settler Colonialism and the Ontological Securitization of Palestinians* / 5. **Ismael Abu-Saad** - Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - *The Unfinished Zionist Settler-Colonial Conquest of its Elusive 'Last Frontier', and Indigenous Palestinian Bedouin Arab Resistance* / 6. **Areej Sabbagh-Khoury** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) - *The Paradox of Settler Colonial Citizenship in Israel* / 7. **Yasmeen Abu-Laban** (University of Alberta) - *Celebrating Survival: Palestinian Epistemes and Resisting Anti-Palestinian Racism* / 8. **Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** ( Queen Mary University London) & **Abeer Otman** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) - *Secrecy as Colonial Violence: The Case of Occupied East Jerusalem* / 9. **Helga Tawil-Souri** (New York University) - *Israel's Telecommunications Lines and Digital Surveillance Routes* / 10. **Magid Shihade** (Dar Al-Kalima University, Palestine) - *Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Connections and Ruptures* / 11. **Marwan Darweish** (Coventry University) - *Popular Resistance in Palestine* / 12. **Sami Miaari** (Tel Aviv University) & **Dorde Miloslav** (Trinity College Dublin) - *The Effect of the Separation of the Wall on the West Bank Labour Market* / 13. **Salim Tamari** (Birzeit University) & **Eliza Zureik** (Queens University Ontario) *Palestinian Refugee Archives UNRWA and the Problem with Sources* /14. **David Lyon** (Queens University Ontario) *Liminal Lights in Dark Places: Elia Zureik's Sociological and Critical Contribution to Palestinian and Surveillance Studies*.

***Palestine Across Millennia: A History of Literacy, Learning and Educational Revolutions***
(IB Tauris, 352 pages, 2022)
Contents: *Literacy and Functionality: The Scribal Schools of Ancient Palestine / Cities of Learning: The Intellectual Revolutions of Byzantine Palestine (Third to Early Seventh Century) / Greek and Syriac into Arabic and the Palestinian Translation Movement under Islam: Monasteries of Larning, Mar Saba and Arabic Belles-Letters (Eighth-Eleventh Century) / Latin Learning and the Crusader Kingdoms of Palestine: The Library of Nazareth / The Golden Age of the Islamic Law Colleges of Jerusalem: The Palestinian Madrasas under the Ayyubids an Mamluks (1187-1517) / Legal Pluralism and the Social World of Palestine in the Seventeenth Century: The Azhar College of Cairo and Palestinian Muslim Scholars/ The 'Azhar' of Palestine: The Ahmadiyya Seminary of Acre (1782-1948) / Modernity, the Printing Press and Mass Literacy: The Educational Revolution of Late Ottoman Palestine and the Mandatory Period (1860s-1948) / Humanism and Arab 'Nahda' Education: Khalil Sakakini and Reforming Palestinian Education / Learning from Below: The 'Kuttab' Schools in Palestine (Muslim, Jewish and Christian) / Between Professionalism and Cultural Nationalism: Palestinian Education in Mandatory Palestine (1918-1948) / The Libraries, Archival Collections and Sharia Courts' Records of Modern Palestine.* Publisher's blurb: "In this magisterial cultural history of the Palestinians, Nur Masalha illuminates the entire history of Palestinian learning with specific reference to writing, education, literary production and the intellectual revolutions in the country. The book introduces this long cultural heritage to demonstrate that Palestine was not just a 'holy land' for the four monotheistic religions – Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Samaritanism – rather, the country evolved to become a major international site of classical education and knowledge production in multiple languages including Sumerian, Proto-Canaanite, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin. The cultural saturation of the country is found then, not solely in landmark mosques, churches and synagogues, but in scholarship, historic schools, colleges, famous international libraries and archival centres. This unique book unites these renowned institutions, movements and multiple historical periods for the first time, presenting them as part of a cumulative and incremental intellectual advancement rather than disconnected periods of educational excellence. In doing so, this multifaceted intellectual history transforms the orientations of scholarly research on Palestine and propels current historical knowledge on education and literacy in Palestine to new heights."

***The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory***
(Acumen Publishing, 2013; Routledge, 2014)

***The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory***
(Zed Books, 288 pages, 2012)
Contents: Zionism and European Settler-Colonialism / The Memoricide of the Nakba: Zionist-Hebrew Toponymy and the De-Arabisation of Palestine / Fashioning a European Landscape, Erasure and Amnesia: The Jewish National Fund, Afforestation, and Green-washing the Nakba / Appropriating History: The Looting of Palestinian Records, Archives and Library Collections (1948-2011) / New History, Post-Zionism, the Liberal Coloniser and Hegemonic Narratives: A Critique of the Israeli 'New Historians' / Decolonising History and Narrating the Subaltern: Palestinian Oral History, Indigenous and Gendered Memories / Resisting Memoricide and Reclaiming Memory: The Politics of Nakba Commemoration among Palestinians inside Israel Epilogue: The Continuity of Trauma

***The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel***
(Zed Books, 2007)

as editor: ***Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel and the Internal Refugees: Essays in Memory of Edward W. Said***
(Zed Books, 2005)

***The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem***
(Pluto Press, 2003)

***Ariel Sharon: A Political Profile***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 2001)

***Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion***
(Pluto Press, 2000)

***A Land without a People: Israel, Transfer, and the Palestinians 1949-96***
(Pluto Press, 1997)

***Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992)

***King Faisal I of Iraq: A Study of His Political Leadership, 1921-1933***
(PhD thesis, University of London, 1987)

**Mazen Masri** (City University, London)
***The Dynamics of Exclusionary Constitutionalism: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State***
(Hart, 2017)

**Dina Matar** (SOAS / Centre for Palestine Studies)
as co-editor with **Venetia Porter** (British Museum): ***Archiving Gaza in the Present: Memory, Culture and Erasure***
(Saqi Books / Arab British Centre, 288 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Contributions from curators, architects, artists, journalists, lawyers and scholars capture Gaza's once-vibrant cultural life – historic buildings, art centres, universities and museums that existed before October 2023 – now turned to rubble."

as co-editor with **Helga Tawil-Souri** (New York University)
***Producing Palesatine: The Creative Production of Palestine Through Contemporary Media***
(IB Tauris / SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies, 2024)

as co-editor with **Helga Tawil-Souri** (New York University)
***Gaza as Metaphor***
(Hurst & Col, 2016)
Contents – **Helga Tawil-Souri**: *Gaza as Larger Than Life* / **Haidar Eid**: *Diary July 20, 2014 – Signposts on the Road to Liberation* / **Said Shehadeh**: *Ghazeh el Sumud – Confronting Israeli Mass Torture* / **Pierre Krähenbühl**: *Gaza as a Metaphor for Unsustainability* / **Mouin Rabbani**: *Israel Mows the Lawn* / **Naim Al Khatib**: *On War and Shit* / **Khaled Hroub**: *Tunnels – Love, Lions and Absurdities* / **Jehad Abusalim**: *From Fence to Fence: Retelling Gaza's Story* / **Ilana Feldman**: *Gaza- Isolation* / **Salman Abu Sitta**: *The Gaza Strip and the Lessons of History* / Glenn Bowman: *Gaza – Encystation* / **Selma Dabbagh**: *Inventing Gaza* / **Ramzy Baroud**: *Fighting Another Day – Gaza's Unrelenting Resistance* / **Atef Alshaer**: *In the Company of Frantz Fanon, the Israeli Wars and the National Culture of Gaza* / **Ilan Pappe**: *Can the Pen be Mightier than the Sword? Permission to Narrate Gaza* / **Dina Matar**: *Gaza Image Normalization* / **Darryl Li**: *Gaza at the Frontiers of Zionism* / **Ariella Azoulay**: *Concentration-Place* / **Nimer Sultany**: *Repetition* / **Sara Roy**: *Gaza, no se Puede Mirar – One Cannot Look, a Brief Reflection* / **Sherene Seikaly**: *Gaza as Archive*

as co-author, with **Zahera Harb** (City University)
***Narrating the Conflict in the Middle East: Discourse, Image and Communications Practices in Lebanon and Palestine***
(IB Tauris, 2013)
Contents: Dina Matar & Zahera Harb: *Approaches to Narrating Conflict in Palestine and Lebanon* / Matt Sienkiewicz: *Just a Few Small Changes – The Limits of Televisual Palestinian Representation of Conflicts within the Transnational "Censorscape"* / Zahera Harb : *Mediating Internal Conflict in Lebanon and its Ethical Boundaries* / Hanan Toukan: *Negotiating Representation, Re-Making War – Transnationalism, Counter-Hegemony and Contemporary Art from Post-Taif Beirut* / Refqa Abu-Remaileh: *Narratives in Conflict – Emile Habibi's "al-Waqa'i al-Ghariba" and Elia Suleiman's "Divine Intervention"* / Atef Alshaer: *Islam in the Narrative of Fatah and Hamas* / Rounwah Adly Riyadh Bseiso: *Al Manar – Cultural Discourse and Representation of Resistance* / Kirkland Newman Smulders : *The Battle over Victimhood – Roles and Implications of Narratives of Suffering in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* / Carole Helou: *The "I Love…" Phenomenon in Lebanon – The Transmutations of Discourse, its Impact on Civil Society, the Media, and Democratization* / Helena Nassif: *Making Sense of War News among Adolescents in Lebanon – The Politics of Solidarity and Partisanship* / Nadia Yaqub: *Narrating the Nakba – Palestinian Filmmakers Revisit 1948* / Teodora Todorova: *Bearing Witness to Al Nakba in a Time of Denial*

***What it Means to be Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood***
(IB Tauris, 2010/2011)
Narratives start in 1936 and run to the first Intifada, including Nakba refugees in the West Bank and Lebanon, Leila Khaled, and Gaza.

as co-author with **Lina Khatib** & **Atef Alshaer**
***The Hizbullah Phenomenon: Politics and Communication***
(Hurst, 2014)
Strategy of transformation from a local Shi'a movement to political agency within Lebanon and the Levant. Includes a chapter on Hezbollah poetry and one on the leader Hassan Nasrallah.

**Ibrahim Matar**
*The Transformation of Jerusalem, 1948-1997*
(London: Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 20 pages, 1977)

**Tony McAleavy**
***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 64 pages, 1998)

Zionist-influenced publication seemingly intended for schools, posing as even-handed but omitting much obvious history. 2011 edition was the 11th printing.

**John McCarthy**
***You Can't Hide the Sun: A Journey through Israel and Palestine***
(Black Swan, 2012)
Palestinians in Israel.

**Paul McGeough** (Middle East correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*)
***Kill Khalid: The Failed Mossad Assassination of Khalid Mishal and the Rise of Hamas***
(The New Press, 2010) / ***Kill Khalid: Mossad's Failed Hit…and the Rise of Hamas*** (Allen & Unwin, 2009). Biography of the Hamas leader.

**Emily McKee** (Northern Illinois University)
***Dwelling in Conflict: Negev Landscapes and the Boundaries of Belonging***
(Stanford University Press, 2016). Publisher's blurb: "Land disputes in Israel are most commonly described as stand-offs between distinct groups of Arabs and Jews. In Israel's southern region, the Negev, Jewish and Bedouin Arab citizens and governmental bodies contest access to land for farming, homes, and industry and struggle over the status of unrecognized Bedouin villages. "Natural," immutable divisions, both in space and between people, are too frequently assumed within these struggles. *Dwelling in Conflict* offers the first study of land conflict and environment based on extensive fieldwork within both Arab and Jewish settings. It explores planned towns for Jews and for Bedouin Arabs, unrecognized villages, and single-family farmsteads, as well as Knesset hearings, media coverage, and activist projects. Emily McKee sensitively portrays the impact that dividing lines—both physical and social—have on residents. She investigates the political charge of people's everyday interactions with their environments and the ways in which basic understandings of people and "their" landscapes drive political developments. While recognizing deep divisions, McKee also takes seriously the social projects that residents engage in to soften and challenge socio-environmental boundaries. Ultimately, *Dwelling in Conflict* highlights opportunities for boundary crossings, revealing both contemporary segregation and the possible mutability of these dividing lines in the future."

**John J Mearsheimer** & **Stephan M Walt**
***The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008)
Landmark, weighty work on monied Zionist influence on representation and legislation in Washington.

**Jens Meierhenrich**, editor
***The Law and Practice of International Commissions of Inquiry***
(Oxford University Press, 656 pages, 2023)
Includes **Neve Gordon**: *The UN Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict and International Crimes in Israel and Palestine, 2009*.

**MEMO – Middle East Monitor**
Numerous reports available as free downloads via middleeastmonitor.com
Recent (2014) articles include:
**Tom Mills, David Miller, Tom Griffin & Hilary Aked**: ***The Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre – Giving Peace a Chance*** (2013)

**Sawson Ramahi**: ***The Forced Expulsion of Palestinians***

**Amelia Smith** and **Penny Green**: ***Forced Evictions in Israel-Palestine***

**Henriette Johansen**: ***Narrow Scope for Palestinian Rights in Lebanon***

**Henriette Johansen: *Palestinian Cries Fall on Deaf Ears***

**Yonatan Mendel** (Cambridge University, Ben-Gurion University)
with **Abeer al Najjar** (London School of Economics & American University Sharjah-UAE)
***Language, Politics and Society in the Middle East: Essays in Honour of Yasir Suleiman***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2018)

with **Ronald Ranta** (Kingston University)
***From the Arab Other to the Israeli Self: Palestinian Culture in the Making of Israeli National Identity***
(Routledge, 2016)
The appropriation of Arab language and cuisine by Israelis in forming their separate culture.

***The Creation of Israeli Arabic: Political and Security Considerations in the Making of Arabic Language Studies in Israel***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "This book sheds light on the ways in which the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict has shaped Arabic language instruction in Jewish-Israeli society. It explores how 'Israeli Arabic' has been constructed by means of a closed network of Jewish-Israeli actors focused on political and security considerations rather than on a desire for open communication. The book argues that 'Israeli Arabic' has evolved as a silent, passive language that gave its users a limited set of language skills, especially decoding texts, with an emphasis on newspapers. This has enabled its students to observe the Arab world but not to interact with Arab people in general and the Palestinian citizens of Israel more particularly. The interdisciplinary nature of the book gives a unique perspective on Jewish-Israeli society and its production and reproduction of knowledge in the field of Arabic, and would therefore be of great interest to academics and researchers on security and Middle Eastern studies as well as those specialising in language and linguistics."

**Khaled Meshaal** (founding head of the Kuwait branch of Hamas, who helped organise the movement's overall political bureau and served as its chair, 1996-2017)
***The Political Thought of the Islamic Resistance Movement***
(Memo – Middle East Monitor, 80 pages 2013)
Clear and concise discourse by the Political Director of Hamas. Translated by **Daud Abdullah**, **Maha Salah** and **Zulaikha Abdullah**; edited by **Ibrahim Hewit.** Previously published as: ***The Political Thought of the Islamic Resistance Movement – Hamas***.

**Nicholas Mirzoeff** (*The Guardian* and *The Nation*)
***To See in the Dark: Palestine and Visual Activism since October 7***
(Pluto Books, 168 pages, 2025)
Designed as a tool for Palestine activists.

**Suzan Mitwalli** (Birzeit University, **Yoke Rabaia** (Birzeit University), and **Hanna Kienzler** (Kings College London)
***Get to Know Us: Our Lives with Mental Illness in the Palestinian Community***
(Birzeit University, 51 pages, 2022)
English version free download: https://gettoknowus53484992.files.wordpress.com/2022/09/iaa-web-final-english.pdf

**Daniel Monterescu**

***Jaffa: Shared and Shattered – Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine***
(Indiana University Press, 2015)

**Heidi Morrison** (University of Wisconsin)

***Inner Wounds: Oral Histories of Palestinian Children's Trauma and the Second Intifada***
(Oxford University Press, 2025)

As editor: ***Lived Resistance: Against the War on Palestinian Children***
(University of Georgia Press, 320 pages, 2024)
Contributors: Amahl Bishara, Yousef M. Aljamal, Valentina Marconi, Janette Habashi, Amneh Badran, Nitin Sawhney, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Abeer Otman, Ahed Tamimi, Rami Salameh, Jana Jihad Ayad, Sharazad Odeh, Cindy Sousa, Lama Yahya, Mohammed Alrozzi, and Sara Bressi. Publisher's blurb: "Despite the increasing volume of scholarship that shows children as political actors, prior to this book, a cohesive framework was lacking that would more fully examine and express children's relationship with political power. Rather than simply hitching children's resistance to standard theories of resistance, Heidi Morrison seeks to meet children on their own terms. Through the case study of Palestinian children, contributors theorize children's resistance as an embodied experience called lived resistance. A critical aspect of the study of lived resistance is not just documenting what children do but specifically how scholars approach the topic of children's resistance. With *Lived Resistance against the War on Palestinian Children,* the authors account for the vessel (i.e., the body in flesh and mind) through which such resistance generates and operates. The diverse group of chapter authors examine Palestinian children's art and media, imprisonment, parenting experiences, bereavement, neoliberalism, refugee camps, and protest movements as aspects of their collective and individual political power. Through these outlets, the book shows consistencies and contends that these children's relationship to political power operates from an inclusive model of citizenship and is social justice oriented, symbolically oriented, and contingently based".

**Pnina Motzafi-Haller**

***Concrete Boxes: Mizrahi Women on Israel's Periphery***
(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 360 pages, 2018)
With foreword by **Virginia R. Dominguez**. Yeruham women speak of their communities, gender roles, aside from Israeli political realities.

**Aline Muff**

***Citizenship Education and Identity: A Comparative Study Across Different Schools in Northern Ireland and Israel***
(thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2019)

**Aitemad Muhanna** aka **Aitemad Muhanna-Matar** aka **Aitemad Matar** (London School of Economics ethnographer, with research in the Palestinian Occupied Territories, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen)

***Agency and Gender in Gaza: Masculinity, Femininity and Family during the Second Intifada***
(Ashgate, 208 pages, 2013)

***Gender Relations and Women's Agency During the Second Intifada in Gaza***
(Swansea University thesis, 2010)
Available via the EthOS system.

**Rania Muhareb, Elizabeth Rghebi, Susan Power** and **Pearce Clancy**

***Persecution of Palestinian Civil Society: Epistemic Violence, Silencing and Apartheid Framework***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 42 pages, 2022)

**Dervla Murphy**

***Between River and Sea: Encounters in Israel and Palestine***
(Eland Books, 2015)
At over 400 pages, this volume is almost bursting with things you probably don't know: Rape is not yet a crime; an "International" can marry a Palestinian, but don't be surprised if the native spouse gets arrested on no charge and then held indefinitely; an Israeli judge can change his own verdict; and five legal systems coexist in the OPT, even Ottoman. Dervla Murphy can't recommend conventional tourism in the Occupied Territories because "the Palestinians' sufferings and the landscape's despoliation complement each other". But if you want truth and insight, *Between River and Sea* is not only a serious travel book for today, for it will surely stand as a landmark assessment of life in the West Bank. In sheer scope, there surely can't be a better book.

***A Month by the Sea: Encounters in Gaza***
(Eland Press, 2013)
Veteran travel writer with worldly observations, engaged with both liberals and Islamists, Hamas and Fatah supporters, and rich and poor. Used to western reporters dashing in and out of the Strip in times of crisis, the people she met were touched by her genuine, unflinching interest and spoke openly to her about life in their open-air prison. What she finds are a people with real, complex, nuanced voice that are not often heard.

**Tahina Safa Mustafa** aka **Tahina Mustafa** (International Crisis Group)

***Transforming Security Landscapes: Security Sector Reform in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(University thesis, University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, 410 pages, 2017)

**Karma Nabulsi** (Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)

***Exiled from Revolution***
in **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shehadeh**, editors
***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***Palestinians Register: Laying Foundations and Setting Directions ~ Report of the Civitas Project***
(Exford: Nuffield College, 260 pages, 2006)

***Traditions of War: Occupation, Resistance and the Law***
(Oxford University Press, 293 pages, 1999, 2005)
Tangential to Palestine;mostly pre-20th Century.

***The Status of Civilians under Occupation in the Laws of War: Negotiations at the 1949 Geneva Diplomatic Conference***
(Oxford University, 113 pages, 1991)
University thesis.

**Khalil Nakhleh** (Palestinian anthropologist from Galilee)

***Globalized Palestine: The National Sell-Out of a Homeland***
(Trenton, New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 2012)

International aid seen as benefiting an elite and holding "the entire current society and future generations in political and economic debt."

***The Myth of Palestinian Development: Political Aid and Sustainable Deceit***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2004)

***After the Palestine-Israel War: Limits to US and Israeli Policy***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute of Arab Studies, 1983)

as co-editor with **Elia Zureik**
***The Sociology of the Palestinians***
(Croom Helm, 1980)

**Ismail Nashef** (Doha Institute for Graduate Studies)
***A Language of One's Own: Literary Arabic, the Palestinians and Israel***
(Edinburgh University Press, 256 pages, 2023/2025)

**Mansour Nasasra** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, University of Exeter, Plymouth University, Hebrew University)
***The Naqab Bedouins: A Century of Politics and Resistance***
(Columbia University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Conventional wisdom positions the Bedouins in southern Palestine and under Israeli military rule as victims or passive recipients. In *The Naqab Bedouins*, Mansour Nasasra rewrites this narrative, presenting them as active agents who, in defending their community and culture, have defied attempts at subjugation and control. The book challenges the notion of Bedouin docility under Israeli military rule and today, showing how they have contributed to shaping their own destiny.
*The Naqab Bedouins* represents the first attempt to chronicle Bedouin history and politics across the last century, including the Ottoman era, the British Mandate, Israeli military rule, and the contemporary schema, and document its broader relevance to understanding state-minority relations in the region and beyond. Nasasra recounts the Naqab Bedouin history of political struggle and resistance to central authority. Nonviolent action and the strength of kin-based tribal organization helped the Bedouins assert land claims and call for the right of return to their historical villages. Through primary sources and oral history, including detailed interviews with local indigenous Bedouins and with Israeli and British officials, Nasasra shows how this Bedouin community survived strict state policies and military control and positioned itself as a political actor in the region."

**Mansour Nasasra, Sophie Richter-Devroe, Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder,** & **Richard Ratcliffe**, editors
***The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspectives***
(Routledge, 2015)
Contents: Introduction / Richard Ratcliffe, Mansour Nasasra, Sarab Abu Rabia Qweider, Sophie Richter-Devroe — Bedouin tribes in the Middle East and the Naqab: changing dynamics and the new state / Mansour Nasasra — The forgotten victims of the Palestine ethnic cleansing / Ilan Pappé — Past and present in the discourse of Naqab/Negev Bedouin geography and space: a critical review / Yuval Karplus, Avinoam Meir — Land, identity, and history: new discourse on the Nakba of Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab / Safa Aburabia — The politics of non-cooperation and lobbying: the Naqab Bedouin and Israeli military rule, 1948-1967 / Mansour Nasasra — Bedouin women's organizations in the Naqab: social activism for women's empowerment? / Elisabeth Marteu — Colonialism, cause advocacy, and the Naqab case / Ahmad Amara — Shifting discourses: unlocking representations of educated Bedouin women's identities / Sarab Abu Rabia Queder — Decolonizing research on Palestinians: towards critical epistemologies and research practices / Anaheed Al-Hardan.
See also: **Sophie Richter-Devroe**.

**Ismail Nashif**

***Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community***

(Routledge, 2008)

**Katherine Natanel** (SOAS) and **Ilan Pappe** (Exeter University), editors

***Palestine in a World on Fire***

(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 304 pages, 2024)

Contributors: **Angela Y. Davis**: *Towards Transnational Movements for Justice* / **Noam Chomsky**: *On Impasse, Internationalism, and Radical Change* / **Judith Butler**: *On Humanity, Violence, and Imagination* / **Nadine El-Enany**: *On Colonial Violence and Anticolonial Resistance* / **Gabor Mate**: *On Trauma and (the Limits of) Compassion* / **Mustafa Barghouti**: *Liberation and the Left* / **Yanis Varoufakis**: *On Crisis and Disobedience* / **Paul Gilroy**: *Histories for the Future* / **Elias Khoury**: *Times of Struggle and Cultural Liberation*, **Gayatri Spivak**: *Coloniality, Subalternity, and Revolution in Our Time*, and **Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian**: *On Life and Death in Palestine* / Afterword by **Ilan Pappe**.

**Katie Natanel** (SOAS)

***Sustaining Conflict: Apathy and Domination in Israel-Palestine***

(University of California Press, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "It examines how the status quo is maintained in Israel-Palestine, even by the activities of Jewish Israelis who are working against the occupation of Palestinian territories. The book shows how hierarchies and fault lines in Israeli politics lead to fragmentation, and how even oppositional power becomes routine over time. Most importantly, the book exposes how the occupation is sustained through a carefully crafted system that allows sympathetic Israelis to "knowingly not know," further disconnecting them from the plight of Palestinians. While focusing on Israel, this is a book that has lessons for how any authoritarian regime is sustained through apathy."

**Ibrahim Natil**

***Conflict, Civil Society, and Women's Empowerment: Insights from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip***

(Bingley: Emerald Publishing, 144 pages, 2021)

**Rehab Nazzal** (Toronto-based Palestinian)

***Driving in Palestine***

(Fernwood Publishing/Columbia University Press, 208 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "During the past seven decades, Palestine has been sealed from the Arab world and shattered into fragmented and coded areas: 1948 area, 1967 area, Jerusalem, West Bank, Gaza, and A, B and C areas within the West Bank. Each area is ruled by different laws, including different roads and permits that control the mobility of Palestinians and privilege Jewish settlers. Driving in Palestine is a research-creation project by acclaimed artist Rehab Nazzal, who explores the visible indices of the politics of mobility that she encountered firsthand while traversing the occupied West Bank between 2010 and 2020. This photography book consists of 160 black and white photographs, hand-drawn maps and critical essays in Arabic and English by Palestinian and Canadian scholars and artists. The photographs were all captured from moving vehicles on the roads of the West Bank. They focus on Israel's architecture of movement restrictions and surveillance structures that proliferate in the West Bank, including the Apartheid Wall, segregation walls surrounding illegal colonies, gates, fences, watchtowers, roadblocks and military checkpoints among other obstacles to freedom of movement."

**Cary Nelson**

***Not in Kansas Anymore: Academic Freedom in Palestinian Universities***

(Academic Engagement Network, 184 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Major threats to academic freedom come from Palestinians themselves, including from both the Palestinian Authority and from paramilitary and terrorist groups, Hamas most prominent." With contributions from **Mohammed Dajani** (Al-Quds University) and Miriam F. Elman**.**

***Israel Denial: Anti-Zionism, Anti-Semitism & The Faculty Campaign Against the Jewish State***
(Academic Engagement Network / Indiana University Press, 555 pages, 2019)

As editor: ***Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel***
(MLA [Modern Languages Association] Members for Scholars' Rights / Indiana University Press, 396 pages, 2016)
60 mini-essays against the Boycott-Divestment-Sanctions Movement (BDS), "facts and arguments" for committed Zionists favouring a two-state solution.

as co-editor with **Babriel Noah Brahm**: ***The Case against Academic Boycotts of Israel***
(MLA [Modern Languages Association] Members for Scholars' Rights, 549 pages, 2015) Essays against academic boycott.

**Orhan Niksic**, **Nur Nasser Eddin** and **Massimiliano Cali**
***Area C and the Future of the Palestinian Economy***
(Washington DC: World Bank Publications, 2014)
See also, the World Bank's ***Unlocking the Trade Potential of the Palestinian Economy*** (2017)

**Nicholas Noe**, editor
***Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah***
(Verso, 240 pages, 2007)
Translated by **Ellen Khouri**; introduction by **Nicholas Blanford**. Contents: I. Radicalism and resistance, 1986-1999. 1. Civil war and resistance (March 11, 1986). 2. Shiite reconciliation (February 3, 1989) 3. Elegy for Sayyed Abbaas Mussawi (February 18, 1992). 4. After the assassination (February 27, 1992). 5. Victory at the polls (August 25, 1992). 6. 'Hezbollah is not an Iranian community in Lebanon' (September 11, 1992). 7. The first understanding with Israel (August 27, 1993). 8. 'Who is Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah?' (August 31, 1993). 9. The April understanding (April 30, 1996). 10. The martyrdom of Sayyed Hadi Nasrallah (September 13, 1997). On conditional withdrawal (March 29, 1998). 12. On Jews (May 7, 1998). 13. Towards liberation (June 21, 1999). -- II. Repositioning, 2000-2004. 14. 'A peaceful resolution is a victory for the resistance' (February 16, 2000). 15. Victory (May 26, 2000). 16. The second intifada (October 5, 2000). 17. 'The Americans have sent us a political bomb' (November 16, 2001). 18. 'How can you afford that?' (February 16, 2002). 19. On the thirteenth anniversary of Ayatollah Khomeini's death (June 4, 2002). 20. "Arabs are not Red Indians' (October 22, 2002). 21. The impending Iraq War and 'Muslim-Christian alignment' (March 13, 2003). 22. Interview with 60 Minutes (April 20, 2003). 23. After occupation (April 22, 2003). 24. Prisoner exchange (January 29, 2004). 25. They are a group that 'lives in the Middle Ages' (March 2, 2004). 26. Letter to the Arab and Islamic ummas (July 30, 2004). -- February 14, 2005 and after. 27. 'You will today decide the fate of your nation and country' (March 8, 2005). 28. A message to France (April 13, 2005). 29. 'We will consider any hand that tries to seize our weapons as an Israeli hand' (May 25, 2005). 30. Al Quds day (October 28, 2005). 31. 'I assure you once again [Samir], that your hopes are sound and in the right place' (April 24, 2006). 32. Interview with New TV (August 27, 2006).

**Julie M. Norman** (University College London)

With **Maia Carter Hallward** (Kennesaw State University, Georgia USA): ***Gaza: The Dream and the Nightmare***
(Polity Press, 240 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "the story of Gaza from its early foundations, across decades of occupation, to the devastation of the ongoing war. Rather than focusing on elites or abstract politics, at the book's heart are ordinary Gazans - students, aid workers, journalists, and teachers - whose first-hand testimonies vividly illuminate the realities behind the headlines. Refusing to sensationalize or oversimplify, the book reckons with the legal, moral, and humanitarian debates surrounding Gaza, from war crimes investigations to the contested meaning of resistance and the politicization of aid. Combining a nuanced narrative with hard-hitting reflections from everyday Gazans, the book serves as a timely and necessary disruption of media cliches and political binaries, and from the perspectives of its own people."

***The Palestinian Prisoners Movement: Resistance and Disobedience***
(Routledge, 160 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Providing a contemporary history of the Palestinian prisoners movement, this book illustrates the centrality of the movement in the broader Palestinian national struggle. Based on direct interviews with former prisoners and former security sector personnel, it offers new insights into the strategies that prisoners employed to gain rights over time, as well as the tactics used by prison authorities to maintain control. Prisons have functioned as microcosms of the broader Israeli-Palestinian conflict for decades, with the Israeli state aiming to use mass incarceration for security, and Palestinian prisoners seeking to take back the prison space for organizing and resistance. Prisoners' actions included but were not limited to hunger strikes, as prisoners often relied more on everyday acts of noncompliance and developing an internal "counterorder" to challenge authorities. The volume demonstrates how the Palestinian prisoners movement was intertwined with the Palestinian national movement, strongest in the popular mobilization era of the 1970s and 1980s, and significantly weaker and more fragmented after the Oslo Accords of the 1990s and the second intifada. Presenting a fresh analysis of a central, but often overlooked aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the volume offers valuable reflections on prison-based resistance in protracted conflicts more broadly. It is a key resource to students and scholars interested in contemporary conversations on mass incarceration, criminal justice, Middle East politics and history."

**Augustus Richard Norton**
***Hezbollah – a Short History***
(Princeton University Press, 2007, 2014)

**Nimrod Novik** (Foreign policy advisor to Shimon Peres)
***The United States and Israel: Domestic Determinants of a Changing US Commitment***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986
Written for the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

**Peter Oborne** (*Daily Telegraph, Daily* Mail commentator) & **James Jones**
***Complicit: Britain's Role in the Destruction of Gaza***
(OR Books, 288 pages, 2025)

***The Pro-Israel Lobby in Britain***
(opendemocracy.net, 2009)
Critique of the lobby's efforts in Westminster and in the news media, the obscurity of the lobby's funding, and BICOM.

**Simone O'Broin** and the **Badil Resource & Research Unit**
***Applying International Criminal Law to Israel's Treatment of the Palestinian People***

(Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 2011)
mainly sources up to 2009.

**Yaqoub Odeh** (Human rights and housing rights observer)
***Campaign on Right to Housing and Residency – Special Report on Forced Displacement of Bedouins***
(CCDPRJ, 2008)

**Mike Odetalla** (Palestinian-American)
***A Seed in the Fruit of Palestine: A Collection of Short Essays***
(Author, 159 pages, 2024)

**Steven T. Olberg**
***Political Graffiti on the West Bank Wall in Israel***
with foreword by **David Smith**
(Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013)

**Amalya Oliver-Lumerman** (sociologist), **Tammar B. Zilber** (Jerusalem School of Business, Hebrew University), **Haneen S. Magadlah** (Al-Qasemi College of Education, Baqa Algrbiah), **Tammy Rubel-Lifschitz** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), and **Yoseph Tabib-Calif** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
***Peace Entrepreneurs and Social Entrepreneurship: Life Stories from Israel and Palestine***
(Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 264 pages, 2021)
Eleven life story examples.

**A.T. Olmstead**
***History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest***
(Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1931, 1935)

**Pamela J. Olson**
***Fast Times in Palestine: A Love Affair with a Homeless Homeland***
(Seal Publications, 2013, 2013).
Endorsed by Ramzy Baroud and Miko Peled. Sequel expected, tentatively titled 'Palestine, DC.'

**Padraig O'Malley**
***The Two-State Delusion: Israel and Palestine – A Tale of Two Narratives***
(Viking Press, 2015)

**Atalia Omer** (Notre Dame University)
***Decolonizing Religion and Peacebuilding***
(Oxford University Press, 312 pages, 2023)

***When Peace is Not Enough: How the Israeli Peace Camp Thinks about Religion, Nationalism, and Justice***
(University of Chicago Press, 2013)
Focus on marginalised groups within Israel: Palestinian Israelis, Arab Jews, and Jews critical of Zionism.

**Mohammed Omer** (Gaza journalist)

***Shell-Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books & O/R Books, 300 pages, 2015)
Focus on "Operation Protective Edge."

**Bard E. O'Neill**
***Armed Struggle in Palestine: A Political-Military Analysis***
(Routledge, 2018ai)
Publisher's blurb: "This book investigates the Palestinian guerrilla movement and assesses the probability that the fedayeen will achieve their aim of liberating Palestine by means of protracted revolutionary insurgency. It is concerned with political revolution more conjectural question of social revolution."

**Burcu Ozcelik**, editor (Cambridge University)
***The Politics of race and Racialisation in the Middle East***
(Routledge, 162 pages, 2022)
Includes **Abigail B. Bakan** & **Yasmeen Abu-Laben**: *The Israel/Palestine Racial Contract and the Challenge of Anti-Racism – A Case Study of the United Nations World Conference Against Racism* / **Nimrod Ben Zeev:** *Palestine Along the Colour Line – Race, Colonialism, and Construction Labour, 1918-1948*

**Alpasian Ozerdem** (Coventry University), **Chuck Thiessen** (Coventry University), & **Mufid Qassoum** (Arab American University of Jenin)
***Conflict Transformation and the Palestinians: The Dynamics of Peace and Justice under Occupation***
(Routledge, 314 pages, 2020)
Contents: Chuck Thiessen - The Evolution of Conflict Transformation: Theory and Practice in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory / **Mufid Qassoum** - The Global Spatial Dynamics of the 'Zionist/Israeli–Arab/Palestinian' Conflict and its Glocal Transformation / **Maya al-Orzza** and **Manar Makhoul** - Rights-Based Approaches to the Return of Palestinian Refugees / **Ana Sánchez** and **Patricia Sellick -** Human Rights as a Tool for Conflict Transformation: The Cases of the Boycotts, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement and Local Unarmed Popular Resistance / **Mazin B. Qumsiyeh** - A Critical and Historical Assessment of Boycotts, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) in Palestine / **Diego Checo Hidalgo** - Struggling Against the Occupation: Nonviolent International Interventions for Conflict Transformation in Palestine / **Raffaella Y. Nanetti** - A Means to Conflict Transformation: Social Capital as a Force for Palestinian Communities, Raffaella / **Khalid Rabayah** & **Chas Morrison** - Cyber-Conflict and Resistance in Israel and the Occupied Territory / **Aurélie Bröckerhoff** - Consumer Resistance or Resisting Consumption?: The Case of Boycott, Divestments, and Sanctions in the Occupied Palestinian Territory / **Mohammed Abu-Nimer** and **Timothy Seidel** - Religion, Politics, and Conflict Transformation in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory / **Eser Selen** - Occupied Experiences: Displays of Alternative Resistance in Works by Palestinian and Jewish Israeli Artists / **Ayman Yousef** and **Razan Abu Libdeh** -The Transformative Potential of the Palestinian University Student Youth Movement / **Marwan Darweish** / Israeli Peace and Solidarity Organizations / **Aleksandra Godziejewska** - Humanitarian Organizations and International Humanitarian Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory / **Ibrahim Natil** - Internationally Sponsored Conflict Resolution Programming for Youth in the Gaza Strip / **Alpaslan Özerdem** - The Future of Conflict Transformation in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

**Michelle Pace (Roskilde University)** & **Somdeep Sen** (Roskilde University)
***The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank: The Theatrics of Woeful Statecraft***
(Routledge, 114 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "*The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank* explores the manner in which the Palestinian Authority's performative acts affect and shape the lives and subjective identities of those in its vicinity in the occupied West Bank. The nature of Palestinians' statelessness has to contend with the rituals of statecraft that the Palestinian Authority (PA) and its Palestinian functionaries engage in. These rituals are also economically maintained by an international donor community and are vehemently challenged by Palestinian activists, antagonistic to the prevalence of the statist agenda in Palestine. Conceptually, the understanding of the PA's 'theater of statecraft' is inspired by Judith Butler's conception of performativity as one that encompasses several repetitive and ritual performative acts. The authors explore what they refer to as the 'fuzzy state' (personified in the form and conduct of the PA) looks like for those living it, from the vantage point of PA institutions, NGOs, international representative offices, and activists. Methodologically, the book adopts an ethnographic approach, by way of interviews and observations in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem. *The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank* makes an important and long-due intervention by integrating performance studies and politics to suggest an understanding of the theatrics of woeful statecraft in Palestine. The book is an essential resource for students and scholars interested in the study of the state, International Relations and Politics, Palestine Studies, and the Middle East." See also Somdeep Sen's *Decolonizing Palestine*.

**The Palestinian Return Centre**
***UNRWA at 70: Palestinian Refugees in Context***
(Palestinian Return Centre, Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, European Centre for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter, 2020)
Essays based on a one-day conference at the British Library, 2019; contributors include **Karen Abu Zayd**, **Francesca Albanese**, **Sari Hanafi**, **Anne Irfan**, **Mahnny Mansour**, **Ilan Pappe**, **Terry Rempel**, **Sophie Richter-Devroe**

**Sameh Habeeb**, **Omar Kachouh**, and **Sophia Akram**, editors
***World War I Impact on Palestine: A Hundred Year Legacy***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 209 pages, 2016)
Based on a conference organised by the Palestinian Return Centre and the Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 8-9 November 2014)

**Geoff Simons**
***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***
(London: Palestinian Resource Centre, 2006)
Despite having the same title as Ilan Pappe's book, this work doesn't emphasise the era of the Nakba. Its reach is broader in time, and especially helpful is his coverage of some of the many UN resolutions since 1948. Note: see also United Nations

**Maria Holt** (Westminster University) and **Nasim Ahmed**, editors
***Britain's Legacy in Palestine***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 154 pages, 2016)
Essays from a conference, with contributors: **Salman Abu Sitta**, **Emile Badarin**, **John Quigley**, **Victor Kattan**, **Faysal Mikdisi**, **Rev Stephen Sizer**, **Karl Sabbagh**, **Numan Abd-al-Wahid**, **Uri Davis**, **John Bond**, and **Nasim Ahmed**, with a foreword by **Baroness Jenny Tonge**.

***Palestinian Refugees in the Arab World: Realities and Prospects***
(Palestinian Return Centre & Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, 2015)
Papers presented for a seminar on 14-15 April 2012 in Doha. Participants: **Salman Abu Sitta**: *Plan to Return – A Reality Awaiting Implementation* / **Mounir Chafiq**: *The Arab Initiative and the Prospects of the Arab Vision on the Right of Return* / **Mohsen M Saleh**: *Implications of Revolutions and Changes in the Arab World on the Palestinian Refugees* / **Ibrahim Al-Ali**: *Arab Legislations Toward Palestinian Refugees* / **Basheer Al-**

**Zoughbi**: *International law on State Responsibility and the Exodus of Palestinian Refugees* / **Jawad Al-Hamad**: *International Schemes to Resolve the Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Problem* / **Magda Qandil**: *The Syrian Revolution and the Palestinian Refugees – Reality and Risks* / **Abdennour Benatar**: *The Arab Spring and the Palestine Cause – Influence Levels and its Future Interactions* / **Hanin Abou Salem**: *Palestinian Refugees – A Crisis of Recognition* / **Mariam Itani**: *Palestinian Refugee Studies – Methodological Quandaries and Proposed Solutions* / **Adnan Abu Amer**: *The Evolution of the Israeli Position on the Palestinian Refugee Issue* / **Terry Rempel**: *A Right to Take Part? Refugee Participation in the Negotiations of Durable Solutions* / **Tarek Hamoud**: *Palestinian Refugees under the Peace Process* / **Mohammed Mushanish**: *Palestinians in Iraq – A Case Study* / **Ali Hweidi**: *UNRWA Crisis and International and Arabic Efforts in Supporting Palestinian Refugees* / **Adeeb Ziadeh**: *Social and Political Dimensions of Palestinian Refugees between Integration and Alienation* / **Yousef Abu Ossuood**: *Identity Challenges of Palestinian Youth in Diaspora* / **Yassir Ahmad Ali**: *Palestinian Youth and Arab Revolutions – 'The Marches of Return' Model* – While the refugee issues are core to this compendium, it splays out into diverse topics, such as the Syrian dilemma, youth movements, the historical attitudes of both Israeli state and the wider Arab world towards expelled Palestinians, with bits of legal history thrown in. A bargain of a book.

**Arafet Boujemaa**
***Internally Displaced Palestinians ~ "The Present Asentees"***
(Palestinian Return Centre and The Academy of Refugee Studies, 110 pages, 2014)

**Awni Fares**, **Hassan Kaddoumi**, **Adeem Ziadeh** and**Omar Kachouh**, editors
***Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank: Research on Their Demography and Determination of Return***
(Palestinian Return Centre and The Academy of Refugee Studies, 112 pages, 2013)

**Nasim Ahmed**
***Understanding the Nakba: An Insight into the Plight of Palestinians***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 202 pages, 2012)

**Dr Salman Abu Sitta**
***From Refugees to Citizens at Home***
(Palestinian Return Centre and the Palestine Land Society, 38 pages, 2009)
Proposed plan for the return of Palestinian refugees to their homes.

**Salman Abu Sitta**
***The Return Journey: A Guide to the Depopulated and Present Palestine Towns and Villages and Holy Sites***
(Palestinian Return Centre and the Palestine Land Society, 247pages, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "This exceptional guide provides users with a tool to locate and learn about Palestinian cities, towns and villages which existed in 1948 before 85% of the Arab people of Palestine were displaced, 675 of their towns and villages were depopulated while their lands and properties were confiscated by the invading European Zionists. Unlike other maps and road atlases, the guide merges the pre-1948 sites with current maps. Users can see what there was before 1948 alongside what there is today."

**Daud Abdullah** (Middle East Monitor), editor
***Israeli Law of Return and its Impact on the Conflict in Palestine***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 344 pages, 2004)
Contributors: Abd Al-Wahab M El-Messiri, Mustafa Abu Sway, Magdy Hammad, Asad Abdel Rahman, Salman Abu Sitta, Michael Prior, Naseer Aruri, Ja'afar Hadi Hasan, Rassem Khamaisi, Mohammad Abu-Elheja, Shafik Masri, Munir Shafiq, Hussain Shaban, Souheil El-Natour and George Jabbour.

**Ahmed Abou-Wafa**
***Britain and the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 2003)

**Salman Abu Sitta**
***The Palestinian Nakba 1948…The Register of Depopulated Localities in Palestine***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 88 pages, 2000; reprint of 1998 edition)

**Salman Abu Sitta**
***Palestinian Right to Return…Sacred, Legal and Possible***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 72 pages, 1999)

**Ilan Pappe** (perhaps the leading 'new historian', using declassified Israeli archival materials.
See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.
***Ten Myths About Israel***
(Verso, 2017)

with **Noam Chomsky**
***On Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books / Penguin Books, 2015) – Edited by Frank Barat; sequel to *Gaza in Crisis*, below.

as editor: ***Peoples Apart: Israel, South Africa and the Apartheid Question***
(IB Tauris, 2014)
Contributors include: Oren Ben-Dor, Jonathan Cook.

***The Israel / Palestine Question***
(Routledge, 2007)
Contents: Ilan Pappe : New historiographical orientation in the research on the Palestine question. Beshara B. Doumani: Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: writing Palestinians into history. Manneh Butrus Abu-: The rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the late nineteenth century. Uri Ram: The colonization perspective in Israeli sociology. Gershon Shafir: Zionism and colonialism: a comparative approach. Walid Khalidi: Revisiting the UNGA partition resolution. Ilan Pappe: Historical truth & the challenge of the Tantura case. Avi Shlaim: The debate about 1948. Mahmoud Yazbak: Marriages in Ottoman Palestine – women's strategies in a patriarchal society. Islad Jad: From salons to the popular committees: Palestinian women, 1919-89. Alina Korn: Crime and legal control of Israeli Arabs during the military government, 1948-1966. As'ad Ghanem: Palestinians in Israel under the Israeli "ethnocratic" regime. Nur Masalha: Present absentees and indigenous resistance.

***The Modern Middle East***
(2nd edition, Routledge, 2010)

with **Noam Chomsky**:
***Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians***
(Haymarket Books, 2010 / Penguin, 2011)

as editor: ***People's Apart: Israel, South African and the Apartheid Question***
(IB Tauris, 2011)

as editor: ***The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel***
(Yale University Press, 2011, 2013)

as co-editor with **Jamil Hilal:** ***Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History***
(IB Tauris, 2010)

**Gil Pasternak**, editor (De Montfort University)

***Visioning Israel-Palestine: Encounters at the Cultural Boundaries of Conflict***

(Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 336 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "*Visioning Israel-Palestine* strives to cultivate recognition of the part that cultural products have played in the duplication of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While this conflict is one of the longest-lasting struggles over land and human rights in recent history, politicians and the media have largely reduced it to a series of debates over historical facts and expressions of violence. Its persistence, however, has also led to the manufacture of cultural products that challenge understandings of the conflict as a fight between two distinct peoples unified against each other. The wide range of international contributors to the volume analyse the content of such products alongside the work that they do within Israel-Palestine and in the Jewish and Palestinian diasporas. Considering Israeli and Palestinian films, art installations, street exhibitions, photographs and oral histories, *Visioning Israel-Palestine* expands the conflict's historical imagination and nurtures suitable cultural conditions to revitalize the Israeli-Palestinian peace process."

**Andrew Patrick** (Tennessee State University)

***America's Forgotten Middle East Initiative: The King-Crane Commission of 1919***

(IB Tauris, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "Sent to the Middle East by Woodrow Wilson to ascertain the viability of self-determination in the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, the King-Crane Commission of 1919 was America's first foray into the region. The commission's controversial recommendations included the rejection of the idea of a Jewish state in Syria, US intervention in the Middle East and the end of French colonial aspirations. The Commission's recommendations proved inflammatory, even though its counsel on the question of the Palestinian mandate was eventually disregarded by Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau in favour of their own national interests. In the ensuing years, the Commission's dismissal of claims by Zionist representatives like David Ben-Gurion on their 'right to Palestine' proved particularly divisive, with some historians labeling it prophetic and accurate, and others arguing that Commission members were biased and ill-informed. Here, in the first book-length analysis of the King-Crane report in nearly 50 years, Andrew Patrick chronicles the history of early US involvement in the region, and challenges extant interpretations of the turbulent relationship between the United States and the Middle East."

**James Patterson**

***Filthy Rich: The Shocking True Story of Jeffrey Epstein – The Billionaires Sex Scandal***

(Grand Central Publishing, 304 pages, 2017)

Tangential to the Israeli lobby in the USA.

**Wendy Pearlman** (Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois)

with **Boaz Atzili**

***Triadic Coercion: Israel's Targeting of States that Host Nonstate Actors***

(Columbia University Press, 384 pages, 2018)

Unusual analysis of proxy-by-pressure, in a situation where one state coerces a neighbouring state to take action against an armed group operating within the neighbour's borders.

***Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement***

(Cambridge University Press, 2011, 2014)

Compares a century of Palestinian struggle with organisational structures of movements in South Africa and Northern Ireland.

**Wendy Pearlman** & **Laura Junka**

***Occupied Voices: Stories of Everyday Life from the Second Intifada***
(Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003)

**Ami Pedahzur**

***The Triumph of Israel's Radical Right***
(Oxford University Press, 2012)

***The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism***
(Columbia University Press, 2009)

with **Arie Perlinger**: ***Jewish Terrorism in Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 2009)

***Suicide Terrorism***
(Cambridge, Polity Press, 2005)

***Israel's Response to Jewish Extremism and Violence: Defending Democracy***
(Manchester University Press, 2002)

**Miko Peled**

***The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine***
(Just World Books, 2012)
With foreword by **Alice Walker**. An Israeli-American's rejection of garrison state culture and activism in "Area A" of the West Bank. Author's father was Matti Peled, one of the commanders of the 1967 war, who protested the occupation and predicted its consequences.
See also the OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.

**Nurit Peled-Elhanan** (Hebrew University Jerusalem, co-founder of Russell Tribunal on Palestine)

***Holocaust Education and the Semiotics of Othering in Israeli Schoolbooks***
(Common Ground Research Networks, 398 pages, 2023)
Publishers blurb: "The Zionist pedagogical narrative reproduced in schoolbooks views the migration of Jews to Israel as the felicitous conclusion of the journey from the Holocaust to the Resurrection. It negates all forms of diasporic Jewish life and culture and ignores the history of Palestine during the 2000-year-long Jewish "exile." This narrative otherizes three main groups vis-à-vis whom Israeliness is constituted: Holocaust victims, who are presented in a traumatizing manner as the stateless and therefore persecuted Jews "we" refuse but might become again if "we" lose control over Palestinian Arabs, who constitute the second group of "others." Palestinians are racialized, demonized, and portrayed as "our" potential exterminators. The third group of "others" comprises non-European (Mizrahi and Ethiopian) Jews. They are described as backward people who lack history or culture and must undergo constant acculturation to fit into Israel's "Western" society."

***Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education***
(IB Tauris, 379 pages, 2012).
Publisher's blurb: "Each year, Israel's young men and women are drafted into compulsory military service and are required to engage directly in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This conflict is by its nature intensely complex and is played out under the full glare of international security. So, how does Israel's education system prepare its young people for this? How is Palestine, and the Palestinians against whom these young Israelis will potentially be required to use force, portrayed in the school system? Nurit Peled-Elhanan argues that the textbooks used in the school system are laced with a pro-Israel ideology, and that they play a part in priming Israeli children for military service. She analyzes the presentation of images, maps, layouts and use of language in History, Geography and Civic Studies textbooks, and reveals how the books might be seen to marginalize Palestinians, legitimize Israeli military action and reinforce Jewish-Israeli territorial identity. This book provides a fresh scholarly contribution to the

Israeli-Palestinian debate, and will be relevant to the fields of Middle East Studies and Politics more widely."

**Yoav Peled** & **John Ehrenberg**, editors

***Israel and Palestine: Alternative Perspectives on Statehood***

(Rowman & Littlefield, 2016)

Contents: Stephen Eric Bronner – Facing the Music: Israel, Palestine, and the Politics of Partisan Delusions / Ian S. Lustick -Making Sense of the Nakba: Ari Shavit, Baruch and Zionist Claims to Territory / Richard Silverstein (Tikun Olam)– Israel and the Closing of the American Jewish Mind / Jeffry Frieden – The Root Causes Of Enduring Conflict: Can Israel And Palestine Co-Exist? / Micheline Ishay & David Kretzmer – Reclaiming Human Rights: Alternative Paths to an Israeli/Palestinian Peace / Honaida Ghanim – Not Exactly Apartheid: Between Settler Colonialism and Military Occupation / Assaf Sharon – The One-State Delusion / Yoav Kapshuk – To What Extent Reconciliation? An Analysis of the Geneva Accord between Israelis and Palestinians / Rassem Khamaisi – One Homeland, Two States: Planning Alternative Spatial Relations between Palestine and Israel / Horit Herman Peled and Yoav Peled – The Way Forward in the Middle East / Leila Farsakh – The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects / Raif Zreik – A One-State Solution? From a 'Struggle Unto Death' to 'Master-Slave' Dialectics / Moshe Behar – Past and Present Perfect of Israel's One-State Solution / Oren Barak – Towards a Shared Vision of Israel and Israel/Palestine / Lev Luis Grinberg – Neither One nor Two: Reflections about a Shared Future in Israel-Palestine / Oren Yiftahel – Between One and Two: Apartheid or Confederation for Israel/Palestine? / Amal Jamal – Beyond Traditional Sovereignty Theory in Conflict Resolution: Lessons from Israel/Palestine / John Ehrenberg – Out of the Darkness

**Yoav Peled**

***The Challenge of Ethnic Democracy: The State and Minority Groups in Israel, Poland and Northern Ireland***

(Routledge, 2014)

**Lipika Pelham**

***The Unlikely Settler***

(The Other Press, 2014)

Mixed marriage in Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza.

**Donna J. Perry** (University of Massachusetts)

***The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Movement: Combatants for Peace***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

**Anders Persson** (Linnaeus University, Sweden)

***EU Diplomacy and the Israeli-Arab Conflict, 1967-2019***

(Edinburgh University Press, 232 pages, expected May 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Argues that the Israeli-Arab conflict has been more important for the EU than other conflict. Provides a reader-friendly historical overview with chronologically organised chapters for a quick reference of the EU's position on a specific event. Covers recent events that contributed to the fragmentation of the EU's policy vis-à-vis the conflict, such as the election of Donald Trump, Brexit, and the rise of right-wing, nationalist or populist parties and governments in Europe. Introduces an innovative methodology applicable to similar studies of the *Bulletin of the European Communities/European Union* that trace other aspects of EU policy. Includes an annotated selection of key EC/EU declarations on the Israeli-Arab conflict in an appendix. Nearly 50 years since the European Foreign Ministers issued their first declaration on the conflict between Israel and Palestine in 1971, the EU continues to have close political and economic ties with the region. Based exclusively on primary sources, this study offers an up-to-date overview of EU's involvement in the

Israeli-Arab conflict since 1967. It utilises an innovative methodology to analyse keyword frequency in a sample of more than 2300 declarations and statements published in the Bulletin of the European Communities/European Union (1967–2009) as well as council reports and press interviews (2009–2018) to uncover broad patterns for qualitative analysis. The outcomes suggest that the Israeli-Arab conflict is more important to the EU than any other conflict, having been key to shaping EU's foreign policy overall."

***The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1971-2013***
(Rowan & Littlefield, 2015)

**Nicola Perugini** (Brown University) & **Neve Gordon** (Ben-Gurion University)
***The Human Right to Dominate***
(Oxford University Press, 2015)
The "settlers' rights" movement and the manipulation of Israeli law to justify violence against Palestinians in the West Bank.
See also: Neve Gordon

**Julie Peteet**
***Space and Mobility in Palestine***
(Indiana University Press, 2017)
On the separation of community in the West Bank. Publisher's blurb: "In Space and Mobility in Palestine, she investigates how Israeli policies of closure and separation influence Palestinian concerns about constructing identity, the ability to give meaning to place, and how Palestinians comprehend, experience, narrate, and respond to Israeli settler-colonialism. Peteet's work sheds new light on Palestinian everyday life in the Occupied Territories and helps explain why regional peace may be difficult to achieve in the foreseeable future."
See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

**Luke Peterson** (Cambridge University)
***Palestine-Israel in the Print News Media***
(Routledge, 253 pages, 2015)
Analysis of British and American mainstream newspaper coverage includes the Palestinian Legislative Council Elections of 2006, the bombing of Gaza, and the flotilla attack. UK newspapers examined: *The Guardian, The Independent, The Times, The Observer, The Mirror & Sunday Mirror, The Daily News, The Daily Telegraph,* and *The Evening Standard* (*The Morning Star* not included). Publisher's blurb: "Arguing for the existence of national perspectives which are constructed, distributed, and reinforced in the print news media, this study provides a detailed linguistic analysis of print news media coverage of four recent events in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in order to examine ideological patterns present in print news media coverage. The two news communities are compared for lexical choices in news stories about the conflict, attribution of agency in the discussion of conflict events, the inclusion or exclusion of historical context in explanations of the conflict, and reliance upon essentialist elements during and within print representations of Palestine-Israel. The book also devotes space to first-hand testimony from journalists with extensive experience covering the conflict from within both news media institutions."

**James F. Petras**
***The Power of Israel in the United States***
(Clarity Press, 2006)

**Greg Philo, Mike Berry, Justin Schlosberg, Antony Lerman** & **David Miller**
***Bad News for Labour: Antisemitism, the Party & Public Belief***
(Pluto Press, 2019)

Includes an analysis of the media coverage of the IHRA Definition.

**Rob Geist Pinfold** (Kings College London; Durham University)
***Understanding Territorial Withdrawal: Israeli Occupations and Exits***
(Oxford University Press, 332 pages, 2023)

***Understanding Withdrawal from Occupied Territory: Israel and the Point of Return***
(University thesis, King's College London, 444 pages, 2018)

**Rob Geist Pinfold** (Kings College Londin; Durham University) and **Joel Peters**, editors
***Routledge Handbook on Israel's Foreign Relations***
(Routledge, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: ""This Handbook provides a comprehensive account of contemporary Israeli diplomacy and analyses the changing dynamics of Israel's bilateral relations with other states and the international community over the past seventy-five years. Research into Israeli foreign policy has been largely sidelined by debates over security, domestic politics and the Israel-Palestine conflict. This Handbook addresses the gap in the literature. Comprising 31 essays written by leading scholars of Israel, the handbook explicates how domestic, societal and economic interests, together with changing Israeli narratives of identity and location, shape and impact Israeli foreign policy. It illustrates how those factors have influenced foreign policy choices and the instruments - economic cooperation, arms sales, military training, and intelligence sharing - that Israel has utilized in order to promote its interests and build relationships with countries and actors throughout the world. Ultimately, the Handbook refutes Kissinger's famous dictum that Israel has no foreign policy, and instead follows the whims of its domestic politics. By contrast, this Handbook highlights the rich, diverse and changing tapestry of Israel's foreign relations. Written in an accessible style, the book is designed for students taking courses in Israel studies and Middle Eastern studies, as well as a general readership interested in Israeli affairs"

***Understanding Israel: Political, Societal, and Security Challenges***
(Routledge, 2018)
Contents: Introduction : Israel : a nation of contrasts and cleavages / Rob Geist Pinfold -- Zionism in the 21st century / Arieh Saposnik -- The Israeli political system -- Israeli democracy under stress / Itzhak Galnoor -- The rise of the Israeli right / Colin Shindler -- Political parties and parliamentary politics / Reuven Y. Hazan and Chen Freidberg -- Extra-parliamentary politics -- the settlement movement's success story / Eitan Y. Alimi -- Issues in Israeli society -- The Israeli economy : success as the new normal / Pinchas Landau -- Multiculturalism and identity politics / Rebecca B. Kook -- Religion and state / Ofer Zalzberg -- Emerging elites and new political ideas amongst Palestinians in Israel / Amal Jamal -- Political representation of women and gender (in)equality / Reut Itzkovitch-Malka -- Security, geopolitical and foreign policy challenges -- Security challenges and opportunities in the twenty-first century / Charles D. (Chuck) Freilich -- The challenge of peace / Galia Golan -- Borders and the demarcation of national territory / David Newman -- Settlements and the creation of political landscapes / David Newman -- Israel in the world : the quest for legitimacy / Joel Peters -- Israel and the Jewish people / Dov Waxman.

**Diana Pinto**
***Israel Has Moved***
(Harvard University Press, 2013)

**Edward Platt**

*The City of Abraham: History, Myth and Memory: A Journey Through Hebron*
(Pan Macmillan, 2012 / Picador 2013)

**Sharri Plonski** (SOAS / Brunel University)

***Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Power, Resistance and the Struggle for Space***
(IB Tauris, SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies Series, 2017)
Focus includes the rural Bedouin, the urban Jaffa, the Galilee, and **Ra'id Salah** aka **Raed Salah**, co-founder of the Islamic Movement in Northern Israel and former mayor of Umm al-Gahm.
Publisher's blurb: "The contest to maintain and reclaim space is firmly tied to the identity and culture of a displaced population. Palestinian Citizens of Israel is a study of Palestinian communities living inside the Jewish state and their attempts to disrupt and reshape the physical and abstract boundaries that contain them. Through extensive fieldwork and numerous interviews, Sharri Plonski conducts a comparative analysis of resistance movements anchored in three key sites of the Palestinian experience: the defence of housing rights in Jaffa; the protest against settlement in the Galilee region; and the campaign for Bedouin land rights in the Naqab desert. Her research investigates the dialectical relationship between power and resistance as it relates to socio-spatial segregation and the struggle for national recognition. Plonski's examination of Palestinian activism and transgression offers valuable insight into the structures and reaches of power from within the Israeli state. This book will be of interest to students and scholars of both Middle East Studies and Palestinian-Israeli politics."

***The Struggle for Space: Ordinary and Extraordinary Resistances by Palestinian Citizens of an Israeli-Jewish State***
(Routledge, 2016)

**Elie Podeh** (Hebrew University)
as co-editor, with **Asher Kaufman**
***Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?***
(Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006)

***Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948-2000***
(Westport, Connecticut / London: Bergin & Garvey Publishing, 2002)

**Gabriel Polley**

***Palestine in the Victorian Age: Colonial Encounters in the Holy Land***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 264 pages, 2022)
19th Century focus includes coverage of Edward Robinson, the farm at Keren Avraham, the Nablus Uprising of 1856, Ya'qub al-Shalabi, and Laurence Oliphant.

**Gareth Porter**

***Manufactured Crisis: The Untold Story of the Iran Nuclear Scare***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2013)
American peace academic unpacks Washington's intervention, dating back to 1983, and how it forced Tehran's under-the-counter acquisitions of Atomic materials.

**Zihad Pranjol** (University of Sussex) and **Jacob Norris** (University of Sussex)

***We Are Still Here: Voices from Gaza's Student Generation – An Anthology of Resistence, Grief, and Unshattered Hope from Gaza's University Students***
(Daraja Press, 188 pages, 2025)

**Vijay Prashad**, editor

***Letters to Palestine: Writers Respond to War and Occupation***

(Verso Books, 240 pages, 2015)

Almost twenty contributors write about "normal" conditions, war reports, and hardening politics. Includes Kevin Coval's piece, *Reflections on the Israeli Army Shutting Down the Palestine Literature Festival* (2009).

**Jeremy Pressman** (University of Connecticut)

***The Sword is Not Enough: Arabs, Israelis, and the Limits of Military Force***

(Manchester University Press, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "In this lucid and timely new book, Jeremy Pressman demonstrates that the default use of military force on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict has prevented its peaceful resolution. Whether called deterrence or war, armed struggle or terrorism, the history of the conflict reveals that violence has been counterproductive. Drawing on historical evidence from the 1950s to the present, The sword is not enough pushes back against the dominant belief that military force leads to triumph while negotiations and concessions lead to defeat and further unwelcome challenges. Violence weakens the security situation, bolsters adversaries, and, especially in the case of Palestine, has sabotaged political aims. Studiously impartial and accessibly written, this book shows us that diplomacy is the only answer."

**Jasbir K. Puar** (Rutgers University)

***The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability***

(Duke University Press, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "In *The Right to Maim* Jasbir K. Puar brings her pathbreaking work on the liberal state, sexuality, and biopolitics to bear on our understanding of disability. Drawing on a stunning array of theoretical and methodological frameworks, Puar uses the concept of "debility"—bodily injury and social exclusion brought on by economic and political factors—to disrupt the category of disability. She shows how debility, disability, and capacity together constitute an assemblage that states use to control populations. Puar's analysis culminates in an interrogation of Israel's policies toward Palestine, in which she outlines how Israel brings Palestinians into biopolitical being by designating them available for injury. Supplementing its right to kill with what Puar calls the right to maim, the Israeli state relies on liberal frameworks of disability to obscure and enable the mass debilitation of Palestinian bodies. Tracing disability's interaction with debility and capacity, Puar offers a brilliant rethinking of Foucauldian biopolitics while showing how disability functions at the intersection of imperialism and racialized capital." / According to Puar, writing in the book, "a complementary logic long present in Israeli tactical calculations of settler colonial rule" is "that of creating injury and maintaining Palestinian populations as perpetually debilitated, and yet alive, in order to control them". Book won the National Women's Studies Association's Prize, 2018

**Mutaz Qafisheh** (Chair, Law for Palestine)

as editor: ***Palestine Membership in the United Nations: Legal and Practical Implications***

(Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 473 pages, 2013)

Contents: Foreword / Richard Falk -- Introduction / Mutaz M. Qafisheh -- Part 1. Significance of the membership of Palestine in the United Nations. Palestine Liberation Organization legal brief in support of recognition of the State of Palestine / Saeb Erikat ; Palestine, UN membership, and popular representation: international legal challenges and strategic options / Guy S. Goodwin-Gill ; Citizens of the State of Palestine and the future of Palestinian refugees: legal and political scenarios / Mutaz M. Qafisheh ; Recognition of Palestinian statehood: an interest for all / Winston P. Nagan, Aitza M. Haddad ; The de jure State of Palestine under belligerent occupation: application for admission to the United Nations / Basheer Al-Zoughbi -- Part 2. Specific implications of Palestine's UN membership. The human rights obligations of the State of Palestine: the case of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights / Mutaz M. Qafisheh ; Legal implications of the membership of a Palestinian state in the UN on civilians in the light of international humanitarian law / Floriana Fabbri, Jacopo Terrosi -- Tell it to the judge: Palestine's

UN bid and the International Criminal Court / Valentina Azarov ; Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails in light of the Third Geneva Convention: from jails to prisoner of war camps / Magdalena A. Pulido ; The status of Jerusalem after the admission of Palestine to the United Nations / John Quigley ; Water claims of an independent Palestine in practice: reconciling conflicting water claims in the region / Valentin Jeutner ; Palestinian membership of the World Trade Organization: breaking international trade barriers / Nael Sayed-Ahmad -- Part 3. The State of Palestine: past and future. The Palestinian citizen vs. the Palestinian national: past and present / Lauren Banko ; Palestinian independence vs. the independence of Namibia and the American foreign policy / Winston P. Nagan, Aitza M. Haddad -- Palestine membership in the United Nations: opportunities to create a justice system that never was / David F. Chavkin ; Thirteen theses on a constitution for a Federal Republic of Palestine / Uri Davis ; A non modest proposal for resolving the Palestine-Israel conflict: the divide and share approach / Said Zeedani.

***The International Law Foundations of Palestinian Nationality: A Legal Examination of Nationality under British Rule***
(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 252 pages, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "By the end of British rule in Palestine on 14 May 1948, Palestinian nationality had become well established in accordance with both domestic law and international law. Accordingly, the legal origin of Palestinian nationality lies in this nearly thirty-year period as the status of Palestinians has never been settled since. Hence, any legal consideration on the future status of individuals who once held Palestinian nationality should start from the point at which the British rule over Palestine was terminated. This work provides a legal basis for future settlement of the status of Palestinians of all categories that emerged in some sixty years following the end of the Palestine Mandate: Israeli citizens, inhabitants of the occupied territory, and Palestinian refugees. In conclusion, nationality as regulated by Britain in Palestine represents an international status that cannot be legally altered except in accordance with international law."

See also: University of Geneva Thesis no. 745, 339 pages, 2007; freely downloadable:
http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.425.5504&rep=rep1&type=pdf

**William B. Quandt**

As editor: ***The 1973 Arab-Israeli War***
(Rowman & Littlefield, 183pages, 2023)
Contents: Introduction : The October 1973 Arab-Israeli War : Looking Back 50 Years Later / William B. Quandt -- The October 1973 War : Culmination of the Failure of Political Analysis / Yigal Kipnis -- Egypt's Military Effectiveness in the October War / Risa Brooks -- Self-Inflicted Wound? Henry Kissinger and the Ending of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War / Galen Jackson and Marc Trachtenberg -- Syria and the 1973 Arab-Israeli War / Raymond Hinnebusch -- The Impact of the October 1973 War on the Palestinians / Khaled Elgindy -- The Cold War and Oil : Paving the Way to a US-Led Peace Process / Jeremy Pressman -- Conclusion / Jerome Slater.

***Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press/University of California Press, online publication, 535 pages, 2005)

***Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, online publication 2016)
With a foreword by **Martin Indyk**. Contents: Introduction -- American politics and foreign policy. The role of Congress -- The electoral cycle -- The president and his role -- The pattern of the first year -- The pattern of the second year -- The pattern of the third year -- The pattern of the fourth year -- Conclusion -- Getting started, getting acquainted. The Arab-Israeli conflict in early 1977 -- The Middle East team -- Received wisdom on the Middle East -- Setting the course -- On-the-job education -- Rabin's visit and adventures in public diplomacy -- Carter meets the Arabs -- Conclusion -- Meeting Menachem Begin. Who is Begin? -- Fahd's visit -- Preparing for Begin -- Carter meets Begin -- Vance to the Middle East,

August 1977 -- Conclusion -- The unraveling of the grand design. The search for an opening -- Lebanon, settlements, and the PLO -- Preparing for Geneva -- Secret channels -- Carter's second round of personal diplomacy -- Procedures and politics -- Politics to the fore -- Conclusion -- Changing course. Clinging to Geneva -- Sadat's road to Jerusalem -- Washington reassesses -- Begin's plan for home rule -- Negotiations in Ismailiya and Jerusalem -- Conclusion -- Inching toward Camp David. Outline of an American strategy -- Sadat and Carter at Camp David -- To link or not to link -- Pressure on Israel -- Begin's six noes -- A partial retread -- Proposals, planes, and pleas -- Marking time at Leeds Castle -- Carter decides on a summit meeting -- Conclusion -- The first ten days. Preparations for the summit -- The president's briefing book -- At the summit -- Conclusion -- Success. End game : day eleven, September 15, 1978 -- Waffling on the West Bank : day twelve, September 16, 1978 -- The settlements flap -- The finale : day thirteen, September 17, 1978 -- The scorecard -- Interpretations. Post-summit strategies -- Preparing for the next round -- The Blair House talks -- Opening bids -- Mounting pressures -- Vance to the Middle East -- Conclusion -- The treaty. Talks resume -- Camp David II -- Carter and Begin in Washington -- Carter to the Middle East -- Finale -- Signing the peace treaty -- Conclusion -- Conclusion. Camp David and the Palestinian question -- Assessing Carter's role --- Developments since Camp David -- Camp David : model or obstacle? -- A realistic approach to peace -- The American role -- Appendixes. U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 -- Joint communiqué by the governments of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, October 1, 1977 -- President Anwar Sadat's address to the Israeli Knesset, November 20, 1977 -- Egyptian proposal at Camp David -- First draft of the American proposal at Camp David, September 10, 1978 -- President Carter's first draft of the Sinai proposal -- The Camp David accords, September 17, 1978 -- American answers to Jordanian questions, October 1978 -- Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Marcy 26, 1979.

With: **Shibley Z. Telhami**, **Scott B. Lasensky**, **DanielC. Kurtzer**, and **Stevel L.Spiegel**: ***The peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011***
(Cornell University Press, 2012)

As editor: ***Troubled Triangle: The United States, Turkey and Israel in the New Middle East***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2011)
Politically centre-focused conference speeches by governments and think-tanks.

As editor: ***The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 517 pages, 1988)
Contents: Part I. The Camp David partners : Egypt and Israel -- Domestic developments in Egypt / Saad Eddin Ibrahim -- Egypt : a decade after Camp David / Abdel Monem Said Aly -- Egyptian foreign policy since Camp David / Ali E. Hillal Dessouki -- The United States and Egypt / Hermann Frederick Eilts -- Domestic developments in Israel / Naomi Chazan -- Israeli views of Egypt and the peace process : the duality of vision / Shimon Shamir -- The United States and Israel : constancy and change / Samuel W. Lewis -- Part II. Other regional powers -- The Palestine Liberation Organization / Rashid Khalidi -- Jordan and the Palestinians / Emile Sahliyeh -- Inter-Arab politics : the return of geography / Ghassan Salame -- Part III. The superpowers -- U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict / William B. Quandt -- Soviet policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict / Evgeni M. Primakov -- Part IV. Looking ahead -- Reconstituting the Arab-Israeli peace process / Harold H. Saunders.

***Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflice, 1967-1976***
(University of California Press, 313 pages, 1977)

***Soviet Policy in the October 1973 War: A Report Prepared for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defence/International Security Affairs***
(Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 39 pages, 1976)

With **Fuad Jabber** and **Ann Mosely Lesch**: ***The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism***
(University of California Press, 234 pages, 1973)
Contents: Part I: The Palestine Arab nationalist movement under the mandate -- Part II: Political and military dimensions of contemporary Palestinian nationalism -- The eclipse of Palestinian nationalism, 1947-1967 -- Organizational developments, June 1967 to September 1970 -- Palestinian political

leadership -- Ideology and objectives -- Military strategy and capabilities of the Fedayeen -- The September 1970 crisis and its aftermath -- Conclusion -- Part III: The Palestinian resistance and inter-Arab politics -- The resistance movement before the Six-Day War -- The Arab world after the defeat -- The Arab regimes and the Palestinian revolution -- The resistance in crisis.

**John Quigley** (Ohio State University)

***The Statehood of Palestine: International Law in the Middle East Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 2011)
See also : OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY Section.

**Mazin B. Qumsiyeh** (Mazin B. Qumsiyeh (co-founder of the Palestine Museum of Natural History, Bethlehem University; also resident at Birzeit University)

***Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment***
(Pluto Press, 2011)

***Sharing the Land of Canaan: Human Rights and the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle***
(Pluto Press, 2004/2010)

***Mammals of the Holy Land***
(Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 1996)
Human encroachment on and animal world, resulting in the extinction of desert gazelles and wild ox, etc.

**Mouin Rabbani** (Palestinian-Dutch Middle East analyst) and **Noura Erakat** (Palestinian-American legal scholar, George Mason University)

***Aborted State? The UN Initiative and New Palestinian Junctures***
(Washington DC/Beirut: Tadween Publishing & Arab Studies Institute, 2013)
See also: Noura Erakat

**Mitri Raheb** (Lutheran Church; Dar al-Kalima University College, Bethlehem)

***Faith in the Face of Empire***
(Orbis Books, 2014)

***Bethlehem Besieged: Stories of Hope in Times of Trouble***
(Augsburg Fortress, 2004)

***I am a Palestinian Christian***
Translated by **Ruth CL Gritsch**
(Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995)

**Glen Rangwala**

***Palestinian Politics in the West Bank and Gaza***
(IB Tauris, was due for publication June 2016)

**Ronald Ranta** (University College London / Kingston University UK)

***Political Decision Making and Non-Decisions: The Case of Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
Focus on Gush Emunim and the last decade of the Labour Party's governing policies, 1967-1977.
See also: Yonatan Mendel

**Marc Lee Raphael**

***Abba Hillel Silver: A Profile in American Judaism***

(Holmes & Meier, 1989)

Important Zionist Rabbi with influence during Truman's Presidency.

**Steven Ratuva**, editor

***The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity***

(Singapore: Palgrave, 2019)

Contains **Yaser Alashqar**: ***Evolution of Palestinian Civil Society and the Role of Nationalism, Occupation and Religion.***

**Avi Raz** (Oxford University)

***The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War***

(Yale University Press, 2012).

Israeli diplomacy shown to be in bad faith in this research of declassified archives in Israel, the USA, Britain, and the United Nations.

**International Committee of the Red Cross**

**Edward Kwakwa:** ***The International Law of Humanitarian Law, Applicable in Armed Conflicts***

(International Committee of the Red Cross & Henry Dunant Institute, 1980) – see under author.

**Walter Reid**

***Empire of Sand: How Britain Made the Middle East***

(Berlinn, 2011)

**David Renton**

***Labour's Antisemitism Crisis: What the Left Got Wrong and How to Learn from It.***

(Routledge, 230 pages, 2021)

**Bill Rezak**

***The Arab and the Brit: The Last of the Welcome Immigrants***

(Syracuse University Press, 2013)

USA and Canada focus.

**Sophie Richter-Devroe** (Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Doha / European Centre for Palestine Studies, University of Exeter)

***Women's Political Activism in Palestine: Peacebuilding, Resistance, and Survival***

(University of Illinois Press, 224 pages, 2018)

"This brilliant book challenges successfully common theoretical approaches to the on-going struggle in Palestine. Richter-Devroe takes the analysis of women's resistance in Palestine into new intriguing and fascinating areas of inquiry. This book combines successfully a very thorough theoretical examination with a very humane narration of life in Palestine under the Israeli colonization. A must read for students, scholars, and anyone looking to shed new light on the evergreen topic of Palestinian resistance."–Ilan Pappe

**Joshua Rickard** (National University of Singapore)

***The Fragmentation of Palestine: Identity and Isolation in the Twenty-First Century***

(IB Tauris, 2017)

Based on fieldwork in the military checkpoint-isolated West Bank villages.

**Andrew Rigby** (Centre for Peace Studies, Coventry University)

***Palestinian Resistance: Nonviolence***

(Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestine Academy for the Study of International Affairs, 2010)

See also titles with Marwan Darweish.

**Jo Roberts**

***Contested Land, Contested Memory: Israel's Jews and Arabs and the Ghosts of Catastrophe***

(Dundurn, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "1948: As Jewish refugees, survivors of the Holocaust, struggle toward the new State of Israel, Arab refugees are fleeing, many under duress. Sixty years later, the memory of trauma has shaped both peoples' collective understanding of who they are. After a war, the victors write history. How was the story of the exiled Palestinians erased – from textbooks, maps, even the land? How do Jewish and Palestinian Israelis now engage with the histories of the Palestinian Nakba ("Catastrophe") and the Holocaust, and how do these echo through the political and physical landscapes of their country?" With relevance to the Jewish National Fund (JNF).

**Rebecca Roberts**

***Palestinians in Lebanon: Refugees Living with Long-term Displacement***

(IB Tauris, 2010)

Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian refugees in Lebanon refer to themselves as 'the forgotten people'. Sixty years on, tens of thousands still live in temporary shelters, in overcrowded unsanitary camps where unemployment and poverty levels are high. Denied basic human rights, they are neglected by the humanitarian community, ignored by the international media. This pioneering book explores the experiences of the oldest and largest single refugee group in the world. Drawing upon comprehensive research in the twelve official refugee camps in Lebanon, the author examines the impact of protracted refugee status on the coping mechanisms developed by refugees. She identifies the lessons to be learned from the refugee experience in Lebanon and and the implications for other refugee groups in different parts of the world. Palestinians in Lebanon provides a long overdue account of one of the most neglected refugee communities in the world."

**Anthony Robinson** (children's author) and **Annemarie Robinson** (authors who focus on refugee and homeless children, notably the *Refugee Children* series, by Frances Lincoln Children's Books )

***Young Palestinians Speak: Living under Occupation***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 118 pages, 2017, 2024)

With photography by **Anthony Robinson**.

**William I. Robinson** (University of California – Santa Barbara), **Maryam S. Griffin** (University of California – Davis), editors, with foreword by former US Congressional Rep. **Cynthia McKinney**

***We Will Not be Silenced: The Academic Repression of Israel's Critics***

(Pluto Press, 2017) Contents:

14. The Trial of Israel's Campus Critics – David Theo Goldberg and Saree Makdisi
15. They Shoot Tenure, Don't They?: How I crossed the borders of acceptable academic discourse on Holocaust film and the question of Palestine, and never came back – Terri Ginsberg
16. My Ordeal with the Israel Lobby and the University of California – William I. Robinson
17. Power, Punishment, and Perseverance – The Irvine 11

18. A Problem Grows in Brooklyn – Kristofer J. Petersen-Overton
19. Speaking Truth to Power: Advocating for Justice in/for Palestine – Rabab Abdulhadi
20. Hanlon's Razor Cuts Both Ways – David Delgado Shorter
21. The Intolerability of Intolerance – Persis Karim
22. Responding to Columbia University's McCarthyism – Joseph Massad
23. A Multiyear Zionist Censorship Campaign – David Klein
24. Some Thoughts on Facts, Politics, and Tenure – Nadia Abu Al-Hajj
25. Censoring and Sanctioning Students for Justice in Palestine – Max Geller
26. A So-called Self-Hating: Anti-Semitic Jew Speaks Out – Lisa Rofel
27. Interrupted Destinies: Before and After the Forthwith – Steven Salaita

**Asaf Romirowsky**, editor (University of Haifa)

***Hijacking the Arab-Israeli Conflict***

Contents include: **Richard Landes**: *The Demopath's Lexicon: A Guide to Western Journalism between the River and the Sea* / **Alyza D. Lewin**: *Zionism, The Integral Component of Jewish Identity that Jews are Historically Pressured to Shed* / **Gadi Hitman** and **Nir Sinay**: *Protests and Political Violence among Arab Knesset Members* / **Hila Lowenstein-Barkai**: *Media Portrayal of Enemy Leaders and Public Opinion Toward Peace: The Cases of Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin, 1987-1995*

**Asaf Romirowsky** (University of Haifa) and **Alexander H. Joffe**

***Religion, Politics, and the Origins of Palestine Refugee Relief***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

**John Rose**

***The Myths of Zionism***

(Pluto, 2005)

**Brant Rosen**

***Wrestling in the Daylight: A Rabbi's Path to Palestinian Solidarity***

(Just World Books, 2012, 2017)

The most important blogs from the *Shalom Rav* website, 2008-2010 and collected here by the author, a politically converted Rabbi from suburban Chicago, who is co-chair of Rabbinical Council of Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). A highlight of influence from within the American Jewish community.

**Ehud Rosen** (Bal-Ilan University)

***Mapping the Organizational Sources of the Global Deligitimization Campaign against Israel in the UK***

(Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 54 pages, 2011)

Publisher's blurb: "By taking advantage of Britain's political freedoms and legal system, Islamic and leftist groups have made Britain the leader of an international effort to deny Israel's right to exist."

**Lillian Rosengarten**

***From the Shadows of Nazi Germany to the Jewish Boat to Gaza***

(Just World Books, 2015)

**Elisheva Rosman-Stollman**

***For God and Country? Religious Student-Soldiers in the Israel Defense Forces***

(University of Texas Press, 2014)

As co-editor, with **Aharon Kampinsky**: ***Civil-Military Relations in Israel: Essays in Honor of Stuart A. Cohen***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 283 pages, 2014)
Contents: Chapter One: Armed Forces and the Polity through the Prism of Power; Chapter Two: Civil-Security Relations in Israel; Chapter Three: Who Controls the IDF?; Chapter Four: The IDF Moving Towards a Professional Force; Chapter Five: Constructing the Ideal Officer; Chapter Six: The Nature and Course of the Dialogue between the Civilian Sector and the Defense Establishment in Israel Regarding the Planning and Building of Military Installations and Bases; Chapter Seven: Women Singing, Cadets Leaving; Chapter Eight: Gender Segregation or Women's Exclusion? Chapter Nine: Guardians and GuardsChapter Ten: Intentional Ambiguity; Chapter Eleven: Swords, Scrolls, and Civilization of the Military.

**Tilde Rosmer** (Zayed University, United Arab Emirates)
***The Islamic Movement in Israel***
(University of Texas Press, 240 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Since its establishment in the late 1970s, Israel's Islamic Movement has grown from a small religious revivalist organization focused on strengthening the faith of Muslim residents to a countrywide sociopolitical movement with representation in the Israeli legislature. But how did it get here? How does it differ from other Islamic movements in the region? And why does its membership continue to grow? Tilde Rosmer examines these issues in *The Islamic Movement in Israel* as she tells the story of the movement, its identity, and its activities. Using interviews with movement leaders and activists, their documents, and media reports from Israel and beyond, she traces the movement's history from its early days to its 1996 split over the issue of its relationship to the state. She then explores how the two factions have functioned since, revealing that while leaders of the two branches have pursued different goals, they remain connected and dedicated to providing needed social, education, and health services in Israel's Palestinian towns and villages. The first book in English on this group, *The Islamic Movement in Israel* is a timely study about how an Islamist movement operates within the unique circumstances of the Jewish state."

**Andrew Ross**
***Stone Men: The Palestinians Who Built Israel***
(Verso, 2019)
Accounts of exploitation and humiliation of Palestinians, forced off their land yet employed to build Jewish settlements.

**Elaheh Rostami-Povey**
***Iran's Influnce: A Religious-Political State and Society in its Region***
(Zed Books, 2010)
A bonus is the last chapter, on Egypt, just before the deposing of Mubarek, with Palestinian reference.

**Alice Rothchild** (Boston physician and filmmaker)
***Condition Critical: Life and Death in Israel/Palestine***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017)
"The three visits to Israel that she chronicles, ranging from June 2013 to March 2015, provide the narrative context for a literary trip that engages facts and ideology, individuals and organizations, towns, villages, cities, and refugee camps, the sweep of history and the present, current critical condition. And what about the future? Rothchild hints that we do not have the "privilege of despair." Still, read the book… and weep!" – Anat Biletzki (B'Tselem & Tel Aviv University)

***On the Brink: Israel and Palestine on the Eve of the 2014 Gaza Invasion***
(Just World Books, 2014)

Author is an activist doctor who contributes to the Electronic Intifada and chairs American Jews for a Just Peace.

***Broken Promises, Broken Dreams: Stories of Jewish and Palestinian Trauma and Resilience***
(Pluto Press, 2007 / 2010)

**Nadim M. Rouhana** & **Sahar S. Huneidi**
***Israel and its Palestinian Citizens: Ethnic Privileges in the Jewish State***
(Cambridge University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume presents new perspectives on Israeli society, Palestinian society, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Based on historical foundations, it examines how Israel institutionalizes ethnic privileging among its nationally diverse citizens. Arab, Israeli, and American contributors discusses the paradoxes of democratic claims in ethnic states, as well as dynamics of social conflict in the absence of equality. This book advances a new understanding of Israel's approach to the Palestinian citizens, covers the broadest range of areas in which Jews and Arabs are institutionally differentiated along ethnic basis, and explicates the psychopolitical foundations of ethnic privileges. It will appeal to students and scholars who seek broader views on Israeli society and its relationship with the Arab citizens, and want to learn more about the status of the Palestinian citizens in Israel and their collective experience as both citizens and settler-colonial subjects."

**Sara Roy** (Harvard University; see numerous landmark books in Older Palestine History list)
***Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector***
(Princeton University Press, 2011)
The Islamist movement, the Islamic Social Institutions (ISIs) in Gaza shown here as variegated, engaged in education, health care and sports.

**Josh Ruebner** (Institute for Middle East Understanding)
***Israel – Democracy of Apartheid State?***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 120 pages, 2017)

***Shattered Hopes: Obama's Failure to Broker Israeli-Palestinian Peace***
(Verso, 354 pages, 2014)

**Grant Rumley** (Washington DC think-tank) and Amir Tibon (Israeli journalist)
***The Last Palestinian: The Rise and Reign of Mahmoud Abbas***
(Penguin Random House, July 2017)

**Mohammad Sabaaneh** (Ramallah artist)
***30 Seconds from Gaza: Diary of Genocide***
(Olive Branch Press, 170 pages, 2025)
Artist captures frequent 30-second videos sent to his phone since October 2023.

With author **Khaled A. Beydoun** (Arizona State University)
***Eyes on Gaza: Witnessing Annihilation***
(Street Noise Books, 168 pages, 2025)
Essays, with over 50 illustrations.

***Power Born of Dreams: My Story is Palestine***
(Street Noise Books, 128 pages, 2021)
Graphic novel

***White and Black: Political Cartoons from Palestine***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017)
Introduction by **Seth Tobocman**

**Thomas Saaty** (University of Pittsburgh), **H.J. Zoffler** (University of Pittsburth), **Luis G. Vargas** (University of Pittsburth), and **Amos Guiora** (University of Utah)
***Overcoming the Retributive Nature of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 181 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book presents an interdisciplinary approach to conflict solution focusing on a very specific type of conflict, retributive conflicts . It is unique in the treatment of these and how relative measurement is used to find equilibrium solutions. The authors present an alternative process to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They do so in two ways that are different from past efforts. The first is by formally structuring the conflict and the second is the manner in which discussions were conducted and conclusions drawn. The approach will help create a solution and provide negotiators with a unique pathway to consider the thorny issues and corresponding concessions underlying the deliberations, together with their implementation. The Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) provides a way to conflict solution with the participation of negotiators for the parties. It is a positive approach that makes it possible to reason and express feelings and judgments with numerical intensities to derive priorities. With the assistance of panels of Israeli participants and Palestinian participants brought together in 2006 to 2017, AHP was applied for the first time in a group setting to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The process makes it clear that moderation in different degrees by both sides is essential to arrive at acceptable agreements on concessions proposed and agreed upon by both sides."

**Karl Sabbagh**
***Britain in Palestine: The Story of British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948***
(Skyscraper Publications, 2012)
An accompaniment to the SOAS/Brunei Gallery exhibition. Many illustrations, yet compact.

***Palestine: A Personal History***
(Atlantic Books, 2006)
Sabbagh, whose father was the lead broadcaster for the BBC Arabic Service during WWII, here interweaves the literary and political history of Palestine, with his own family's story, in particular his father's experience during the partition of his country and creation of Israel. –Naomi Foyle

**Mahdi Sabbagh**, editor (curator of PalFest)
***Their Borders, Our World: Building New Solidarities with Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 208 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "…connects Palestinian resistance with global freedom struggles against settler colonialism." Contributors include: Yasmin El-Rifae, Jehan Bseiso, Keller Easterling, Dina Omar, Tareq Baconi, Samia Henni, Omer Shah, Kareem Rabie, Ellen Van Neerven, Omar Robert Hamilton, and Mabel O. Wilson.

**Robbie Sabel** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
***International Law and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 2022)

**Bernard Sabella** (Bethlehem University / Middle East Council of Churches)
With **Carole Monica Burnett**, editor

***A Life Worth Living: The Story of a Palestinian Catholic***
(Eugene, Oregon: Resource Publications / Wipf & Stock, 2017).
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian Christian, offers an enlightening, often humorous, personal narrative accompanied by reflections on lessons learned from his life in a conflict zone. Displaced from his home in infancy with his refugee family and educated in Jerusalem's Old City before pursuing university studies in the US, he blossomed into a committed educator, scholar, member of the Palestinian Parliament, and director of a church aid agency. Throughout his life Dr. Sabella has never lost his focus on the goal of promoting peace through understanding, and he has never been diverted from his path of absolute nonviolence. A Life Worth Living speaks with a voice worth listening to, alternately anecdotal and analytical, touching our hearts while pondering the past, present, and future of the Holy Land."

with **Mitri Raheb**, editor, and contributors **Varsen Aghabekian, Jamil Rabah, Hadeel Fawadleh**
***Palestinian Christians – Emigration, Displacement and Diaspora***
(CreateSpace/the authors, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This book contains the findings of the latest research and studies conducted by Dar al-Kalima University College of Arts and Culture in 2017. The first chapter crystalizes four waves of Christian emigration from Palestine within the last century. The second chapter contains the results of an emigration survey conducting in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip mid-2017; a first study of its kind that includes both Christians and Muslim Palestinians. The third chapter looks at the situation of the Palestinian Christian emigrants in the diaspora comparing their conditions in Jordan to that in the United States of America. The last chapter looks at the responses of churches, church-related organizations and European agencies to the challenge of emigration. This book is an important tool for researchers as well as all who are interested in the situation of the Christians in Palestine.)

with **Afif Safieh** and **Albert Aghazarian**
***Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land***
(Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)

**Steve Sabella** (Jerusalem-born, Berlin-residing Palestinian artist-photographer)
***The Parachute Paradox: Steve Sabella***
(Berlin: Kerber Verlag, 2016)
Memoir of three decades of the artist's life under Israeli occupation.
See also: CULTURE

**Mohannad Sabry** (Egyptian journalist for the right wing *Washington Times,* the centrist *USA Today* and the online *GlobalPost* and *Al-Monitor* services)
***Sinai: Egypt's Linchpin, Gaza's Lifeline, Israel's Nightmare***
(American University in Cairo Press / IB Tauris, 320 pages, 2015)
A contemporary reporting of Sinai in context with the Israeli, Egyptian, and Hamas governments, the Egyptian gas export pipelines, and international Jihadists.

**Ahmad Sa'di** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
***Thorough Surveillance: The Genesis of Israeli Policies of Population Management, Surveillance and Political Control Towards the Palestinian Minority***
(Manchester University Press, 225 pages, 2013)

With **Lila Abu-Lughod**: ***Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory***
(Columbia University Press, 356 pages, 2007) Contents: Introduction: *The Claims of Memory* / Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sadi -- *Places of memory. The Rape of Qula, a Destroyed Palestinian Village* / Susan Slyomovics -- *Mapping the Past, Recreating the Homeland: Memories of Village Places in Pre-1948 Palestine* / Rochelle Davis -- *Return to Half-Ruins: Memory, Postmemory, and Living History in Palestine* / Lila Abu-Lughod -- *Modes of Memory, Iterability, Cumulativity and Presence: The Relational Figures of Palestinian Memory* / Lena Jayyusi -- *Women's Nakba Stories: Between Being and Knowing* / Rosemary Sayigh -- *The Continuity of*

*Trauma and Struggle: Recent Cinematic Representations of the Nakba* / Haim Bresheeth -- *Faultlines of Memory: The Secret Visitations of Memory* / Omar Al-Qattan -- *Gender of Nakba Memory* / Isabelle Humphries and Laleh Khalili -- *Memories of Conquest: Witnessing Death in Tantura* / Samera Esmeir -- *The Politics of Witness: Remembering and Forgetting 1948 in Shatila Camp* / Diana Keown Allan -- Afterword: *Reflections on Representations, History, and Moral Accountability* / Ahmad Sadi [aka Ahmad Sa'di].

**Dr. Afif Safieh** (Palestinian Ambassador to the UK, ca. 1996-2010)

***The Peace Process: From Breakthrough to Breakdown***

(Saqi Books, 2010; enlarged from earlier short publication published by the Council for the Advancement for Arab British Understanding/CAABU, 1997)

Publisher's blurb: "Afif Safieh served as Palestinian General Delegate in London, Washington and Moscow from 1990 to 2009. During this time, he met and interacted with the leading figures of our times: from Yasser Arafat, John Major and Tony Blair; to Jimmy Carter, George W. Bush and Pope John Paul II. The Peace Process: From Breakthrough to Breakdown brings together Afif Safieh's articles, lectures and interviews from 1981, when he was a staff member in Yasser Arafat's Beirut office, to 2005, at the end of his mission in London, revealing the political and intellectual journey of one of Palestine's most skilled and distinguished diplomats. His writings, which centre on the Palestinian struggle for independence, are a testament to his vision and humanity and provide a unique map of Palestinian diplomacy over the last three decades."

***On Palestinian Diplomacy***

(Palestinian General Delegation to the UK and the Office of Representation of the P.L.O. to the Holy See, 36 pages, 2004)

**Adel Safty**

***Might Over Right: How the Zionists Took Over Palestine***

(Garnet Books, 2009)

**Maha El Said** (Cairo University), **Lena Meari** (Bir Zeit University) & **Nicola Pratt** (University of Warwick), editors

***Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World***

(Zed Books, 2015)

Contains research by Palestinian sociologist **Aitemad Muhanna** – see her entry.

**Najla Said**

***Looking for Palestine: Growing Up Confused in an Arab-American Family***

(Riverhead Books, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "A frank and entertaining memoir—from the daughter of Edward Said—now in paperback. The daughter of the famous intellectual and outspoken Palestinian advocate Edward Said and a sophisticated Lebanese mother, Najla Said grew up in New York City, confused and conflicted about her cultural background and identity. Said knew that her parents identified deeply with their homelands, but growing up in a Manhattan world that was defined largely by class and conformity, she felt unsure about who she was supposed to be, and was often in denial of the differences she sensed between her family and those around her. She may have been born a Palestinian Lebanese American, but Said denied her true roots, even to herself—until, ultimately, the psychological toll of her self-hatred began to threaten her health.

As she grew older, she eventually came to see herself, her passions, and her identity more clearly. Today she is a voice for second-generation Arab Americans nationwide."

**Wasim Said**

***Witness to the Hellfire of Genocide: A Testimony from Gaza***

(New York City: 1804 Books, 2025)

**Atef Abu Saif** (Novelist, in Arabic, born in the Jabalia refugee camp, Gaza; Minister of Culture for the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank)

***Don't Look Left: A Diary of Genocide***

(Manchester: Comma Press, February 2024)

A personal diary of the Israeli war on Gaza, unpacking cruel, random IDF destruction on his family and friends. Parts were published in Western newspapers. With foreword by **Chris Hedges**.

***The Drone Eats with Me***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 258 pages, 2015)

On 7 July 2014, in an apparent response to the murder of three teenagers, Israel launched a major offensive against the Gaza Strip, lasting 51 days, killing 2145 Palestinians (578 of them children), injuring over 11,000, and demolishing 17,200 homes. The global outcry at this collective punishment of an already persecuted people was followed by widespread astonishment at the pro-Israeli bias of Western media coverage. The usual news machine rolled up, and the same distressing images and entrenched political rhetoric were broadcast, yet almost nothing was reported of the on-going lives of ordinary Gazans – the real victims of the war. One of the few voices to make it out was that of Atef Abu Saif, a writer and teacher from Jabalia Refugee Camp, whose eye-witness accounts (published in The *Guardian*, The *New York Times*, and elsewhere) offered a rare window into the conflict for Western readers. Here, Atef's complete diaries of the war allow us to witness the full extent of last summer's atrocities from the most humble of perspectives: that of a young father, fearing for his family's safety, trying to stay sane in an insanely one-sided war.

**Shadi Sakran** (Attorney admitted into Israel; Kobe University)

***The Legal Consequences of Limited Statehood: Palestine in Multilateral Frameworks***

(Routledge, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "Using Palestine as a case study, this book argues that participation in a State-reserved regime is not determined by the traditional requisites of statehood. UNESCO membership unveils the acceptance of Palestine as a State for the limited purpose of the organization, without any immediate or implicit implications for the statehood of Palestine. Palestine's accessions to various multilateral treaties demonstrate this argument as do its instruments of accession being accepted by the depositaries of both the United Nations Secretary-General and national Governments without requiring any clarification of the statehood question. This book also provides the first in-depth study of the legal relationship of the rights and duties of Palestine with different groups of State Parties; the recent dispute settlement brought by Palestine against the United States and Israel; and theoretical and practical challenges for Palestine in its acceptance as a State in multilateral frameworks."

**Steven Salaita** (American University Cairo, American University of Beirut; denied tenured position at the University of Illinois)

***Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine***

(University of Minnesota Press, 232 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "The age of transnational humanities has arrived." According to Steven Salaita, the seemingly disparate fields of Palestinian Studies and American Indian studies have more in common than one may think. Salaita offers a fascinating inside account of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement—which, among other things, aims to end Israel's occupation of Palestinian land. In doing so, he emphasizes BDS's significant potential as an organizing entity as well as its importance in the creation of intellectual and political communities that put Natives and other colonized peoples such as Palestinians into conversation. His discussion includes readings of a wide range of Native poetry that invokes Palestine as a theme or symbol; the speeches of U.S. President Andrew Jackson and early Zionist thinker Ze'ev Jabotinsky; and the discourses of "shared values" between the United States and Israel. *Inter/Nationalism* seeks to lay conceptual ground between American Indian and Indigenous studies and Palestinian studies through concepts of settler

colonialism, indigeneity, and state violence. By establishing Palestine as an indigenous nation under colonial occupation, this book draws crucial connections between the scholarship and activism of Indigenous America and Palestine."

***Uncivil Rites: Palestine and the Limits of Academic Freedom***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015)
Autobiography describing how University of Illinois sacked him over personal tweets protesting a Gaza assault. "By turns angry, funny, maudlin, defensive, militant and ultimately affirmatory." Jake Lynch, BRICUP November 2015.

***Israel's Dead Soul***
(Temple University Press, 2011)
Criticises Liberal Zionist hand-wringing over the country's supposed existential situation. Author analyses the ADL (Anti Defamation League aka Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) as a 'hate group.'

***The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan***
(Syracuse University Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "The author's original approach is based not on similarities between the two disparate settler regions but rather on similarities between the rhetoric employed by early colonialists in North America and that employed by Zionist immigrants in Palestine. Meticulously examining histories, theories, and literary depictions of colonialism and interethnic dialects, Salaita identifies the commonalities in the myths employed by both groups as well as the "counter-discourse" cultivated in the literature of resistance by native peoples. He complements his analysis with personal observations of Palestinians in Lebanese refuge camps, where he encountered a sympathetic perception of American Indians."

**Mostafa Salameh**
*Dreams of a Refugee: From the Middle East to Mount Everest* (Bloomsbury, 2017) Palestinian-Kuwaiti world mountain climber of seven summits and both pole positions.

**Mohsen Mohammad Saleh**, editor
***Hamas ~ Islamic Resistance Movement: Studies of Thought and Experience***
(Beirut: Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, 704 pages, 2017)
Available as a printed book and free download.

**Sanaa Y.H. Saleh**
***Evaluation and Enhancement of Environmental Performance of Refugee Shelters in Palestine***
(University of Nottingham PhD thesis, 2011)

**Ihab Saloul** (University of Amsterdam)
***Catastrophe and Exile in the Modern Palestinian Imagination: Telling Memories***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

**Maha Samman**
***Trans-Colonial Urban Space in Palestine: Politics and Development***
(Routledge, 314 pages, 2012-2013)

**Shahira Samy**
***Reparations to Palestinian Refugees: A Comparative Perspective***

(Routledge, 2010)
Includes the German-Jewish Reparations Agreement of 1952.

**Shlomo Sand** (Tel Aviv University; a leading 'new historian' using declassified Israeli archival materials)
***The Invention of the Land of Israel: from Holyland to Homeland***
(Verso, 2012)

***The Invention of the Jewish People***
(Verso, 2009)
Translated by **Yael Lotan**. "The book's arguments are by now well known—that the Jews of the Common Era were mostly descended from converts or converts themselves, and therefore not tied in any genetic or historical manner to Eretz-Israel; that Zionist scholarship has cleverly obscured this fact by acknowledging the extent of Jewish conversion over time but inventing a Jewish demographic as well as spiritual origin in the land of Israel; that Jews comprise a religious civilization, not a people, because they lack a secular literary culture; that the State of Israel anxiously seeks to compensate for its own lack of ethnic integrity by employing its scientists to obsessively search for unique Jewish genetic material over the ages; and that the bankruptcy of Zionist assertions of Jewish peoplehood is apparent from the Jewish state's reliance upon religious law, symbols and concepts in its government and public culture." (Derek J. Penslar, review in *Israel Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2012)

***The Words and the Land: Israeli Intellectuals and the Nationalist Myth***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Semiotexte, 2011)

***How I Stopped Being a Jew***
(Verso, 2014)
Translated by **David Fernbach**

**Saliba Sarsar**, editor (Monmouth University)
With **Carole C. Burnett**, co-editor: ***What Jerusalem Means to Us: Muslim Perspectives and Reflections***
(Bethesda, Maryland: Holy Land Christian Ecumenical Foundation, 214 pages, 2021)
With foreword by **HRH Prince El Hassan Bin Talal** of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Contents include: **Ali Qleibo**: *Al-Quds, Al Mi'raj, and Al-Insan Al-Kamil, Jerusalem's Contribution to Muslim Civilization* / **Musafa Abu Sway**: *The Meaning of Jerusalem for Muslims* / **Hisham Khatib**: *Muslim Attachment to Jerusalem is Genetic* / **Sheikh Maher Assaf**: *What Jerusalem Means to Muslims* / **Imam Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad**: *The Meaning of Jerusalem through My Mother's Memories and My Faith* / **Azzam S. Elayan**: *Jerusalem, My Father, and Me* / **Mohammed Abu-Nimer**: *Al-Quds – A Quest for Peace and Justice in a Divided City* / **Rana Hajjaj**: *A Jerusalemite, Buty with No Access to Jerusalem* / **Lana Shehadeh**: *Arab American in the Heart of the Holy Land* / **Mohamed K. Ghumrawi**: *A Palestinian-American Perspective on the Holy City of Jerusalem* / **Dina Naji**: *Jerusalem, You Will be There*.

***What Jerusalem Means to Us: Christian Perspectives and Reflections***
(Bethesda, Maryland: Noble Books, 312 pages, 2018)
Largely apolitical.

**Del Sarto** & **A Raffaella**, editors
***Fragmented Borders, Interdependence and External Relations: The Israel-Palestine-European Union Triangle***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "This book investigates relations between Israel, the Palestinian territories and the European Union by considering them as interlinked entities, with relations between any two of the three parties affecting the other side. The contributors to this edited volume explore different aspects of

Israeli-Palestinian-European Union interconnectedness." Contributors: Frederica Bicci, Dimitris Bouris, Nebe Gordon, Asem Khalil, Sharon Pardo, Stephan Stetter, Helga Tawil Souri, Benedetta Voltolini

**Julian Sayarer**

***Fifty Miles Wide: Cycling through Israel and Palestine***

(London: Arcadia Books, 2020)

**Emanual Schaeublin** (ETH Zurich)

***Divine Money: Islam, Zakat, and Giving in Palestine***

(Indiana University Press, 184 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "Mutual aid or zakat giving is a sacred practice in Islam. In Palestinian neighbourhoods of the West Bank, where the Islamic tradition shapes public life, a simple gift of money or food to a person in need can invoke the presence of God. In *Divine Money*, Emanuel Schaeublin shows how zakat institutions and direct zakat donations provide critical support to households in financial distress. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the ancient city of Nablus, Divine Money analyses how zakat institutions work in the social and political context of contemporary Palestine and explores how embedding care in Islamic scripture helps community members negotiate the social tensions that arise around differences in financial security. In the absence of a reliable public safety net, many interpret acts of zakat giving as an expression of God's generosity and evidence of His infinite ability to provide. Such invocations of the divine in charitable interactions provide both community support and a means to live a good and ethical Muslim life, even during times of political repression and economic stagnation."

**Hans Schildermans**

***Experiments in Decolonizing the University: Towards an Ecology of Study***

(Bloomsbury Academic, 200 pages, 2021)

Available open access: www.bloomsburycollections.com

**Leonardo Schiocchet** (OEsterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)

***Living in Refuge: Ritualization and Religiosity in a Christian and a Muslim Palestinian Refugee Camp in Lebanon***

(Transcript Verlag/University of California Press, 264 pages, 2022)

Comparative ethnography.

**Sarah Schulman** (City University, New York)

***Israel / Palestine and the Queer International***

(Duke University Press, 2012)

Invited to Israel to give the keynote address at an LGBT studies conference at Tel Aviv University, Schulman declines, joining other anti-occupation artists and academics in calling for an academic and cultural boycott of Israel. The author tours the West Bank and brings activists to tour the United States to establish a Queer International.

**Erika Schwarze**

***Public Opinion and Political Response in Palestine: Leadership, Campaigns and Elections Since Arafat***

(IB Tauris, 2015)

Author ran NGO education programmes in the West Bank and Gaza in the 1990s.

**Gabriel Schwake** (Sheffield University)

***Dwelling on the Green Line: Privatize and Rule in Israel/Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Concealed within the walls of settlements along the Green-Line, the border between Israel and the occupied West-Bank, is a complex history of territoriality, privatisation and multifaceted class dynamics. Since the late 1970s, the state aimed to expand the heavily populated coastal area eastwards into the occupied Palestinian territories, granting favoured groups of individuals, developers and entrepreneurs the ability to influence the formation of built space as a means to continuously develop and settle national frontiers. As these settlements developed, they became a physical manifestation of the relationship between the political interest to control space and the ability to form it. Telling a socio-political and economic story from an architectural and urban history perspective, Gabriel Schwake demonstrates how this production of space can be seen not only as a cultural phenomenon, but also as one that is deeply entangled with geopolitical agendas."

**Jerome M. Segal** (philosopher in conflict resolution)
***The Olive Branch from Palestine: The Palestinian Declaration of Independence and the Path out of the Current Impasse***
(University of California Press, 316 pages, 2022)
Foreword by **Noam Chomsky**.

***Negotiating Jerusalem***
(State University of New York Press, 341 pages, 2000)

***Creating the Palestinian State: A Strategy for Peace***
(Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 177 pages, 1989)

**Lotte Buch Segal** (University of Copenhagen)
***No Place for Grief: Martyrs, Prisoners, and Mourning in Contemporary Palestine***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
Publisher's blurb: "Westerners 'know' Palestine through images of war and people in immediate distress. Yet this focus has as its consequence that other, less spectacular stories of daily distress are rarely told. Those seldom noticed are the women behind the men who engage in armed resistance against the military occupation: wives of the Palestinian prisoners in Israeli detention and the widows of the martyrs. In Palestine, being related to a detainee serving a sentence for participation in the resistance activities against Israel is a source of pride. Consequently, the wives of detainees are expected to sustain these relationships through steadfast endurance, no matter the effects upon the marriage or family. Often people, media, and academic studies address the dramatic violence and direct affliction of the Palestinians. Lotte Buch Segal takes a different approach, and offers a glimpse of the lives, and the contradictory emotions, of the families of both detainees and martyrs through an in-depth ethnographic investigation. *No Place for Grief* asks us to think about what it means to grieve when that which is grieved does not lend itself to a language of loss and mourning. What does it mean to "endure" when ordinary life is engulfed by the emotional labor required to withstand the pressures placed on Palestinian families by sustained imprisonment and bereavement? Despite an elaborate repertoire of narrative styles, laments, poetry, and performance of bodily gestures through which mourning can be articulated, including the mourning tied to a political cause, Buch Segal contends that these forms of expression are inadequate to the sorrow endured by detainees' wives. *No Place for Grief* reveals a new language that describes the entanglement of absence and intimacy, endurance and everyday life, and advances an understanding of loss, mourning, and grief in contemporary Palestine."

**A Shelf of Self-Determination titles:**
**Antonio Cassese**
***Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal***
(Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Perhaps the most widely used authority on self-determination, this is an extensive analysis of self-determination from the perspective of its internal and external aspects. It covers instruments like the Human Rights Covenants and Friendly Relations Declaration in extensive detail, and case studies outline the principle's practical application.

**James Crawford**

***The Creation of States in International Law***

(2nd ed. Clarendon, 2006)

While Crawford's book is primarily about states, it also provides a highly regarded analysis of the law of self-determination and secession. In oral submissions in the Kosovo Advisory Opinion it was referred to as "probably . . . the most widely quoted in these proceedings."

**Thomas D. Musgrave**

***Self-Determination and National Minorities***

(Clarendon, 1997)

A readable and relatively concise account of minority rights and self-determination in 250 pages. It addresses key issues such as peoples, secession, irredentism, and historic title in sufficient but not extensive depth.

**A (Andrés) Rigo-Sureda** (Interational arbitration law expert)

***Evolution of the Right to Self-Determination: A Study of United Nations Practice***

(Leiden, The Netherlands: A. W. Sijthoff, 1973)

This is an extensive and well-researched account of self-determination, focused on the practical application of the right. A number of case studies demonstrate the problems involved in this application. The structure of the book, in which case studies are split up and returned to from different angles, may, however, be found disorientating.

**Somdeep Sen** (Roskilde University)

***Decolonizing Palestine: Hamas between the Anticolonial and the Postcolonial***

(Cornell University Press, 186 pages, 2020)

Publisher's Blurb: "Somdeep Sen rejects the notion that liberation from colonialization exists as a singular moment in history when the colonizer is ousted by the colonized. Instead, he considers the case of the Palestinian struggle for liberation from its settler colonial condition as a complex psychological and empirical mix of the colonial and the postcolonial. Specifically, he examines the two seemingly contradictory, yet coexistent, anticolonial and postcolonial modes of politics adopted by Hamas following the organization's unexpected victory in the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council election. Despite the expectations of experts, Hamas has persisted as both an armed resistance to Israeli settler colonial rule and as a governing body. Based on ethnographic material collected in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Israel, and Egypt, *Decolonizing Palestine* argues that the puzzle Hamas presents is not rooted in predicting the timing or process of its abandonment of either role. The challenge instead lies in explaining how and why it maintains both, and what this implies for the study of liberation movements and postcolonial studies more generally."

**Moshe Semyonov**

***Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Noncitizen Arabs in the Israeli Labor Market***

(New York City: ILR Presas, 1987)

see also: Noah Lewin-Epstein

**Randa Serhan**

***Neither Thugs nor Terrorists: Black-Palestinian Solidarity Movements in the United States***

(Bethesda, Maryland: Academica Press, 194 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Soon after a series of protests in Ferguson, Missouri, African-American protestors there and Palestinian protestors in the West Bank began to include the slogan "From Ferguson to Palestine, Occupation is a Crime" in their public statements. In *Neither Thugs nor Terrorists*, Randa Serhan uses cutting edge first-hand research to explore how these two distant communities found common cause in protesting the militarization of the forces that policed and criminalized them.
Activists believed they had sparked a new organic connection between African-Americans and Palestinians, but they were actually rediscovering links made decades before by an earlier generation of activists operating in the 1960s, the most notable of whom was Malcolm X. Since 2014, they have also (re-)discovered the cost of such an alliance as many of the most vocal among them have been privately and publicly attacked. This has not, however, stopped the spread of such alliances in varying size and degree across the United States, including among such groups as Black-Palestinian Solidarity, the U.S. Campaign for Palestine, Muslims for Ferguson, Black Lives Matter, Adalah-NY: The Campaign for the Boycott Israel, the Jewish Voice for Peace, and the If Not Now Movement. *Neither Thugs nor Terrorists* builds on the oral histories and personal stories of eight individual activists, four who were active in the earlier period (1960s-1980s) and four who are currently active. Through the experiences of each activist, a common story emerges, relating the continuities and discontinuities of working for a seemingly impossible alliance. In some instances, the earlier activists paved the way for younger activists to find their strategies and know the challenges ahead. At other times, the more sophisticated surveillance state has produced obstacles unimaginable in the past. This book brings to light the everyday lives of activists, the stories that remain untold about shared Black-Palestinian activism, and the costs paid by those who find a common humanity in rejecting the labels of thugs and terrorists."

**Robert Serry** (Dutch diplomat who served as the United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and the United Nations' Secretary-General's Personal Representative to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority from 2008 to 2015)

***The Endless Quest for Israeli-Palestinian Peace***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "In this book a former United Nations Envoy offers an insider perspective on conflict management and peace efforts during the three most recent failed peace initiatives and three wars in Gaza. Robert Serry shares his reflections on walking the tight rope of diplomacy between Israel and Palestine and his analysis of what has gone wrong and why a "one-state reality" may be around the corner. Offering fresh thinking on how to preserve prospects for a two-state solution, this book examines the UN's uneasy history in the Arab-Israeli conflict since partition was proposed in resolution 181 (1948) and provides a rare insight into the life of a United Nations Envoy in today's Middle East."

**Leila Seurat** (Sciences Po & EHESS, Paris)

***The Death and Life of Yahya Sinwar: A History of Hamas***
(Verso Books, 272 pages, 2027)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on fifteen years of unprecedented access to Hamas leaders across Doha, Beirut, Istanbul, Gaza, and Tehran, Leila Seurat tells the life story of Yahya Sinwar, the mastermind of the October 7 attacks. In October 2011, after 23 years in an Israeli prison, Yahya Sinwar was released from Israeli prison. No longer the young firebrand Sinwar has become a hardened strategist who spent over two decades building power from behind bars. Over the next few years he could climb his way to power, elected leader of Hamas in Gaza in 2017. He now governed two and a half million people under blockade, failing with successive attempts to break the siege. Then, in May 2021, Sinwar initiated the unprecedented the "Sword of Jerusalem" operation that issued an ultimatum to Israel and promised a bigger response. This came on October 7th, 2023 with the Al-Asqua flood, that saw Hamas soldiers breaching the Israel's fortifications. This attack heralds a brutal response that saw the total devastation of Gaza. Sinwar himself was killed by Israeli forces on October 16, 2024. Drawing on exclusive interviews with Sinwar's fellow prisoners, Hamas leaders across four continents, and internal documents rarely seen by outsiders, political scientist Leila Seurat reveals how one man's journey from prison cell to power reshaped Hamas-and ultimately triggered the most significant confrontation in decades."

***The Foreign Policy of Hamas: Ideology, Decision Making and Political Supremacy***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Palestine Studies series, 312 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Martin Makinson**.

**Israel Shahak** (Israeli chemistry professor who campaigned for a fully integrated society)
with **Norton Mezvinsky**
***Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel***
(Pluto Press, 1999, 2004)

***Open Secrets: Israeli Foreign and Nuclear Policies***
(Pluto Press, 1997)

***Jewish History – Jewish Religion: The Weight of Three Thousand Years***
(Pluto Press, 127 pages, 1994, 1997)
Forewords by **Gore Vidal** & **Edward Said**.
A critique of classical rabbinic Judaism's complex rituals, in the context of the Zionist state. Endorsed by Said, Vidal, Christopher Hitchens, Robert Fisk, and Noam Chomsky.

***Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1982)
Introduction by **Noam Chomsky**.

As translator:
***The Zionist Plan for the Middle East***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 26 pages, 1982)
From Oded Yinon's *A Strategy for Israel in the Nineteen-Eighties*.

***Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights*** [*The Shahak Papers*]
(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 1973)
Edited by **Adnan Amad** (Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 1973)

**[Mohammad] Shahid Alam**
***Israeli Exceptionalism: The Destabilizing Logic of Zionism***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

**Mariam Shahin** (BBC journalist of Egypt, Jordan and Iraq)
***Palestine: A Guide***
(Interlink Books, 2007)
This remarkable travel guide manages to be both intimate and honest, while conveying the Palestinians' relationship to their homeland, past and present. The book offers the reader an authentic vision of why, despite lacking legal status as a state, Palestine is a real place on the world map.

**Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Professor Extraordinarius, University of South Africa; Global Chair in Law, Queen Mary University London)
***Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Who has the right to a safe and protected childhood? Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding deepens understanding of children as political capital in the hands of those in power, critically engaging children's voices alongside archival, historical, and ethnographic material in Palestine. Offering the concept of unchilding', Shalhoub-Kevorkian exposes the political work of violence designed to create, direct, govern, transform, and construct colonized children as dangerous, racialized others, enabling their eviction from the realm of childhood itself. Penetrating children's

everyday intimate spaces and, simultaneously, their bodies and lives, unchilding works to enable a complex machinery of violence against Palestinian children: imprisonment, injuries, loss, trauma, and militarized political occupation. At the same time as the book documents violations of children's rights and the consequences this has for their present and future well-being, it charts children's resistance to and power to interrupt colonial violence, reclaiming childhood and, with it, Palestinian futures."

***Security, Theology Surveillance and the Politics of Fear***
(Cambridge University Press, 2015)

***Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case-Study***
(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

***Acknowledging the Displaced: Palestinian Women's Ordeals in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Women's Study Center, 2006)
See also: *Towards a Cultural Definition of Rape: Dilemmas in Dealing with Rape Victims in Palestinian Society*, in **Pinak Ilkkaracan**, editor – *Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East* (Routledge, 2016)

**Bassam Abu Sharif**
***Arafat and the Dream of Palestine: An Insider's Account* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)**
Author gets a central role, not Abu Ammar, but a good read nonetheless.

**Yara Sharif** (Partner at Golzari-NG Architects and with University of Westminster and Oxford Brookes University)
***Architecture of Resistance: Cultivating Moments of Possibility within the Palestinian/Israeli Conflict***
(Routledge, 2016)

**Gene Sharp**
with **Christopher A. Miller** & **Hardy Merriman**
***Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 2005)

with **Ronald M. McCarthy** & **Brad Bennett**
***Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide***
(Garland Press, 1997)

***The Politics of Nonviolent Action***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973)

***Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970/1971)

**Keren Sharvit** & **Eran Halperin**, editors
*A Social Psychology Perspective of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 2016 – Volume 2 – Celebrating the Legacy of Dr Daniel Bar-Tal*
(Springer, 2016)
Theory compendium

**Adam Shatz**, editor: **Hannah Arendt, Uri Avnery, Judith Butler, Noam Chomsky, Isaac Deutscher, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, IF Stone, Leon Trotsky**

***Prophets Outcast: A Century of Dissident Jewish Writing about Zionism and Israel***
(New York: Nation Books, 2004)

**Bartal Shaul**
***Jihad in Palestine: Political Islam and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 2015)

**Lara Sheehi** (Secretary of the Society for Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Society [SPPP] and chair of the Teachers Academy of the American Psychoanalytic Association) and **Stephen Sheehi**
***Psychoanalysis under Occupation: Practicing Resistance in Palestine***
(Routledge, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Heavily influenced by Frantz Fanon and critically engaging the theories of decoloniality and liberatory psychoanalysis, Lara Sheehi and Stephen Sheehi platform the lives, perspectives, and insights of psychoanalytically-inflected Palestinian psychologists, psychiatrists, and other mental health professionals, centering the stories that non-clinical Palestinians have entrusted to them over four years of community engagement with clinicians throughout historic Palestine. Sheehi and Sheehi document the stories of Palestinian clinicians in relation to settler-colonialism and violence but, even more so, in relation to their patients, communities, families, and one another (as a clinical community). In doing so, they track the appearance of settler colonialism as a psychologically extractive process, one that is often effaced by discourses of 'normalization,' 'trauma,' 'resilience,' and human rights, with the aid of clinicians, as well as psychoanalysis."

**Gabriel Sheffer** & **Oren Barak**
***Militarism and Israeli Society***
(Indiana University Press, 2010)
Notes the security network as wider than the military, with undefined boundaries.

**Raja Shehadeh** [Ramallah-based human rights lawyer and author
With **Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London): ***Forgotten: Searching for Palestine's Hidden Places and Lost Memorials***
(Profile Books, 240 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Forgotten is a search for hidden or neglected memorials and places in historic Palestine - now Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories - and what they might tell us about the land and the people who live on our small slip of earth between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. From ancient city ruins to the Nabi 'Ukkasha mosque and tomb, acclaimed writers and researchers Raja Shehadeh and Penny Johnson ask: what has been memorialised, and what lies unseen, abandoned or erased - and why? Whether standing on a high cliff overlooking Lebanon or at the lowest land-based elevation on earth at the Dead Sea, they explore lost connections in a fragmented land. In elegiac, elegant prose, Shehadeh and Johnson grapple not only with questions of Israeli resistance to acknowledging the Nakba - the 1948 catastrophe for Palestinians - but also with the complicated history of Palestinian commemoration today."

***What Does Israel Fear from Palestine?***
(Profile Books, 123 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "When the state of Israel was formed in 1948, it precipitated the Nakba or 'disaster': the displacement of the Palestine nation, creating fracture-lines which continue to erupt in violent and tragic ways today. In the years that followed, while the Berlin Wall crumbled and South Africa abolished apartheid, the Israeli government rejected every opportunity for reconciliation with Palestine. But Raja Shehadeh, human rights lawyer and Palestine's greatest living writer, suggests that this does not mean the

two nations cannot work together as partners on the road to peace, not genocide. In graceful, devastatingly observed prose, this is a fresh perspective for a time of great need."

***We Could Have Been Friends, My Father and I: A Palestinian Memoir***
(Profile Books, 192 pages, expected August 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Aziz Shehadeh was many things: lawyer, activist, and political detainee, he was also the father of bestselling author and activist Raja. In this new and searingly personal memoir, Raja Shehadeh unpicks the snags and complexities of their relationship. A vocal and fearless opponent, Aziz resists under the British mandatory period, then under Jordan, and, finally, under Israel. As a young man, Raja fails to recognise his father's courage and, in turn, his father does not appreciate Raja's own efforts in campaigning for Palestinian human rights. When Aziz is murdered in 1985, it changes Raja irrevocably. This is not only the story of the battle against the various oppressors of the Palestinians, but a moving portrait of a particular father and son relationship."

***Going Home: A Walk Through Fifty Years of Occupation***
(Profile Books, 197 pages, 2019)

***Where the Line is Drawn: Crossing Boundaries in Occupied Palestine***
(Profile Books, 230 pages, 2017)

As editor, with **Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London)
***Language of War, Language of Peace: Palestine, Israel and the Search for Justice***
(Profile Books, 2015)
The well-structured ramblings of a seasoned rambler, with insightful trivia that manages not to be trivial. His legal mind will always be bemused by the Palestinian leadership's wilful ignoring of legal standards.

As co-editor, with **Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London): ***Shifting Sands: The Unravelling of the Old Order in the Middle East***
(Profile Books, 248 pages, 2015)
Contains chapters on the Sykes-Picot Agreement and fiction writing set in Gaza.

As co-editor, with **Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London): ***Seeking Palestine: New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 202 pages, 2013)
Contents: **Penny Johnson**: Introduction: Neither homeland nor exile are words / **Susan Abulhawa**: Exile/home: my country: distant as my heart from me: Memories of an un-Palestinian story, in a can of tuna / **Beshara Doumani**: A song from Haifa / **Sharif S. Elmusa**: Portable absence: my camp re-membered / **Lila Abu-Lughod**: Pushing at the door: my father's political education, and mine / **Adania Shibli**: Of place, time and language / **Suad Amiry**: Home/exile: my country: close to me as my prison: The obsession / **Raja Shehadeh**: Diary of an internal exile: three entries / **Mourid Barghouti**: The driver Mahmoud / **Rema Hammami**: Home and exile in East Jerusalem / **Rana Barakat**: Right to wait: exile, home and return / **Fady Joudah**: At home In what world?: a place to live and curse in: Palestine that never was: five poems and an introduction / **Jean Said Makdisi**: Becoming Palestinian / **Mischa Hiller**: Onions and diamonds / **Karma Nabulsi**: Exiled from revolution.

***A Rift in Time: Travels with My Ottoman Uncle***
(Profile Books, 2010)
The subject, journalist Najib Nassar, was wanted by the Ottoman police and portrayed in Ibrahim Nasrallah's novel, *Time of White Horses*

***Occupation Diaries***
(Profile Books, 2012)

***Strangers in the House***
(Steerforth Press, 2002 / Profile Books, 2003, 2009)

***Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape***
(Profile Books, 2007)
A moving and beautifully written account of the author's walks in his native hills, spanning 27 years, and witnessing the devastating impact of illegal Israeli settlements on the people and the landscape of the West Bank. Winner of the Orwell Prize 2008. – Naomi Foyle

***When the Bulbul Stopped Singing: A Diary of Ramallah under Siege***
(Profile Books, 2002)

***From Occupation to the Interim Accords: Israel and the Palestinian Territories***
(Kluwer Law International, 1997)

***The Law of the Land: Settlements and Land Issues under Israeli Occupation***
(PASSIA, 1993)

***The Sealed Room: Selections from the Diary of a Palestinian Living under Israeli Occupation, September 1990 – August 1991***
(Quartet, 1992)

***Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank***
(Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985)

***Samed: Journal of a West Bank Palestinian***
(New York: Adama Books, 1984)

***The Third Way***
(Quartet, 1982)

***The West Bank and the Rule of Law – A Study***
(Quartet/International Commission of Jurists, 1980).
See: *Seeking Palestine* (edited with Penny Johnson, 2012)

**Yehouda Shenhav**

***Beyond the Two-State Solution: A Jewish Political Essay***
(Polity Press, 2012)
Translated by **Dimi Reider**.
Publisher's blurb: "For over two decades, many liberals in Israel have attempted, with wide international support, to implement the two-state solution: Israel and Palestine, partitioned on the basis of the Green Line – that is, the line drawn by the 1949 Armistice Agreements that defined Israel's borders until 1967, before Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza following the Six-Day War. By going back to Israel's pre-1967 borders, many people hope to restore Israel to what they imagine was its pristine, pre-occupation character and to provide a solid basis for a long-term solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this original and controversial essay, Yehouda Shenhav argues that this vision is an illusion that ignores historical realities and offers no long-term solution. It fails to see that the real problem is that a state was created in most of Palestine in 1948 in which Jews are the privileged ethnic group, at the expense of the Palestinians – who also must live under a constant state of emergency. The issue will not be resolved by the two-state solution, which will do little for the millions of Palestinian refugees and will also require the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of Jews living across the Green Line. All these obstacles require a bolder rethinking of the issues: the Green Line should be abandoned and a new type of polity created on the complete territory of mandatory Palestine, with a new set of constitutional arrangements that address the rights of both Palestinians and Jews, including the settlers."

***The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity***
(Stanford University Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "This book is about the social history of the Arab Jews—Jews living in Arab countries—against the backdrop of Zionist nationalism. By using the term "Arab Jews" (rather than "Mizrahim," which literally means "Orientals") the book challenges the binary opposition between *Arabs* and *Jews* in Zionist discourse, a dichotomy that renders the linking of Arabs and Jews in this way inconceivable. It also situates the study of the relationships between *Mizrahi Jews* and *Ashkenazi Jews* in the context of early colonial encounters between the Arab Jews and the European Zionist emissaries—prior to the establishment of the state of Israel and outside Palestine. It argues that these relationships were reproduced upon the arrival of the Arab Jews to Israel. The book also provides a new prism for understanding the intricate relationships between the Arab Jews and the Palestinian refugees of 1948, a link that is usually obscured or omitted by studies that are informed by Zionist historiography. Finally, the book uses the history of the Arab Jews to transcend the assumptions necessitated by the Zionist perspective, and to open the door for a perspective that sheds new light on the basic assumptions upon which Zionism was founded."

**Magid Shihade**
***Not Just a Soccer Game: Colonialism and Conflict among Palestinians in Israel***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)

**Avi Shlaim** (Oxford University, British Academy)
***Genocide in Gaza: Israel, Hamas and the Long War on Palestine***
(Sussex Academic Press/ Independent Publishers' Group/ Irish Pages Press, 160 pages, 2024-25)
Publisher's blurb: "Avi Shlaim places Israel's policy towards the Gaza Strip under an uncompromising lens. He argues that these recurrent attacks – what Israeli generals chillingly call "mowing the lawn" – are the inevitable result of Zionist settler colonialism whose basic objective is the elimination of the native population." With foreword by **Francesca Albanese**.

***Three Worlds: Memoirs of an Arab Jew***
(Oneworld Publications, 336 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In July 1950, Avi Shlaim, only five, and his family were forced into exile, fleeing from their beloved Iraq into the new state of Israel. Now the rump of a once flourishing community of over 150,000, dating back 2,600 years, has dwindled to single figures. For many, this tells the story of the timeless clash of the Arab and Jewish civilisations, the heroic mission of Zionism to rescue Eastern Jews from their backwards nations, and unceasing persecution as the fate and history of Jewish people. Avi Shlaim tears up this script. His mother had many Muslim friends in Baghdad, but no Zionist ones. The Iraqi Jewish community, once celebrated for its ancient heritage and rich culture, was sprayed with DDT upon arrival in Israel. As anti-Semitism gathered pace in Iraq, the Zionist underground may have inflamed it – deliberately. This memoir celebrates the disappearing heritage of Arab-Jews – caught in the crossfire of secular ideologies."

***Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation***
(University of California Press, 2010)

***Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations***
(Verso Books, 2009)
See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY list.

**Shoal Collective**
***Interviews with Radical Palestinian Women***
(Shoal Collective/Active Publishing, 2021)
Ten intrerviews conducted between 2018-2022. Publisher's blurb: "The idea for the book came out of a concern that solidarity movements have a tendency only to engage with Palestinians about their fight

against the Israeli occupation. Sometimes this can be a barrier to seeing them as comrades in our intersecting struggles for a better world and against authoritarianism, white supremacy, patriarchy, capitalism and state control. Between 2018 and 2021 we interviewed ten radical Palestinian women, including: Shahd Abusalama (Gaza/UK), Lama Suleiman (Haifa), Sireen Khudairy (Dheisheh refugee camp, West Bank), Faiza Abu Shamsiyah (Al Khali, West Bank), Mona Al-Farra (Gaza), Rana Abu Rahmah (Bil'in, West Bank), Izdihar Afyouni (UK). Listening to their voices will help people outside Palestine to see the Palestinian struggle in a three-dimensional way, and to better understand Palestinian radicals as allies in our global struggles for freedom."

**Ella Shohat** (New York University)

***On the Arab-Jew, Palestine, and other Displacements: Selected Writings***

(Pluto Press, 2017)

Baghdad-born Jewish professors essays, including exile, film, literature and the wide Middle East.

**Rana Shubair** (Gaza based writer)

***In Gaza, I Dare to Dream***

(author/CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 172 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "Rana vividly recounts details of her own life under Israeli Occupation, aggression and the Gaza Siege." See also FICTION.

**Hillel Shuval** & **Hassam Dweik**, editors

***Water resources in the Middle East: Israel-Palestinian Water Issues, From Conflict to Cooperation***

(Berlin: Springer, 2007)

**Malaka Mohammed Shwaikh** and **Ruth Gould**

***Prison Hunger Strikes in Palestine: A Strategic Perspective***

(International Center on Nonviolent Conflict Press, 116 pages, 2023)

Focus includes the cases of Khader Adnan, Awni al-Sheikh, Etaf Elian, Mona Qa'dan, Hana Shalabi, Shireen Issawi, and Samer Issawi.

**Omar Shweiki** (Oxford University) & **Mandy Turner** (Kenyon Institute, Council for British Research in the Levant, Al-Quds), editors & introduction.

***Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy: De-development and Beyond***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 262 pages, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "This volume provides cutting-edge political economy analyses of the Palestinian people as a whole – those living in the occupied territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (including annexed East Jerusalem), those living within Israel and refugees in neighbouring Arab states. It rejects the dominant, conventional approach that has fragmented the Palestinians into separate and distinct groups (some thereafter named as 'Arab-Israeli', 'Bedouin', etc.), and which has reduced those regarded as 'the Palestinian people' to only those who reside within the occupied territory. The book challenges this intellectual fragmentation by reuniting Palestinians in one historical political-economy narrative of a people experiencing a common process of dispossession, disenfranchisement and disarticulation. It is a must-read for scholars, students and activists who wish to understand the historical origins and contemporary realities that face Palestinians." Contents: Foreword; Sara Roy / 1. Sahar Taghdisi-Rad: *The Economic Strategies of Occupation: Confining Development and Buying-off Peace.* / 2. Mandy Turner: *The Political Economy of Western Aid in the Occupied Palestinian Territory Since 1993*. 3. Clemens Messerschmid: *Hydro-apartheid and Water Access in Israel-Palestine: Challenging the Myths of Cooperation and Scarcity.* / 4. Nadera Shalhoub-Kerkovian and Rachel Busbridge: *(En)gendering De-development in East Jerusalem: Thinking Through the 'Everyday'.* / 5. Ingrid Jaradat Gassner: *Palestinian Refugees: from 'Spoilers' to Agents of Development.*

6. Mtanes Shehadeh and Raja Khalidi: *Impeded Development: The Political Economy of the Palestinian Arabs Inside Israel.* / 7. Ismael Abu-Saad: *State-directed 'Development' as a Tool for Dispossessing the Indigenous Palestinian Bedouin-Arabs in the Naqab.* / 8. Rami Nasrallah: *Planning the Divide: Israel's 2020 Master Plan and its Impact on East Jerusalem.* / 9. Raja Khalidi and Sobhi Samour: *Neoliberalism and the Contradictions of the Palestinian Authority's State-building Programme.* / 10. Nicolas Pelham: *The Role of the Tunnel Economy in Redeveloping Gaza.* / 11. Omar Shweiki: *Before and Beyond Neoliberalism: the Political Economy of National Liberation, the PLO and 'amal ijtima'i* /12. Mushtaq H. Khan: *Learning the Lessons of Oslo: Statebuilding and Freedoms in Palestine.*

**Hicham Sifieddine**

***Banking on the State: The Financial Foundations of Lebanon***

(Stanford University Press, 2019)

Tangential to the Palestinian refugee camps. Publisher's blurb: "In 1943, Lebanon gained its formal political independence from France; only after two more decades did the country finally establish a national central bank. Inaugurated on April 1, 1964, the Banque du Liban (BDL) was billed by Lebanese authorities as the nation's primary symbol of economic sovereignty and as the last step towards full independence. In the local press, it was described as a means of projecting state power and enhancing national pride. Yet the history of its founding stretching from its Ottoman origins in mid-nineteenth century up until the mid-twentieth tells a different, more complex story. Banking on the State reveals how the financial foundations of Lebanon were shaped by the history of the standardization of economic practices and financial regimes within the decolonizing world. The system of central banking that emerged was the product of a complex interaction of war, economic policies, international financial regimes, post-colonial state-building, global currents of technocratic knowledge, and private business interests. It served rather than challenged the interests of an oligarchy of local bankers. As Hicham Safieddine shows, the set of arrangements that governed the central bank thus was dictated by dynamics of political power and financial profit more than market forces, national interest or economic sovereignty."

**Merrill Singer** & **Derrick Hodge**, editors

***The War Machine and Global Health: A Critical Medical Anthropological Examination of the Human Costs of Armed Conflict and the International Violence Industry***

(Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2010)

Includes David Vine: *Hasbara, Health Care, and the Israeli-Occupied Palestinian Territories*

**Subhash Singh**

***The Second Partition of Palestine: Hamas-Fatah Struggle for Power***

(Routledge, 256 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "This book examines the factors and issues responsible for the intra-Palestinian conflict that has undermined the strength and vitality of the struggle for liberation against the state of Israel. It explores how the ideological incompatibility and competition for political primacy account for the Hamas–Fatah conflict, entailing the risk of partition of Palestine even before it takes shape as an independent, sovereign entity. It analyzes the developments since the signing of the September 1993 Oslo Accord, and discusses themes such as the background of Palestinian politics; the role of Fatah; the rise of Hamas as Fatah's political rival; the Hamas–Fatah struggle for power and the role played by the international community, including by the US and European Union. The study deals with the various facets of territorial and political challenges faced by the rival Palestinian factions; the failure of the reconciliation efforts by Egypt and Yemen; the stalled peace process in West Bank and Gaza Strip; the emergence of the Islamic resistance movement and secular nationalist party; and the political and ideological shifts in Palestinian politics."

**Erik Skare** (Norwegian editor of the 'infofada' website)

***A History of Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Faith, Awareness, and Revolution in the Middle East***
(Cambridge Univerisity Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is one of the most important yet least understood Palestinian armed factions, both in terms of its history and ideology. Labelled a terrorist organization by the US and the EU, it has grown to become the second largest armed movement in the Gaza Strip and the third largest in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Using a wealth of primary sources, this book traces the history of PIJ from its origins in the early 1980s to today. By looking at how the group was established, how it has developed in theory and practice, and how it understands religion and politics, Skare seeks to answer the key question of why the PIJ still exist despite the presence of its more powerful sister movement Hamas. In doing so, he fills an important empirical gap in the literature on Palestinian Islamism."

***Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Islamist Writings on Resistance and Religion***
(IB Tauris / Bloomsbury, 280 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Founded in 1981, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is one of the most important yet least understood Palestinian armed factions, both in terms of its history and ideology. Yet no in-depth translation of its ideological corpus exists. This book is the first to provide a comprehensive account of the ideology of PIJ in the movement's own words. Based on the author's extensive fieldwork and archival research in the occupied Palestinian territories and Lebanon, the book comprises the PIJ's written texts produced since 1979, translated here into English for the first time. In addition to the primary texts, the book includes expert commentary from the author for each source to help explain the context and the broader significance of the documents. The key contention of the book is that although PIJ employs Islamic signifiers and symbolism, its ideology is strikingly similar to the anti-colonialism of the PLO in the 1960s, and in stark contrast to Hamas. A comprehensive resource on the PIJ, it covers:
· PIJ beliefs about the Palestinian problem
· what type of Islamism the PIJ espouses
· how the PIJ regards Shiites and Iran
· how it can be understood as an Islamist organization
· what it envisions for Palestinian society in the future"

***Digital Jihad: Palestinian Resistance in the Digital Era***
(Zed Books, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "A new and innovative form of dissent has emerged in response to the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Dubbed 'electronic jihad', this approach has seen organized groups of Palestinian hackers make international headlines by breaching the security of such sites as the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, AVG, Avira, Whatsapp, and BitDefender. Though initially confined to small clandestine groups, 'hacktivism' is now increasingly being adopted by militant Palestinian parties, including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, who have gone so far as to incorporate hackers into their armed brigades. *Digital Jihad* is the first book to explore this rapidly evolving and still little understood aspect of the Palestinian resistance movement. Drawing on extensive interviews with hackers and other activists, it provides a unique and fascinating new perspective on the Palestinian struggle."
Website note: Internet hacking is considered illegal, except when governments do it.

**Jerome Slater** (Ohio State University & State University of New York at Bufallo)
***Mythologies without End: The US, Israel, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1917-2020***
(Oxford University Press, 512 pages, 2020)
"Slater joins a growing chorus of analysist and commentators who see through the obvious disinformation campaign that has perpetuated the highly stabilising Palestine conflict for decades" – Walker L. Hixon

**Moshe Smilansky** (Zionist Labour leader in Palestine; see also fiction)

***Written Statement to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Submitted by the Ihud (Union) Association of Palestine***
(Jerusalem, 12 pages, 1947)
Includes Smilansky's "Note on some aspects of the land question."

With **Martin Buber** and **Judah L. Magnes**: ***Palestine, a Bi-National State***
(New York City: Ihud (Union) Association of Palestine, 1946)
Contents: Preface, by J.L. Magnes.--Written statement to the Anglo-American committee of inquiry, Jerusalem, March 5, 1946, by the Ihud (Union) association of Palestine.--Oral testimony before Anglo-American committee of inquiry, by Martin Buber, J.L. Magnes, Moses Smilansky--Jerusalem, March 14, 1946.--Letter to New York times, June 3, 1946, by J.L. Magnes.--Palestine and the Middle East, NBC broadcast, New York, June 22, 1946, by J.L. Magnes.

***Unknown Pioneers***
(Tel-Aviv: Lion the Printer, for the Zionist Organisation Youth Department, 48 pages, ca. 1944)
Part of 'Palestine Pioneer Library' series.

***Jewish Colonisation and the Fellah: The Effect of Jewish Land Settlement in Palestineon the Native Rural Popularion and on Agricultural Development in General***
(Tel-Aviv: Mischar w/Taasia, 56 pages, 1930)
Republished from the *Palestine & Near East Economic Magazine*.

**Grant F. Smith** (Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy)
***How Israel Made AIPAC: The Most Harmful Foreign Influence Operation in America***
(likely Washington DC: Institute for Research, 344 pages, 2022)

***The Israel Lobby Enters State Government: Rise of the Virginia Israel Advisory Board***
(likely Washington DC: Institute for Research, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "The Virginia Israel Advisory Board (VIAB) is presently the only state government entity in the U.S. focused entirely on bringing corporations in from a single foreign country. The book explores how millions of dollars in taxpayer and other state funds are quietly being diverted from multiple sources to establish profitable Israeli companies in Virginia. The corporations are involved in military contracting, food and beverage manufacturing, energy generation, waste management and aquaculture. Smith analyzes how VIAB projects displace workers and put home-grown market leaders out of business. By unmasking Israeli businesses launching operations that VIAB protects under code-names and opaque shell companies to secretly transact business in Virginia, the book exposes the reason behind some of the secrecy—their extensive business dealings in territory illegally occupied by Israel."

***Big Israel: How Israel's Lobby Moves America***
(likely Washington DC: Institute for Research, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israel lobby exerts incredible power and influence over America. Some identify only one organization, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), as "the lobby" citing its influence: Middle Eastern Policy on Capitol Hill. This is wrong. Many interconnected organizations channel their power and influence through AIPAC in Congress. Hundreds more "mini-AIPAC's" coordinate with AIPAC and their own national office to lobby state legislatures to pass model legislation and spending authorizations benefiting Israel—without publicly disclosing most of their lobbying activities. Others operate quietly, policing what is allowed to appear in mainstream news media and channeling "hush money" to civil rights organizations to keep them out of grassroots pro-Palestinian movements. Coordinated, effective and highly averse to public scrutiny, the Israel Affinity Organizations that make up the lobby have transformed America. While some informed voters know the U.S. provides more foreign aid to Israel than any other country, the total flow of charitable, tax dollar, military aid, intelligence and "opportunity cost" are unknown to those footing the bill—and the lobby is determined to keep it that way. Based on a detailed review of more than 4,000 nonprofit organization tax returns, declassified U.S. government files and closely-held internal reports from Israel lobby organizations, Big

Israel reveals how staid, respectable and bona fide social welfare organizations transformed themselves into a networked lobby for a foreign country—inflicting immense damage on average Americans." Note: see other books in the OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY, below.

**Tony Smith**

***Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy***
(Harvard University Press, 2000)

**Erling Lorentzen Sogge**

***The Palestinian National Movement in Lebanon: A Political History of the 'Ayn al-Hilwe Camp***
(IB Tauris / Bloomsbury, 272 pages, expected December 2022)
SOAS Palestine Studies series. Publisher's blurb: "Hosting over 30,000 inhabitants and governed by competing militias, 'Ayn al-Hilwe in the south of Lebanon is one of the most contested refugee camps in the Middle East. Known as the 'Capital of the Palestinian Diaspora', the camp has endured a long history of internal power struggles and external influence and intervention. Based on extensive ethnographic research in the camp - focused on the actors who have shaped its modern political trajectory since the rupture caused by the 1993 Oslo Accords - The Palestinian National Movement in Lebanon places the attention on the role of exile leaderships, camp-based militia commanders and shape-shifting networks of patronage in the political landscape of the Palestinian movement in Lebanon. Offering original empirical and theoretical findings, this book will be essential reading for students of the Palestinian movement and refugee politics in the Middle East and beyond." Focus includes the PLO's return to Lebanon, Ayn Al-Hilwe's Islamic Forces, the Palestinian Police in exile, and oppositional voices of dissent.

**Jody Sokolower** (Middle East Children's Alliance)

***Determined to Stay: Palestinian Youth Fight for Their Village***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 240 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Silwan is a Palestinian village located just outside the ancient walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. *Determined to Stay: Palestinian Youth Fight for Their Village* is a moving story of a village and its people. As Silwani youth and community members share their lives with us, their village becomes an easily accessible way to understand Palestinian history and current reality. Written with young people in mind, the richly illustrated text stresses connections between the lives of youth in the US and Palestine: criminalization of youth, forced relocation, the impact of colonialism on Indigenous communities, efforts to bury history, and inspiring examples of resistance and resilience."

**Abba A. Solomon**

***The Miasma of Unity: Jews and Israel***
(Lulu Publications, 168 pages, 2023)
Author shows examples of the Zionist hijacking of American Jewish identity.

***The Speech and its Context: Jacob Blaustein's speech, "The Meaning of Palestine Partition to American Jews," given to the Baltimore Chapter, American Jewish Committee, February 15, 1948***
(Author, 206 pages, 2011)
Blaustein was chair of the originally non-Zionist American Jewish Committee, 1949-1954, and advocated that providing US military aid to the Israeli state would strengthen moderates and weaken hardliners.

**Ahdaf Soueif** & **Omar Robert Hamilton**, editors

***This is Not a Border: Reportage & Reflection from the Palestine Festival of Literature***
(Bloomsbury, 352 pages, 2017). Marking the 10th anniversary of the Festival; contributions from: Susan Abulhawa, Suad Amiry, Victoria Brittain, Jehan Bseiso, Teju Cole, Molly Crabapple, Selma Dabbagh, Mahmoud Darwish, Najwan Darwish, Geoff Dyer, Yasmin El-Rifae, Adam Foulds, Ru Freeman, Omar Robert Hamilton, Suheir Hammad, Nathalie Handal, Mohammed Hanif, Jeremy Harding, Rachel Holmes, John Horner, Remi Kanazi, Brigid Keenan, Mercedes Kemp, Omar El-Khairy, Nancy Kricorian, Sabrina Mahfouz, Jamal Mahjoub, Henning Mankell, Claire Messud, China Miéville, Pankaj Mishra, Deborah Moggach, Muiz, Maath Musleh, Michael Palin, Ed Pavliç, Atef Abu Saif, Kamila Shamsie, Raja Shehadeh, Gillian Slovo, Ahdaf Soueif, Linda Spalding, William Sutcliffe & Alice Walker.

**Jody Sokolower** (Coordinator, Teach Palestine Project at the Middle East Children's Alliance)
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**Michael Sorkin** and **Deen Sharp**
***Open Gaza: Architectures of Hope***
(American University in Cairo Press, 348 pages, 2020)
Essays covering 22 architectural projects.

**Jon Soske** & **Sean Jacobs**, editors, with foreword by **Achille Mbembe**
***Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015)
18 African Studies scholars share knowledge of their own Apartheid in context with Palestine today. Contributors include Teresa Barnes, Andy Clarno, Bill Freund, Kelly Gillespie, Ran Greenstein, Heidi Grunebaum, Shireen Hassim, M Neelika Jayawardane, Robin D. G. Kelley, Melissa Levin, Arianna Lissoni, Mahmood Mamdani, Achille Mbembe, Marissa J. Moorman, Suren Pillay, Ishtiyaq Shukri, T. J. Tallie, and Salim Vally.

**Tom Sperlinger**
***Romeo and Juliet in Palestine: Teaching under Occupation***
(Zero Books, 2015)
University of Bristol lecturer's five-month term teaching English Literature at Al-Quds University reveals new relevancies of the classics. The students, at first variably lazy, jaded, and disheartened, take to Shakespeare.

**Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins** (Bard College)
***Waste Siege: The Life and Infrastructure in Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 344 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "*Waste Siege* offers an analysis unusual in the study of Palestine: it depicts the environmental, infrastructural, and aesthetic context in which Palestinians are obliged to forge their lives. To speak of waste siege is to describe a series of conditions, from smelling wastes to negotiating military infrastructures, from biopolitical forms of colonial rule to experiences of governmental abandonment, from obvious targets of resistance to confusion over responsibility for the burdensome objects of daily life. Within this rubble, debris, and infrastructural fallout, West Bank Palestinians create a life under

settler colonial rule. Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins focuses on waste as an experience of everyday life that is continuous with, but not a result only of, occupation. Tracing Palestinians' own experiences of wastes over the past decade, she considers how multiple authorities governing the West Bank—including municipalities, the Palestinian Authority, international aid organizations, NGOs, and Israel—rule by waste siege, whether intentionally or not. Her work challenges both common formulations of waste as "matter out of place" and as the ontological opposite of the environment, by suggesting instead that waste siege be understood as an ecology of "matter with no place to go." Waste siege thus not only describes a stateless Palestine, but also becomes a metaphor for our besieged planet." The first two chapters focus on dilemmas associated with the influx of low-cost, low-quality consumer goods to the West Bank. Mass consumption generates tons of garbage that must be disposed of. With donor funding and Israeli permission, the Palestinian Authority (PA) built two landfills in the West Bank. But this obsolete, low-tech solution has short temporal horizons and opens the PA to challenges related to land ownership and property values. Moreover, Israeli authorities force the PA landfills to accept trash from Israeli settlements, legitimizing colonization while shortening the life of the landfills. At the same time, Palestinian consumers navigate between a formal market awash in quickly deteriorating, low-cost imports and an informal *rabish* (rubbish) market specializing in secondhand goods discarded by Israelis. The former has an air of newness undermined by suspect quality, while the latter generates a sense of dirtiness and shame negated by an emphasis on the quality of the craftsmanship and an assertion of national pride because, as one respondent explains, "Arabs don't throw perfectly good things away" (p. 90).

**Rebecca L. Stein**

***Screen Shots: State Violence on Camera in Israel and Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 256 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "In the last two decades, amid the global spread of smartphones, state killings of civilians have increasingly been captured on the cameras of both bystanders and police. Screen Shots studies this phenomenon from the vantage point of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. Here, cameras have proliferated as political tools in the hands of a broad range of actors and institutions, including Palestinian activists, Israeli soldiers, Jewish settlers, and human rights workers. All trained their lens on Israeli state violence, propelled by a shared dream: that advances in digital photography—closer, sharper, faster—would advance their respective political agendas. Most would be let down. Drawing on ethnographic work, Rebecca L. Stein chronicles Palestinian video-activists seeking justice, Israeli soldiers laboring to perfect the military's image, and Zionist conspiracy theorists accusing Palestinians of "playing dead." Writing against techno-optimism, Stein investigates what camera dreams and disillusionment across these political divides reveal about the Israeli and Palestinian colonial present, and the shifting terms of power and struggle in the smartphone age."

***Itineraries in Conflict: Israelis, Palestinians, and the Political Lives of Tourism***
(Duke University Press, 2008)

**Rebecca Stein, Ted Swedenburg**, editors

***Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Popular Culture***
(Duke University Press, 2005).
With contributors: Livia Alexander, Carol Bardenstein, Elliott Colla, Amy Horowitz, Laleh Khalili, Mary Layoun, Mark LeVine, Joseph Massad, Melani McAlister, Ilan Pappe, Rebecca L. Stein, Ted Swedenburg, Salim Tamari
See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

**Dan Steinbock** (Difference Group Ltd; Shanghai Institutes for International Studies; EU Center Singapore)

***The Obliteration Doctrine: Genocide Prevention, Israel, Gaza and the West***

(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 248 pages, 2025)

***The Fall of Israel: The Degradation of Israel's Politics, Economy and Military***
(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 520 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "The path to the obliteration of Gaza was paved by the confluence of a set of longstanding forces. This great conjuncture has transformed Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories while driving the region to the edge. In *The Fall of Israel*, Dr Dan Steinbock connects the dots among these lethal headwinds. What makes *The Fall of Israel* unique is its comprehensive scope. It covers Israel's political, economic, social and military changes, the shifts in the Palestinian struggle for sovereignty, Israel's degradation into apartheid rule, the attendant atrocities, the regional and global reverberations and the human and economic costs, both prior and subsequent to Israel's fatal war on Gaza. There, its nightmarish actions have led to the engagement of the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, renewed international boycotts, and massive domestic and international protests. *The Fall of Israel* outlines the central drivers of this simmering tinderbox: the serial expulsions of Palestinians, the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, a half century of failed U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East and Israel's militarization, enabled by the symbiotic bilateral ties with the U.S. and massive U.S. military aid. In the Gaza War, these ties fostered paradigms of devastation, such as the Dahiya doctrine and mass assassination factories, backed by pioneering artificial intelligence. The settlements have contributed to the destabilization of the broader region since the early 1970s, and are now compounding its politico-economic and geopolitical crisis. This book addresses the efforts to institute a Jewish rather than a secular state. It shows how the postwar labor alignments were replaced by the hard-right coalitions, thanks to U.S. neoliberal economic policies, assertive neoconservatism and Jewish-American donors. It also explains the causes behind the rise of the Messianic far-right, centrist parties, and the failure of the Left. The corrosion of Israeli society and politics was already reflected in and driven by an economy constrained by adverse erosion, as reflected by the liabilities of its high-tech cluster, the talent "brain drain," the threatened welfare state and subsidized religious sector. But now, the already evident politico-economic costs to Israel of the Gaza war have set the stage for extraordinary uncertainty in the foreseeable future."

**Matti Steinberg** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Princeton University, Heidelberg University; advisor to various intelligence branches in Israel)

***In Search of Modern Palestinian Nationhood***
(Syracuse University Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "The simplistic attitude that reduces the various conceptions in the modern Palestinian national thinking into stereotypical dictums, such as "the overall aim of all the Palestinians is to liquidate the state of Israel," instills perhaps a superfluous sense of meaning but it does not accomodate with the development of the historical reality. The reader of this book will find that the Palestinian national attitudes have departed from the original unanimity as far as means and aims are concerned. A discrepancy has emerged between their ideal aspirations and their perceptions of what can be achieved. Based mainly on primary Arabic sources, this book delves into the cognitive dissonances created since the 1967 War and their bearing on the Palestinans' self-images and on their perceptions vis a vis Israel as the intimate adversary. It shows that in spite of the authenticity of the Palestinian transformations, they might be reversible if they are not acknowledged and responded to by Israel and the international community."

**Jamie Stern-Weiner**

As editor: ***Deluge: Gaza and Israel from Crisis to Cataclysm***
(London: OR Books, 336 pages, 2024)
Contributors: Musa Abuhashhash, Ahmed Alnaouq, Nathan J. Brown, Yaniv Cogan, Clare Daly MEP, Talal Hangari, Khaled Hroub, RJ Colter Louwerse, Mitchell Plitnick, Mouin Rabbani, Sara Roy, and Avi Shlaim.

***Moment of Truth: Tackling Israel-Palestine's Toughest Questions***
(London: OR Books, 458 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "More than a century on from the Balfour Declaration, more than 50 years since the fateful war of 1967, and a full decade into the inhuman siege of Gaza—painfully, absurdly, almost unbelievably—the Israel-Palestine conflict rolls on. Amidst a growing sense that the Palestinians' long struggle for self-determination has reached a crossroads, if not an impasse, this volume takes stock, draw lessons from experience, and weigh paths forward. Moment of Truth seeks to clarify what it would take to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict, to assess the prospects of doing so, and to illuminate what is possible in Palestine. It assembles an unprecedented wealth of expertise—encompassing political leaders, preeminent scholars, and dedicated activists from Israel, Palestine, and abroad—in direct critical exchange on the issues at the heart of the world's most intractable conflict. Has Israel's settlement enterprise made a Palestinian state impossible? Can the Palestinian leadership end the occupation? Is Israel's rule in the Palestinian territories a form of apartheid? Could the US government force Israel to withdraw? In a series of compelling, enlightening, and at times no-holds-barred debates, leading authorities tackle these and other challenges, exposing myths, challenging preconceptions, and establishing between them a more sober and informed basis for political action. Contributors: Musa Abuhashhash, As'ad Abukhalil, Mkhaimar Abusada, Gilbert Achcar, Ghaith al-Omari, Ghassan Andoni, Usama Antar, Nur Arafeh, Shaul Arieli, Arie Arnon, Tareq Baconi, Sam Bahour, Sari Bashi, Shlomo Ben-Ami, Suhad Bishara, Nathan J. Brown, Diana Buttu, John Dugard, Michael Dumper, Hagai El-Ad, Richard A. Falk, Norman G. Finkelstein, Neve Gordon, Ran Greenstein, Yoaz Hendel, Jamil Hilal, Khaled Hroub, Amal Jamal, Jan de Jong, Leila Khaled, Raja Khalidi, Rami G. Khouri aka Rami G. Khoury (American University Beirut), Lior Lehrs, Gideon Levy, Alon Liel, John J. Mearsheimer, Jessica Montell, Rami Nasrallah, Wendy Pearlman, Nicola Perugini, William B. Quandt, Mazin B. Qumsiyeh, Glen Rangwala, Glenn E. Robinson, Nadim Rouhana, Sara Roy, Bashir Saade, Robbie Sabel, Dahlia Scheindlin, Daniel Seidemann, Michael Sfard, Muhammad Shehada, Raja Shehadeh, Sammy Smooha, Mark Tessler, Nathan Thrall, Ahmed Yousef, Ido Zelkovitz."

**Janet Stevens** (US reporter, killed in US Embassy Beirut bombing)
***The Israeli Use of US Weapons in Lebanon***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG Press [Association of Arab-American University Graduates], 62 pages, 1983)
With an introduction by **Abden Jabara**.

**Lisa Strombom** (Peace & Conflict Studies, Lund University, Sweden)
***Israeli Identity, Thick Recognition and Conflict Transformation***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)
Theoretical analysis of how 1948 is remembered in Israel today.

**Clayton E. Swisher**, editor
***The Palestine Papers: The End of the Road***
(Hesperus Press, 2011)

**Camelia Suleiman** (Michigan State University)
***The Politics of Arabic in Israel***
(Oxford University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Combines a variety of qualitative methods not commonly used together into the study of Arabic in Israel including ethnography, interviews with journalists and students, media discussion of the language situation of Israel, and analysis of the production of knowledge on Arabic in Israeli academia. Provides a comparative analysis of the language situation in Israel with that in Jordan

and Palestine. Employs studies in post-colonial theory, theory of linguistic anthropology, and sociolinguistic concepts of 'indexicality' and 'linguistic landscape'"

**James Summers**

***Peoples and International Law: How Nationalism and Self-Determination Shape a Contemporary Law of Nations***

(Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 2007)

Extensive analysis of the law of self-determination from the perspective of the interaction of nationalism with international law. The book covers international instruments and some cases on self-determination with considerable detail, and draws conclusions on the legal status of different aspects of the right.

**Asher Susser**

***Israel, Jordan and Palestine: The Two-State Imperative***

(Brandeis University Press, 2012)

Between binationalism and partition — The Palestinians and the two-state idea: a guide for the perplexed — Israel and the two-state paradigm: from reluctant acquiescence to self-interest — The alternative: the promotion of the one-state agenda — The evolution of the Jordanian role — The revival of the two-state imperative.

**Marcelo Svirsky** (University of Wollongong, Australia)

***After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation***

(Zed Books, 2014)

Theory-emphasis work intended to change Israelis' attitudes, using examples of The Hiker, The Teacher, The Parent, and The Voter. Publisher's blurb: "Svirsky argues that the Zionist political project cannot be fixed… the book aims to generate a reflective attitude, allowing Jewish-Israelis to explore how they may divest themselves of Zionist identities." Includes chapter on Zochrot movement to acknowledge ethnically cleansed former Palestinian villages.

***Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel-Palestine***

(Routledge, 2012)

See also online work by Sversky's working colleague, Ronnen Ben-Arie (Tel Aviv University): *The Haifa Urban Destruction Machine* (2015) / *Bedouin Alterity – Between Resistance and Creation* / *Becoming Civic: Resisting the Identities of Political Struggle*

**Stefan Szepesi**

***Walking Palestine: 25 Journeys into the West Bank***

(Interlink Books, 2nd edition, 2020)

With foreword by **Raja Shehadeh**. Publisher's blurb: "With the images of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so dominant in our minds, walking for leisure is the one activity probably least associated with the West Bank region. But Stefan Szepesi's book wanders well off the beaten track of Palestine as only a synonym for occupation and strife, exploring its inspiring natural and cultural landscape, its intriguing past and present, and the hospitality of its people. The book takes first-time walkers and experienced hikers, as well as armchair explorers, through Palestine's steep desert gorges, along its tiny herders' trails and over its quiet dirt roads running past silver green olive groves. With side stories and anecdotes on heritage, history, culture and daily life in the West Bank, the book ventures into the traits and character of Palestine today. Beyond the 250 km of walking trails described and mapped in detail throughout the book, Walking Palestine offers a wealth of practical walking tips, including references to local guides, the West Bank's best leisure spots and countryside restaurants, and the most charming places to spend the night."

**Basima Takrouri**

***Tales from the Azzinar Quarter, 1984-1987*** [possibly not translated into English] b. Jerusalem 1982. Novels: *Seat of the Absent* (2001), *Salma's Plan* (children's book, 2002), *Diaries under the Occupation* (2004)

**Rabbi Aaron Samuel Tamares**

***A Passionate Pacifist: Essentials Writings***
(Ben Yehuda Press, 436 pages, ca. 2021)
Essays and sermons translated by **Rabbi Everett Gendler**. Publisher's blurb: "Serving as a rabbi in a small Polish town, Tamares addresses issues of ethics, morality and Judaism in relation to the world at large. A delegate to the World Zionist Congress in London in 1900, he became disillusioned with political Zionism and wrote extensively about his rejection of Jewish nationalism…"

**Ahed Tamimi** and **Huwaida Arraf**

***They Called Me a Lioness: A Palestinian Girl's Fight for Freedom***
(One World Books/Random House, 304 pages, expected September 2022)
Imprisoned Palestinian teenager's story; translated by **Dena Takruri**.

**Azzam Tamimi** (Editor, London-based Al-Hiwar [Dialogue] TV channel)

***Hamas: Unwritten Chapters***
(Hurst & Co., 379 pages, 2007/379 pages an additional chapter, 2009)
With preface by Alastair Crooke. US publication title variation: ***Hamas: A History from Within***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2007, 2011).

**Ahmed H. Tannira**

***Foreign Aid to the Gaza Strip between Trusteeship and De-Development***
(Anthm Press / Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "The book examines the impact of aid to the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip from the 1993 Oslo Agreement up to 2013. It attempts to go beyond the general notion that the Israeli occupation is the main instrument of control and de-development and rather tries to investigate these aspects and the dynamics that have surrounded foreign aid delivery in the Territory. At the socio-economic level, the book explores how donors' definition of partner for peace has exacerbated socio-economic inequalities within the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip. The book also looks at how foreign aid has been used as an instrument for particular groups to advance politically, and through this socially and economically. Hence, the book attempts to investigate the resultant socio-economic imbalances within Palestinian society in the Gaza Strip."

**Lisa Taraki** – editor

***Living Palestine: Family Survival, Resistance, and Mobility under Occupation***
(Syracuse University Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "This ground-breaking volume takes an in-depth look at how individuals, families, and entire households "cope," negotiate their lives, and achieve personal and collective goals in Occupied Palestine. Contributors raise critical questions about tradition vs. modernity and the sociocultural consequences of emigration. *Living Palestine* establishes that household dynamics (i.e., kin-based marriage, fertility decisions, children's education, and living arrangements) cannot be fully grasped unless linked to the traumas of the past and worries of the present. Likewise, family strategies for survival and social mobility under occupation are swept up in the tide of history that engulfs the world in which Palestinians live and struggle. *Living Palestine* is drawn from an expansive

research project of the Institute for Women's Studies at Birzeit University which sought to examine the Palestinian household from multiple perspectives through a survey of two thousand households"

**Alaa Tartir** (Al-Shabaka; Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva), **Tariq Dana** (Doha Institute & Al-Shabaka) & **Timothy Seidel** (Eastern Mennonite University), editors:

***Resisting Domination in Palestine: Mechanisms and Techniques of Control, Coloniality and Settler Colonialism***

(I.B. Tauris, 256 pages, 2024)

Contents: 1. Resisting Domination in Palestine, by Timothy Seidel, Tariq Dana, and Alaa Tartir Part One: Political - Governmentality and Mechanisms of Control / 2. Elimination by Other Means: Colonial Autonomy and Indirect Colonial Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, by Tariq Dana / 3. The Bureaucracy of Mortality: The Structural Violence of Medical Permits for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, by Yara M. Asi / 4. Israeli Online Surveillance Regime: Digital Colonization in Practice, by Nijmeh Ali / 5. The Political Economy of Education and Technology: A Focus on the Lived Experiences of Palestinian Digital Freelancers, by We'am Hamdan Part Two: Economic - Exploitation, Dispossession, and De-Development / 6. Dislocating Development: Palestinians in Israeli International Aid Imaginaries in the 1950s and 1960s, by Hebatalla Taha / 7. Banking in/on the Occupation, by Colin Powers / 8. The Palestinian Authority: The Fiscal Contract and Structural Constraints, by Anas Iqtait / Part Three: Environmental - Land, Indigeneity, and Settler Colonialism / 9. Situating the Transnational in Agrarian Palestine, by Gabi Kirk and Paul Kohlbry / 10. Settler Colonial Violence and Indigenous Struggle: Land, Resistance, and Refusal, by Timothy Seidel and Federica Stagni / Part Four: Epistemic - Local Knowledge and Global Norms / 11. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, Academic Censorship and the Politics of Settler Colonial Erasure, by Somdeep Sen / 12. Liberal Packaging and Colonial Approaches: Problematizing Western Intervention in Palestine, by Jeremy Wildeman / 13. Palestinian Popular Education Post-Oslo, by Melanie Meinzer

***Political Economy of Palestine: Critical, Interdisciplinary, and Decolonial Perspectives***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 335 pages, 2021)

Contents: **Editors**: *Palestinian Political Economy, Enduring Struggle against Settler Colonialism, Racial Capitalism, and Neoliberalism* / **Tariq Dana**: *Dominate and Pacify: Contextualizing the Political Economy of the Occupied Palestinian Territories Since 1967* / **Ibrahim Shikaki**: *The Political Economy of Dependency and Class Formation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories Since 1967* / **Timothy Seidel**: *Settler Colonialism and Land-Based Struggle in Palestine: Toward a Decolonial Political Economy* / **Walid Habbas**: *The West Bank-Israel Economic Integration: Palestinian Interaction with the Israeli Border and Permit Regimes* / **Ahmed Tannira**: *The Political Economy of the Gaza Strip Under Hamas* / **Hebatella Taha**: *Palestinians in Israel: Neoliberal Contestations and Class Formation* / **Shir Hever**: *Toward a Political Economy of Apartheid and Inequality in Israel/Palestine* / **Catherine Chiniara Charrett**: *Gaza, Palestine, and the Political Economies of Indigenous (Non)-Futures* **/ Jeremy Wildeman** & **Alaa Tartir**: *Political Economy of Foreign Aid in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Conceptual Framing* **/ Anas Iqtait**: *The Palestinian Authority Political Economy: The Architecture of Fiscal Control* / **Tahani Mustafa** (International Crisis Group): *Political Economy of Intervention and Securitized Ordering in the Occupied Palestinian Territories* / **Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins**: *Off the Grid: Prepaid Power and the Political Economy of Waste in Palestine* / **Sara Roy**: *To Unknow Palestine: A Conclusion.* - Publisher's blurb: "This book explores the political economy of Palestine through critical, interdisciplinary, and decolonial perspectives, underscoring that an approach to economics that does not consider the political—a de-politicized economics—is inadequate to understanding the situation in occupied Palestine. A *critical interdisciplinary* approach to political economy challenges prevailing neoliberal logics and structures that reproduce racial capitalism, and explores how the political economy of occupied Palestine is shaped by processes of accumulation by exploitation and dispossession from both Israel and global business, as well as from Palestinian elites. A *decolonial* approach to Palestinian political economy foregrounds struggles against neoliberal and settler colonial policies and institutions, and aids in the de-fragmentation of Palestinian life, land, and political economy that the Oslo Accords perpetuated, but whose histories of de-development over all of Palestine can be traced back for over a century. The chapters in this book offer an in-depth contextualization of the Palestinian political economy, analyze the political economy of

integration, fragmentation, and inequality, and explore and problematize multiple sectors and themes of political economy in the absence of sovereignty."

***Criminalising Resistance, Entrenching Neoliberalism: the Fayyadist Paradigm in the Occupied Palestinian West Bank***
(London School of Economics, 2015)
E-resource ( http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3179/ ); PhD thesis.

**Alaa Tartir** (Al-Shabaka) & **Timothy Seidel** (Eastern Mennonite University), editors
***Palestine and Rule of Power: Local Dissent vs International Governance***
(Palgrave Macmillan, , 252 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This book explores how the rule of power relates to the case of occupied Palestine, examining features of local dissent and international governance. The project considers expressions of the rule of power in two particular ways: settler colonialism and neoliberalism. As power is always accompanied by resistance, the authors engage with and explores forms of everyday resistance to the logics and regimes of neoliberal governance and settler colonialism. They investigate wide-ranging issues and dynamics related to international governance, liberal peacebuilding, state-building, and development, the claim to politics, and the notion and practice of resistance. This work will be of interest for academics focusing on modern Middle Eastern politics, international relations, as well as for courses on contemporary conflicts, peacebuilding, and development." Note: Alaa Tartir is Research Associate at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID), Switzerland, and Program Advisor to Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network. Timothy Seidel is Assistant Professor in the Department of Applied Social Sciences and the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding, Eastern Mennonite University, USA.

**Gadi Taub** (Hebrew University)
***The Settlers***
(Yale University Press, 2011)
Gush Emunim focus, the evolution of the right wing settler movement. Contemporary, messianic, right wing religious settlers, perched as they are in in the Occupied Territories, are depicted as unable to accept mainstream Zionism. Includes the establishment of the Yesha Council, the organisation of Jewish settlements.

**Matthew Teller**
***Nine Quarters of Jerusalem: A New Biography of the Old City***
(Profile Books, 400 pages, 2022)
"This book peels away the layers of deception to debunk the myth that the Old City is composed of four distinct quarters - a notion that continues to plague the city and underpins the assumption that present-day conflict comes down to age-old hatred between religions ... Teller takes the reader on a trip that reveals the Old City of Jerusalem better than any other book written about the city." -- Raja Shehadeh, author of *Palestinian Walks.*

***Quite Alone: Journalism from the Middle East, 2008-2019***
(Author, 237 pages, 2020)
Includes 4 chapters on Palestne-Israel.

**Tuvia Tenenbom**
***Catch the Jew!***
(Israel: Gefen Publishing, 2015)

Soft-Zionist humour travelogue of a "neutral" German tourist assessing Israel, the occupied Palestinian regions, including UNRWA refugee camps. Witty scenes are often concluded with slight-of-hand of omissions of facts, which do a disservice to the understandably uninformed general public. Treating quirky conversations as commonplace may be funny, but it's not evidence. The seemingly *hasbara* book gained some political traction in both Israel and the USA.

**Sandra Teplinsky** (Jewish Voice Ministries International/Messianic Jewish Ministry)
***Why Still Care about Israel? The Sanctity of Covenant, Moral Justice and Prophetic Blessing***
(Chosen Books, 2013)
Aimed at "sharing the Gospel of Jeshua [Jesus] to the Jew first and also to Gentiles."

***Israel's Anointing: Your Inheritance and the End-Time Destiny through Israel***
(Chosen Books, 2008)

***Why Care about Israel? How the Jewish Nation is Key to Unleashing God's Blessings in the 21st Century***
(Chosen Books, 2004)

**Baylis Thomas**
***The Dark Side of Zionism: Israel's Quest for Security through Dominance***
(Lexington Books, 2009)

**Mark Thomas** (British comedian, BBC presenter, political satirist)
***Extreme Rambling: Walking Israel's Separation Barrier For Fun***
(Ebury Press, 2011)

**Sorcha Thomson** and **Pelle Valentin Olsen**, editors
***Palestine in the World: International Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Movement***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Palestine Studies series, 272pages, 2023)
Analysis covers Germany, the Arabian Gulf, Cuba, North America, and includes Paul Robeson)

**Nathan Thrall** (*New York Times* and *London Review of Books*)
***A Day in the Life of Abed Salama: A Jerusalem Odyssey*** aka ***A Palestine Story***
(Metropolitan/Allen Lane, 464 pages, 2023)
Expanded from a 2021 piece in the *New York Review of Books*.

***The Only Language They Understand: Forcing Compromise in Israel and Palestine***
(Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt & Co., 2017)
Critical essays regarding Washington policy towards Israel.

***The-Two-Stage Solution: Toward a Long-Term Israeli-Palestinian Truce***
(Taylor & Francis, 2016)

**Virginia Tilley** (Southern Illinois University)
As co-editor, with Richard Falk, former UN human rights investigator for the Palestinian Territories
***Israeli Practices Towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid – ESCWA Report: Palestine and the Israeli Occupation, Issue No. 1***
(Beirut: United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, 74 pages, 2017)

Report withdrawn:
https://web.archive.org/web/20170316054753/https://www.unescwa.org/sites/www.unescwa.org/files/publications/files/israeli-practices-palestinian-people-apartheid-occupation-english.pdf

as editor: ***Beyond Occupation: Apartheid, Colonialism and International Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Pluto Press, 2012)
A legal study of whether Israel's policies in the OPT are consistent with apartheid and colonialism. Contributors include: Shane Darcy, Daphna Golan (Director, Minerva Centre for Human Rights, Hebrew University – Jerusalem), Hassan Jabareen (Founding Director, Adala Legal Rights Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel), Shawan Jabareen (Director, Al-Haq), Michael Kearney (University of Sussex), Gilbert Marcus (Johannesburg lawyer), Max du Plessis (University of Durban), John Reynolds (Al-Haq & Maynooth University), Rina Rosenberg (Advocay Director, Adala Legal Rights Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel), Iain Scobbie (School of Law, SOAS), Michael Sfard (Tel Aviv lawyer)

As editor: ***Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Re-Assessment of Israel's Practices in Occupied Palestinian Territories under International Law***
(Cape Town: HSRC, 16 pages, 2009)
Includes work by **Max du Plessis**.

***The One-State Solution: A Breakthrough for Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Deadlock***
(University of Michigan Press / Manchester University Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "*The One-State Solution* demonstrates that Israeli settlements have already encroached on the occupied territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the extent that any Palestinian state in those areas is unviable. It reveals the irreversible impact of Israel's settlement grid by summarizing its physical, demographic, financial, and political dimensions. Virginia Tilley explains why we should assume that this grid will not be withdrawn—or its expansion reversed—by reviewing the role of the key political actors: the Israeli government, the United States, the Arab states, and the European Union. Finally, the book addresses the daunting obstacles to a one-state solution—including major revision of the Zionist dream but also Palestinian and other regional resistance—and offers some ideas about how those obstacles might be addressed."

**Guiliana Tiripelli** (University of Sheffield)
***Media and Peace in the Middle East: The Role of Journalism in Israel-Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) A study of 'Peace Journalism."

**Teodora Todorova** (Warwick and Nottingham Universities)
***Decolonial Solidarity in Palestine-Israel: Settler Colonialism and Resistance from Within***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 168 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Recent years have seen the Israeli state become ever more extreme in its treatment of Palestinians, manifested both in legislation stripping Palestinians of their rights and in the escalating scale and violence of the Israeli occupation. But this hard-line stance has in turn provoked a new spirit of dissent among a growing number of Israeli scholars and civil society activists. As well as recognising Palestinian claims to justice and self determination, this new dissent is characterised by calls for genuine decolonisation and an end to partition, as opposed to the now discredited 'two state solution.' Through the analytical lens of settler colonial studies, this book examines the impact of this new 'decolonial solidarity' through case studies of three activist groups: Zochrot, Anarchists Against the Wall, and the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD). In doing so, Todorova extends the framework of settler colonial studies beyond scholarly analysis and into the realm of activist practice. She also looks at how decolonial solidarity has shaped, and been influenced by, the writings of both Palestinian and Israeli theorists. The book shows that new forms of civil society activism, bringing together Palestinian and Israeli activists, can rejuvenate the resistance to occupation and the Israeli state's growing authoritarianism."

**Marie Tomb**

***War Identities: When Words aren't Enough ~ Human Rights Seen through Art in Lebanon***
(Beirut: First National Bank/FNB, 2016)

**Nikola Tomic** and **Ben Tonra** editors

***Conflict Resolution and Global Justice: The European Union in the Global Context***
(Routledge, 256 pages, 2021)
Includes on chapter on Palestine: **Filip Ejdus** – Conceptions of Justice Underpinning Europe's Policies Towards the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict /

**Benyan Saud Turki**

***The King-Crane Commission***
(Kuwait University, 1999)

**Mandy Turner**, editor (Peace Studies, University of Bradford; editor of *International Peacekeeping*)

***From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of "Peace"***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 354 pages, 2019)
Contributors include **Diana Buttu** (on the Oslo Accords), **Mandy Turner** (donor activity in Area C of the West Bank, and **Yonatan Mendel** (Jewish Israelis' dehumanisation of the 'other').

***Arming the Occupation: Israel and the Arms Trade***
(Campaign Against Arms Trade, 18 pages, 2002)

**Mandy Turner** & **Omar Shweiki**, editors

***Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy: De-Development and Beyond***
(Palgrave, 2014)
The volume provides political economy analyses of the Palestinian people as a whole – those living in the occupied territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (including annexed East Jerusalem), those living within Israel and refugees in neighbouring Arab states. It rejects the dominant, conventional approach that has fragmented the Palestinians into separate and distinct groups (some thereafter named as 'Arab-Israeli', 'Bedouin', etc.), and which has reduced those regarded as 'the Palestinian people' to only those who reside within the occupied territory.

**Mandy Turner**, **Michael Pugh** and **Neil Cooper**, editors

***Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 2011)
With foreword by **Mark Duffield**.

**Patrick Tyler**

***Fortress Israel: The Inside Story of the Military Elite Who Run the Country, and Why They Can't Make Peace***
(Portobello Books, 2013)

**Erez Tzfadia** & **Haim Yacobi**

*Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery and Identity*
(Routledge, 2011)
Highlights the continued internal colonialism.

**Yohanan Tzoreff** (Institute for National Security Studies; Arab Advisor to the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip during the First Intifada; PM Yitzhak Rabin's translator at initial Oslo implementation meetings with Yassir Arafat)

***Coordinated Disengagement: Opportunities and Barriers***
(Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 32 pages, 2005)
Author of many articles in the journal *Security Studies* (Frank Cass/e-journal via Taylor Francis-Routledge).

**United Against Torture** (NGO)

*Torture & Ill-Treatment in Israel & the Occupied Palestinian Territory – Annual Report*
(UAT, 2008)
Compiled by Al Haq, DCI Palestine Section & the Italian Consortium of Solidarity. In English, Hebrew and Arabic.

**United Nations Conference on Trade and Development** (UNCTAD)

***The Economic Costs of the Israeli Occupation for the Palestinian People: Cumulative Fiscal Costs***
(UNCTAD, 60 pages, 2021)

**Eli Valley**

***Diaspora Boy: Comics on Crisis in America and Israel***
(OR Books, 2017)
Comic art challenge to Jewish complacency regarding Zionism, taken from *Jewcy*, *The Forward* and *+972 Magazine*.

**Leon D. Velasco**

***The Palestine Investment Fund and US Foreign Aid***
(Nova Science Publishers, 2013)
Details of aid 2008-2012, with an emphasis on 2010-2011.
See also: James M. Bailey & Paul F. Miller

**Annelys De Vet**

***Subjective Atlas of Palestine***
(The Netherlands: 010 Publishers, 2007)

**Hedi Viterbo** (Queen Mary University London)

***Problematizing Law, Rights, and Childhood in Israel/Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "In this book, Hedi Viterbo radically challenges our picture of law, human rights, and childhood, both in and beyond the Israel/Palestine context. He reveals how Israel, rather than disregarding international law and children's rights, has used them to hone and legitimize its violence against Palestinians. He exposes the human rights community's complicity in this situation, due to its problematic assumptions about childhood, its uncritical embrace of international law, and its recurring emulation of Israel's security discourse. He examines how, and to what effect, both the state and its critics manufacture, shape, and weaponize the categories 'child' and 'adult.' Bridging disciplinary divides, Viterbo analyzes hundreds of previously unexamined sources, many of which are not publicly available. Bold, sophisticated, and informative, Problematizing Law, Rights, and Childhood in Israel/Palestine

provides unique insights into the ever-tightening relationship between law, children's rights, and state violence, at both the local and global levels."

**Farouq Wadi**

***Homes of the Heart: A Ramallah Chronicle***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 2007)
Translated by **Dina Bosio** and **Christopher Tingley**. Returning to his home town of Ramallah after long exile, the author is shocked to find the changes wrought, above all, by the Israeli occupation. An account—informative, lyrical and humorous by turn—of his own early life in the town.

**Anthony Wanis-St John** (American University, Washington DC)

***Back Channel Negotiation: Secrecy in the Middle East Peace Process***
(Syracuse University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Wanis-St. John takes on the question of whether the complex and often perilous, secret negotiations between mediating parties prove to be an instrumental path to reconciliation or rather one that disrupts the process. Using the Palestinian-Israeli peace process as a framework, the author focuses on the uses and misuses of "back channel" negotiations. Wanis-St. John discusses how top level PLO and Israeli government officials often resorted to secret negotiation channels even when they had designated, acknowledged negotiation teams already at work. Intense scrutiny of the media, pressure from constituents, and the public's reaction, all become severe constraints to the process, causing leaders to seek out back channel negotiations. The impact of these secret talks on the peace process over time has largely been unexplored. Through interviews with major negotiators and policymakers on both sides and a detailed history of the conflict, the author analyzes the functions and consequences of back channel negotiations. Wanis-St. John reveals the painful irony that these methods for peacemaking have had the unintended effect of inflaming the conflict and sustaining its intractability."

**Christopher Ward** (World Bank, University of Exeter), **Isabelle Learmont** and **Sandra** [Meryl] **Ruckstuhl**

***Water Security for Palestinians and Israelis: Towards a New Cooperation in Middle East Water Resources***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 336 pages, 2021)

***The History of Water in the Land Once Called Palestine: Scarcity, Conflict and Loss in Middle East Water Resources***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 208 pages, 2021)

**Christopher Ward** (World Bank, University of Exeter) and **Sandra** [Meryl] **Ruckstuhl**

***Water Scarcity, Climate Change and Conflict in the Middle East: Securing Livelihoods, Building Peace***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 343 pages, 2017)

**Michel Warschawski**

With **Gilbert Achcar**: ***The 33 Day War: Israel's War on Hezbollah in Lebanon and its Consequences***
(Paradigm Books, 2007)

***On the Border***
(Pluto Press, 2005)

***Toward an Open Tomb: The Crisis of Israeli Society***
(New York City: Monthly Review Press, 2004)

As editor, with authors **Kaoutar Buediri**, **Leena Dallasheh**, and **Andreas Muller**: ***Cleansing and Apartheid in Jerusalem: An Alternative Guide to Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 2004)

**Yael Warshel** (Pennsylvania State University)
***Experiencing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Children, Peace Commuinication and Socialization***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Over the last eighty years there has been a global rise in 'peace communication' practice, the use of interpersonal and mass communication interventions to mediate between peoples engaged in political conflict. In this study, Yael Warshel assesses Israeli and Palestinian versions of Sesame Street, which targeted negative inter-group attitudes and stereotypes. Merging communication, peace and conflict studies, social psychology, anthropology, political science, education, Middle Eastern and childhood studies, this book provides a template to think about how audiences receive, interpret, use and are influenced by peace communication. By picking apart the text and subtext of the kind of media these specific audiences of children consume, Warshel examines how they interpret peace communication interventions, are socialized into Palestinians, Jewish Israelis and Arab/Palestinian Israelis, the political opinions they express and the violence they reproduce. She questions whether peace communication practices have any relevant structural impact on their audiences, critiques such interventions and offers recommendations for improving future communication interventions into political conflict worldwide."

**Emily Bluma Watkins**
***On the Borer of Fire: Origins of the National Religious Settler Movement in Israel***
(author, 2010)
Five years ago, tens of thousands of religious Jews descended upon the Western Wall in a mass prayer rally begging God to prevent the disengagement from Gaza. Their faces were passionate, their cries were intense, and their motives were mysterious. This incident and the events of the summer of the disengagement motivated author Emily Watkins to find out more about these people and their beliefs. The result is a book that combines in-depth interviews with academic research to find out not just what settlers believe, but why they hold these beliefs and how developed. After extensive field research, Watkins makes a compelling argument that the movement is a result of the trauma of the Holocaust, which destroyed European Jewry and with it religious Jewish identity. The trauma resulted in community- wide fear and anger, which lead to the void identity being filled by a new settler identity. This book brings a new perspective to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**Louisa B. Waugh**
***Meet Me in Gaza: Uncommon Stories of Life inside the Strip***
(Westbourne Press, 2013)
How do people and goods get in and out of Gaza? Do Gazans ever have fun? Is the Strip beautiful? And do TV reports actually reflect ordinary life inside the world's largest open-air prison? Meet Me in Gaza reveals the pleasures and pains, hopes and frustrations of Gazans going about their daily lives, witnessed and recounted by award-winning writer Louisa Waugh. Interspersed with fascinating historical, cultural and geographical detail, this is an evocative portrait of a Mediterranean country and its people.

**Dov Waxman** (Northeastern University)
***Trouble in the Tribe: The American Jewish Conflict over Israel***
(Princeton University Press, 2016)
See also: Ilan Peleg, Eric Alterman

**Alain Epp Weaver**

***Mapping Exile and Return: Palestinian Dispossession and a Political Theory for a Shared Future***

(Fortress Press, 2014)

Note: Christian Palestinians and the author's bi-national vision for Palestine.

**Whitney Webb**

***One Nation under Blackmail: The Sordid Union between Intelligence and Crime that Gave Rise to Jeffrey Epstein***

(Trine Day, 320 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "*One Nation Under Blackmail* is a damning indictment of the consequences resulting from the nearly century old relationship between both US and Israeli intelligence and the organized criminal network known as the National Crime Syndicate. This book specifically explores how that nexus between intelligence and organized crime directly developed the sexual blackmail tactics and networks that would later enable the sexual blackmail operation and other crimes of deceased pedophile and sex trafficker Jeffrey Epstein. Other books on Jeffrey Epstein focus on the depraved nature of his crimes, his wealth, and his most famous/politically-connected friends and acquaintances. This book, in contrast, reveals the extent to which Epstein's activities were state-sponsored through an exploration of his intelligence connections."

**David Weisburd, Tal Jonathan-Zamir** & **Badi Hasisi**, editors

***Policing in Israel: Studying Crime Control, Community Policing and Counter-Terrorism***

(Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 2015)

Much on the Palestinian-Israeli minority.

**Erica Weiss**

***Conscientious Objectors in Israel: Citizenship, Sacrifice, Trials of Fealty***

(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) Publisher's blurb: "In *Conscientious Objectors in Israel*, Erica Weiss examines the lives of Israelis who have refused to perform military service for reasons of conscience. Based on long-term fieldwork, this ethnography chronicles the personal experiences of two generations of Jewish conscientious objectors as they grapple with the pressure of justifying their actions to the Israeli state and society—often suffering severe social and legal consequences, including imprisonment. By exploring the social life of conscientious dissent, Weiss exposes the tension within liberal citizenship between the protection of individual rights and obligations of self-sacrifice. While conscience is a strong cultural claim, military refusal directly challenges Israeli state sovereignty."

**Eyal Weizman** (Goldsmiths College, University of London; founder of Forensic Architecture)

***Ungrounding: The Architecture of Genocide***

(Fern Press/Penguin, 416 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "Written while the organisation he directs, Forensic Architecture, works to produce evidence for the International Court of Justice's genocide case against Israel, in *Ungrounding* Eyal Weizman explores the larger geographical and historical context, from the displacement of the Nakba in 1948 to the present day. In unflinching and forensic detail, *Ungrounding* shows how architectural and territorial analysis is key to understanding the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised.
It is an extraordinary and eye-opening journey through the 'deep cartography' of the area extending from Gaza's subterranean tunnels through to its militarised topography, settlements and barriers. Territory is never a neutral backdrop nor the location within which a colonisation takes place. Instead, it is a mechanism by which colonisation is undertaken and key to understanding how Israel's attack on Gaza in the wake of 7 October has escalated into violence so extreme as to, Weizman argues, meet the definition of genocide."

with **Fazal Sheikh** (photography): ***The Conflict Shoreline***

(Steidl, 2015) 96 pages  A study Israel's displacement of bedouins from the arable part of the Negev Desert to make way for the state's chosen residents, with aerial photographic evidence.  Highlights al-Araqib, a Bedouin community repeatedly bulldozed.

***Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation***
(Verso, 2012, 2017).
Publisher's blurb: "From the tunnels of Gaza to the militarized airspace of the Occupied Territories, Eyal Weizman unravels Israel's mechanisms of control and its transformation of Palestinian towns, villages and roads into an artifice where all natural and built features serve military ends. Weizman traces the development of this strategy, from the influence of archaeology on urban planning, Ariel Sharon's reconceptualization of military defence during the 1973 war, through the planning and architecture of the settlements, to the contemporary Israeli discourse and practice of urban warfare and airborne targeted assassinations."

***The Least of all Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza***
(Verso, 2012)
How NGOs and governments accept routine killing.  Publisher's blurb: "The notion of a humanitarian "lesser evil" has become instrumental in justifying the West's military adventures. It informs obscene calculations determining how much collateral damage is permissible in conflict. It determines the minimum requirements of survival imposed upon an occupied territory.  As Eyal Weizman shows in this brilliant exploration of forensic architecture, this can be seen in particular in the regime imposed upon Gaza by the state of Israel. Examining the damage following the 2010 bombardment, he pieces together the systematic process of destruction, revealing the political atrocity within the debris. The way he gathers together the evidence forces us to rethink our understanding of justice and human rights in the modern world."

**Steven Wheatley**

***Democracy, Minorities and International Law***
(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
A well-researched account, addressing minority rights, self-determination, and democracy. The work is concise and informative.

**Ben White**

***Cracks in the Wall: Beyond Apartheid in Palestine/Israel***
(Pluto Press, 2018)
Foreword by **Diana Buttu**.

***Apartheid & Cultural Boycott: Then and Now***
(MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 22pp, 2015)

***The 2014 War in Gaza: 21 Questions and Answers***
(ebook only, self-published? – 2015)

***Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy***
(Pluto Press, 2012)
with foreword by **Haneen Zoabi** (Arab List MK, 2009-2019)

***Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide***
(Pluto Press, 2009 / second edition, 224 pages 2012)

**Geoffrey Victor Whitfield**

***Dynamics of a Journey to Conflict Prevention and Peace in Israel and Palestine through an Olympic Sport***

(Lexington, Kentucky: Emeth Press, ca. 2012)

***Israeli and Palestinian Terrorism: The 'Unintentional' Agents***
(Lexington, Kentucky: Emeth Press, 206 pages, ca. 2009)

***The Roots of Terrorism in Israel and Palestine: The Uses and Abuses of the Abrahamic Covenant***
(Lexington, Kentucky: Emeth Press, ca.2007)

**Livia Wick** (American University Beirut)
***Samud: Birth, Oral History, and Persisting in Palestine***
(Syracuse University Press, 216 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Sumud, meaning steadfastness in Arabic, is central to the issues of survival and resistance that are part of daily life for Palestinians. Although much has been written about the politics, leaders, and history of Palestine, less is known about how everyday working-class Palestinians exist day to day, negotiating military occupation and shifting social infrastructure. Wick's powerful ethnography opens a window onto the lives of Palestinians, exploring specifically the experience of giving birth. Drawing upon oral histories, Wick follows the stories of mothers, nurses, and midwives in villages and refugee camps. She maps the ways in which individuals narrate and experience birth, calling attention to the genre and form of these stories. Placing these oral histories in context, the book looks at the history of the infrastructure surrounding birth and medicine in Palestine, from large hospitals to village clinics, to private homes. As the medical landscape changed from centralized urban hospitals to decentralized independent caregivers, women increasingly carved a space for themselves in public discourse and employed the concept of sumud to relate their everyday struggles."

**Jeremy Wildeman** (University of Ottawa) & **Emma Swan** (University of Ottawa), co-editors
***What Lies Ahead? Canada's Engagement with the Middle East Peace Process and the Palestinians***
(Taylor & Francis, 160 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This edited volume explores Canada's foreign policy relationship with the Palestinians and broader Middle East Peace Process (MEPP). Canada was intensively involved from 1992 to 2000 in peacebuilding as a mediator in the multilateral part of the MEPP, as chair of the Refugee Working Group, and sponsor of Track II negotiations. This all changed after a significant mid-2000s discursive and policy shift when Canada withdrew from the politics of Israel-Palestine peacebuilding and took a strong partisan stance in favour of Israel. Through 10 chapters by current and former government insiders and academics with extensive field experience, this unique edited volume offers insight into decades of evolution in Canadian policy toward the Palestinians, MEPP and the Middle East. It arrives at an important time when the international community is reconsidering how it views Israel's entrenched occupation of the Palestinians, after three failed decades of United States-led efforts to find peace through a negotiated two-state model. Today, peace may never have appeared further away after the Trump Administration adopted policies directly contradictory to the MEPP. This proved a test to Canada's own official policy toward Israel and Palestine, its longest running and most important region of engagement in the Middle East."

**Rich Wiles**, editor
***Generation Palestine: Voices from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement***
(Pluto Press, 2013)

***Behind the Wall: Life, Love and Struggle in Palestine***
(Potomac Books, 2010)
Based on six years observation in Aida camp, Bethlehem.

**Emma Williams**

***It's Easier to Reach Heaven than the End of the Street: A Jerusalem Memoir***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2009.)

Foreword by **Brian Urquhart**. "Williams's deeply moving memoir relates the three years her family spent in a Palestinian neighborhood in Jerusalem. Tragically, shortly after the family's arrival in 2000, the second intifada (uprising) erupted, and life in Israel and the occupied territories was shaken by suicide bombings, vicious reprisals, and constant fear. The personal experiences of the author's family are contrasted with the daily violence committed by both Palestinians and Israelis, both sides driven by a sense of victimhood and vulnerability. Williams laments that Israeli dominance and the devastation of the Palestinian economy and community can never provide security; she blames the U.S. media and government for not presenting an honest picture of or a responsible policy for the cruelty and futility of Israeli actions. She frames her memoir with a tourist's perspective on her family's explorations of the countryside, visits to historic sites, and friendships with interesting and compassionate Israelis, Palestinians, and expatriates. VERDICT A beautifully written report of the human costs of the ongoing struggle between two peoples unable to live in peace in the land they both love, focusing on the experiences of fear and suffering, violence and compassion. Highly recommended." —Library Journal Publisher's blurb: "In August 2000 Emma Williams arrived with her three small children in Jerusalem to join her husband and to work as a doctor. A month later, the second Palestinian intifada erupted. For the next three years, she was to witness an astonishing series of events in which hundreds of thousands of lives, including her own, were turned upside down. Williams lived on the very border of East and West Jerusalem, working with Palestinians in Ramallah during the day and spending evenings with Israelis in Tel Aviv. Weaving personal stories and conversations with friends and colleagues into the long and fraught political background, Williams' powerful memoir brings to life the realities of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. She vividly recalls giving birth to her fourth child during the siege of Bethlehem and her horror when a suicide bomber blew his own head into the schoolyard where her children played each day. Understanding in her judgment, yet unsparing in her honesty, Williams exposes the humanity, as well as the hypocrisy at the heart of both sides' experiences. Anyone wanting to understand this intractable and complex dispute will find this unique account a refreshing and an illuminating read. Emma Williams studied history at Oxford and medicine at London University. She has worked as a doctor in Britain, Pakistan, Afghanistan, New York, South Africa and Jerusalem. She wrote for several newspapers and magazines about Palestinian-Israeli affairs and was a correspondent for the Spectator from 2000-2003. She now lives in New York."

**Emily Regan Wills** (University of Ottawa; Community Mobilization in Crisis project), **Jeremy Wildeman** (University of Ottawa), **Michael Buechert** (Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East), and **Nadia Abu-Zahra** (University of Ottawa and Carleton University; Human Rights Watch), co-editors

***Advocating for Palestine in Canada: Histories, Movements, Action***

(Fernwood Publishing / Columbia University Press, 224 pages, 2021)

Foreword by **Aaron Mate** and **Libby Davies**.

**Maya Wind** (University of British Columbia)

***Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom***

(Verso Books, 288 pages, 2024)

With foreword by **Nadia Abu El Haj** and an afterword by **Robin DG Kelley**. Publisher's blurb: "Israeli universities have long enjoyed a reputation as liberal bastions of freedom and democracy. Drawing on extensive research and making Hebrew sources accessible to the international community, Maya Wind shatters this myth and documents how Israeli universities are directly complicit in the violation of Palestinian rights. As this book shows, Israeli universities serve as pillars of Israel's system of oppression against Palestinians. Academic disciplines, degree programs, campus infrastructure, and research laboratories all service Israeli occupation and apartheid, while universities violate the rights of Palestinians to education, stifle critical scholarship, and violently repress student dissent."

**Asa Winstanley** [*Electronic Intifada*] and **Frank Barat** (co-ordinator, Russell Tribunal on Palestine)
***Weaponising Anti-Semitism: How the Israel Lobby Brought Down Jeremy Corbyn***
(OR Books, 300 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In an electrifying account, investigative journalist Asa Winstanley shows how Labour's anti-Semitism crisis was manufactured by pro-Israel groups. Despised and feared by Israel and its allies because of his long-standing support for the Palestine solidarity movement. Jeremy Corbyn became a target of enemies determined to abort his left-wing project. Drawing on new interviews with many of those victimized in purges the Labour leadership claimed were necessary to tackle anti-Semitism, Winstanley exposes a plot by the Israel lobby, in alliance with the Labour right and Israeli and British intelligence agencies, to prevent a socialist entering Downing Street."

***Corporate Complicity in Israel's Occupation: Evidence from the London Session of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2011)
See also Ibrahim Hewitt: *Israel and Gaza – Behind the Media Veil.*

**The World Bank / Orhan Niksic**, **Nur Nasser Eddin** and **Massimiliano Cali**
***Area C and the Future of the Palestinian Economy***
(Washington DC: World Bank Publications, 2014)

**The World Bank**
***Unlocking the Trade Potential of the Palestinian Economy***
(Washington DC: world Bank Publications, 2017)

**The World Bank / Husein Abdul-Hamid, Harry Patrinos, Joel Reyes, Jo Kelcey** & **Andrea Diaz Varela**
***Learning in the Face of Adversity: The UNRWA Education Program for Palestinian Refugees***
(Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, 60 pages, 2016)
Also available online as PDF: https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/abs/10.1596/978-1-4648-0706-0. See also : R. Bocco: *UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees: A History within History*, and M. Rosenfeld: *From Emergency Relief Assistance to Human Devewlopment and Back: UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees, 1950-2009*, in: *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 78, Nos. 2-3 (2010), pp 229-252; UNRWA: *What Protection Means for UNRWA in Concept and Practice:* http://www.UNRWA.org/userfiles/20100118155412.pdf.

**Sujith Xavier**, **Beverley Jacobs**, **Valarie Waboose**, **Jeffrey G. Hewitt** & **Amar Bhatia**, editors
***Decolonizing Law: Indigenous, Third World and Settle Perspectives***
(Routledge, 336 pages, 2021)
Includes chapter: **Reem Bahdi** & **Mudar Kassis** -Mastery and Gratitude: Development Aid & the Colonial Condition in Palestine.

**Alexander Yakobson** & **Amnon Rubenstein**
***Israel and the Family of Nations: The Jewish Nation-State and Human Rights***
(Routledge, 2009)
Translated by Ruth Morris & Ruchie Avital; "…every state is unique, Israel is not 'exceptional' in the negative sense."

**Robin Yassin-Kassab** & **Leila Al-Shami**
***Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War***
(Pluto Press, 2016)

**Oren Yiftachel**
with **Ahmad Amara** & **Alexandre Kedar**: ***Emptied Lands: A Legal Geography of Bedouin Rights in the Negev***
(Stanford University Press, 424 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: *Emptied Lands* investigates the protracted legal, planning, and territorial conflict between the settler Israeli state and indigenous Bedouin citizens over traditional lands in southern Israel/Palestine. The authors place this dispute in historical, legal, geographical, and international-comparative perspectives, providing the first legal geographic analysis of the "dead Negev doctrine" used by Israel to dispossess and forcefully displace Bedouin inhabitants in order to Judaize the region. The authors reveal that through manipulative use of Ottoman, British and Israeli laws, the state has constructed its own version of*terra nullius*. Yet, the indigenous property and settlement system still functions, creating an ongoing resistance to the Jewish state.*Emptied Lands* critically examines several key land claims, court rulings, planning policies, and development strategies, offering alternative local, regional, and international routes for justice.

-with **Ahmad Amara** & **Ismael Abu-Sa'ad**, editors: ***Indigenous (In)justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab / Negev***
(Harvard Law School, 2012)

***Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)
See also titles in OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY list.

**Cynthia D. Yoder** (pacifist and English language teacher in Palestine, Egypt, Kuwait, Sri Lanka, Romania, Japan and the United States)
***This is Life – "Haik al-Haya": Five Years Teaching in Palestine***
(Be Still Press, 225 pages, 2020)

**May Yusuf** aka **May Yusuf Abdelhalim**
***Gaza Palestine: Past, Present and Hopeful Future***
(Author, 107 and 77 page editions, 2025)
Aimed at a teenage readership.

**Omar Zahzah** (Sn Francisco State University)
***Terms of Servitude: Zionism, Silicon Valley, and Digital-Settler Colonialism in the Palestinian Liberation Struggle***
(Seven Stories Press/Penguin/Random House, 272 pages, 2025)
With foreword by **Steven Salaita**. Includes focus on tech platforms censoring Palestine content.

**Nadia Amu-Zahra** & **Adah Kay**
***Unfree in Palestine: Registration, Documentation and Movement Restriction***
(Pluto, 2013)

**Raed Zanoon** & **Julie-Anne Skyley**
***Escaping Gaza: Raed Zanoon the Peace Seeker***
(O-Books, 2016)

Personal story of Gazan Christian's escape to Darwin.

**Yael Zeira** (University of Mississippi)

***The Revolution Within: State Institutions and Unarmed Resistance in Palestine***

(Cambridge University Press, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "Why do some individuals participate in risky, anti-regime resistance whereas others abstain? The Revolution Within answers this question through an in-depth study of unarmed resistance against Israeli rule in the Palestinian Territories over more than a decade. Despite having strong anti-regime sentiment, Palestinians initially lacked the internal organizational strength often seen as necessary for protest. This book provides a foundation for understanding participation and mobilization under these difficult conditions. It argues that, under these conditions, integration into state institutions - schools, prisons and courts - paradoxically makes individuals more likely to resist against the state. Diverse evidence drawn from field research - including the first, large-scale survey of participants and non-participants in Palestinian resistance, Arabic language interviews, and archival sources - supports the argument. The book's findings explain how anti-regime resistance can occur even without the strong civil society organizations often regarded as necessary for protest and, thus, suggest new avenues for supporting civil resistance movements."

**Mark Zeitoun**

***Power and Water in the Middle East: The Hidden Politics of the Palestinian Water Conflict***

(IB Tauris, 2008)

**Angie Zelter**

***Activism for Life***

(Edinburgh: Luath Press, 251 pages, 2021)

International peace activist's accounts, with good emphasis on work in the West Bank in 2001-2005, when she was finally unable to enter Palestine. Contains practical strategic tips for activism and undergoing state interrogation and imprisonment.

**Adeeb Ziadeh**

***EU Foreign Policy and Hamas: Inconsistencies and Paradoxes***

(Routledge, 265 pages, 2018)

Contents: Theorizing the EU foreign policy towards Hamas -- The formation of the EU foreign policy towards Palestine: contextual historical perspective -- Inconsistency of the EU discourse regarding Hamas: norms and values under investigation -- Resistance-terrorism debate in the EU-Hamas context: clash of visions -- The EU's perception of Israel as a self-driving determinant -- US influence on the EU regarding Hamas: analytical perspective.

**Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe** (University of London, Frankfurt and worldwide)

***Defying "The Plan": Intimate Politics among Palestinian Women in Israel***

(Indiana University Press, 272 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Living under settler colonialism and patriarchal oppressions, Palestinian women in Israel are expected to operate even the most intimate aspects of their lives according to what some call "The Plan," which dictates everything from clothing, marriage, religion, and sex to how children are born and raised. In Intimate Politics, Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe draws from a series of moving interviews to reveal that despite various forms of intertwined oppressions by both the Israeli state and Palestinian society, Palestinian women show defiance by the quotidian choices they make in their own intimate lives under occupation, which, Zinngrebe argues, cannot be perceived as a mere corollary but constitute a pivotal and contested terrain of the struggle between settler and colonized. Intimate Politics explores such issues as the segregation of sexual education in Palestine;

the politics of dress, menstruation, and tattoos; and the roles of class, feminism, and race. Importantly, she highlights the intersectional experiences of women typically excluded from existing accounts, such as Black Palestinian women, women with disabilities, unmarried and divorced women, Bedouin women, and LGBTQI women. The stories gathered in Intimate Politics trace and unpick settler colonial power at the level of the intimate and native women's various practices of defiance."

**Slavoj Žižek**

***In Defense of Lost Causes***
(Verso Books, 2008)

**Husam Said Zomlot** aka **Husam Zomlot** (SOAS; Harvard University; Palestine Mission Ambassador to the US, then the UK)

***Building a State Under Occupation: Peacemaking and Reconstruction in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(IB Tauris, 256 pages, 2012)
Focus is on the post-Oslo donors in the West Bank and the failure of project implementation.

***Assessing International "Peacebuilding" Aid Programmes: The Case of Palestine during the Oslo Extended Interim Period, 1994-2000***
(University of London PhD thesis, 317 pages, 2008)

**Elia Zureik, David Lyon,** & **Yassmeen Abu-Laben**, editors

***Surveillance and Control in Palestine/Israel: Population, Territory and Power***
(Routledge, 2013)
Much detail through 19 essays. "This stimulating edited collection is a valuable contribution to the growing corpus of scholarship that takes Israel's over forty-year occupation regime as its central object of analysis, research, and comparative theoretical reflection… this important volume provides a sound basis for further comparative studies in the technologies of power that are transforming the globe at this time." – Steve Niva, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Autumn 2011)

# Older Palestine History

**A sample of the important books**
**- see other lists -**

**Compiled by Andy Simons**
**suggestions welcome**
**palestinebooksnet@gmail.com**

**Older Palestine History**
See also the current history list, The Palestinian Story Today, and online resources:
Britain in Palestine: http://www.britain-in-palestine.com
The Balfour Project: http://www.balfourproject.org

**Rabia Aamir** (NUML, Islamabad; Sabahattin Zaim University, Turkiye)
***Environmental Ethics: Life Narratives from Kashmir & Palestine***
(Lahore: Vanguard Books, 456 pages, 2023)

**Alexander Aaronsohn**
***With the Turks in Palestine***
(Houghton Mifflin, 84 pages, 1916)
See also Ronald Florence: *Lawrence and Aaronsohn: T.E. Lawrence, Aaron Aaronsohn and the Seeds of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Viking Press, 480 pages, 2007)

**Mahmoud Abbas** aka **Abu Mazen** (PLO Treasurer, Palestinian Authority head)
***Through Secret Channels: The Road to Oslo, Senior PLO Leader Abu Mazen's Revealing Story of the Negotiations with Israel***
(Reading: Garnet Publishers, 252 pages, 1995)

**WF [Wasif Fahmi] Abboushi**
***The Unmaking of Palestine***
(Cambridge: Middle East & North African Studies Press/MENAS, 1985)

***The Angry Arabs***
(Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974)

**Michel F. Abcarius**

***Palestine through the Fog of Propaganda***
(Hutchinson, 1946)
A partial counter to the Zionist narrative, using numerous Government sources, the Arab Higher Committee, and JMN Jeffries' 1939 work, *Palestine: The Reality*. Topics assessed include commerce & industry, immigration, land policy & agriculture, the military and civil administrations.

**Ghassan Abdallah**

***Palestinian education under Israeli Occupation during the Intifada***
(East Jerusalem: Federation of Palestinian Democratic Teachers, 28 pages, 1990)

**Nahla Abdo** aka **Nahla Abdo-Zubi** (Carleton University, Ottawa)

***Captive Revolution: Palestinian Women's Anti-Colonial Struggle Within the Israeli Prison System***
(Pluto Press, 2014)
Both a story of present detainees and the historical Socialist struggle throughout the region.

***Women in Israel: Race, Gender and Citizenship***
(Zed Books, 2011)

With **Nadirah Shalhoub-Kevorkian**: ***Acknowledging the Displaced: Palestinian Women's Ordeals in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Women's Study Centre, 2002)

***Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation***
(Berghahn Books, 2002)

***Family, Women and Social Change in the Middle East: The Palestinian Case***
(Canadian Scholars' Press, 1987)

**Ali Ibrahim Abdo** and **Khairieh Kasmieh**

***Jewes of the Arab Countries***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 109 pages, 1971)

**Nahla Abdo-Zubi, Heather Montgomery** & **Ronit Lentin**

***Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation***
(New York City: Berghahn Books, 2002)

**Nahla Abdo, Rita Giacaman, Eileen Kuttab** & **Valentine M. Moghadam**

***Gender and Development***
(Birzeit University Women's Studies Department, 1995)
See also: Nadirah Shaloub-Kevorkian

**Faiha Abdulhadi**

***Living Memories: Testimonies of Palestinians' Displacement in 1948***
(Al Rowat for Studies and Research, 2017)

Slim volume of testimonies from six Palestinians who experienced the Nakba.

**Walid Jumblatt Abdullah** (Global Affairs, Nanyang Technological University)
***Why Palestine? Reflections from Singapore***
(Singapore: Ethos Books, 147 pages, 2025)
Edited by **Cassandra Yeap**. Publisher's blurb: "Walid examines myths ("Could Gaza have been Singapore?," Why don't they just migrate?," and "Do Singaporeans really care about Palestine?") and sheds light on the double standards of Western powers, to whom human rights seem to matter, except for where Palestine is concerned. Explaining how the Palestinians have been systematically dehumanised for decades, the book highlights how they continue to exist nevertheless, their very existence an act of resistance."

**GT Abed**, editor
***The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development under Prolonged Occupation***
(Routledge, 1988)

**Samir Abed-Rabbo**
***ODS: The Case for One Democratic State in Historic Palestine***
(CAIS, 192 pages, 2014)

With **Mohamed El-Khawas**: ***American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact***
(Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1984)
With foreword by **Rabbi Elmer Berger**.

**Oroub el-Abed**
***Unprotected: Palestinians in Egypt Since 1948***
(Beirut, Ottawa & Washington DC : Institute for Palestine Studies / International Development Research Center, 253 pages, 2009)

***Executive Summary: The Palestinians in Egypt ~ An Investigation of Livelihoods and Coping Strategies***
(Cairo: Forced Migration Refugee Studies Program, American University in Cairo, 20 pages, 2003)

**Fred Abrahams**, **Marc Garlasco** and **Daryll Li** (University of Chicago)
***Razing Rafah: Mass Home Demolitions in the Gaza Strip***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 150 pages, 2004
Edited by **Sarah Leah Whitson** and **Widney Brown** (Barnard College, Columbia University)

**Roger Adelson** (University of Arizona)
***London and the Invention of the Middle East: Money, Power, and War, 1902-1922***
(Yale University Press, 1995)

***Mark Sykes: Portrait of an Amateur***
(Jonathan Cape, 1975)

**Stephanie Latte Abdallah** (CERI-Sciences Po, France)
***A History of Confinement in Palestine: The Prison Web***
(Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 416 pages, 2022, 2023)
Translated by **Melissa Thackway**.

Contents: Chapter 1. Inside the Military Courts -- Chapter 2. Going to Prison -- Chapter 3. Inside/Outside Citizenships. Carceral Generations and the Frontiers of Political Action -- Chapter 4. Women, A Separate Experience? -- Chapter 5. After Oslo. The Endless Dematerialized Borders of the Prison Web -- Chapter 6. Inside/Outside Carceral Citizenships. Post-Second Intifada Mobilizations and Politics -- Chapter 7. The Incorporated Prison. Living Beyond Detention -- Chapter 8. The Incorporated Prison. Release?.

**Daud Abdullah** (Director, Middle East Monitor)
***Engaging the World: The Making of Hamas' Foreign Policy***
(Johannesburg: Afro-Middle East Centre/AMEC, 246 pages, 2020)

Edited with **Ibrahim Hewitt**: ***The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe: Changing Perceptions of the Palestine-Israel Conflict***
(Middle East Monitor, 2012)
with foreword by **Karen Koning AbuZayd**.

With **Mohamad Nasrin Nasir** : ***The Universal Theology of Liberation: Views from Muslim History***
(Wembley, London: Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2011)
with foreword by **Arzu Merali**

***Concerns about British and EU Roles in Palestinian Authority Human Rights Abuses in the Occupied West Bank***
(Middle East Monitor, 31 pages, 2009)

***A History of Palestinian Resistance***
(Friends of Al-Aqsa, 146 pages, ca. 2005)

As editor: ***The Israeli Law of Return and its Impact on the Struggle in Palestine***
(London: Palestinian Return Centre, 343 pages, 2004)

**King Abdullah II**
***Our Last Best Chance: A Story of War and Peace***
(Penguin, 347 pages, 2012)

**Asad Abdul-Rahman**
***United States and West German Aid to Israel***
(Beirut: PLO Research Centre, 61 pages, 1966)
Translated from Arabic by **Leila S. Kadi**.

**George T. Abed**, editor
***The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development under Prolonged Occupation***
(Routledge, 384 pages, 1988)

**Xavier Abu Eid**
***Rooted in Palestine: Palestinian Christians and the Struggle for National Liberation, 1917-2004***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 349 pages, 2022)

**Ibtisam Abu-Duhou** (University of Melbourne), **Jeannie Fletcher** (Masey University, New Zealand) and **Chris Galloway** (Massey University, New Zealand)

***Communicating Statehood: Public Relations Strategies in Promoting Palestine***
(Routledge, 208 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "he book argues that the Palestinian response to the challenge of promoting their cause is to extend their repertoire of public relations communication tactics. It explores the discursive strategies employed by Palestinian communication strategists, across the range of political allegiances, via public relations techniques to advance the cause of statehood. It also explores how the growing number of professional communicators use strategic communication to position key 'national' issues. These tactics have emerged not only as the result of planned strategy but also through improvisation and informal responses to outside pressures. Whether this increasing coherence and confidence arises from the growing availability of professional communication planning expertise, or the decreasing cost barriers associated with digital media, the outcome has been greater international political recognition for Palestine. By illustrating this effectiveness and symbolic coherence in the face of both poor internal mass media structures and political constraints, the Palestinian example may offer insights for other aspiring national movements and for public diplomacy."

**Rifa'at Ali Abou-el-Haj** (b. 1933, Jerusalem; California State & Binghamton Universities)

***Formation of the Modern State: TheOttoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries***
(State University of New York Press, 1991)

As co-editor, with **Irene A. Bierman** and **Donald Preziosi**: ***The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order***
(New Rochelle, New York: AD Caratzas, 1991)
From a conference entitled, "Power and Structure in the Islamic Urban Arts."

***The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics***
(Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Institut, 124 pages, 1984)

**Nasser Abourahme** (Bowdoin College)

***The Time Beneath the Concrete: Palestine Between Camp and Colony***
(Duke University Press, 248 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Nasser Abourahme argues that settler colonialism is always as much an attempt to conquer time as it is to conquer land. Taking Palestinian refugee camps, created in the fallout of the eliminatory violence of Israel's founding, as his primary object, Abourahme shows how these camps become the primary place where settler colonial attempts to dominate space and time encounter indigenous refusal. Seen from the camps, Israel becomes a settler-colonial project defined by its inability to move past the past—a project stuck at its foundational moment of conquest. At the same time, the Palestinian insistence on return is a refusal to abide by the closure of the past into settler futurity. Palestinian struggle does not just happen in the open time of dispossession, it happens over this time. That struggle, Abourahme demonstrates, is a form of anticolonial refusal that draws its power not from any decisive finality, but precisely from irresolution and keeping time open"

**Thomas Philip Abowd** (Tufts University)

***Colonial Jerusalem: The Spatial Construction of Identity and Difference in a City of Myth, 1948-2012***
(Syracuse University Press, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "This book shows how colonialism, far from being simply a fixture of the past as is often suggested, remains a crucial component of Palestinian and Israeli realities today. Abowd deftly illuminates everyday life under Israel's long military occupation as it is defined by processes and conditions of "apartness" and separation as Palestinians are increasingly regulated and controlled. Abowd examines how both national communities are progressively divided by walls, checkpoints, and

separate road networks in one of the most segregated cities in the world. Drawing upon recent theories on racial politics, colonialism, and urban spatial dynamics, Colonial Jerusalem analyzes the politics of myth, history, and memory across an urban landscape integral to the national cosmologies of both Palestinians and Israelis and meaningful to all communities."

**Ziyad Abu 'Amr**
***Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad***
(Indiana University Press, 1994)

**Nasser Abufarha** (Palestine Fair Trade Association, Jenin; advocate of a Bi-National State)
***The Making of a Human Bomb: An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance***
(Duke University Press, 2009)

**Osama Abu-Irshaid** (American Muslims for Palestine)
***The Dialectic of Religion and Politics in Hamas' Thought and Practice***
(Loughborough University PhD thesis, 2013)

**Raouf Sa'd Abujaber** aka **Raouf Said Abujaber**
***Arab Christianity and Jerusalem***
(London: Gilgamesh Publishing, 202 pages, 2012)
With an introduction by **Carney Gavin** and a foreword by **Afif Safieh**.

With **Felicity Cobbing**: ***Beyond the River: Ottoman Transjordan in Original Photographs***
(Stacey International, 2005)

***Pioneers over Jordan: The Frontier Settlement in the Trans-Jordan, 1860-1914***
(IB Tauris, 328 pages, 1989)

**M. Abu Moghli**
***The Struggle to Reclaim Human Rights Education in Palestinian Authority Schools in the Occupied West Bank***
(University College London, 2017)
University thesis.

**Susan Abulhawa**, editor
***Every Moment is a Life: Gaza in the Time of Genocide***
(Atria / One Signal Publishers, 224 pages, 2026)
Arabic-English anthology of 18 essays by young Palestinian writers, trying to survive the genocide in Gaza. With **Huzama Habayeb**. See also **PALESTINE FICTION**.

**Aref Abu-Rabia**
***Folk Medicine Among the Bedouin Tribes in the Negev***
(Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 30 pages, 1983)

**Said K. Aburish** (Palestinian-Egyptian with Radio Free Europe and the *Daily Mail*)
***Cry Palestine: Inside the West Bank***
(Indiana University Press, 1989; Bloomsbury, 1991) Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993; 205 pages/Routledge, 226 pages, 2019)

Contents: Introduction: Welcome to the Middle East -- Pt. 1 The Brutal Reality -- Ch. 1 A Week in the Life of the West Bank (starting p. 1) -- Ch. 2 The Language of Fear, Hate, Violence and Death (starting p. 15) -- Ch. 3 The Unknown (starting p. 29) -- Ch. 4 Rampant Blind Injustice (starting p. 39) -- Ch. 5 Indirect Terror (starting p. 60) -- Pt. 2 Self-appraisal -- Ch. 6 Treason (starting p. 67) -- Ch. 7 The Small Landowner's Story (starting p. 77) -- Ch. 8 As God Is my Witness (starting p. 84) -- Ch. 9 Profiles in Courage -- Makram Saad (starting p. 97) -- Pt. 3 People on the Other Side -- Ch. 10 Profiles in Courage -- Lea Tzemel (starting p. 109) -- Ch. 11 A Confusing Time (starting p. 124) -- Ch. 12 Conversations with People on the Other Side (starting p. 137) -- Pt. 4 Palestinians -- the Worst and the Best -- Ch. 13 A Paranoid Culture (starting p. 149) -- Ch. 14 Children of the Intifada (starting p. 165) -- Ch. 15 The PLO and the People (starting p. 179) -- Ch. 16 There Is a Palestinian State (starting p. 191) -- Conclusion: The Path to a Sane Future (starting p. 199).

***Arafat: From Defender to Dictator***
(Bloomsbury, 360 pages, 1998)

***The Forgotten Faithful: The Christians of the Holy Land***
(London: Quartet Books, 161 pages, 1993)

***Children of Bethany: The Story of a Palestinian Family***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 243 pages, 1988; Indiana University Press, 1989; Bloomsbury, 1991)

**Jehad Abusalim** (American Friends Service Committee; Institute for Palestine Studies), **Jennifer Bing** and **Mike Merryman-Lotze**, editors

***Light in Gaza: Writings Born of Fire***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 280 pages, 2022)
Essays, economic analysis, personal narratives and poetry. Contents: Map: Gaza strip and gaza district before 1948 -- Foreword -- Introduction -- Gaza Asks: When Shall This Pass? -- On Why We Still Hold Onto Our Phones and Keep Recording -- Breaking the Vicious Cycle of Permanent Temporality -- Don't Step on My Feet Again -- Lost Identity: The Tale of Peasantry and Nature -- Why Are You Still Here? -- Ethical Implications of Experimental Design on Affected Communities in the Gaza Strip -- People's Light in Gaza's Darkness -- Artificial Intelligence as a Tool for Restoring Palestinian Rights and Improving the Quality of Life -- Exporting Oranges and Short Stories: Cultural Struggle in the Gaza Strip -- In the Haze of Fifty-One Days -- Travel Restrictions as a Manifestation of Nakba: Gaza, the Path Backward Is the Path Forward -- Let Me Dream -- Gaza 2050: Three Scenarios -- A Rose Shoulders Up.

**Miriam Abu Samra**

***The Palestinian Transnational Student Movement, 1948-1982: A Study on Popular Organization and Transnational Mobilization***
(Oxford University, 2020)
University thesis.

**Aziz Abu Sarah** and **Moaz Inon**

***The Future is Peace: A Shared Journey across the Hold Land***
(Crown, 240 pages, 2026)
Travelogue by a Palestinian and Jewish Israeli.

**Gilbert Achcar**

***The Gaza Catastrophe: The Genocide in World-Historical Perspective***
(Saqi Books, 256 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "*The Gaza Catastrophe* reckons with the lethal consequences and the significance of a war waged by an advanced military-industrial state – with full US participation and support from the

West. Renowned political scientist Gilbert Achcar explores the dynamics of a complex historical process that culminated in the war on Gaza and wider conflict in the Middle East. He offers critical insights on the genocide's regional and international ramifications, as well as radical critiques of Zionism, Hamas and other state and non-state actors. This vital volume is essential to understanding the root causes of the violence destabilising the entire region and the wider world, as well as the conditions required to bring it to an end."

***The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War on Narratives***
(Metropolitan Books, 2009)

With **Michel Warschawski**: ***The 33 Day War: Israel's War on Hezbollah in Lebanon and its Consequences***
(Paradigm Books, 2007)

**Peter Ackerman** & **Christopher Kruegler**, with forewords by **Gene Sharp** & **Hardy Merriman**
***Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century***
(Praeger, 1994)

**Michael Adams**
***Chaos or Rebirth – The Arab Outlook***
(BBC Books, 1968)
Based on a radio series the author did, travelling through Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait and the Sudan, with the Palestinians of course not overlooked.

**Michael Adams** & **Christopher Mayhew**
***Publish it not…The Middle East Cover-Up***
(Longman/Islamic Propagation Centre International, 1975, 1976, 1989; Signal Books, 2006)
The authors take turns relating how Zionist opposition routinely confronted and sometimes defeated the pair: Adams, for his reporting in the *Guardian,* and Mayhew, for his concerns in the House of Commons. After almost 30 years as a Labour MP, Mayhew found himself harassed by Harold Wilson, who was unquestioningly loyal to the Israelis, and so he joined the Liberals. Adams was the Middle East correspondent when his reporting was critical of Israel in the 1960s, that resulted in a drop in sales.

**Michael Adams** & **Guy Ottewell**
***A 20-Year Span and the Rise of Terrorist Gangs to Statehood Can Not Change the Israeli-Zionist Mentality, Bent of Destruction and Terror – Dier Yassin, 1948: Zeita, Beit Nuba and Yalu, 1967***
(PLO/Al-Fateh, ca. 1969-1970) – 22 pages

**RJQ Adams**
***Balfour: The Last Grandee***
(John Murray, 2007)

**Jane Adas, John Mahoney** & **Robert Norberg**, editors
***Burning Issues: Understanding and Misunderstanding the Middle East – A 40 Year Chronicle***
(Americans for Middle East Understanding, 2007)
19 mostly American authors in articles published in *The Link,* the magazine of AMEU)

**Ehud Adiv** (Revolutionary Communist Alliance/Red Front;

***Politics and Identity: a Critical Analysis of Israeli Historiography and Political Thought***
(thesis, University of London, 221 pages, 1998)

**Lucia Admiraal** (University of Groningen, TheNetherlands)
***Confronting Fascism in the Arabic Jewish Press: Intellectual Debates and Entangled Loyalties, 1933-1948***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 232 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "During the 1930s and 1940s, Jews in the Middle East took part in extensive debates on fascism in the public sphere. How did the rise of fascism impact the ways in which Jews in the region envisioned the past, present and future? *Confronting Fascism in the Arabic Jewish Press* examines Jewish discussions on the positions and identities of Jews in the Middle East within the context of multifocal debates on fascism. Focussing on the Arabic Jewish press in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, it studies the ideas of its editors and main contributors and their intellectual networks. Putting those debates within the context of social, political and national reorientations following the end of the Ottoman Empire, the book uses an ideas-based and conceptual approach to also connect this history to global debates on fascism centred on the concepts of race, civilization and religion. In doing so, it situates Jewish discussions on fascism in the Middle East not only at the heart of Arab intellectual history, but also as part of a globalizing public sphere during the interwar, war and immediate post-war periods (1933-1948)."

**Sami Adwan, Dan Bar-On,** & **Eyal Naveh**, editors
***Side By Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine***
(New York City: The New Press, 2012)
Historical overview with the left and right-sided pages each reflecting the narratives of each party.

**Sami Adwan, Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Menachem Klein, Ihab Saloul, Tamir Sorek** & **Mahmoud Yazbak**
***Zoom In: Palestinian Refugees of 1948 – Remembrances***
(Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation / Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011)
Bilingual: Hebrew – English. Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian and Israeli university students are presented with a catalogue of period photographs from 1948 and then asked to provide their personal impressions. These individual reactions are then analyzed by the scholars, providing a multi-perspective commentary and analysis that underscores the urgent need for building greater understanding for the common history of this region. A particularly insightful case study is presented by Menachem Klein and Mahmoud Yazbak who jointly investigate how the 1948 expulsion and deportation of Palestinian refugees from the villages of Aylut and Malul are remembered today, both at the individual and collective levels." Note: This is a free download as well, via historyandreconciliation.org. See also: Efrat Ben-Ze'ev: *Remembering Palestine in 1948 – Beyond Historical Narratives* (Cambridge University Press, 2011)

**Giorgio Agamben**
***State of Exception***
(University of Chicago Press, 2005)
Translated by Kevin Attell. Philosopher's focus on the United States but relevant for 'emergency powers' in Israel. See also Marcelo Svirsky & Simone Bignall, editors: *Agamben and Colonialism* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

**Hussein Agha** (Palestinian negotiator; Oxford University)
With **Robert Mally**: ***Tomorrow is Yesterday: Life, Death, and the Pursuit of Peace in Israel/Palestine***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 250 pages, 2025)
On the defeat of the Oslo Accords.

with **Ahmad S. Khalidi:** ***A Framework for a Palestinian National Security Doctrine***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs / Chatham House, 2006)

with **Ahmad S. Khalidi**: ***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Outline of Alternatives – War and de facto Peace***
(New York City: Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 1972)

with **Shai Feldman** : ***Track-II Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East***
(MIT Press, 2003)

**Varsen Aghabekian** (Palestine Authority Foreign Minister)
***The Saga of Survival: Armenian Palestinians, the British Mandate and the Nakba***
(Dar al-Kalima University Press, 226 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The book depicts the life of the Armenian community during the British Mandate in Palestine. It contributes to the overall narrative about the political and socioeconomic aspects prior to the Nakba and the fundamental changes which have occurred to the indigenous and the uninterrupted presence of Armenians in Palestine. It sheds light on the challenges of the period especially in the year 1948,touching upon Armenian Palestinian's human and material loses, and the long standing impact on the Armenian presence in the Holy Land, enormously affected by a second time refuge to many Armenians. It highlights the Armenian contribution towards protecting and safeguarding the Armenian Patriarchate and the Armenian Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem, recreating the scene through the experiences of those who lived the period or through their descendants."

**Albert Aghazarian**
***Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land***
(Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)

**Iris Agmon** (University of the Negev)
***Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine***
(Syracuse University Press, 288 pages, 2006)

**Eqbal Ahmad**
***Selected Writings of Eqbal Ahmad***
(Columbia University Press, 2006)
Includes some writings on Palestine, including *Pioneering in the Nuclear Age: An Essay on Israel and the Palestinians*.

**Akbar Shahid Ahmed** (Senior Diplomatic Correspondent for the HuffPost)
***Crossing the Red Line: Biden, His Advisors, and Israel's War in Gaza***
(W.W. Norton & Co., 384 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Following Hamas's 7 October attack, this book argues, the Biden administration embraced Israel's military campaign in Gaza with US-provided bombs that were soon massacring Palestinians while Washington did little to free hostages or shield civilians. Protests soon broke out across the US. Still, Joe Biden denied he was providing a blank check to Benjamin Netanyahu. He said he had a red line for Israel–but kept weapons flowing after it was crossed. Through extensive reporting, award-winning journalist Akbar Shahid Ahmed chronicles decision-making inside a White House which followed America's worst instincts in foreign policy. Resisting criticism and course correction, Biden's failures paved the way for Donald Trump to continue down an even darker path. Featuring sharp insights into the workings of the president's inner circle and America's national security

establishment, *Crossing the Red Line* will be essential to understanding the US role in global affairs for decades to come."

**Arin Ahmed** [interviewee], **Benjamin Ben-Eliezer** [interviewer], and **Ron Rege, Jr.** [illustrator]
***She Sometimes Switched to Fluent English and Occasionally Used a Few Words of Hebrew.***
(San Francisco: McSweeney's, 24pp, 2004)
An interview conducted in Israel, June 9, 2002. Arin Ahmed was a Palestinian prisoner who had decided at the last minute not to go through with a suicide bombing, and was arrested by Israeli forces soon thereafter. Transcript adapted into small comic book format.

**Eleanor Aitken** [founder of UNIPAL, charity for educational exchange with Palestinians, est. 1972]
***Ariadne's Thread: Through the Labyrinth to Palestine and Israel***
(Cambridge: Cornelian, 1999)
Work on women human right workers and teachers.

**Sebnem Akkaya**
***Economics of 'Policy-Induced' Fragmentation: The Costs of Closures Regime to West Bank and Gaza***
(Washington DC: World Bank, 32 pages, 2008)
Middle East and North Africa Working Paper Series no. 50; in English with summaries in Arabic and French.

**Susan M. Akram** aka **Susan Akram** (Boston University School of Law), **Michael Dumper, Michael Lynk** (Bos Western University, Ontario) & **Iain Scobbie**, editors
***International Law and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Rights-Based Approach to Middle East Peace***
(Routledge, 2011)
Contents: Myths and realities of the Palestinian refugee problem: reframing the right of return / Susan M. Akram — United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA): protection and assistance to Palestine refugees / Scott Custer, Jr. — Restitution and compensation for Palestinian refugees and displaced persons: principles, practical considerations, and compliance / Terry Rempel and Paul Prettitore — Constructive ambiguities? Jerusalem, international law, and the peace process / Michael Dumper — Legal strategies at the United Nations: a comparative look at Namibia, Western Sahara, and Palestine / Stephanie Koury — "No security without law": prospects for implementing a rights-based approach in Palestinian-Israeli security negotiations / Omar Dajani — Self-determination in the Palestine context / John Quigley — Natural resources and belligerent occupation: perspectives from international humanitarian and human rights / Iain Scobbie — Building the rule of law in Palestine: rule of law without freedom / Feras Milhem and Jamil Salem — One state not two? A cruel examination of the two-states-are-impossible argument for a single-state Palestine/the land of Israel / Ian Lustick — Maximazing rights: the one-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict / George Bisharat.

**Susan M. Akram** aka **Susan Akram** (Boston University School of Law)
***BADIL information and discussion briefs***
(Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Center, 17 pages, 2000)

**Musa Alami** (Palestinian nationalist; see biography by **Sir Geoffrey Furlonge**)
As by the Arab Office, where **Musa Alami** was Director, London: ***The Future of Palestine***
(Beirut: Hermon Books, 100 pages, 1970; reprint of 1947 London edition)

**Musa Alami**, preface.

***The Lesson of Palestine***
(Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 1949)
Off-print from the *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 3 No. 4, October 1949.

**Sheerin Al-Araj**
***The Politics of Human Rights: Using the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in Palestine as a Case Study***
(University of Essex thesis, 2006)
See also **Sari Hanafi**: ***Crossing Borders***

**Aref el-Aref** (Mayor of Jerusalem)
***A Brief Guide to the Dome of the Rock and Al-Haram Al-Sharif***
(Jerusalem: The Supreme Awqaf Council, 100 pages, 1965)

***Bedouin Love, Law and Legend: Dealing Exclusively with the Badu of Beersheba***
(Jerusalem: Cosmos Publishing, 207 pages, 1944)
English version of Arabic original, in collaboration with Harold W. Tilley.

**Sadik al-Azm**
***Self-Criticism after the Defeat***
(London: Saqi Books, 186 pages, 2011)
Translated by **George Stergios**, with foreword by **Fouad Ajami** and an introduction by **Faisal Darraj**.
First published 1968 by Dar al-Taliah, Beirut. Commentary after the 1967 war with focus on Elias Shakir, Ghassan Kanafani, and Jamal al-Sharqawi.

**Seyed Ali Alavi** (SOAS)
***Iran and Palestine: Past, Present, Future***
(Routledge, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Examining the nature of relations between Iran and Palestine, this book investigates the relationship between state and authorities in the Middle East. Analysing the connections of the Iranian revolutionary movements, both the Left and the Islamic camps' perspectives are scrutinized. To provide a historical background to the post-revolutionary period, the genealogy of pro-Palestinian sentiments before 1979 are traced additionally. Demonstrating the pro-Palestinian stance of post-revolutionary Iran, the study focuses on the causes of roots of the ideological outlook and the interest of the state. Despite a growing body of literature on the Iranian Revolution and its impacts on the region, Iran's connection with Palestine have been overlooked. This new volume fills the gap in the literature and enables readers to unpack the history of the two states. This unique and comprehensive coverage of Iran and Palestine's relationship is a key resource for scholars and students interested in international relations, politics, Islamic and Middle East studies."

**Ahmed Fouad Alkhatib** (Atlantic Council)
***Gaza Airport: Stabilizing the Strip with Humanitarian Aviation***
(JSTOR Security Studies, 2016)

**Francesca P. Albanese** (Georgetown University & UNRWA)
***The Moon Will Rise from the Darkness***
(Pluto Press, 224 pages, 2025)

Edited by **Mandy Turner** and **Lex Takkenberg**, with contributions from **Richard Falk**, **John Dugard**, and **Michael Lynk**. Publisher's blurb: "This book compiles Albanese's indispensable and damning reports on Israel's conduct in Palestine since October 2023. First outlining the case that this period should be understood as a genocide, Albanese goes on to explain how the ongoing violence fits into a longer history of Israel's settler colonialism, and finally presents a devastating indictment against the international corporations that treat mass killing and destruction as a business opportunity. The volume also features a reflection by Albanese on the current state of affairs; revelations by her predecessors Richard Falk, John Dugard, and Michael Lynk of their experiences as UN special rapporteurs; and a preface by Lex Takkenberg, a 30-year veteran of UNRWA, co-authored with scholar Mandy Turner."

**Francesca P. Albanese** (Georgetown University & UNRWA) and **Lex Takkenberg** (UNRWA)

***Palestinian Refugees in International Law***
(Clarendon Press / Oxford University Press, by **Lex Takkenberg**, 411 pages, 1998, 2006 (as ***The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law***); second edition, with **Francesca P. Albanese**, 608 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "The Palestinian refugee question, resulting from the events surrounding the birth of the state of Israel seventy years ago, remains one of the largest and most protracted refugee crises of the post-WWII era. Numbering over six million in the Middle East alone, Palestinian refugees' status varies considerably according to the state or territory 'hosting' them, the UN agency assisting them and political circumstances surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict these refugees are naturally associated with. Despite being foundational to both the experience of the Palestinian refugees and the resolution of their plight, international law is often side-lined in political discussions concerning their fate. This compelling new book, building on the seminal contribution of the first edition (1998), offers a clear and comprehensive analysis of various areas of international law (including refugee law, human rights law, humanitarian law, the law relating to stateless persons, principles related to internally displaced persons, as well as notions of international criminal law), and probes their relevance to the provision of international protection for Palestinian refugees and their quest for durable solutions."

**Ammiel Alcalay**

***A Bibliography for After Jews and Arabs***
(Goleta, California: Punctum Books, 116 pages, 2021)

***Memories of Our Future: Selected Essays, 1982-1998***
(San Francisco: City Lights Books, 292 pages, 1999)
Topics include Palestinian and Sephardim intellectual life. With an introduction by **Juan Soytisolo**.

***After Jews and Arabs: Remaking Levantine Culture***
(University of Minnesota Press, 336 pages, 1993)

**Geoffrey Alderman**

***Controversy and Crisis: Studies in the History of the Jews in Modern Britain***
(Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2008)

***London Jewry and London Politics, 1889-1986***
(Routledge, 1989)

***The Jewish Community in British Politics***
(Clarendon Press, 1983)

**Anne Alexander** (*Socialist Worker*)

***The Nakba: Why Israel's Birth was Palestine's Catastrophe and What's the Solution***
(Bookmarks, 2008)

***The New Intifada: Israel, Imperialism and Palestinian Resistance***
(Socialist Workers Party, 22 pages, 2001)

**Edward Alexander** (University of Washington, Tufts University, Hebrew University, Tel-Aviv University)
As co-editor, with **Peter Bogdanor:**; ***The Jewish Divide over Israel: Accusers and Defenders***
(Transaction Publishers, 283 pages, 2008/Routledge, 283 pages, 2017)
Contents: The modern "Hep! Hep! Hep!" / Cynthia Ozick -- Modern Jewish intellectual failure : a brief history / Alvin Rosenfeld -- Israelis against themselves / Edward Alexander -- George Steiner's Jewish problem / Assaf Sagiv -- Future imperfect : Tony Judt blushes for the Jewish state / Benjamin Balint -- The devil state : Chomsky's war against Israel ; Chomsky's ayatollahs ; Norman G. Finkelstein : Chomsky for Nazis / Paul Bogdanor -- Peter Novick : blaming Israel for "too much" Holocaust awareness / David G. Roskies -- Daniel Boyarin and the herd of independent minds / Menachem Kellner -- Marc Ellis : the Torah as a suicide pact / Alan Mittleman -- Antisemitism-denial : the Berkeley school / Edward Alexander -- Jerome Segal and the Stockholm Five : the PLO's Jewish advisers / Jacob Neusner -- Thomas Friedman, diplomat from Chelm / Martin Krossel -- Investigating Seymour Hersh / Rael Jean Isaac -- Benny Morris and the myths of post-Zionist history / Efraim Karsh -- New trends and old hatreds : antisemitism in the twenty-first century / Irving Louis Horowitz.

As editor: ***With Friends Like These: Jewish Critics of Israel***
(New York City: Shapolsky, 1983)

***The Journalists' War Against Israel***
(London: BIPAC, 8 pages, 1982)

**Yonah Alexander**
***Palestinian Secular Terrorism: Profiles of Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine***
(Ardsley, New York: Transnational Publishers, 2003)

***Palestinian Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Islamic Jihad***
(Ardsley, New York: Transnational Publishers, 413 pages, 2002)

With **Joshua Sinai**: ***Terrorism: The PLO Connection***
(Crane Russak, 259 pages, 1989)

**Yousef Alhelou**
***The Desperate Situation in Gaza – More Mayhem in Lebanon***
(Jerusalem Institute for Western Defence, 14 pages, 2007)
Offprint from the *Bulletin of the Jerusalem Institute for Western Defence*, Vol. 20 No. 2.

**Viola Alianov-Rautenberg**
***No Longer Ladies and Gentylemen: Gender and the German-Jewish Migration to Mandatory Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 336 pages, 2023) Publisher's blurb:
"For the sixty thousand German Jews who escaped Nazi Germany and found refuge in Mandatory Palestine between 1933 and 1940, migration meant radical changes: it transformed their professional and cultural lives and confronted them with a new language, climate, and society. Bridging German-Jewish and Israeli history, this book tells the story of German-Jewish migration to Mandatory Palestine/Eretz

Israel as gender history. It argues that this migration was shaped and structured by gendered policies and ideologies and experienced by men and women in a gendered form—from the decision to immigrate and the anticipation of change, through the outcomes for family life, body, self-image, and sexuality. Immigration led to immediate transformations in allocations of tasks within the family, concepts masculinity and femininity, and participation in the labor market and domestic life. Through a close examination of archival materials in German, English, and Hebrew, including administrative records, personal documents, newspapers, and oral history interviews conducted by the author, this book follows Jewish migrants along their journey from Germany and into the workplaces, living rooms, and kitchens of their new homeland, providing a new perspective on everyday life in Mandatory Palestine. Viola Alianov Rautenberg's work illuminates key issues at the intersection of migration studies, German-Jewish studies, and Israeli history, demonstrating how the lens of gender enriches our understanding of social change, power, ethnicity, and nation-building."

**Samia Al-Botmeh** (Birzeit University)
***Palestinian Women's Labour Supply: Towards an Explanation of Low and Fluctuating Female Labour Force Participation***
(University of London SOAS thesis, 331 pages, 2013)

With **Edward Sayre**: ***Employment Generation Schemes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Jerusalem: Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute, 54 pages, 1996)

**Blake Alcott**
***The Rape of Palestine***
(blakealcott.jimdofree.com/publications)
Print and download editions of book documenting the British Government's complicity in establishing the Jewish state, 1 March 1899-27 April 1948, 1,499 pages.

**Al Jana**
***File on Palestinian Oral History***
(Beirut: Arab Resource Centre for Popular Arts, 2002)

**T. Al-Khalil**
***Jerusalem from 1947-1967: A Political Survey***
(Beirut: Economic Press, 1970)

**Zwy Aldouby** and **Jerrold Ballinger**
***The Shattered Silence: The Eli Cohen Affair***
(New York City: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 453 pages, 1971)
Focus on the Arab-Jewish Israeli spy, eventually caught in Syria.

**Asmaa Al-Ghoul** (*Al-Monitor*) and **Selim Nassib** (*Liberation* in France)
***A Rebel in Gaza: Behinds the Lines of the Arab Spring, One Woman's Story***
(Doppelhouse Press, 224 pages, 2018)
Translated by **mike Mitchell**. Publisher's blurb: "A Palestinian journalist who grew up in the Rafah refugee camp in Gaza, Asmaa al-Ghoul offers a rare view of a young woman coming into her own political and secular beliefs amidst the region's relentless violence and under Israeli occupation. She has been called "too strong minded," frequently criticized for not covering her hair and for being outspoken. As a journalist and activist, she has led demonstrations and been vocal in her opposition to Hamas and Fatah, which has led her to family strife, imprisonment, brutal interrogations, death threats and attacks. *A Rebel in Gaza* is Asmaa's story as told to Franco-Lebanese writer Selim Nassib over the course of the

"Arab Spring" through meetings, phone calls, Skype, and even texts during the siege of Gaza in 2014, when Israel conducted Operation Cast Lead in response to several rocket attacks by Hamas and she was locked in the "open air prison" that her homeland had become. Both determined and dedicated to its liberation through writing, education and culture, she paints the sensory portrait of the native country she passionately loves, which over years has become a cauldron of wars and fundamentalism."

**Tariq Ali** (*New Left Review*, *The Guardian*, *The London Review of Books*, CounterPunch)
***Winston Churchill: His Times, His Crimes***
(Verso Books, 448 pages, 2023)
Tangential to Palestine.

***Conversations with Edward Said***
(London & Calcutta: Seagull, 128 pages, 2006)

**Jean Allain**
***International Law in the Middle East: Closer to Power than Justice***
(Ashgate, 2004)

as editor: ***Unlocking the Middle East: The Writings of Richard Falk***
(Moreton-in-Marsh: Arris Publishing, 2003)

**Lori Allen** (SOAS / Cambridge University)
***A History of False Hope: Investigative Commissions in Palestine***
(University of Stanford Press, 432 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book offers a provocative retelling of Palestinian political history through an examination of the international commissions that have investigated political violence and human rights violations. More than twenty commissions have been convened over the last century, yet no significant change has resulted from these inquiries. The findings of the very first, the 1919 King-Crane Commission, were suppressed. The Mitchell Committee, convened in the heat of the Second Intifada, urged Palestinians to listen more sympathetically to the feelings of their occupiers. And factfinders returning from a shell-shocked Gaza Strip in 2008 registered their horror at the scale of the destruction, but Gazans have continued to live under a crippling blockade. Drawing on debates in the press, previously unexamined UN reports, historical archives, and ethnographic research, Lori Allen explores six key investigative commissions over the last century. She highlights how Palestinians' persistent demands for independence have been routinely translated into the numb language of reports and resolutions. These commissions, Allen argues, operating as technologies of liberal global governance, yield no justice—only the oppressive status quo. A History of False Hope issues a biting critique of the captivating allure and cold impotence of international law.

**Jamie Allinson** (University of Edinburgh / Westminster University)
***The Struggle for the State in Jordan: The Social Origins of Alliances in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2015/2016)

**Orna Almog** (Kingston University London)
As co-editor, with **Aysegul Sever**: ***Contemporary Israeli-Turkish Relations in Comparative Perspective***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 248 pages, 2019)
Contains a chapter, *The Mavi Marmara – An Embattled Voyage and its Consequences.*

***Britain, Israel and the United States, 1955-1958***

(Routledge, 248 pages, 2002; Frank Cass Publishing, 243 pages, 2003)
With a foreword by **Donald Cameron Watt**. Based on an earlier London School of Economics PhD thesis, *Beyond Suez – The Anglo-Israeli Relationship, 1956-1958*, 372 pages, 1999. Includes focus on the Arab League boycott of Israel, from 1951. Contents: British interests in the Middle East in the 1950s -- Israeli interests in the Middle East -- The Anglo-Israeli relationship -- From apprehension to co-operation, January-October 1956 -- From the Sinai War to the Israeli Withdrawal, March 1957 -- Beyond Suez: the Israeli withdrawal and the search for a new status quo -- Before the storm: from the Jordanian Crisis to the Lebanese Turbulence, April 1957-June 1958 -- The end of an era: the crisis of 1958 and Anglo-Israeli relations.

**Oz Almog**

***The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew***

(University of California Press, 2000)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**. A sociological, Zionist look at the Israeli elite: how it adopted Palestinian dress and vocabulary for irony, and how the Sabras transformed and rejected both historical Judaism and European Jewish attitudes to fit a new, largely anti-intellectual nationalism. In 1948, soldiers under the Sabra elite leadership, "were strictly forbidden, on penalty of court-martial and severe punishment, to confiscate property of any type." Sources mostly Israeli.

**Shmuel Almog**, **Jehuda Reinharz**, and **Anita Shapira**, editors

***Zionism and Religion***

(Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 352 pages, 1999)

**Shmuel Almog**

***Zionism and the Arabs: Essays***

(Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel, 221 pages, 1983)

**Mohammed Omer Almoghayer** (Al Jazeera, *New York Times,* Democracy Now, *New Statesman*)

***On the Pleasures of Living in Gaza: Remembering a Way of Life Now Destroyed***

(OR Books, 288 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In this book, Mohammed Omer Almoghayer, born and raised in southern Gaza, presents a necessary corrective: What the news reports have rarely shown are the ways in which, prior to Israel's onslaught, the people of Gaza rose above their hardship to enjoy the simple pleasures of human existence. While in no way diminishing the horrors hurled at the Strip since October 7, or the prior suffering of those forced to live in what was effectively an open prison, Omer Almoghayer here tells that story. *On the Pleasures of Living in Gaza* takes the reader on a tour of a most misunderstood and hidden territory, allowing us to discover the community spirit, the enduring family ties, the festivals and pastimes, and the creativity and resourcefulness of people, who, in lives now tragically lost, refused to surrender to hopelessness, snatching moments of joy in the most difficult of circumstances. More than ever, it is vital that we recognize the humanity of people referred to by Israel's defense minister as "animals," and by news organizations around the world by bald numbers of nameless dead. With the sensitivity and insight available to a native Gazan, Mohammed Omer's magnificent book parts the smoke and dust to show us the richness of a way of life Israel has now destroyed." Also includes a section on the author's torture in Gaza by IS.

**Mohammed Omer** aka **Mohammed Omer Almoghayer**

***Shell-Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault***

(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 300 pages, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "Operation Protective Edge, launched in early July 2014, was the third major Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip in six years. It was also the most deadly. By the conclusion of hostilities some seven weeks later, 2,200 of Gaza's population had been killed, and more than 10,000 injured. In these pages, journalist Mohammed Omer, a resident of Gaza who lived through the terror of those days with his wife and then three-month-old son, provides a first-hand account of life on-the-ground during Israel's assault. The images he records in this extraordinary chronicle are a literary equivalent of Goya's 'Disasters of War': children's corpses stuffed into vegetable refrigerators, pointlessly because the electricity is off; a family rushing out of their home after a phone call from the Israeli military informs them that the building will be obliterated by an F-16 missile in three minutes; donkeys machine-gunned by Israeli soldiers under instructions to shoot anything that moves; graveyards targeted with shells so that mourners can no longer tell where their relatives are buried; fishing boats ablaze in the harbor. Throughout this carnage, Omer maintains the cool detachment of the professional journalist, determined to create a precise record of what is occurring in front of him. But between his lines the outrage boils, and we are left to wonder how a society such as Israel, widely-praised in the West as democratic and civilized, can visit such monstrosities on a trapped and helpless population."

**Ahmed Alnaouq** and **Pam Bailey**, editors
***We Are Not Numbers: The Voices of Gaza's Youth***
(Cornerstone Publishing, 272 pages, 2024 / Olive Branch Press, 343 pages, 2025)
Contains up to 75 essays and poems, with the title taken from Huda Skaik: "Tell the, tell them, we are more than numbers, more than silent echoes in a ledger of loss. We are families entwined in love, friends, living in the shadows of our hopes, bound by dreams…"

**Sara Alpern** (Texas A&M University)
***Freda Kirchwey: A Woman of The Nation***
(Harvard University Press, 1987)
Longime editor of the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, and supporter of the Zionist cause as antifascist.

**Nasser Al-Rayyes**
***The Israeli Settlements from the Perspective of International Humanitarian Law***
(Ramallah: Al-Haq Institute, 139 pages, 2000)

**Riad el-Rayyes** and **Dunia Nahas**
***Guerrillas for Palestine***
(Croom Helm/Portico Publications, 115 pages, 1976)

**Riad el-Rayyes** and **Dunia Nahas**, editors
***The October War: Documents, Personalities, Analyses, and Maps***
(Beirut: An-Nahar Press Services, 1973)

***Politics in Uniform: A Study of the Military in the Arab World and Israel***
(Beirut: An-Nahar Press Services, 1973)

**Gur Alroey** (University of Haifa)
***Land of Refuge: Immigration to Palestine, 1919-1927***
(Indian University Press, 344 pages, 2024)
Experiences of Jewish immigrants; translated by **Deborah Stern**.

***An Unpromising Land: Jewish Migration to Palestine in the Early Twentieth Century***
(Stanford University Press, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "From the beginning of the twentieth century until the First World War, about 35,000 Jews reached Palestine. Because of this difference in scale and because of the place the land of Israel possesses in Jewish thought, historians and social scientists have tended to apply different criteria to immigration, stressing the uniqueness of Jewish immigration to Palestine and the importance of the Zionist ideology as a central factor in that immigration. This book questions this assumption, and presents a more complex picture both of the causes of immigration to Palestine and of the mass of immigrants who reached the port of Jaffa in the years 1904–1914."

**Jamal Al-Shareef**
***Language Change and Variation in Palestine: A Case Study of Jabalia Refugee Camp***
(University of Leeds PhD thesis, 2002)
Jabalia camp led Gaza resistance in 1967.

**Alternative Tourism Group**
***Palestine and Palestinians: Guidebook***
(Ramallah: ATG, 2008)

**Roy K. Altman** (US District Judge)
***Israel on Trial: Examining the History, the Evidence, and the Law***
(Advantage Books, 304 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Applying courtroom-tested standards—burden of proof, corroboration, chain of custody—he [author] examines claims of colonialism, apartheid, and genocide with dispassionate precision."

**Mohammed Al-Zaqzooq** and **Mahmoud Alshaer**, Gaza editors
***Letters from Gaza: By the People, from the Year That Has Been***
(Penguin/Random House, 240 pages, 2025)
Introduction by **Atef Abu Saif**.

**American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee** (San Francisco chapter)
***The Palestinian Al Aqsa Intifada 2000 Reader***
(AAAC, 94pp, 2000)

**American Christian Palestine Committee** (Zionist supporting organisation, which published a magazine, *Land Reborn*, January 1950 – May 1961)
**Karl Baehr**: ***In Search of Brotherhood in the Holy Land***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 1954)
Offprint from *The Churchman*, January-February 1954.

**Karl Baehr**: ***Arab and Jewish Refugees: Problems and Prospect***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 12 pages, ca. 1953)

**Carl Hermann Voss**: ***Answers on the Palestine Question***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 4th edition revised, 64 pages, 1949)
Based on *Questions and Answers on the Palestine Problem*, which appeared in *The Woman's Press,* September 1946.

**Walter Clay Lowdermilk**: ***The Untried Approach to the Palestine Problem***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 11 pages, ca. 1948)

**Howard M. LeSourd**: ***A Christian Looks at Palestine: An Address Delivered at the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, July 1, 1947***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 16 pages, 1947)

**Reinhold Niebuhr**: ***Reinhold Niebuhr Discusses Palestine with the British***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 1946)
Offprint of article from the *Spectator*, 61 August 1946, entitled 'A New View on Palestine'.

***The Arab War Effort: A Documented Account***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 48 pages, 1946)

**Sumner Welles**: ***Palestine's Rightful Destiny***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 16 pages, 1946)
Address to the Maryland Christian conference on Palestine held in Baltimore.

**Wendell Phillips**: ***Before the Bar of History***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee/American Palestine Committee, 12 pages, 1945)
Based on a speech given in Toronto, 22 March 1925.

**Eduard C. Lindeman**: ***Palestine: Test of Democracy: Address***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 8 pages, 1944)

**American Council for Judaism** (anti-Zionist organisation)

***"After Searching Our Conscience…" – A Statement by American Rabbis on the American Council for Judaism.***
(Likely New York City, 15 pages, 1956)
Statement of members of the American Rabbinate denouncing the ACJ, stating that it slanders Jews and negates Judaism. Quote: "Most reprehensible of all the Council's slanders is the charge that American Jews who adhere to the ideas of Zionism are guilty of 'dual loyalty.' This is a lie which has long been the tool of anti-Semites; with contempt we see it revived today by those who call themselves Jews....One thousand three hundred and twelve rabbis representing all three branches of American Judaism – Orthodox, Conservative and Reform – in a joint declaration issued on May 6, denounced the American Council for Judaism, asserting that this group 'has consistently misrepresented the Jewish people before the bar of public opinion.'"

***False Witness: The record of the American Council for Judaism***
(New York City: American Zionist Council, 13 pages, 1955)
Early statehood critique of the American Jewish anti-Zionist organization, accusing the ACJ of affiliating with Gerald L.K. Smith [Christian Nationalist Crusade] and Merwin K. Hart. Contains a foreword by **Albert Einstein**, in which he compares the AJC to the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith in pre-War Europe.

**American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine**

**Nadim Ajlouny**: ***History of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, 1959-2008***
(Detroit: American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, 2009)

**American Fund for Palestinian Institutions**

***Report of 1943 Activities Program for 1944***

(New York City: AFPI, 47 pages, 1944)
With an introductory greeting from the Chair, **Albert Einstein**.

**American Jewish Committee**

***In Vigilant Brotherhood: The American Jewish Committee's Relationship to Palestine and Israel***
(New York City: AJC, 72 pages, assumed ca. 1943)

**American Jewish Conference**

***Statement of the American Jewish Conference on the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee: Adopted by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, November 7th, 1943***
(New York City, AJC, 15 pages, 1943)
Confidential statement of the American Jewish Conference on the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee: adopted by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, November 7th, 1943. Statement of the "unanimous decision of the Interim Committee to challenge the action of the American Jewish Committee in withdrawing from the American Jewish Conference and thereby attempting to undermine Jewish unity at the hour of its greatest need". - Confidential Congress Report, American Jewish Congress, November 1943. The reason for withdrawal was the schism over the centrality of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine above other issues of concern—including aid to refugees from Europe and political work to push the US on involvement in Europe.

**American Zionist Emergency Council**

With **Moshe Shertok** and **David Ben Gurion**: ***The Jewish Agency before the United Nations: May 1947 – Statements***
(New York City: AZEC, 20 pages, 1947.

**Abba Hillel Silver**: ***After the U.N. Decision on Palestine***
(New York City: AMEC, 12 pages, ca. 1947)

**Ernst Frankenstein**: ***An Open Letter to Ernest Bevin***
(New York City: AZEC, 16 pages, ca. 1946)

***Palestine in the Press – A Selection of Articles and Editorials in America's Press of August, 1946***
(New York City: AZEC, 28 pages, 1946)

***The Jewish State***
(New York City: AZEC, 160 pages, 1946)
Translated by **Sylvia D'Avigdor**, revised by **Jacob M. Alkow**; with a biography based on the work of Alex Bein.

**Major Lewis Rabinowitz** aka **Lewis I. Rabinowitz** (Senior Jewish chaplain to the Eighth Army): ***Soldiers from Judaea – Palestinian Units in the Middle East, 1941-1943***
(London: Victor Gollancz Publishing / AZEC, 84 pages, 1945)

**Dorothy Thompson**: ***There is Only One Answer***
(New York City: AZEC, 11 pages, ca. 1944)
America's most famous woman news reporter of the 1930s and 1940s, put out of business by the Zionist lobby by the end of the decade.

***Shall the Door be Shut?***
(New York City: AZEC, 15 pages, ca. 1944)

Contents: Shall the door be shut? -- The White Paper: a summary -- The breach of a solemn obligation: a speech in the House of Commons during the debate on the White Paper, May 22, 1939 / Winston Churchill -- The mandate for Palestine.

***Reuben Fink*: *America and Palestine – The Attitude of Official America and of the American People Toward the Rebuilding of Palestine as a Free and Democratic Jewish Commonwealth***
(New York City: AZEC, 522 pages, 1944)

**Anan Ameri** (PLO Research Center, Beirut; Arab American National Museum, Dearborn, Michigan)
***The Wandering Palestinian: A Memoir***
(Plymouth, Michigan: BHC Press, 218 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "…chronicles her life from 1974 in Beirut, Lebanon to Detroit, Michigan as she learns how to adjust to culture shock, finds her independence, and becomes a driving force in Detroit's large and politically active Arab American community—an involvement that helped her break away from her isolation, resume her activism, and paved the way for her to become a recognized and respected leader in her community." With foreword by **Evelyn Alsultany**. Possibly a reprint of ***The Scent of Jasmine: Coming of Age in Jerusalem and Damascus*** (Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Brance Press, 224 pages, 2017). See also **Palestine Fiction**.

**L.S. Amery** (a co-author of the Balfour Declaration)
***My Political Life***
Autobiography Vol. 2
(Hutchinson, 1953)

**Amnesty International** (International Secretariat) – many publications, including:
***Unlawful and Deadly: Rocket and Mortar Attacks by Palestinian Armed Groups During the 2014 Gaza/Israel Conflict***
(AI, 2015)

***'Strangling Necks': Abductions, Torture and Summary Killings of Palestinians by Hamas Forces during the 2014 Gaza/Israel Conflict***
(AI, 2015)

***'Nothing is Immune': Israel's Destruction of Landmark Buildings in Gaza***
(AI, 2014)

***Exiled and Suffering: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon***
(AI, 2007)

***Enduring Occupation: Palestinians under Siege in the West Bank***
(AI, 2007)

***Iraq: Human Rights Abuses against Palestinian Refugees***
(AI, 2007)

***Occupied Palestinian Territories: Torn apart by Factional Strife***
(AI, 2007)

***Israel/Lebanon: Under Fire: Hizbullah's Attacks on Northern Israel***
(AI, 2006)

***Israel/Lebanon: Deliberate Destruction of 'Collateral Damage?' Israeli Attacks on Civilian Infrastructure***

(AI, 2006)

***Israel/Lebanon: Israel and Hizbullah Must Spare Civilians: Obligations under International Humanitarian law of the Parties to the Conflict in Israel and Lebanon***
(AI, 2006)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: The Road to Nowhere***
(AI, 2006)

***Israel / Lebanon: Out of All Proportion: Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War***
(AI, 2006)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Occupation, Conflict and Patriarchy: Women Carry the Burden***
(AI, 2005)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: The Place of the Fence/Wall in International Law***
(AI, 2004)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Families Split by Discriminatory Policies***
(AI, 2004)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Under the Rubble: House Demolition and Destruction of Land and Property*** **[Executive Summary]**
(AI, 2004)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Surviving under Seige: The Impact of Movement Restrictions on the Right to Work***
(AI, 2003)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Israel Must End its Policy of Assassinations***
(AI, 2003)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: The Issue of Settlements Must be Addressed According to International Law***
(AI, 2003)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Shielded from Scrutiny – IDF Violations in Jenin and Nablus***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Without Distinction; Attacks on Civilians by Palestinian Armed Groups***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Killing the Future: Children in the Line of Fire***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Without Distinction: Attacks on Civilians by Palestinian Armed Groups***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Mass Detention in Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Conditions***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories:The Heavy Price of Israeli Incursions***
(AI, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Killing the Future: Children in the Line of Fire***
(AI, 29 pages, 2002)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: The Right to Return: The Case of the Palestinians***
(AI, 2001)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: State Assassinations and other Unlawful Killings***
(AI, 2001)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories/Palestinian Authority: the Right to Return: the Case of the Palestinians***
(AI, 2001)

***Palestinian Authority: Silencing Dissent***
(AI, 2000)

***Medical Letter Writing Action: Killings and Disrupted Health Care in the Context of the Palestinian Uprising***
(AI, 2000)

***Israel / Lebanon: Attacks on Lebanese Civilians in South Lebanon by Israeli Forces***
(AI, 2000)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Mass Arrests and Police Brutality***
(AI, 2000)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Excessive Use of Lethal Force***
(AI, 2000)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Demolition and Dispossession: The Destruction of Palestinian Homes***
(AI, 1999)

***Israel – The Price of Principles: Imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors***
(AI, 1999)

***Palestinian Authority: Defying the Rule of Law; Political Detainees Held without Charge or Trial***
(AI, 1999)

***Syria: Caught in a Regional Conflict; Lebanese, Palestinian and Jordanian Political Detainees in Syria***
(AI, 1999)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Demolition and Dispossession; the Destruction of Palestinian Homes***
(AI, 1999)

***Israel/Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Five Years after the Oslo Agreement; Human Rights Sacrificed for 'Security'***

(AI, 1998)

***Israel/South Lebanon: Israel's Forgotten Hostages – Lebanese Detainees in Israel and Khiam Detention Centre***
(AI, 1997)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Administrative Detention: Despair, Uncertainty and Lack of Due Process***
(AI, 1997)

***'Under Constant Medical Supervision': Torture, Ill-Treatment and health Professionals in Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(AI, 1996)

***Palestinian Authority: Death in Custody of Mahmud Jumayel***
(AI, 1996)

***Palestinian Authority: Prolonged Political Detention, Torture and Trials***
(AI, 37 pages, 1996)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Death by Shaking: The Case of 'Abd al-Samad Harizat***
(AI, 1995)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories: Oral Statement to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Israeli Occupied Territories***
(AI, 1995)

***Israel and the Occupied Territories, including the Areas Under the Jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority: Trial at Midnight; Secret, Summary, Unfair Trials in Gaza***
(AI, 1995)

***Town Arrest Orders in Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(AI, 1984)

***Report and Recommendations of an Amnesty International Mission to the Government of the State of Israel , 3-7 June 1979, including the Government's Response and Amnesty International Comments***
(AI, 1980)

***Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic to Investigate Allegations of Ill-Treatment and Torture, 10-24 October 1974***
(1975)

***Arab Prisoners under Israeli Occupation: Reports on the Treatment of Certain Prisoners under Interrogation in Israel***
(AI with Baghdad: Iraqi Ministry of Information, ca. 1970s)
NOTE: Amnesty International's *Annual Reports* and many exclusively online reports.

**Yehuda Amon** and **Haim Nahmias**

***Soldiers' Tales: Two Palestinian Jewish Soldiers in the Ottoman Army during the First World War***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 283 pages, 2013)
Translated, with an introduction, by **Glenda Abramson**.

**John W. Amos II**

***Palestinian Resistance: Organization of a Nationalist Movement***
(Pergamon Press, 472 pages, 1980)

***Arab-Israeli Military/Political Relations: Arab Perceptions and the Politics of Excalation***
(Pergamon Press, 382 pages, 1979)

**Sami 'Amr**

***A Young Palestinian's Diary, 1941-1945: The Life of Sami 'Amr***
(University of Texas Press, 2009)
Translated, annotated and with an introduction by Kimberly Katz; with foreword by Salim Tamari. Publisher's blurb: "Writing in his late teens and early twenties, Sami'Amr gave his diary an apt subtitle: "The Battle of Life", encapsulating both the political climate of Palestine in the waning years of the British Mandate as well as the contrasting joys and troubles of family life. Now translated from the Arabic, Sami's diary represents a rare artefact of turbulent change in the Middle East. Written over four years, these ruminations of a young man from Hebron brim with revelations about daily life against a backdrop of tremendous transition. Describing the public and the private, the modern and the traditional, Sami muses on relationships, his station in life, and other universal experiences while sharing numerous details about a pivotal moment in Palestine's modern history. Making these never-before-published reflections available in translation, Kimberly Katz also provides illuminating context for Sami's words, laying out biographical details of Sami, who kept his diary private for close to sixty years. One of a limited number of Palestinian diaries available to English-language readers, the diary of Sami'Amr bridges significant chasms in our understanding of Middle Eastern, and particularly Palestinian, history."

**Ziad Abu-Amr**

***Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad***
(Indiana University Press, 169 pages, 1994)

***Emerging Trends in Palestinian Strategic Political Thinking and Practice***
(East Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs/PASSIA, 1992)

**Ahmad al-Bazz** (Nablus-based photographer, journalist and documentary filmmaker)

***The Erasure of Palestine***
(MuseumsEtc, 312 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "*The Erasure of Palestine* is the result of a three-year journey by award-winning photographer and filmmaker Ahmad Al-Bazz, to record the hundreds of Palestinian villages and towns depopulated and destroyed during the creation and expansion of Israel, from 1948 to the present. Through more than 70 large, detailed colour photographs and extensive research, the book documents the destruction that has accompanied the creation and development of the state of Israel. Today, unmistakable traces of destroyed Palestinian communities haunt nearly every Israeli settlement, revealing not only a past catastrophe but an ongoing process - a continuous history of colonisation and removal. The evidence points to the inescapable fact that cleansing has been, from the outset, a central pillar of Israel's existence and policy - both as a method and as a long-term strategy."

**Samir N. Anabtawi** (Dartmouth College, Vanderbilt University, Princeton University, Harvard University, American University Beirut, Kuwait University, King Saud University)

***Palestinian Higher Education in the West Bank and Gaza: A Critical Assessment***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986)

**Anadolu Agency Kitap Press** (Ankara news agency)

***Sanik – The Perpetrator***
(Kitap Press, 354 pages, 2025)
Edited by **Gösel Ulutabak** and **Selman Aksünger**. Contains many high-quality photographs of atrocities. Chapters: The Architects and Implementers of Genocide / Global Complicity in Genocids: Arms, Capital, and Diplomatic Shielding / The Cultural Front of Genocide: The Silence of Academic, Media, and the Arts.

***Tanik – The Witness***
(Kitap Press, 355 pages, 2025)
Edited by **Gösel Ulutabak**, **Fethullah Ceylan**, and **Ömer M. Çolakoğlu**. Contains many high-quality photographs of atrocities. Focuses on hundreds of journalists, medical staff, and civilians, many slain by the Israeli's genocide.

***The Evidence***
(Kitap Press, 367 pages, 2025)
Edited by **Gösel Ulutabak** and **Fethullah Ceylan**. Contents: **John Quigley** – From 1948 to 2023: A Legal Analysis of Israel's Actions in Gaza and its Continual Violations of International Law / **Gilles Devers** – The Best Response to Violence is Justice / War Crimes Comitted by Israel in Gaza According to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; Article 5: Crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court; Article 6: Genocide, a killing of group members; Article 7: Crimes Against Humanity, murder, mass destruction included deliberately worsening living conditions; Article 8: War Crimes; Evidence of the use of white phosphorus bombs, prohibited under the Third Protocol of the Convention on CVertain Conventional Weapons; a legal assessment of the Israeli Military actions in Gaza; interview with Dr. Mads Gilbert; a list of 172 journalists slain by the Israeli genocide.

**Ali Ihsan Aydin** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University) and **Zekeriya Kurşun** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University)**:** ***Jerusalem in 101 Questions***
(Ankara: Anadolu Agency Kitap Press, 163 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "101 questions about the city's journey from its earliest days to the present with a particular emphasis on its significance to the Abrahamic religions."

**Colin Andersen**
***Balfour in the Dock***
(Skyscraper Publications, 2017)
Biography of **J.M.N. Jeffries**, with excerpts from his writings. See also: JMN Jeffries

**Betty S. Anderson**
***The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education***
(University of Texas Press, 254 pages, 2011-2012)
Linking Western 'Liberal' education with Arab Nationalism.

**Robin Andersen** (Fordham University)
***The Complicit Lens: US Media Coverage of Israel's Genocide in Gaza***
(OR Books / Institute for Palestine Studies, 332 pages, 2026)
Introduction by **Rashid Khalidi**. Publisher's blurb: "Commencing with the October 7, 2023, attack, *The Complicit Lens* scrutinizes mainstream journalism, contrasting it with social media reports and international news coverage. It reveals how legacy media presented Israeli violence as defensive and justified, casting doubt on IDF bombings, employing passive language to deflect blame for atrocities, and repeating Israeli talking points, often word-for-word. Massacres of those seeking food became "aid-related deaths," whilst missile attacks on tented refugees were "tragic mistakes." Meanwhile, well-worn tropes of war propaganda, including claims of the beheading of babies and mass rapes, subsequently revealed to be without foundation, were used to justify Israeli actions and obscure culpability. Andersen

documents the targeting of journalists and aid workers in what has become the deadliest conflict for each on record. She spotlights the editorial censorship that prohibited the use of terms such as "genocide" and "massacre" in the reporting of Palestinian deaths. And, as global protests against the Gaza genocide gathered strength, she examines the hostile media portrayal of these uprisings, particularly those led by young people and Jewish organizations."

**Charles Anderson** (Western Washington University)

***Will the Real Palestinian Peasantry Please Sit Down? Towards a New History of British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1936***

(LSE Middle East Centre, PDF only, 2015)

***From Petition to Confrontation: The Palestinian National Movement and the Rise of Mass Politics, 1929-1939***

(PhD thesis, New York University, 2013)

**Fannie Fern Andrews** (Harvard University / Radcliffe College)

***The Holy Land under Mandate***

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin; Volume 1 – 361 pages, Volume 2 – 436 pages and containing the index to both volumes, 1931)

Based on the author's PhD thesis at Harvard University and subsequent decade of research, with prolonged stays in the newly-created Syria, Iraq, and British Mandate Palestine, investigating the legal basis and consequences of the Mandatory system.

**Swee Chai Ang** (renowned orthopaedic surgeon active in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Gaza)

***From Beirut to Jerusalem: A Woman Doctor with the Palestinians***

(Times Books International / Grafton Books, 302 pages, 1989; expanded edition on the 40th anniversary of the Israel-conducted Shatila-Sabra massacre, 406 pages 2023)

Note: see also Dr Pauline Cutting, Dr [Christos] Chris Giannou and Dr Runa MacKay.

**Simon Anglim**

***Orde Wingate, the Iron Wall and Counter-Terrorism in Palestine, 1937-1939***

Shrivenham: Strategic and Combat Studies Institute paper no. 49, 54 pages, 2005)

**Anglo-American Committee**

***A Survey of Palestine Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*** (2 volumes in 10 parts; 1139 pages total) and ***Supplement, June 1947*** (single volume 153 pages)

(Jerusalem, 1946 / Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991).

Ten public hearings held in Jerusalem between the 8-26th March, 1946. These were public hearings at which representatives from Arab countries and agencies and Jewish leaders and agencies were given opportunities before the committee to present their points of view. Statements were heard from, amongst others, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion and David Horowitz for the Jewish Agency, Jamal Effendi Husseini representing the Arabs of Palestine, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi representing the Arab Higher Committee, and Martin Buber representing Ihud. Held at King's College London.

**Anglo-Palestinian Club**

***Constitution Rules, Reference 1946***

(London: Anglo-Palestinian Club, 32 pages, 1946)

Note: In August 1940, David Ben-Gurion attended a reception at the Club in 43-44 Great Windmill Street (Piccadilly) for members of the Palestinian Company of the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps.

**Anonymous**

***Who Will Tell My Story?: A Gaza Diary***

(Guardian Faber, 304 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "On the ground in Gaza during the first months of the Israeli-Palestine conflict, the author of this diary maps out the physical and psychological terrain of a life under siege. Traversing the bombed ruins of his country, we see him as he searches for foodstuffs and power to charge devices, maintaining contact with the outside world, checking in with his friends and family along the way; we see his heart swing between despair and faith, fear and optimism, his mind imagining different futures and confronting the brutal truth of his present. The author is a Palestinian man in his thirties. He lived in Gaza with his family and contributed a diary to the *Guardian* newspaper following the attacks on Gaza after the events of October 7th, 2023. After some time, he was able to flee the country; he hopes to return to his home."

**Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith** aka **ADL**

***Pro-Arab Propaganda in America: Vehicles and Voices: A Handbook***

(ADL, plastic comb-binding, 118 pages, 1983)

**George Antonius**

***The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement***

(Hamish Hamilton, 1938)

Landmark Mandate-era book. See Antonius-related: Susan Silsby Boyle; Thomas Hodgkin; and novelist Soraya Antonius.

**Seth Anziska**

***Preventing Palestine: A Political History from Camp David to Oslo***

(Princeton University Press, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "On the fortieth anniversary of the Camp David Accords, a ground-breaking new history that shows how Egyptian-Israeli peace ensured lasting Palestinian statelessness For seventy years Israel has existed as a state, and for forty years it has honored a peace treaty with Egypt that is widely viewed as a triumph of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East. Yet the Palestinians–the would-be beneficiaries of a vision for a comprehensive regional settlement that led to the Camp David Accords in 1978–remain stateless to this day. How and why Palestinian statelessness persists are the central questions of Seth Anziska's ground-breaking book, which explores the complex legacy of the agreement brokered by President Jimmy Carter. Based on newly declassified international sources, Preventing Palestine charts the emergence of the Middle East peace process, including the establishment of a separate track to deal with the issue of Palestine. At the very start of this process, Anziska argues, Egyptian-Israeli peace came at the expense of the sovereignty of the Palestinians, whose aspirations for a homeland alongside Israel faced crippling challenges. With the introduction of the idea of restrictive autonomy, Israeli settlement expansion, and Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the chances for Palestinian statehood narrowed even further. The first Intifada in 1987 and the end of the Cold War brought new opportunities for a Palestinian state, but many players, refusing to see Palestinians as a nation or a people, continued to steer international diplomacy away from their cause. Combining astute political analysis, extensive original research, and interviews with diplomats, military veterans, and communal leaders, Preventing Palestine offers a bold new interpretation of a highly charged struggle for self-determination."

**A.M. Apelbom**

***Annotated Laws of Palestine, a Statement of the Stature Laws of Palestine in Alphabetical Order with Cross-References, Annotation to Decided Cases, Notes on Practice, etc.***
(Tel-Aviv: S. Bursi, 80 pages, 1947)
Addresses procedural law in the various jurisdictions and district courts established in Palestine across the Turkish, British Mandate, etc.

**ARIJ – The Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem** (organisation monitoring Israel's violations of United Nations laws and resolutions)

***Geopolitical Status of Bethlehem Governate***
(2007), with other volumes on Jerusalem, Ramallah, Qalqilya, etc, ca. 2006-2007

***The Status of the Environment in the West Bank***
(317 pages plus maps, 1997)

**Arab American Action Network (AAAN) Arab Women's Committee (AWC)**

***Towards the Sun***
(Chicago/
Washington DC: Tadween Publishing, 2018)
Contents: Towards the sun / by **Rasmea Odeh** -- Arab American Action Network : emergence and goals -- The Arab Women's Committee : goals and reality -- The Committee's achievements -- Oral history writing project -- Towards the sun / by **Nadine Suleiman Naber** -- The beginning of hope / by **Um Mahfouz** -- No despair with life / by **Wafa Jaber** -- Immigration and adaptability / by **Makeeza Joudah** -- As you sow, so will you reap / by **Um Bader** -- Age differences / by Um Leena -- The cost of alienation / by **Fa'ida Sahour** -- Alienation and suffering / by **Fatmah Tabally** -- Time is a double-edged sword / by **Manhal Abdel-Haq** -- A mother is a school for the nation / by **Halima Alrushadi** -- "The darkest hour is the one before dawn" / by Amina Ashuaibi -- A blessing in disguise / by **Fayzeh Harb** -- If I could only go back in time! / by **Wafa Jaber** -- Job opportunity / by Um Sami -- Volunteering is the beginning / by **Um Suhaib** -- You get your rights if you demand them / by **Um Ahmad** -- Where is justice? / by **Um Ayman** -- The innocent becomes the accused / by Randa Ibraheem -- Gaza, shout! / by **Fa'ida Sahouri** -- Gaza massacres / by **Halima Alrushadi**.

**Arab Association for Human Rights** (Nazareth organisation)

***The Unrecognized Villages in the Negev: Update, 2003***
(Nazareth/Beersheba: AAHR and the Regional Council For the Unrecognized Villages)
Submission to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 30th Session, Israel, 5-23 May 2003.

***The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel: Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.***
(Nazareth AAHR, 139 pages, 1998)
Edited by **Fiona McKay**, **Mohammed Zeidan** and **Richard Ratcliffe**. A Report Presented by the Arab Association for Human Rights to the UN CESR Committee on Israel's Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

**Sabine Goodwin**: ***Discrimination in Education against the Arab Palestinians in Israel***
(Nazareth: AAHR, 19 pages, ca. 1994)

***Arab Bulletin: Bulletin of the Arab Bureau in Cairo***
(Gerrards Cross, Bucks: Archive Editions, 1986)
Reprint of the bulletin originally published with restricted circulation, 1916-1919, with indexes for 1917, 1917 and 1918, and supplementary *Notes on the Middle East*, nos. 1-4, 1919-1920.

**Arab Higher Committee for Palestine**

***The Just Solution of the Palestine Problem is Key to the Middle East Peace***
(AHCfP, New York Palestine Delegation, 4 page pamphlet, 1969)

**Issa Nakhleh** for the AHCfP: ***The Liberation of Palestine is Supported by International Law and Justice***
(AHCfP, New York Palestine Delegation, 16 page pamphlet, ca. 1969)

***Palestine: The Arab Case – Being a Statement Made Before the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nation's*** [sic] ***Organization on 9th May 1947***
(Cairo: Costa Tsoumas & Co./ AHCfP, 1947)

***A Collection of Official Documents Relating to the Palestine Question Submitted to the General Assembly of the UN***
(New York City : AHCfP, 1947)

**Arab Information Center** (New York City)

***The Truth about Israeli Peace Offers***
(AIC, 26 pages, 1961)

**Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories**

**Abdel Nasser Al-Jajjar**: ***A Look at the Deportation of a Group of Arab Journalists***
(Jerusalem: Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories, 11 pages, 1987)

**Adnan Idrees**: ***Palestinian Journalism under Occupation***
(Jerusalem: Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories, 34 pages, 1987)

**Muhammed Khalil Al-Faqih**: ***Journalistic Institutions in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories, 19 pages, 1987)

***The Palestinian Journalist***
(Jerusalem: Public Relations Committee, Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories, 18 pages, 1982)

**Arab League / League of Arab States**

***Operation Iron Fist: Israeli Policy in Lebanon***
(London: League of Arab States, 31 pages, 1985)
Includes 40 April1985 testimony of Salah Ta'mari, Ansar detainee.

***Tears from Palestinian Children to God***
(20 pages, full page colour illustrations of children's paintings, 1985)

with the PLO : ***In Remembrance: Sabra & Chatila*** [Shatila]
(London: League of Arab States, 8pp, 1983)

***For the Record: Intransigence Leads to Escalation – Who is Responsible?***
(London: Arab League, 94 pages, 1972)
Offprints from the *Guardian, Times, Daily Telegraph*, January-November 1971)

***Gaza: British Press Reports***
(London: Arab League, 31 pages, ca. 1972)

***Israeli Socialism: A Reality or a Myth?***
(London: Arab League, 31 pages, 1970)

***The Palestinian Arabs***
(Arab League, 1970)
Single sheet folded into six pages, with cut-out design in the shape of Israel, which shows the impact of Israeli occupation of Palestinian land if transposed to Britain.

**Israel Shahak** and **Uriel Davis**: ***Israelis versus Israel: Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights***
(London: Arab League, 20 pages, 1970)

***Zionism: A Racist Expansionist Movement***
(36pp, 1968)

**Arab Women's Information Committee** (allied with the Institute for Palestine Studies and the PLO Research Center, Beirut)

***Who are the Terrorists? Aspects of Zionist and Israeli Terrorism***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies and the AWIC, 74 pages, 1972)
Activities documented include terrorism against Palestinians, British occupiers, and even Jews, starting from 1933.

***Jerusalem: The Rape of the Old City***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society/AWIC, 3 pages including maps, possible 10 page edition, 1970, 1972)

**Mahmoud Darwish**: ***The Palestinian Chalk Circle***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 14 pages, ca.1977)

***The A B C of the Palestine Problem: Part 1, 1896-1949 / Part 2: 1949-1967***
(Beirut: AWIC/Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine, 2 volumes, 1969-1971)

***Gaza 1970: A City Besieged***
(Beirut: AWIC, 26 pages, 1971)

***The Facts about the Palestinian Problem: Women's Resistance***
(Beirut: AWIC, 22 pages, 1970)

***The Arabs under Israeli Occupation 1970***
(Beirut: AWIC, in 3 parts, 148, 162, 171 pages, 1970-1971)
Note: total 14 volumes issued between 1968-1981. Vols 1968-1961 issued by the AWIC and the Institute for Palestine Studies; 1972-1974 by the IPS and the Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine; 1975-1981 by the IPS.

***Israel and the Demilitarized Zones***
(Beirut: AWIC, 8 pages, ca. 1966 or 1969)

***Memorandum on the Treatment of Arabs in the Israeli Occupied Territories during 1969***
(Beirut: AWIC, 191 or 194 pages, 1970)

***The Arabs under Israeli Occupation: Memorandum Submitted by the Arab Women's Information Committee to the Regional Conference on Human Rights, Beirut, 1968***
(Beirut: AWIC, 1968)
Contents: Introduction

(2 p.).-- Doc.l. Treatment of prisoners and torture (14 p.).-- Doc.2. Forcible transfer and deportation (12 p.).-- Doc.3. Destruction of property (8 p.).-- Doc.4. Collective penalties (7 p.).-- Doc.5. Attacks on hospitals. Treatment of Red Cross personnel (4 p.).-- Doc.6. Collective shooting (7 p.).-- Doc.7. Change of status. Confiscation of property. Dearabization (7 p.).-- Doc.8. Desecration of mosques and churches. Looting (7 p.).-- Doc.9. Intimidation and terrorism. Reprisals. Summary arrests (11 p.).-- Doc.10. Photographic suppl. ([9] p.). Note: total 14 volumes issued between 1968-1981. Vols 1968-1961 issued by the AWIC and the Institute for Palestine Studies; 1972-1974 by the IPS and the Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine; 1975-1981 by the IPS.

**Yasser Arafat**

***Palestine Lives***

(Washington DC: 38pp, ca. 1974/San Francisco: Peoples Press, 24 pages, ca. 1975)

Translation of Arafat's speech before the 29th session of the UN General Assembly, 13 November 1974

**Margaret Arakie**

***The Broken Sword of Justice: American, Israel and the Palestine Tragedy***

(Quartet Books, 1973)

**Bülent Aras**

***Palestinian Israeli Peace Process and Turkey***

(Nova Science Publishers, 1998)

**Andrea S. Arbel**

***Riding the Wave: The Jewish Agency's Role in the Mass Aliyah of Soviet and Ethiopian Jewry to Israel, 1987-1995***

(Jerusalem & Hewlett, New York: Gefen Publishing, 2001)

**Archival**

***Land Legislation in Modern Palestine***

(Cambridge Archive Editions, 2009)

9-volume set including standard reference works, official reports and memoranda, council orders, ordinances and maps, 1917-1948.

**Al-Ard**

***Memorandum on the Arabs in Israel***

(Nazareth: Al-Ard, 17 pages, 1964)

An open letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations. *Al'Ard* ('The Land') was the first Palestinian movement in Israel to call for self-determination and a just solution to the Palestine problem. It fought on two fronts: the lifting of repression from [of] Palestinian citizens and the granting of equal rights, making Israel a democratic state for all its citizens; and the Palestinians' right to their own state, as defined by the 1947 United Nations Partition Plan." -Fida Jiryis: *Stranger in My Own Land.* Newspaper established in 1959, eventually supressed by the Israeli Government after the 12th issue. This memorandum held by the University of Southampton Library.

**Hannah Arendt**

***Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil***

(Faber & Faber, 1963; numerous editions)

**Moshe Arens** (former Israeli Foreign Minister and Defense Minister)

***Broken Covenant: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis between the US and Israel***
(Simon & Schuster, 1995)
The GHW Bush Administration is seen as interfering in Israel's politics.

**A.R.H.**

***British Israel and the Herrenvolk: Reply to a Challenge by Dom Bede Frost, April 29, 1942***
(London: British Israel World Federation, 11 pages, 1942)
British Library catalogue notes A.R.H as Nelson Heaver; and Bede Frost as Albert Ernest Frost.

**Asher Arian** & **Michal Shamir**

***The Elections in Israel, 2009***
(Somerset, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2011)

***The Elections in Israel, 2006***
(New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers / Israel Democracy Institute, 2008)

***The Elections in Israel, 2003***
(Transaction Publishers, 2005)

***The Elections in Israel, 1999***
(State University of New York Press, 2002)

***The Elections in Israel, 1996***
(State University of New York Press / Israel Democracy Institute, 1999)

***The Elections in Israel, 1992***
(State University of New York Press, 1995)

***The Elections in Israel, 1988***
(Westview Press, 1990)

***The Elections in Israel, 1984***
(Israel: Ramot Publishing, 1986)

**Natan Aridan**

***Advocating for Israel: Diplomats and Lobbyists from Truman to Nixon***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017)
Contents: Chapter 1: Transitions: From the Jewish Agency to the State of Israel, 1948–1952 ; Chapter 2: Securing Aid, 1948–1952 ; Chapter 3: Winds of Criticism and the Downgrading of Israel ; Chapter 4: The Hasbara Struggle in the Wake of US Coercive Diplomacy, 1954–June 1956 ; Chapter 5: The Ramifications of Israel's Sinai War ; Chapter 6: Surmounting Obstacles in the Mending of Fences, April 1957–December 1960 ; Chapter 7: Great Expectations of the Kennedy Administration, 1961–1963 ; Chapter 8: The Johnson Administration, 1963–1969 ; Chapter 9: The Nixon and Ford Administrations, 1969–1975

***Britain, Israel and Anglo-Jewry, 1949-1957***
(Routledge, 209 pages, 2004)
Contents: Contents; 1 Playing the trump card: the protracted recognition of Israel; 2 Cutting and retying the umbilical cord; 3 Israel's place in British strategic planning, 1949-1951; 4 Israel's place in British defence policy in the shadow of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, 1951-1954; 5 'Nibbling at the edges'; 6 Adversaries and reluctant partners; 7 Defining the relationship: Anglo-Jewry and Israel.

**Ari Ariel** aka **Eyal Ben-Ari**

***Jewish-Muslim Relations and Migration from Yemen to Palestine in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries***
(Leiden: Brill, 184 pages, 2014)
Contents: Theoretical considerations and historical context -- Jewish migration from Yemen to the Ottoman Sanjak of Jerusalem, Palestine, and Israel -- The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Zionist Movement in Yemen: the missions of Yom Tov Semah and Shmuel Yavnieli -- The forced conversion of Jewish orphans in Yemen under Imam Yahya -- Regime change, anti-Jewish violence, and emigration in Libya and Yemen.

With **Zeev Lerer**, **Uzi Ben-Shalom**, and **Ariel Vainer**: ***Rethinking Contemporary Warfare: A Sociological View of the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(State University of New York Press, 216 pages, 2010)
Contents: Methodology, analysis, positioning -- Schoolbook wars, textbook units -- War on the frontier: a hybrid conflict? -- The IDF reacts: Loose-coupling, in-between organizations and organizational adaptation -- Swift trust, speedy organizing: cohesion and modularity in military operations -- "Tactical bubbles," "civilian seductions," and "three-block warfare": the military, the city, and urban combat -- The sociology and psychology of contemporary urban warfare -- Technology, gender, and new combat roles: forces along the separation barrier -- "Human rights," "precision warfare," and violence: minimizing casualties and the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

**Karen Armstrong**

***Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*** aka: ***A History of Jerusalem***
(HarperCollins, 1996)

**Yuval Arnon-Ohanah**

With **Aryeh Y. Yodfat**: ***P.L.O. Strategy and Tactics***
(Croon Helm, 225 pages, 1981)

**Geoffrey Aronson**

***The Demise of the "New Middle East": A Special Report of the Foundation for Middle East Peace***
(Washington DC: FMEP, 12 pages, 1998)

***Settlements and the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations: An Overview***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 57 pages, 1996)

***Creating Facts: Israel, Palestinians and the west Bank***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 334 pages, 1987)
Republished as ***Israel, Palestinians and the Intifada: Creating Facts on the West Bank*** (Kegan Paul, 376 pages, 1990). Contains focus on settlers movement; originally published Washington DC: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987.

**Schlomo Aronson** (Israeli landscape architect)

***Israel's Nuclear Programme: The Six-Day War and its Ramifications***
(Kings College, 1999)

***Israel and the non-Proliferation Treaty***
(Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University, 1996)

**Zissel Aronow** and **Tessnim Tolba**, editors

*Until Palestine is Free: Lessons from a Student Intifada*
(Glasgow: Good Press, 316 pages, 2025)
Illustrated by **Lewis Danialski**. Publisher's blurb: "The publication brings together writings, artwork, and conversations from student groups, artists, and organisers. Spanning six themes – Organising Skills, Coalition Building, Encampments/Occupations, Welfare, Repression, and Art as Resistance – it reflects on lessons learned through struggle, particularly encampments, occupations, and cross-campus coalitions."

**Anonymous Author**

***Gaza, My Love: Ya Ghazze Habibti***
(Crimethinc, 108 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "An anarchist from occupied Palestine reviews the history of Zionist colonialism and Palestinian resistance, makes the case for an anti-colonial understanding of the situation, and explores what it means to act in solidarity with Palestinians."

**Amer Arouri**

***Palestinian Bedouins: Past, Present and Future***
(Jerusalem: Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment LAW, 2000)

**Vittorio Arrigone** (Italian, writer, and activist – murdered in Gaza 2011)

***Gaza: Stay Human***
(Kube Publishing, 2010)
with translation by Daniela Filippin, and introduction by Ilan Pappe.

**Naseer Aruri, Fuad Moughrabi** and **Joe Stork**

***Reagan and the Middle East***
(Boston: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 95 pages, 1983)

**Naseer Hasan Aruri** (1934-2015) & **Edmund Ghareeb**, editors

***Enemy of the Sun: Poetry of Palestinian Resistance***
(Washington DC: Drum & Spear Press/Black Panthers?, 141 pages, 1970; Seven Stories Press, 272 pages, expanded edition, 2025)
Poetry by: **Mahmoud Darwish, Rashed Hussein, Sa_____ Qassem, Tawfiq Zayyad, Salen Jubran, Nizar Qabbani, Fadwa Touqan, Arshad Tawfiq, Yusif Hamdan, Abdel Rahman Muhamad Rafie, Hadia Abdul-Hadi,** & **Fawzi Jiryis Abdullah**; translated into English. Note: a copy was held by prisoner George Jackson in San Quentin Prison. Foreword by **Greg Thomas**.

**Naseer H. [Hasan] Aruri** aka **Naseer Aruri** (University of Massachusetts, Trans-Arab Research Institute)

***Dishonest Broker: The US Role in Israel and Palestine***
(Boston: South End Press, 2005)
Note: Based on *The Obstruction of Peace,* below.

As editor: ***Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return***
(Pluto Press, 2001 / Boston: South End Press, 2003)
Contents: Elaine C. Hagopian – preface / Edward W. Said – introduction: The Right to Return at Last / Michael Prior – The Right to Expel: The Bible and Ethnic Cleansing / Nur Masalha – The Historical Roots of the Palestinian Refugee Question / Ilan Pappe – Israeli Perceptions of the Refugee Question / Noam Chomsky – The United States and the Refugee Question / Alain Gresh – The European Union and the Refugee Question / Jaber Suleiman – The Palestine Liberation Organization: From the Right of

Return to Bantustan / Joseph Massad – Return or Permanent Exile? / Wadie Said – The Obligations of Host Countries to Refugees under International Law: The Case of Lebanon / Nahla Ghandour – Meeting the Needs of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon / Susan Akram – Reinterpreting Palestinian Refugee Rights under International Law / Salman Abu-Sitta – The Right of Return: Sacred, Legal and Possible / Jan Abu Shakrah – Deconstructing the Link: Palestinian Refugees and Jewish Immigrants from Arab Countries / Atif Kubursi – Valuing Palestinian Losses in Today's Dollars / Ingrid Jaradat Gassner – A Programme for an Independent Rights Campaign / Naseer Aruri – Towards Convening a Congress of Return and Self-Determination / Norman G. Finkelstein – Lessons of Holocaust Compensation.

With **As'ad Ghanem**: ***The Palestinian Minority in Israel: 1948-2000 – A Political Study***
(State University of New York Press, 2001)

***The Palestinian Regime: A Partial Democracy***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2001)
Contents: Political Development and the Transition to Democracy; The Palestinian National Movement: A Historical Overview; The Palestinians Awaken to a Crushing Defeat; From Dispersion to Taking the Initiative; The PLO: From Maximalism to Compromise; The Oslo Accords and the Establishment of the Palestinian National Authority; Democracy and Centralism in the Palestinian National Movement, 1967–1993; Arafat's Control of PLO Institutions, 1968–1993; Pluralism, Civil Society, and the Construction of Institutions among the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 1967–1993; The Formal Structure of Powers in the Palestinian National Authority; The Legislative Council; The Executive Authority; The Judicial Authority; The First Palestinian General Elections; The Legitimacy of the Elections; The Election System; The Election Campaign; The Election Results; The Centralisation of Power and Political Conduct in the PNA; Centralisation of Power Surveillance (Intimidation); Buying Quiet (Bribery); Conclusion: Contradictions within Palestinian Democracy; Palestinian Partial Democracy' Before the Establishment of the PNA; Partial Democracy' in the PNA. Note: see AAUB publication by Livia Rokach.

***The Obstruction of Peace: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians***
(Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995)

***Occupation: Israel over Palestine***
(as editor; Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab American University Graduates, 728 pages, 1983/1989; 467 pages, Zed Books, 1984)

***The Sinai Accord as a Phase of the US Containment Policy***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 7 pages, 1976)

***Middle East Crucible: Studies on the Arab-Israeli War of October, 1973***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina University Press,479 pages, 1975 / Arab-American University Graduates)

***The Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Occupation*** (as editor)
(Wilmette, Illinois: Association of Arab American University Graduates / Medina University Press International, 171 pages, 1970)

**AJ Asali**, editor
***Jerusalem in History: 3,000 BC to the Present Day***
(New York City: Olive Branch Press, 1990 / Kegan Paul, 1997, 2002)

**Khaled Abu-Asbah** & **Libat Avishai**
***Recommendations for the Improvement of the Arab Education System in Israel***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 2008)

**C.R. Ashbee**

***A Palestine Notebook***
(Doubleday, Page & Col, 1923)

As editor: ***Jerusalem 1920-1922: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the First Two Years of the Civil Administration***
(John Murray / Pro-Jerusalem Society, 103 pages, 1924)

As editor: ***Jerusalem 1918-1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Administration***
(John Murray / Jerusalem: Pro-Jerusalem Society, 1921)

**Ahmed Mohamed Ashiurakis**

***The Palestinian Stone Revolution against Zionist Colonialism***
(Libya: Ad-Dar Aj-Jamahiriya, 197 pages, 1988)
Focus on the 'First Intifada', 1987.

**Riad Ashkar** & **Ahmed Khalidi**

***Weapons and Equipment of the Israeli Armed Forces***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 86 pages, 1971)
Period focus on the Israeli Army, Navy, and Air Force, with photographs.

**Hanan Ashrawi** (Anglican Christian who was the first woman elected to the Palestinian National Council.)

***This Side of Peace: A Personal Account***
(Fourth Estate /Simon & Schuster, 1995)
Wider scope than a memoir, using herself as a gateway to the wider Palestinian experience.

with other authors: ***Our Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 1995)

**Barbara Victor** [biographer]: ***A Voice of Reason – Hanan Ashrawi and Peace in the Middle East***
(Harcourt Brace, 1994)
Note: also published as *Hanan Ashwari: A Passion for Peace* (Fourth Estate, 1995)

**Fouzi El-Asmar** (Haifa-born; editor of Mapam-owned Arabic weekly *Al Fajer*; eventually exiled to USA)

***Through the Hebrew Looking-Glass: Arab Stereotypes in Children's Literature***
(Zed Press, 1986)

as co-editor, with **Uri Davis** & **Naim Khadir:** ***Debate on Palestine***
(Ithaca |Press, 1981)

as co-editor, with **Uri Davis** & **Naim Khadir**: ***Towards a Socialist Republic in Palestine***
(Ithaca Press, 1978)

***Dreams on a Mattress of Thorns and Poems from an Israeli Prison***
(Gazelle Publications, 39 pages, 1976) edited by **Karen Bryant**

***To be an Arab in Israel***
(London: Francis Pinter Publishers, 1975; Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2nd edition, 247 pages, 1978)

With introduction by **Uri Davis** and foreword by **IF Stone**.

***Israeli Land and Settlement Policies***
(London: Middle East Research and Action Group, 1974)
Translated from the Hebrew by Uri Davis, with a foreword by **Rabbi Elmer Berger**

**Antigona Askkar**
edited by **Yehezkel Lein**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**: ***Means of Expulsion: Violence, Harassment and Lawlessness against Palestinians in the Southern Hebron Hills***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 2005)

**Seraje Assi** (Georgetown University)
***The History and Politics of the Bedouin***
(Routledge, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "This book examines contending visions on nomadism in modern Palestine, with a special focus on the British Mandate period. Extending from the late Ottoman period to the founding of the State of Israel, it highlights both ruptures and continuities with the Ottoman past and the Israeli present, to prove that nomadism was not invented by the British or the Zionists, but is the shared legacy of Ottoman, British, Zionist, Palestinian, and most recently, Israeli attitudes to the Bedouin of Palestine. Drawing on primary sources in Arabic and Hebrew, the book shows how native conceptions of nomadism have been reconstructed by colonial and national elites into new legal taxonomies rooted in modern European theories and praxis. By undertaking a comparative approach, it maintains that the introduction of these taxonomies transformed not only native Palestinian perceptions of nomadism, but perceptions that characterized early Zionist literature. The book breaks away from the Arab/Jewish duality by offering a comparative and relational study of the main forces operating under the Mandate: British colonialism, Labor Zionism, and Arab nationalism. Special attention is paid to the British side, which covers the first three chapters. Each chapter represents a formative stage of British colonial enterprise in Palestine, extending from the late Ottoman down to the postwar and the Mandate periods. A major theme is the nexus of race and ethnography reshaping British perceptions of the Bedouin of Palestine before and during the early phases of the Mandate, and the ways these perceptions guided the administrative division of the country along newly demarcated racial boundaries. Using an interdisciplinary approach that combines new findings in the fields of history, ethnic studies, postcolonial theory, and environmental studies, this book contributes to understandings of the Israel/ Palestine conflict, and current trends of displacement in the Middle East."

**Associated Press**
***Lightning out of Israel: The Six-Day War in the Middle East***
(Associated Press, 1967)
Contributions on military campaigns by Hugh A. Mulligan & Saul Pett, with maps.

**Association of Arab-American University Graduates**
***Letter of 8th February, 1988***
Boston: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1 page, 1988)

***Arab Areas Occupied by Israel in June 1967***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts & Chicago: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates. 37 pages, 1970)

***The United States, Israel and the Arab States***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 28 pages, 1970)

**Ibrahim Wade Ata**

***The West Bank Palestinian Family***
(Routledge, 182 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blub: "First published in 1986 *The West Bank Palestinian Family* presents the reader with the first comprehensive study of the evolution of the Palestinian family in the West Bank. The main focus of the work was to identify what changes, if any, the Palestinian family has undergone over the last three generations of its evolution, an evolution partly spent under Israeli occupation of the West Bank since 1967. The samples used in the research for the book were taken from towns, villages, and refugee camps and were subsequently divided into sub-samples of three uniform age groups. The results of the research give a unique and informative view of who is changing, what is changing and at what rate and in what direction. It also shows the differences and uniformities in the attitudes and lifestyles of three generations of the Palestinian families studied. An important historical document, this book is a must read for scholars of Middle east studies."

**Tu̇rkkaya Ataöv**

***The Use of Palestinian Waters and International Law***
(InternationalOrganisation for the Elimination of All Forms of RacialDiscrimination, 11pp pamphlet, 1982)

**Naim Ateek** (aka **Naim Stifan Ateek**, founder of the Sabeel Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem and the first person to articulate liberation theology in the Palestine context)

***A Palestinian Christian Cry for Reconciliation***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008)

***Holy Land Hollow Jubilee: God, Justice and the Palestinians***
(Melisende, 1998) [symposium, 1997]

***Justice and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1989)
Note: Orbis Books has published much of James H. Cone, who is credited worldwide, including South Africa, for the concept of 'Liberation Theology'; his *A Black Theology of Liberation* has had many editions since 1971.

**Naim Ateek, Cedar Duaybis** & **Maurine Tobin**, editors

***Challenging Christian Zionism: Theology, Politics, and the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(Melisende, 2005) [symposium, 2004]

**Naim Ateek, Mark H. Ellis** & **Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors

***Faith and the Intifada: Palestinian Christian Voices*** [symposium]
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1992)

**Naim Attallah** (Palestinian-born CEO, publisher of Quartet Books from 1976, former owner of The Women's Press, author, financial backer of the *Literary Review* and *The Oldie*, film producer)

***The Old Ladies of Nazareth***
(Quartet Books, 2007)
Non-celebrity profiles.

***Fulfilment and Betrayal, 1975-1995***
(Quartet Books, 2007)
Part 3 of memoir.

***In Touch with His Roots***
(Quartet Books, 2006)
Part 2 of early memoir.

***The Boy in England***
(Quartet Books, 2005)
Part 1 of early memoir.

***Dialogues***
(Quartet Books, 2000)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***Insights***
(Quartet Books, 1999)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***In Conversation with Naim Attallah***
(Quartet Books, 1998)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***A Woman a Week***
(Quartet Books, 1996)
Profiles of successful women.

***Asking Questions: An Anthology of Interviews with Naim Attallah***
(Quartet Books, 1996) with **Charlotte Smith**

***Tara and Claire***
(Quartet Books, 1996)
A novel

***A Timeless Passion*** (Quartet Books, 1995)

***Speaking for The Oldie*** [magazine]
(Quartet Books, 1994)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***Of a Certain Age***
(Quartet Books, 1993)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***Singular Encounters***
(Quartet Books, 1990, 1992)
Interviews with authors and media personalities.

***Women***
(Quartet Books, 1988)
Analysis of women in myth, literature, Muslim society, Victorian England, etc.

**Ida Audeh** (contibutor to *The Electronic Intifada* and *Countercurrents*)

***The Wandering Palestinian: A Memoir***
(Livonia, Michigan: BHC Press, 242 pages, 2020)
Beirut Palestinian's move to the USA, starting the Palestine Aid Society for Lebanon refugee camps; and the Arab American National Museum, in Dearborn, Michigan, established in 2005.

as editor: ***Birzeit University: The Story of a National Institution***
(Birzeit University, 2010)

as editor, with **Katherine Lariviere**: ***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Vol. 5, 1992-1998***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, ca. 1999)

**Ebba Augustin**, editor:
***Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience***
(Zed Books, 1993)
Contributors include: Najah Manasra, Yusra Berberi, Terry Atwan, Vera Tamari, Suha Hindiyeh Mani & Afaf Ghazawneh, Amni Rimawi, Faten Mukarker, Iman Jardallah, Suha Adi, Miriam Rishmawi, Inam Zaqut, Rana Salibi, Nadira Shalhoub Kevorkian, Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi, and Hiba A. Shweiki.

**Sylvia Auld** & **Robert Hillenbrand** (both of the Department of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh), editors
***Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context, 1187-1250***
(Al Tajir-World of Islam Trust, 512 pages, 2009)
Contents ~ Carole Hillenbrand: *Ayyubid Jerusalem: a historical introduction* / Robert Hillenbrand: *The Art of the Ayyubids: an Overview* / Sylvia Auld: *Cross-currents and Coincidences: A Perspective on Ayyubid Metalwork* / Sylvia Auld: *The Minbar of Nur Al-Din in Context* / Sylvia Auld: *The Wooden Balustrade in the Sakhra* / Sheila S. Blair: *The Power of the Word: Ayyubid Inscriptions in Jerusalem* / Jonathan M. Bloom: *Woodwork in Syria, Palestine and Egypt during the 12th and 13th Century* / Michael Hamilton Burgoyne: *Smaller Domes in the Haram Al-Sharif Reconsidered in Light of a Recent Survey* /Anna Contadini: *Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts and Their North Jaziran and Abbasid Neighbours* / Anne-Marie Eddé: *Religious Circles in Jerusalem in the Ayyubid Period* / Finbarr Barry Flood: *An Ambiguous Aesthetic ~ Crusader Spolia in Ayyubid Jerusalem* / Mahmoud Hawari: *Ayyubid Monuments in Jerusalem* / Stefan Heidemann: *Economic Growth and Currency in Ayyubid Palestine* / Robert Hillenbrand: *The Ayyubid Aqsa: Decorative Aspects* / Lucy-Anne Hunt: *Eastern Christian Art and Culture in the Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods ~ Cultural Convergence between Jerusalem, Greater Syria and Egypt*/ David James: *Qur'ans and Calligraphers of the Ayyubids and Zangids* / Sabri Jarrah: *From Monastic Cloisters to Sahn ~ The Transformation of the Open Space of the Masjid Al-Aqsa under Saladin*/ Lorenz Korn: Ayyubid Mosaics in Jerusalem / Lorenz Korn: *Ayyubid Jerusalem in Perspective ~ The Context of Ayyubid Architecture in Bilad Al-Sham* / Marcus Milwright: *The Pottery of Ayyubid Jerusalem* / Martina Müller-Wiener: *Science as the Handmaiden of Power: Science, Art and Technology in Ayyubid Syria* / Bernard O'Kane: *Ayyubid Architecture in Cairo* / Johannes Pahlitzsch: *The People of the Book* / D.S. Richards: *Biographies of Ayyubid Sultans* / D.S. Richards: *Ibn Wasil, Historian of the Ayyubids* / Yasser Tabbaa: *An Image of What Once Was: The Ayyubid Fortifications of Jerusalem*

Also by **Sylvia Auld** & **Robert Hillenbrand**, editors
***Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917***
(The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in co-operation with the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem two volumes, 2000).
with architectural survey by **Yusuf Natsheh**. Contents, Vol. 1: Robert Hillenbrand: *Structure, Style and Context in the Monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Abdul-Karim Rafeq: *The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Khairiah Kasmieh: *The Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem and Their Biographies* / *Abdul-Karim* Rafeq: *The 'Ulama' of Ottoman Jerusalem (16th-18th Centuries)* / Klaus Kreiser: *The Place of Jerusalem in Ottoman Perception* / Martin Strohmeier: *Al-Kulliyya Al-Salahiyya, a Late Ottoman University in Jerusalem* / Abdul-Karim Rafeq: *Ottoman Jerusalem in the Writings of Arab Travellers* / Ernst Axel Knauf: *Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes* / Angelika Neuwirth: *Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorary Names of the City* / Michele Bernardini: *Popular and Symbolic Iconographies Related to the Haram Al-Sharif During the Ottoman Period* / Khadr Salameh: *Aspects of the Sijills of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem* / Mohammad 'Ali 'Alami: *The Waqfs of the Traditional Families of Jerusalem During the Ottoman Period* / Mahmud Atallah: *Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th-11th / 16th-17th Centuries: The Documentary Evidence* / Lawrence I.

Conrad: *The Khalidi Library* / Paolo Cuneo: *The Urban Structure and Physical Organisation of Ottoman Jerusalem in the Context of Ottoman Urbanism* / Rashid I. al-Khalidi: *Intellectual Life in Late Ottoman Jerusalem* / George Hintlian: *The Commercial Life of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Ruth Victor Hummel: *Reality, Imagination and Belief: Jerusalem in 19th and Early 20th Century Photographs (1839-1917)* / Kamal F. al-'Asali: *The Cemeteries of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Kamal F. al-'Asali: *The Libraries of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Nancy Micklewright: *Costume in Ottoman Jerusalem* / Claudia Ott: *The Songs and Musical Instruments of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Vera Tamari: *Two Ottoman Ceremonial Banners in Jerusalem* / David Myers: *An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Sylvia Auld: *Stars, Roses, and Interlace: Architectural Decoration in Ottoman Jerusalem* / Susal Roaf: *Life in 19th Century Jerusalem* / Beatrice St Laurent: *The Dome of the Rock: Restorations and Significance, 1540-1918* / John Carswell: *The Deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock* / Finbarr B. Flood: *The Ottoman Windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque* / James W. Allan & Marwan Abu Khalaf: *The Painted Wooden Ceiling in the Inner Ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock* / *Sharif M. Sharif: Ceiling Decoration in Jerusalem During the Late Ottoman Period, 1856-1917*/ Michael Hamilton Burgoyne: *The East Wall of the Haram Al-Sharif: A Note on its Archaeological Potential* / Mahmud Hawari: *The Citidel (Qal 'A) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview* / Martin Dow: *The Hammams of Ottoman Jerusalem* / David Myers: *Restorations to Masjid Mahd 'Isa (The Cradle of Jesus) During the Ottoman Period* / David Myers: *Al-'Imara Al-'Amira: The Charitable Foundation of Khassaki Sultan (959/1552)* / Yusuf Natsheh: *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem.* Contents, Volume 2: Yusuf Natsheh: Catalogue of Buildings / David Myers: *A Grammar of Architectural Ornament in Ottoman Jerusalem.* See also: Robert Hillenbrand

**Moshe Aumann**

***Land Ownership in Palestine, 1880-1948***
(Jerusalem: Israel Academic Committee on the Middle East, 23 pages, 1974)

**Yair Auron**

***The Holocaust, Rebirth, and the Nakba: Memory and Contemporary Israeli-Arab Relations***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 253 pages, 2016)

***Israeli Identities: Jews and Arabs Facing the Self and the Other***
(New York City: Berghahn Books, 300 pages, 2012)
Translated by **Geremy Forman**.

**Feryal Awan**

***Occupied Childhoods: Discourses and Politics of Childhood and Their Place in Palestinian and Pan-Arab Screen Content for Children***
(University of Westminster thesis, 2016)

**Arieh Avneri**

***The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-Settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948***
(Transaction Books/Herzl Books, 303 pages, 1984)
Translated by the **Kfar-Blum Translation Group**. Contents: The Arab Claim of 1300 Years of Uninterrupted Possession -- Landscapes and Faces on the Eve of Jewish Settlement -- The Rise of a Class of Arab Landowners -- Jewish Settlements under Turkish Rule -- The Mandate during the Years 1920-1935 -- The Struggle with the Mandatory Government over State Lands -- The Acquisition of Private Lands between the two World Wars -- Establishing the Future Boundaries of the State -- The Sellers of Land -- Rehabilitation of the Land -- Zionist Land Policy -- The Arab Community in Palestine, Late 1947 -- Partition, War and their Aftermath -- The Summing Up.

**Shlomo Avineri** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

***Herzl: Theodor Herzl and the Foundation of the Jewish State***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson / BlueBridge / United Tribes Media, 274 pages, 2013)

Translation by **Haim Watzman** of the 2008 Hebrew edition.

***Arlosoroff***
(Halban, 1989)
Haim Arlosoroff aka Chaim Arlosoroff, Zionist leader of the Yishuv and head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department during the 1929 riots, and later. Note also items held by the Weiner Holocaust Library, London: **Horace B. Samuel**: ***Who Killed Arlosoroff? A Record of Crime and Justice in the Mandated Territory of Palestine*** (typescript, 300 pages, ca. 1934); ***The Arlosoroff Murder Trial: Speeches and Relevant Documents*** (Jerusalem: Hasseolel Press, 170 pages, 1934).

***The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 244 pages, 1981)

as editor: ***Israel and the Palestinians***
(St Martin's Press, 1971)

**Bernard Avishai**

***The Tragedy of Zionism: How its Revolutionary Past Haunts Israeli Democracy*** aka ***The Tragedy of Zionism: Revolution and Democracy in the Land of Israel***
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux/Faber & Faber/Helios Press, 389 pages, 1985, 1986, 2002)
Focus on political and cultural Zionism.

**Caryn Aviv** & **David Shneer**

***New Jews: The End of the Jewish Diaspora***
(New York University Press, 2005)
A travelogue of non-Israeli Jewish communities to promote their history, from Moscow to New York to Los Angeles. Jewish non-Zionist activism goes unacknowledged.

**'Avner' (Benjamin Zeroni)**

***Memoirs of an Assassin***
(Anthony Blond Publishing & Thomas Yoseloff Publishing, 1959 / Pyramid Books, 1960)
Translated from the French by **Burgo Partridge**

**Uri Avnery** (the public face of Gush Shalom in Israel)

With **Uziel O. Schmelz** and **Sergio DellaPergola**: ***Ethnic Differences among Israeli Jews: A New Look***
(Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University Jerusalem / American Jewish Committee, 204 pages, 1991)

***Israel's Vicious Circle: Ten Years of Writings on Israel and Palestine***
(Pluto, 2008)
edited by Sara R. Powell. Contents: In the beginning -- the basis of Avnery's thought -- Facts on the ground; devastation all around -- All process, no peace -- Squaring the circle: Palestinian and Israeli resistance -- Other players, other wars: the global context -- Will the circle be unbroken?

***Truth Against Truth: A Completely Different Look at the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Tel-Aviv: Gush Shalom, 26 pages, ca. 2003; 3rd edition, 36 pages, 2010).

***My Friend, My Enemy***
(Zed Books, 340 pages, 1986)

***Israel and the Palestinians: A Different Israeli View***

(New York: Breira, 49 pages, 1975)
With a preface by **Arthur H. Samuelson**. From a 1973 congress on Jewish-Arab relations.

***Israel without Zionism*** (aka ***Israel without Zionists***) **: *A Plan for Peace in the Middle East*** (aka ***A Plea for Peace in the Middle East***.
(Collier-Macmillan, 1968, 1971)

***1948: A Soldier's Tale: The Bloody Road to Jerusalem***
(Oneworld Publications, 2008 / 1949, 1950)

**Ehud Avriel** (Haganah agent charged with liaising with SS officer Adolf Eichmann to export German Jews to Mandate Palestine)

***Open the Gates: A Personal Story of 'Illegal' Immigration to Israel***
(London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson / New York City: Atheneum, 369 pages, 1975)
Preface by **Golda Meir**.

**Alex Awad** (Methodist pastor in Al-Quds & Dean of Students at Bethlehem Bible College)

***Palestinian Memories: The Story of a Palestinian Mother and Her People***
(Jerusalem: Bethlehem Bible College, 388 pages, 2008)
Foreword by **Rev Naim Ateek**, Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem; First fifth of the book (67pp), is the story of the author's mother, Huda Elias Awad (1916-2006). The remainder of the book is a basic survey of the history of Palestinian struggle, from British occupation to publication.

**Hiltrud Awad, Hilmi S. Salem** & **Suhail Khalileh**, editors

***40 Years of Israeli Occupation, 1967-2007***
(Bethlehem: Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem / ARIJ, 2007)
Free online resource: arif.org

**Mubarek E. Awad** (pioneer non-violence activist known for Palestinian boycott of Israel during the First Intifada)

***Nonviolent Struggle in the Middle East***
(Philadelphia: New Society Publishers & The Resource Center for Nonviolence, 1983)
With foreword by **David H. Albert**. Two articles reprinted from the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 13, no. 4 (summer 1984) and vol. 14, no. 2 (Winter 1984)

**Sumaya Awad** & **Brian Bean**, editors

***Palestine: A Socialist Introduction***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 250 pages, 2020)
**Annie Levin**: *Roots of the Nakba: Zionist Settler Colonialism* / **Shireen Akran-Boshar**: *How Israel Became the Watchdog State: US Imperialism and the Middle East* / **Mostafa Omar**: *The National Liberation Struggle: A Socialist Analysis* / **Daphna Their**: *It's Not an Ally: The Israeli Working Class* / **Toufic Haddad**: *The Price of 'Peace' on Their Terms* / **Jehad Abusalim**: *Palestine in Tahrir* / **Brian Bean**: *What Palestinians Ask of Us: The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement* / **Nada Elia**: *Multiple Jeopardy: Gender and Liberation in Palestine* / **Khury Petersen-Smith**: *Cope Here, Bombs There: Black-Palestinian Solidarity*.

**Khalil El-Awaisi**

***Mapping Islamic Jerusalem: A Rediscovery of Geographical Boundaries***
(Dundee: Al-Maktoum Institute, 2007)
Unearths the Holy Land and Land of Barakah.

**Ami Ayalon** (Ex-Shin Bet; Professor of Middle Eastern History at Tel Aviv University)

With **Anthony David**: ***Friendly Fire: How Israel Became Its Own Worst Enemy***
(Brunswick, Victoria: 320 pages, 2020)
With a foreword by **Dennis Ross**. Publisher's blurb: "In this deeply personal journey of discovery, Ami Ayalon seeks input and perspectives from Palestinians and Israelis whose experiences differ from his own. Raised a committed Zionist, as head of the Shin Bet security agency he nevertheless gained empathy for 'the enemy' and learned that when Israel carries out anti-terrorist operations in a political context of hopelessness, the Palestinian public will support violence, because they have nothing to lose. Researching and writing 'Friendly Fire', he came to understand that his patriotic life had blinded him to the self-defeating nature of policies that have undermined Israel's civil society while heaping humiliation upon its Palestinian neighbours"

***Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900-1948***
(University of Texas Press, 2004)
A seeming lifetime's work based on an armful of archives, with great emphasis on Arabic books, 35 mostly Mandate-era Palestinian periodicals, and 20 interviews with aged experts, and the vibrancy of the era's breaking news. Cairo publishers are not ignored and visiting authors were feted back in the day. And the Mandate Government disseminates propaganda in a most unusual way. Many cited works are only in non-English editions, so this work is landmark

***The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History***
(Oxford University Press, 300 pages, 1995)
Includes information on Palestinian newspapers

**Ali Ihsan Aydin** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University)

With **Zekeriya Kurşun** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University)**:** ***Jerusalem in 101 Questions***
(Ankara: Anadolu Agency Kitap Press, 163 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "101 questions about the city's journey from its earliest days to the present with a particular emphasis on its significance to the Abrahamic religions."

With **Zekeriya Kurşun** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University) and **Abdalqader Steih** (Rammal Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center): ***A Handbook of the Ottoman Palestine Place Names and Atlas***
(Vadi Kültür Sanat Ve Yayıncılık / Vadi Publications, 239 pages, 2020)
In Turkish, Arabic, and English. Publisher's blurb: "This atlas aims at revealing Palestine in the minds of the Ottomans, regardless of whether it is within the borders of contemporary Palestine. Two methods were followed for this purpose. Place names such as the sanjak (prefectur), Kaza (district), nahiye (sub-district) and so on have been identified by examining Tahrir Notebooks (16th century) which were written in the first years of Palestinian geography came under the rule of Ottoman Empire. Then, 19th-century sources were referenced. Among these, in particular, the places in the Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Suriye (Annual of the Vilayet of Syria) of 1872, which indicates the Ottoman administrative division in Syria, were identified. Thus, the reader was provided with a comparison between the 16th and 19th centuries. The above records were confirmed by applying to the Ottoman documents and various maps. The new settlements identified from the last sources are included in the related tables or given independently. There are various maps in the atlas that have been drawn up starting from the first years of Ottoman rule until 1917. Indeed, the first and the last one of these maps are the Ottoman maps, but Ottomans drew not all of them. However, the characteristic feature of all is that they are showing the Palestinian geography of the Ottoman period. The aim of this study is not a borderline delimitation. It is only to guide those who wonder about the subject and history researchers to contribute to new studies on this subject."

**Abdelaziz Ayyad**

***Arab Nationalism and the Palestinians, 1850-1939***

( Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs [PASSIA], 1999)

**Muhannad Ayyash** aka **Mark M. Ayyash** (Mount Royal University, Calgary/Al-Shabaka)
***Lordship and Liberation in Palestine-Israel: The Promise of Decolonial Sovereignties***
(Columbia University Press, 368 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This interdisciplinary book provides timely fresh perspective on Palestine-Israel by rethinking the nature of settler-colonial sovereignty and the relationship between land and people. Muhannad Ayyash argues that this relationship comes in two distinct forms: a settler-colonial type, practiced by the Israeli state, that consists of "lordship" over land and people, and a decolonial type, seen in Palestinian popular organizing, that he calls "land as life," a reciprocal bond. The former is characterized by private ownership, possession, and violent expulsion of others; the latter by communal ownership, belonging to the land, and opposition to the violence of expulsion. Ranging widely across theory and history, Ayyash contends that the opposition between these two types is at the core of the Palestinian-Israeli struggle. The choice before us today, he concludes, is between the continuation of the Israeli settler-colonial project in particular and the project of colonial modernity in general, or the commencement of a decolonial age in Palestine-Israel and beyond. Offering both novel theorizations and politically engaged analysis, *Lordship and Liberation in Palestine-Israel* illuminates how decolonial sovereignties represent an alternative to settler-colonial violence."

As co-editor, with **Jeremy Wildeman**: ***Canada as a Settler Colony on the Question of Palestine***
(University of Alberta Press, 353 pages, 2023)

**Radwan Abu Ayyash**
***Palestinian Press under Occupation***
(Jerusalem: Arab Journalists Association, 29 pages, 1987)

**Dr. Pablo de Azcarate y Florez** (UN representative to last days of the British Mandate)
***Mission in Palestine, 1948-1952***
(Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 1966)
Translated from Spanish by Teener Hall & William Hovey.

**M. Azmi**
***La Presence Israelienne / Israel's Presence***
(Damascus: author, 26 pages, 1969)
Photos of Israeli military occupation with comments in French, Arabic, and English.

**Ariella Aïsha Azoulay** (Brown University)
***The Jewelers of the Ummah: A Potential History of the Jewish Muslim World***
(Verso, 656 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Can we return to worlds destroyed by colonial violence? In a series of letters to her father, her great-grandmothers, and her children - and to thinkers such as Frantz Fanon and Hannah Arendt - Ariella Aïsha Azoulay examines the disruption of Jewish Muslim life in Algeria and broadly in the Maghreb and the Middle East by two colonial projects: French rule and the Zionist colonization of Palestine, which provoked the departure of Jews from these areas. Jewelry making was a profession that marked the Algerian Jews' place in the world they shared in the ummah, the borderless community of Muslims. The objects they crafted continue to unsettle the clear-cut separation of Jews from Muslims and of Jews from Algeria. In this jewelry, and in the history of those who made, wore, and sold it, Azoulay finds a path to reviving the lost wisdom of her ancestors. Emptying Africa of its Jews is a tragedy which Azoulay refuses to accept. In these letters, she reintroduces Muslim Jews to the violence of colonization and traces anticolonial pathways to rebuild the rich world of the jewelers of the ummah."

**Ariella Azoulay** & **Adi Ophir**

***The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel / Palestine***

(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2013)

Translated by **Tal Haran**. Publisher's blurb: Since the start of the occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, Israel s domination of the Palestinians has deprived an entire population of any political status or protection. But even decades on, most people speak of this rule – both in everyday political discussion and in legal and academic debates – as temporary, as a state of affairs incidental and external to the Israeli regime. In The One-State Condition, Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir directly challenge this belief. Looking closely at the history and contemporary formation of the ruling apparatus – the technologies and operations of the Israeli army, the General Security Services, and the legal system imposed in the Occupied Territories – Azoulay and Ophir outline the one-state condition of Israel/Palestine: the grounding principle of Israeli governance is the perpetuation of differential rule over populations of differing status. Israeli citizenship is shaped through the active denial of Palestinian citizenship and civil rights. Though many Israelis, on both political right and left, agree that the occupation constitutes a problem for Israeli democracy, few ultimately admit that Israel is no democracy or question the very structure of the Israeli regime itself. Too frequently ignored are the lasting effects of the deceptive denial of the events of 1948 and 1967, and the ways in which the resulting occupation has reinforced the sweeping militarization and recent racialization of Israeli society. Azoulay and Ophir show that acknowledgment of the one-state condition is not only a prerequisite for considering a one- or two-state solution; it is a prerequisite for advancing new ideas to move beyond the trap of this false dilemma. See also Azoulay's photographic histories in CULTURE section.

**Rene Backmann** (foreign correspondant for *Le Nouvel Observateur*)

***A Wall in Palestine***

(Picador, 2010)

Period observations of the Israeli 'separation wall' and predictions on consequences.

**Emile Badarin**

***Recognition Politics in Settler Colonial States: Normalizing Dispossession and Elimination in Palestine***

(Bloomsbury, 224 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Using Palestine as a case study, *Recognition Politics in Settler Colonial States* shows how recognition politics operate to legitimize long-standing colonial power structures. In existing scholarship, recognition has been seen as an asset coveted by indigenous communities. This book forwards a new, theoretically ground-breaking perspective. Emile Badarin shows that in colonial contexts, settlers use recognition to legitimize and normalize the dispossession and elimination of Indigenous people. More than this, settler-colonial states themselves actively pursue recognition, employing it as a means to further the elimination of the indigenous societies they seek to replace. In making the case, the book critically examines the Euromodern categories of race, racism and racial hierarchies and draws new conclusions about the interplay between colonialism, racism and Zionism. Central to this analysis is how anti-Zionism has been strategically equated with anti-Semitism, and effectively used as a tool for the advancement of both settler-colonialism in Palestine and Israel's recognition on the international stage. The book delves into indigenous normative resistance against colonial recognition politics through the lens of the Palestinian practice of ʔumud (steadfastness), extracting its philosophy of liberation as a pathway towards a decolonial future *for* all in Palestine and beyond."

***Palestinian Political Discourse: Between Exile and Occupation***

(Routledge, due April 2016)

**BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residence and Refugee Rights** – see also this agency's numerous publications in Arabic.

**Yasmine Gado**, author – ***Principles and Mechanisms to Hold Business Accountable for Human Rights Abuses: Potential Avenues to Challenge Corporate Involvement in Israel's Oppression of the Palestinian People***
(BADIL Resource Center, 2009)

***Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: 1948-2008, 60 Years of the Palestinian Nakba***
(BADIL Resource Centre, 2007)
Based on Annual Report, starting ca. 2002, with contributions from **Terry Rempel** and **Nihad Bogai**.

***Closing Protection Gaps: Handbook on Protection of Palestinian Refugees in States Signatories to the 1951 Refugee Convention***
(Bethlehem: BADIL, 2005)

**Souad R. Dajani**, author – ***Ruling Palestine: A History of the Legally Sanctioned Jewish-Israeli Seizure of Land and Housing in Palestine***
(Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions / BADIL, 2005)
See also under author's section.

**Salim Tamari**, editor – ***Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War***
(BADIL / Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2002)

**Susan M. Akram** aka **Susan Akram** (Boston University School of Law)
***BADIL information and discussion briefs***
(Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Center, 17 pages, 2000)

**Alain Badiou** (College international de philosophie, Paris), **Eric Hazan** (La Fabriqwue) and **Ivan Segre**
***Reflections on Anti-Semitism***
(Verso, 256 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb "Since the inception of the "War on Terror," Israel has become increasingly important to Western imperial strategy and ever more aggressive in its policies towards the Palestinians. A key ideological weapon in this development is the cynical and unjustified accusation of "anti-Semitism" to silence protest and dissent. For historical reasons, this tactic has been deployed most forcefully in France, and in the first of the two essays in this book French writers Alain Badiou and Eric Hazan demolish the "anti-Semitism is everywhere" claim used to bludgeon critics of the Israeli state and those who stand in solidarity with the banlieue youth. In "The Philo-Semitic Reaction," Ivan Segre undertakes a meticulous deconstruction of a rampant reactionary trend that identifies Jewish interests with the "democratic" West. Segre's aim is to uphold a universalist position and to defend Jewish tradition from Zionist ideological distortion."

**Amneh Daoud Badran**
***Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa***
(Routledge, 255 pages, 2009)

**Khawla Badwan**
***Between Theory and Practice: Applied Linguistics Mediation between Hall's "Parasitic Model" and Practising Teachers in Gaza, Palestine***
(Lambert Academic Publishing, 76 pages, 2014)

**Karl Baedeker**
***Palestine and Syria***
(Publisher not identified, 472pages, 3rd edition, 1898)

With folding maps and a folding panorama. The first edition to include the Sinai Peninsula.

**Dan Bahat** (NOTE: many titles)

with **Chaim T. Rubinstein**: ***The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*** aka ***The Carta Jerusalem Atlas***
(Simon & Schuster, 152 pages, 1990; Jerusalem: Carta, 176 pages, 2011)
Translated by **Shlomo Ketko**. Contents: The topography of the city -- The archaeological study of Jerusalem -- Ancient history: Until circa 1000 BCE -- The First Temple Period: 538 BCE -- 70 CE -- Jerusalem at the time of Jesus -- Aelia Capitolina: 135-326 -- The Byzantine period: 326-638 -- The early Arab period; 1099-1187 -- The Ayyubid period: 1187-1250 -- The Mamluk period: 1250-1517 -- The Ottoman period: 1517-1917 -- Jerusalem in the nineteenth century: the city comes to life, 1830-1917 -- The British Mandate: 1917-1948 -- Divided Jerusalem: 1948-1967 -- United Jerusalem: Since 1967.

***Touching the Stones of Our Heritage: The Western Wall Tunnels***
(Jerusalem: Western Wall Heritage Foundation, 160 pages, 2002)
The foundation beneath Haram al-Sharif.

***Jerusalem: Selected Plans of Historical Sites and Monumental Buildings***
(Jerusalem: Ariel, 126 pages, 1969)

**Rev. James Baikie**

***The Glamour of Near East Excavation: An Account of the Treasure Hunt for the Buried Art, Wisdom, & History of the Ancient East, from the Nile to Babylon, the Adventures, Disappointments & Triumphs of the Hunters, & the Knowledge Thus Acquired of the Ancient World***
(London: Seeley, Service & Co., 348 pages, 1927)

***The Life of the Ancient East, Being Some Chapters of the Romance of Modern Excavation***
(London: A&C Black, 463 pages, 1923)
Tangential to Palestine

**Clinton Bailey** - Note: See also POETRY section.

***Bedouin Law from Sinai & the Negev: Justice without Government***
(Yale University Press, 2009)

***A Culture of Desert Survival: Bedouin Proverbs from Sinai and the Negev***
(Yale University Press, 2004)
With foreword by **William W. Hallo**

***Jordan's Palestinian Challenge, 1948-1983: A Political History***
(Westview, 1984 / Routledge 2020)

**James M. Bailey** & **Paul F. Miller**

***United States Assistance for the Palestinians***
(Nova Science Publishers, 2012)
Emphasis on 2008-2009. See also: Leon D. Velasco

**Sydney Bailey**

***The Making of Resolution 242***
(Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985)

with **Sam Daws**: ***The Procedure of the UN Security Council***
(Clarendon Press, 1997)

**Abeer Baker** (senior lawyer with Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel) & **Anat Matar** (heads the Legal Clinic for Prisoners' Rights, Haifa University), editors
***Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel***
(Pluto Press, 2007)
Contents: **Maya Rosenfeld** (Hebrew University): *The Centrality of the Prisoners' Movement to the Palestinian Struggle against the Israeli Occupation – A Historical Perspective* / **Esmail Nashif** (Israeli Palestinian, Ben Gurion University): *Towards a Materialist Reading of Political Imprisonment in Palestine* / **Alon Harel**: *Who is a Security Prisoner and Why? An Examination of the Legality of Prison Regulations Governing Security Prisoners* / **Yael Berda** (human rights lawyer): *The Security Risk as a Security Risk – Notes on the Classification Practices of the Israeli Security Services* / **Nahla Abdo**: *Palestinian Women Political Prisoners and the Israeli State* / **Alina Korn** (Ashkelon Academic College, Dept of Criminology): *Prison Policy and Political Imprisonment in Northern Ireland and Israel* / **Sheikh Muhammad Abu Tir** (Palestinian Legislative Council) interviewed by **Abeer Baker** and **Anat Matar** / **Osama Barham** (Israeli Palestinian with over 20 years imprisonment): *My Arrests, My Interrogations* / **Avigdor Feldman** (Tel Aviv University Law School): *Colonel and Major* (poem) & *Welcome to Shin Bet Country* / **Bana Shoughry-Badarne** (Israeli Palestinian, human rights lawyer): *A Decade after the High Court of Justice "Torture" Ruling, What's Changed?* / **Tamar Pelleg-Sryck** (HaMoked): *The Mysteries of Administrative Detention* / **Sharon Weill**: *Reframing the Legality of the Israeli Military Courts in the West Bank – Military Occupation or Apartheid?* / **Smadar Ben-Natan** (human rights lawyer): *Are there Prisoners in this War?* / **Leslie Sebba** (Hebrew University): *Institutional Schizophrenia – The Release of "Security Prisoners" in Israel* / **Mounir Mansour** (Israeli Palestinian with 18 years imprisonment): *Prisoner Exchange Deals – Between Figures and Emotions* / **Ittaf Alian (Hodaly)** (former political prisoner): *Female Prisoners and the Struggle – A Personal Testimony* / **Michael Sfard** (human rights lawyer): *Devil's Island – The Transfer of Palestinian Detainees into Prisons within Israel* / **Sigi Ben-Ari** (human rights lawyer for HaMoked) and **Anat Barsella** (B'Tselem researcher): *Family Visits to Palestinian Prisoners Held Inside Israel* / **Sahar Francis** (Addameer Prisoner Support & Human Rights Association, Ramallah)and **Kathleen Gibson**: *Isolation and Solitary Confinement of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Facilities* / **Ruchama Marton** (psychiatrist): *The Impact of Isolation on Mental Health* / **Walid Daka** (PFLP life sentence prisoner): *Consciousness Molded or the Re-identification of Torture*

**James A. Baker III** (Presidential Cabinets of Ford, Reagan; Secretary of State under GHW Bush; 'peace negotiator' critical of Eretz Israel expansionism)
***The Politics of Diplomacy***
(Putnam, 687 pages, 1995)

**William W. Baker**
***Theft of a Nation***
(West Monroe, Louisiana: Jireh, 1982 / 1989)

**Samer Bakkour** (University of Exeter)
***The End of the Middle East Peace Process: The Failure of US Diplomacy***
(Routledge, 206 pages, 2024)

**Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr**
***Racist Zionism is Regressing***
(Baghdad: Al-Hurriya, 17 pages, 1976)
Speech delivered at the International Symposium on Zionism, in Baghdad.

**Philip J Baldensperger**, edited with an introduction by **Frederic Lees**
***The Immovable East: Studies of the People and Customs of Palestine***
(Pitman, 1913)
Static take on Palestinian society.

**Balfour Project**
***Britain- Palestine – Israel, 70 Years On: 1948, The Role Britain Played ~ 2018, What Britain Can Do Now***
(20 page booklet, 2018)
With contributions by **Ghada Karmi, Rosemary Hollis, Alon Leil, Menachem Klein, Leila Sansour, Peter Shambrook, Adam Sutcliffe, and Sir Vincent Fean**.

***The Companion Guide to*** [documentary film] ***Britain in Palestine, 1917-1948***
(Edinburgh, 2015)

**George W. Ball** (US State Department, 1961-1966) and **Douglas B. Ball**
***The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present***
(W.W. Norton, 382 pages, 1992)
From *Library Journal*: "Writing with his son Douglas, the former undersecretary of state takes as his thesis George Washington's warning that America avoid becoming entangled with any single nation. Ball alludes to this reference, although never made specific, in discussing the "special relationship" the United States has with Israel. Ball provides a trenchant analysis of U.S. policy toward the Middle East and Israel especially, beginning with its creation in 1948 up through the Bush administration. He focuses heavily upon foreign aid and the failure of Israeli policy to live up to traditional American ideals. For the relationship to improve, Ball argues, Israel must move to a market economy, make peace with its neighbors, and give up any ideas of expanding its borders. Ball's solid and hard-hitting work fits neatly between Cheryl Rubenberg's Israel and the American National Interest ( LJ 11/15/86) and Seth Tillman's The United States in the Middle East ( LJ 6/1/82)."

**Benjamin Balthaser** (Indiana University)
***Citizens of the Whole World: Anti-Zionism and the Cultures of the American Jewish Left***
(Verso Books, 320pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Since October 7, 2023, the world has witnessed a massive American Jewish uprising in support of Palestinian liberation. Through sit-ins in Congress or Grand Central Terminal, through petitions and marches, thousands of Jews have made it known the Israeli state is not acting in their name. This resistance did not come out of nowhere. *Citizens of the Whole World* returns us to its roots in the "red decade" of the 1930s and, from there, traces the history of American Jewish radicals and revolutionaries to the present day. Benjamin Balthaser delves into radical Jewish novels and memoirs, as well as interviews with Jewish revolutionaries, to unearth a buried if nonetheless unbroken continuity between leftist Jewish Americans and the diasporic internationalism of today. Covering more than just the politics of anti-Zionism, *Citizens of the Whole World* explores the Jewish revolutionary traditions of Marxist internationalism, Jewish solidarity with Third World struggles, and relations between Jewish and Black radicals during the Civil Rights era. Balthaser's book stages an intervention into current anti-Zionist politics, suggesting activists can learn from past struggles to help form a future politics in a world after Zionism."

**Anna Baltzer** (International Women's Peace Service, West Bank)
***Witness in Palestine: A Jewish American Woman in the Occupied Territories***
(Paradigm Publishers, 2006; updated edition 2017)

**James Bamford** (*Foreign Policy, The New Republic, Rolling Stone*)

***Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency: From the Cold War through the Dawn of a New Century*** aka ***Body of Secrets: How America's NSA and Britain's GCHQ Eavesdrop on the World***
(New York City: Doubleday, 736 pages, 2001; London: Century, 721 pages, 2001)
Tangential to Palestine/Israel.

**Lauren Banko** (University of Manchester)
***The Invention of Palestinian Citizenship, 1918-1947***
(Edinburgh University Press, 289 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book situates the evolution of citizenship at the centre of state formation under the quasi-colonial mandate administration in Palestine. It emphasises the ways in which British officials crafted citizenship to be separate from nationality based on prior colonial legislation elsewhere, a view of the territory as divided communally, and the need to offer Jewish immigrants the easiest path to acquisition of Palestinian citizenship in order to uphold the mandate's policy. In parallel, the book examines the reactions of the Arab population to their new status. It argues that the Arabs relied heavily on their pre-war experience as nationals of the Ottoman Empire to negotiate the definitions and meanings of mandate citizenship." Available open access via the publisher.

**Dorothy Ruth Kahn** aka **Dorothy Bar-Adon** (*Jerusalem Post* writer until her death in 1950)
***Writing Palestine, 1933-1950***
(Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016)
Edited by **Esther Carmel Hakim** & **Nancy Rosenfeld**. Writings for the *Jerusalem Post* offer a window on the pre-state life of the Zionists of the era.

***Spring Up, O Well***
(Jonathan Cape, 1936)
On the author's experiences in Palestine.

**Oren Barak** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
***State Expansion and Conflict: In and Between Israel/Palestine and Lebanon***
(Cambridge University Press, 271 pages, )2017)
Comparison of Lebanon ("weak and legitimate") with Israel ("strong and illegitimate").

**Halim Barakat**
***Days of Dust***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 179 pages, 1983; Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishing, 179 pages, 1997)
Translation by **Trevor Le Gassick**, introduction by **Edward Said**. Originally published by Dar al-Hahar, Beirut, 1969.

**Ibtisam Barakat** (Palestinian-American memoirist, educator and poet)
***Balcony on the Moon: Coming of Age in Palestine***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux/Macmillan, 2016-2017)
Memoir, 1971-1981

***Tasting the Sky: A Palestinian Childhood***
(Melanie Kroupa Books/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007)
Memoir to 1971. One chapter won a prize and was included in **Laurel Holliday**: *Children of Israel, Children of Palestine – Our Own True Stories* (Pocket Books, 1999) and **Jennifer Armstrong**: *Shattered – Stories of Children and War* (Knopf, 2003)

**Daphna Baram** (former *Guardian* reporter; UK representative of Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions; and humourist)

***Disenchantment: The Guardian and Israel***
(Guardian Books, 2004)
The author assesses both the historical and the contemporary aspects of the newspaper. The then (1917) *Manchester Guardian* was instrumental in the Balfour Declaration and the 2004 *Guardian* was on the cusp of the *hasbara* censorship that steered the paper from 2014 onwards.

**Nir Baram**

***A Land without Borders: My Journey around East Jerusalem and the West Bank***
(Text Publishing, 200 pages, 2017)
Translated by **Jessica Cohen**. Tel Aviv novelist's analysis that a 'two-state solution' is no longer possible.

**Nevill Barbour**

***Nisi Dominus: A Survey of the Palestine Controversy***
(London: George Harrap & Co, 248 pages, 1946; published as ***Palestine: Star or Crescent***, New York City: Odyssey Press, 310 pages, 1947)
Charles Dickson in the *Irish Times*: "Not since the Crusaders has any serious attempt been made to bring that country in the polity of Western European States, and any further attempt now would be likely to light the fires of a Holy War throughout the Arabic-speaking world, which comprises Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen and Egypt."

**Yoram Bar-Gal**

***Propaganda and Zionist Education: The Jewish National Fund, 1924-1947***
(University of Rochester Press & University of Haifa Press, 210 pages, 2003)
Illustrated, but with only fair quality reproductions, due to paper quality. An unpacking of historical symbols for mainly American Jews, but for other locations as well, including Europe, South Africa, and Mandate Palestine. Propaganda was paramount, and pre-1948 collections were minimal, when compared with the increasing private Jewish ownership of land in Palestine. Efforts include non-postal stamps (in the era when people collected postage stamps), board games, toys, and, mainly and prominently, the ubiquitous blue 'tzedakah' boxes, for the period indicated. The author uses the motive 'redemption' of 'Eretz Yisrael' with a normality that might startle, but this was the reality of the propaganda of the era. "Bar-Gal's book is primarily a history of ideas…the 'Jerusalem school' of Jewish history…inspired thoughts and actions of individuals and elite groups…largely formulated outside Palestine." – Joel Beinin, American Historical Review, October 2004.

***The Good and the Bad: A Hundred Years of Zionist Images in Geography Textbooks***
(Queen Mary College, University of London, 38 pages, 1991)

**Mustafa Barghouti** (physician and General Secretary of the Palestinian National Initiative)

***Health and Segregation: The Impact of the Israel Separation Wall on Access to Health Care Services***
(Ramallah: Health, Development, Information and Policy Institute, 112 pages, 2004)

**Dana Barnett** (Israel Academia Monitor)
**Efraim Karsh** (Kings College London) and **Dana Barnett**, co-editors
***Soft Threats to National Security: Antisemitism, BDS and the Deligitimization of Israel***
(Routledge, 356 pages, 2021)

Largely Zionists' late academic responses to BDS, with Palestinian arguments as "fabricated history". Book chapters originally published as a special issue of *The Journal of Israel Affairs*. Contents: **Yoav Gelber**: *From Underdog to Occupier: Israel's Tarnished Image* / **Martin Kramer**: *The Unspoken Purpose of the Academic Boycott* / **Gerald M. Steinberg**: *Human Rights Watch's Anti-Israel Agenda* / **Evyatar Friesel**: *Israel in Modern Jewish Identity – An Internal Debate* / **Eytan Gilboa**: *The Palestinian Campaign against Israel at the United Nations Human Rights Council* / **Leah Mandler** & **Carmela Lutmar**: *Birds of a Feather Vote Together? EU and Arab League UNGA Israel Voting* / **Assaf Derri**: *The ICC's Prosecuter in the Service of Palestine Lawfare* / **Havatzelet Yahel**: *The Negev Bedouin as a De-legitimization Tool* / **Henri Stellman**: *The Coalescence of Anti-Zionist Ideologies* / **Lev Topor**: *The Covcert War: From BDS to Delegitimazion to Antisemitiem* / **Nelly Atlan**: *The BDS asn an Example of Soviet Political Warfare.*

***Post-Zionism and Israeli Universities: The Academic-Political Nexus***
(Lambert Academic Publishing, 356 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "The book constitutes the first and full systematic account of the post-Zionist movement in the Israeli academy. Starting with three small groups in the pre-independence period: Brit Shalom, the Canaanites and the Communists - a coherent anti-Zionist ideology was developed only to become virtually irrelevant after the creation of the State of Israel. After the Six Day War, Matzpen, a fringe group of former Communists and Canaanites revived the anti-Zionist ideology but failed to make an impact on the mainstream discourse. All this changed when a number of Matzpen activists obtained academic positions and, together with an emerging cadre of critical, neo-Marxist faculty, developed a body of work that depicted Zionism as a colonial movement bent on dispossessing the indigenous Palestinians. In this view, Israel was a capitalist and imperialist regime that exploited Jewish immigrants from Arab countries and women, in addition to practicing apartheid on the Palestinians. This movement has pushed forward the Palestinian call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions."

**Alexander Baron**

*The Churchill Papers: Revising the Revisionists, Unmasking Irving*
(London: Anglo-Hebrew Publishing, 150 pages, Anglo-Hebrew," 1994)
Re: David Irving.

**Dan Bar-On**

***The Others Within Us***
(Cambridge University Press, 2008)
Identity formation and conformity amongst secular Israelis in the pre-messianic years.

**Mordechai Bar-On**

***Moshe Dayan: Israel's Controversial Hero***
(Yale University Press, 2012)

as editor: ***A Never-Ending Conflict: A Guide to Israeli Military History***
(Praeger Press, 2004)

***In Pursuit of Peace: a History of the Israeli Peace Movement***
(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996)

***The Gates of Gaza: Israel's Road to the Suez and Back, 1955-1957***
(Macmillan, 1994)
Translated by **Ruth Rossing**

As editor, with text by **Nathan Shaham**: ***Israel's Defence Forces: The Six Day War***
(Israeli Ministry of Defence, 240 pages, 1968 / Slough: Foulsham & Co, 240 pages, 1971; originally published Philadelphia: Chilton, 1969)

Foreword by **Moshe Dayan**, Minister of Defence. Introduction by **General Yitzhak Rabin**. Mostly battle photograph illustrations, military documents, plus maps of attack routes, some with colour overlays. Only two Palestinians are shown, surrendering. Includes list of Citations for Valour.

**Ramzy Baroud**

***Searching Jenin: Eyewitness Accounts of the Israeli Invasion***
(Cune Press, 2003)
With foreword by **Ilan Pappe** and 38 photos by Palestinian photographer Mahfouz Abu Turk.

**James Barr**

***A Line in the Sand: Britain, France, and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East***
(Simon & Schuster, 2011 / 2012)
Despite the helpful bibliography, the historian has not relied on earlier published works, but undertook a careful trawl through international archives instead. The result is rich in detail, yet the historical actors' own voices make it a vivid read. For example, Ernest Bevin on legislation to end the Mandate: "Very well then, ram it through."

***Setting the Desert on Fire: TE Lawrence and Britain's Secret War in Arabia, 1916-1918***
(Bloomsbury, 2006 / WW Norton, 2008)

**Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov**

***Justice and Peace in the Israeli Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 158 pages, 2014)
Editor: **Arie Marcelo Kacowicz**
Contents: Just peace: linking justice to peace -- Narratives of justice and injustice in peacemaking -- The Israeli-Jewish narratives of justice and injustice -- The Palestinian narratives of justice and injustice -- Linking justice to peace in the Oslo process, 1993-2001 -- Linking justice to peace in the Annapolis process, 2007-2008 -- Linking justice to peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: looking for solutions.

as editor: ***The Israel-Palestinian Conflict: From Conflict Resolution to Conflict Management***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
Contents: 1. Dialectic between conflict management and conflict resolution / Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov -- 2. The influences of heuristic thought and group dynamics on the management of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Dan Zakay -- 3. The Israeli-Palestinian violent confrontation : an Israeli perspective / Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, Ephraim Lavie, Kobi Michael and Daniel Bar-Tal -- 4. The interaction between the military echelon and the political echelon in the management of the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation / Kobi Michael -- 5. Changes in Israel's official security policy and in the attitudes of the Israeli-Jewish public toward the management of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (2000-2004) / Tamar Hermann -- 6. A psychological earthquake in the Israeli-Jewish society : changing opinions following the Camp David summit and the Al-Aqsa Intifada / Daniel Bar-Tal and Keren Sharvit -- 7. Ethos of conflict in the Israeli media during the period of the violent confrontation / Keren Sharvit and Daniel Bar-Tal -- 8. The Palestinian society in the wake of the violent confrontation and Arafat's death / Ephraim Lavie -- 9. The Israeli disengagement plan as a conflict management strategy / Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov and Kobi Michael.

As editor: ***Barriers to Pease in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 385 pages, 2010)

As editor: ***From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation***
(Oxford University Press, 302 pages, 2004)

***Israel and the Intifada: Adaptation and Learning***
(Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, 2000)

***Israel and the Intifada***
(Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, 37 pages, 2000)

***Israel and the Peace Process, 1977-1982: In Search of Legitimacy for Peace***
(State University of New York Press, 334 pages, 1994)

***Israel, the Superpowers and the War in the Middle East***
(Praeger Press, 1987)

***The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, 1969-1970***
(Columbia University Press, 1980)

**Omer Bartov** (Brown University)

***Israel – What Went Wrong?***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 256 pages, 2026)

***Genocide, the Holocaust and Israel-Palestine: First-Person History in Times of Crisis***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 320 pages, 2023)

***Israel-Palestine: Lands and Peoples***
(Berghan Books, 540 pages, 2021)
Contents: CHAPTER 1 The Political Theology of Eretz Israel the Nakba and the Hasidic immigration to Palestine -- CHAPTER 2 Western European "Philosemitism" and the Nakba in the 1950s -- CHAPTER 3 "You Just Can't Compare" holocaust comparisons and discourses of Israel-Palestine -- CHAPTER 4 International Human Rights Aspects of Repatriating Israeli Settlers from the West Bank -- Part II Redrawing Space -- CHAPTER 5 Oil and the Origins of Middle Eastern Sovereignty -- CHAPTER 6 Territory, Demography, and Effective Control. an analysis of Israel's biospatial politics -- CHAPTER 7 Come to Netanya a new reading of Israel's planning history -- CHAPTER 8 Architecture and the Struggle over Geography revisiting the Arab village in Israel-Palestine -- Part III Education and Ideology -- CHAPTER 9 Contested Pedagogy modern Hebrew education and the segregation of national communities in pre-state Palestine -- CHAPTER 10 The Biblical Borders between Theology and History Israeli schoolbook maps, 1903-1967 -- CHAPTER 11 Zionist Civic Rituals as Nation-Building Instruments -- CHAPTER 12 Rival Histories in a Deeply Divided Society the Israeli case -- Part IV Nationalism, Settler Colonialism, and Decolonization -- CHAPTER 13 Three Paradigms for Understanding the Israel-Palestine Conflict -- CHAPTER 14 Thinking about State Demise the case of Israel -- CHAPTER 15 Decolonizing Israel-Palestine a discourse or a political program? -- CHAPTER 16 What Would a Decolonized Archaeology of Israel-Palestine Look Like? -- Part V Future Scenarios -- CHAPTER 17 Reinstating Apartheid or Stating the Obvious? 1948 Palestinians and Israel's new nation-state law -- CHAPTER 18 Palestinians in Israel the undesirable others -- CHAPTER 19 The Demography of Return -- CHAPTER 20 When Utopia Becomes Topia mapping the future in Israel-Palestine -- Afterword between Talbiyeh and me.

**Eitan Bar-Yosef** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)

***The Holy Land in English Culture, 1799-1917***
(Oxford University Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "The dream of building Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land has long been a quintessential part of English identity and culture: but how did this vision shape the Victorian

encounter with the actual Jerusalem in the Middle East? The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917 offers a new cultural history of the English fascination with Palestine in the long nineteenth century, from Napoleon's failed Mediterranean campaign of 1799, which marked a new era in the British involvement in the land, to Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem in 1917. Bar-Yosef argues that the Protestant tradition of internalizing Biblical vocabulary - 'Promised Land', 'Chosen People', 'Jerusalem' - and applying it to different, often contesting, visions of England and Englishness evoked a unique sense of ambivalence towards the imperial desire to possess the Holy Land. Popular religious culture, in other words, was crucial to the construction of the orientalist discourse: so crucial, in fact, that metaphorical appropriations of the 'Holy Land' played a much more dominant role in the English cultural imagination than the actual Holy Land itself. As it traces the diversity of 'Holy Lands' in the Victorian cultural landscape - literal and metaphorical, secular and sacred, radical and patriotic, visual and textual - this study joins the ongoing debate about the dissemination of imperial ideology. Drawing on a wide array of sources, from Sunday-school textbooks and popular exhibitions to penny magazines and soldiers' diaries, the book demonstrates how the Orientalist discourse functions - or, to be more precise, malfunctions - in those popular cultural spheres that are so markedly absent from Edward Said's work: it is only by exploring sources that go beyond the highbrow, the academic, or the official, that we can begin to grasp the limited currency of the orientalist discourse in the metropolitan centre, and the different meanings it could hold for different social groups. As such, The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917 provides a significant contribution to both postcolonial studies and English social history.

**Michael Bar-Zohar**

***Facing a Cruel Mirror: Israel's Moment of Truth***
(Scribner, 1990)

***Embassies in Crisis: Diplomats and Demagogues behind the Six-Day War***
(Prentice Hall, 1970)
Translated from French by **Michael Stearns**. Note: other titles on Mossad, David Ben Gurion, etc.

**Anselma Barahona**

***Bearing Witness: Eight Weeks in Palestine***
(Metete Publications, 2011)
A Spanish 'international' assessment.

**Aharon Barak**, **Yitzhak Kahan**, and **Yona Efrat**

***Final Report: Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee camps in Beirut, 1983***
(Jerusalem and/or Tel Aviv: probably the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 108 pages, 1983)

**Brian K. Barber** (University of Tennessee)

***No Way But Forward: Life Stories of Three Families in the Gaza Strip***
(KDP Press, 371 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This deeply moving narrative follows three men—Hammam, Hussam, and Khalil — as they build families, pursue education, and fight for justice despite unimaginable challenges. Barber, a psychologist and researcher, has cultivated real relationships with these families since 1995, allowing him to tell their stories with rare depth and authenticity. In the book's final chapters, Barber shares firsthand accounts from the families as they endure the aftermath of October 7. Through their words, readers witness the heartbreak and determination of those living through war while holding on to love, dignity, and hope."

***Deeper Inside a Youth Social Movement: Gaza's "Children of Stone"***
(Provo, Utah: Author, 25 pages, 1998)
Presentation to the Kennedy Center for International Studies, Brigham Young University, December 2, 1998.

**Martin Barzilai**, interviewer and editor

***We Refuse: Saying No to the Army in Israel***

(Green Print [author?], 96 pages, 2025)

Interviews with diverse 'refuseniks', pre-and-post October 2023, some of whom served prison sentences, typically weeks or months. Foreword by **Eyal Sivan**.

**Tahseen Basheer**, editor

***The Arab League, Edwin Montagu and the Balfour Declaration***

(New York City: Arab Information Center, 23 pages, 1967)

**Bashir Bashir** (Open University of Israel)

As co-editor, with **Leila Farsakh**: ***The Arab and Jewish Questions: Geographies of Engagement in Palestine and Beyond***

(Columbia University Press, 2020)

Contents: Nineteenth-century Europe turned the political status of its Jewish communities into the "Jewish Question," as both Christianity and rising forms of nationalism viewed Jews as the ultimate other. With the onset of Zionism, this "question" migrated to Palestine and intensified under British colonial rule and in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Zionism's attempt to solve the "Jewish Question" created what came to be known as the "Arab Question," which concerned the presence and rights of the Arab population in Palestine. For the most part, however, Jewish settlers denied or dismissed the question they created, to the detriment of both Arabs and Jews in Palestine and elsewhere.This book brings together leading scholars to consider how these two questions are entangled historically and in the present day. It offers critical analyses of Arab engagements with the question of Jewish rights alongside Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish considerations of Palestinian identity and political rights. Together, the essays show that the Arab and Jewish questions, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in which they have become subsumed, belong to the same thorny history. Despite their major differences, the historical Jewish and Arab questions are about the political rights of oppressed groups and their inclusion within exclusionary political communities—a question that continues to foment tensions in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Shedding new light on the intricate relationships among Orientalism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, colonialism, and the impasse in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this book reveals the inseparability of Arab and Jewish struggles for self-determination and political equality.Contributors include Gil Anidjar, Brian Klug, Amal Ghazal, Ella Shohat, Hakem Al-Rustom, Hillel Cohen, Yuval Evri, Derek Penslar, Jacqueline Rose, Moshe Behar, Maram Masarwi, and the editors, Bashir Bashir and Leila Farsakh.

As co-editor with **Amos Goldberg** (Hebrew University Jerusalem): ***The Holocaust and the Nakba: Toward a New Grammar of Trauma and History***

(Columbia University Press, 424 pages2018)

With foreword by **Elias Khoury** and afterword by **Jacqueline Rose**. Publisher's blurb: "This book does not seek to draw a parallel or comparison between the Holocaust and Nakba or to merely inaugurate a "dialogue" between them. Instead, it searches for a new historical and political grammar for relating and narrating their complicated intersections. The book features prominent international contributors, including a foreword by Lebanese novelist Elias Khoury on the centrality of the Holocaust and Nakba in the essential struggle of humanity against racism, and an afterword by literary scholar Jacqueline Rose on the challenges and contributions of the linkage between the Holocaust and Nakba for power to shift and a world of justice and equality to be created between the two peoples. *The Holocaust and the Nakba* is the first extended and collective scholarly treatment in English of these two constitutive traumas together." Contents: 1. Harbingers of Jewish and Palestinian Disasters: European Nation-State Building and Its Toxic Legacies, 1912-1948 / Levene, Mark -- 2. Muslims (Shoah, Nakba) / Anidjar, Gil -- 3. Benjamin, the Holocaust, and the Question of Palestine / Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon -- 4. When Yaffa Met (J)Yaffa: Intersections Between the Holocaust and the Nakba in the Shadow of Zionism / Ghanim, Honaida -- 5. Holocaust/Nakba and the Counterpublic of Memory / Khoury,

Nadim -- 6. When Genya and Henryk Kowalski Challenged History-Jaffa, 1949: Between the Holocaust and the Nakba / Confino, Alon -- 7. A Bold Voice Raised Above the Raging Waves: Palestinian Intellectual Najati Sidqi and His Battle with Nazi Doctrine at the Time of World War II / Kabha, Mustafa -- 8. What Does Exile Look Like? Transformations in the Linkage Between the Shoah and the Nakba / Fischer, Yochi -- 9. National Narratives of Suffering and Victimhood: Methods and Ethics of Telling the Past as Personal Political History / Bartov, Omer -- 10. Culture of Memory: Holocaust and Nakba Images in the Works of Lea Grundig and Abed Abdi / Ben-Zvi, Tal -- 11. Ma'abara: Mizrahim Between Shoah and Nakba / Ben-Yehuda, Omri -- 12. From Revenge to Empathy: Abba Kovner from Jewish Destruction to Palestinian Destruction / Hever, Hannan -- 13. Novel as Contrapuntal Reading Elias Khoury's Children of the Ghetto: My Name Is Adam / Abu-Remaileh, Refqa -- 14. Writing Silence: Reading Khoury's Novel Children of the Ghetto: My Name Is Adam / Zreik, Raef -- 15. Silence on a Sizzling Tin Roof: A Translator's Point of View on Children of the Ghetto / Shenhav, Yehouda.

As co-editor, with **Will Kymlicka**
***The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies***
(Oxford University Press, 245 pages, 2008)
One chapter by **Bashir Bashir**: *Reconciling History and Equal Citizenship in Israel: Democracy and the Politics of Historical Denial.*

**Tamera Barnea** and **Rafiq Husseini**
***Separate and Cooperate, Cooperate and Separate: The Disengagement of the Palestine Health Care System from Israel and its Emergence as an Independent System***
(Praeger, 353 pages, 2002)
"With the support of the Post-Conflict Unit of the World Bank and Andrea & Charles Bronfman Philanthropies.

**Bashir Bashir** (Open University of Israel)
***Reconciling Historically Excluded and Disadvantaged Groups: Deliberative Democracy, Recognition and the Politics of Reconciliation***
(PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 250 pages, 2006)
http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/2416/

**Muin Basisu**
***Descent into Water: Palestinian Notes from Arab Exile***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press & AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 102 pages, 1980)
Includes poets.

**M. Cherif Bassiouni**
***The Palestinians' Right of Self-Determination and National Independence***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 47 pages, 1978)

**Mohammed Yasser Al-Batniji**
***Diary of a Spice Seller***
(Drizzle-Dazzle, 142 pages, 2025)

**Petter Bauck** (Norwegian Embassy, Kyiv, Ukraine) and **Mohammed Omer** (author of *Shell Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault*, 312pp, OR Books, 2015), editors
***The Oslo Accords: A Critical Assessment***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2016)

Forewords by **Desmond Tutu** and **Össur Skarphédinsson**; Contents: Noam Chomsky: The Oslo Accords: Their Context, Their Consequences / Ilan Pappe: Revisiting 1967 – The False Paradigm of Peace, Partition, and Parity / Hilde Henriksen Waage: Champions of Peace? Tools in Whose Hands? Norwegians and Peace Brokering in the Middle East / Amira Hass: The Illusion of Palestinian Sovereignty / Liv Tørres: The Oslo Accords and Palestinian Civil Society / Lotta Schüllerqvist: "We Have Opened Doors, Others Have Been Closed"- Women under the Oslo Accords / Richard Falk: After Oslo: A Legal Historical Perspective / John V. Whitbeck: A Legal Perspective on Oslo / Petter Bauck: The Oslo Accords: A Common Savior for Israel and the PLO in Exile? / Ahmed Yousef: Out of the Ashes of Oslo: The Rise of Islamism and the Fall of Favoritism / Are Hovdenak: Hamas in Transition -The Failure of Sanctions / Dr. Sufian Abu Zaida: Palestinian Prisoners from Oslo to Annapolis / Mohammed Omer: Some Gaza Impressions, Over Two Decades after Oslo / Gideon Levy: The Shattered Dream / Ahmed Abu Artema (Gazan who inspired the Great March of Return, 2018): Palestinian Identity in the Aftermath of Oslo / Mads Gilbert: Israeli Impunity / Haakon Aars: Public and Primary Healthcare before and after the Oslo Accords: A Personal Reflection / Matt Sienkiewicz: Facts in the Air: Palestinian Media Expression since Oslo / Helga Tawil-Souri: Networking Palestine: The Development and Limitations of Television and Telecommunications since 1993 / Harry van Bommel: The European Union and Israel since Oslo / Laura Dawn Lewis: A War of Ideas: The American Media on Israel and Palestine post Oslo / Yasmine Gado: Corporate Complicity in Human Rights Abuses under Oslo.

**Roger Baumann**

***Black Visions of the Holy Land: African American Christian Engagement with Israel and Palestine***

(Columbia University Press, 296 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "Since at least the high point of the civil rights movement, African American Christianity has been widely recognized as a potent force for social change. Most attention to the political significance of Black churches, however, focuses on domestic protest and electoral politics. Yet some Black churches take a deep interest in the global issue of Israel and Palestine. Why would African American Christians get involved—and even take sides—in Palestine and Israel, and what does that reveal about the political significance of "the Black Church" today? This book examines African American Christian involvement in Israel and Palestine to show how competing visions of "the Black Church" are changing through transnational political engagement. Considering cases ranging from African American Christian Zionists to Palestinian solidarity activists, Roger Baumann traces how Black religious politics transcend domestic arenas and enter global spaces. These cases, he argues, illuminate how the meaning of the ostensibly singular and unifying category of "the Black Church"—spanning its history, identity, culture, and mission—is deeply contested at every turn. Black Visions of the Holy Land offers new insights into how Black churches understand their political role and social significance; the ways race, religion, and politics both converge and diverge; and why the meaning of overlapping racial and religious identities shifts when moving from national to global contexts"

**Judith Tydor Baumel** (Bar Ilan University)

***The 'Bergson Boys' and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy***

(Syracuse University Press, 2005)

In this Arab-less history, Bergson's is shown to be a clever movement, insubordinate to the American Jewish establishment. Kook's 'breakaway Irgun' is shown to have been free of the FDR-loyal Zionist bureaucracy in the US, that was under Ben Gurion's remote command. Publisher's blurb: "During and shortly after the Second World War, six young men-emissaries of the revisionist-Zionist "Irgun" military movement in Palestine revolutionized the American Jewish and Zionist scene. Having energized politicians, gangsters, Hollywood moguls, and ultra-Orthodox rabbis, the handful of young men taught other Zionist and American-Jewish groups not only how the media was the message but how it could and should be used." See also: **Ben Hecht**: *Child of the Century*; **Rafael Medoff**: *Militant Zionism in America*; and **Leonard Slater**: *The Pledge*.

**Nadim Bawalsa**

***Transnational Palestine: Migration and the Right of Return before 1948***

(Stanford University Press, 272 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Tens of thousands of Palestinians migrated to the Americas in the final decades of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth. By 1936, an estimated 40,000 Palestinians lived outside geographic Palestine. *Transnational Palestine* is the first book to explore the history of Palestinian immigration to Latin America, the struggles Palestinian migrants faced to secure Palestinian citizenship in the interwar period, and the ways in which these challenges contributed to the formation of a Palestinian diaspora and to the emergence of Palestinian national consciousness. Nadim Bawalsa considers the migrants' strategies for economic success in the diaspora, for preserving their heritage, and for resisting British mandate legislation, including citizenship rejections meted out to thousands of Palestinian migrants. They did this in newspapers, social and cultural clubs and associations, political organizations and committees, and in hundreds of petitions and pleas delivered to local and international governing bodies demanding justice for Palestinian migrants barred from Palestinian citizenship. As this book shows, Palestinian political consciousness developed as a thoroughly transnational process in the first half of the twentieth century—and the first articulation of a Palestinian right of return emerged well before 1948."

**Hani J. Bawardi** (University of Michigan-Dearborn)

***The Making of Arab Americans: From Syrian Nationalism to US Citizenship***

(University of Texas Press, 382 pages, 2014)

A history of leaders of Arab associations in the US, with relevance to Palestine.

**John Baynes**

***The Forgotten Victor: General Sir Richard O'Connor, KT, GCB, DSO, MC***

(Brassey's, 1989)

Includes open-air imprisonment of rebels in Halhul village, 1939.

**Joan Baz** and **Dar Onboz**

***Count to 10 with I Went Looking for Palestine but I Found***

(Beirut: Dar Onboz [Outpost Magazine], ca. 2014)

Exhibition record of a journey through southern Lebanon, including Palestinian embroidery, both traditional and non-traditional.

**Hatem Bazian** (Palestinian-American academic, University of California Berkeley; co-founder of Zaytuna College, the first accredited Muslim liberarts college in the US)

***Annotations on Race, Colonialism, Islamophobia, Islam and Palestine***

(Amrit Consultancy, 544 pages, 2017)

***Erasing the Human: Collapse of the Postcolonial World and Refugee Immigration Crisis***

(Claritas Books, 274 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "The collapse of the post-colonial world has given rise to overwhelming injustices in many nations across the world, none more so than in Palestine. Borders and boundaries are creating a refugee-immigration crisis on a mass scale leading to the slow 'erasure' of the human through systematic oppression and the ongoing struggle for liberation. Navigating to unmask the structural racism, violence and multiple genocides, this book delves deep into Dr. Bazian's own experiences as a Palestinian living in the diaspora away from his homeland, to critically analyse the history and origins of the immigration-refugee crisis."

***Jerusalem in Islamic Consciousness: A Textual Survey of Muslim Claims and Rights to the Sacred City***
(Author, 158 pages, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "The existing omission of Palestine's Islamic history has had a far deeper consequence, whether intended or not, of rejecting indigenous Muslim claims and rights to the land. History is written within the scope of time and space; thus the Islamic period's time is omitted which also leads to a discontinuity of a people's right or claim to their own space. The Palestinians, who are the inhabitants of this land, are either completely absent from the history or at most a side show to the main act of Jewish history in Palestine, both ancient and present. What Dr Hatem proposes to undertake is an exploration of the recorded Islamic history of al-Quds and Palestine and to establish the high reverence Muslims hold for this area. This is not an extensive chronological treatment of the subject, but one that provide focus on the religious foundations used to advance Muslim claims first to al-Quds, and by extension to the whole of Palestine. The research will seek to answer the question often asked: what are the basis of Muslim claims to Palestine? What do Muslim sources say about al-Quds and the land? Why is al-Quds significant to the followers of Islam? Why should this Islamic understanding convey a legitimate territorial claim by the present day Palestinians? Finally, how has this Islamic consciousness been expressed in various periods? My hope is to work on a series of books dealing with this subject and this volume only serves as an initial foray into the subject to be followed by further research in the near future."

**Richard Becker**
***Palestine, Israel and the US Empire***
(San Francisco: PSL Publications, 233 pages, 2009)

**Carly Beckerman** aka **Carly Beckerman-Boys** (Durham University)
***Unexpected State: British Politics and the Creation of Israel***
(Indiana University Press, 224 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Cutting through assumptions about Britain's support for a "national home for the Jewish people" in the creation of British Palestine, Carly Beckerman explores why and how elite political battles in London inadvertently laid th-e foundations for the establishment of the State of Israel. Drawing on foreign policy analysis and previously unused archival sources, *Unexpected State* considers the strategic interests, the high-stakes international diplomacy, and the tangle of political manoeuvring in Westminster that determined the future of Palestine. Contrary to established literature, Beckerman argues that British policy toward the territory was dominated by seemingly unrelated domestic and international political battles that left little room for considerations of Zionist or Palestinian interests and arguments. Beckerman instead shows how the policy process was aimed at resolving issues such as coalition feuds, party leadership battles, spending cuts, and riots in India. Considering detailed analysis of four major policy-making episodes between 1920 and 1948, *Unexpected State* interrogates key Israeli and Palestinian narratives and provides fresh insight into the motives and decisions behind policies that would have global implications for decades to come."

**Menachem Begin** ("The Eichmann of Zionism")
***The Revolt: The Story of the Irgun***
(New York City: Henry Schuman, 1951 / Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 1972)

**Peter Behnstedt** and **Aharon Geva-Kleinberger**
***Atlas of the Arabic Dialects of Galilee, with Some Data for Adjacent Areas***
(Brill, 452 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This atlas is based on large-scale fieldwork conducted in Galilee in the mid-nineties of last century. Galilee is the area with the highest percentage of arabophones in Israel and displays a rather complex dialectal situation. The reshuffling of large parts of the population after 1948 led to a

considerable degree of dialectal diversity in many places. Moreover, many points of investigation show, besides the notorious Bedouin-sedentary dichotomy, a significant sociolinguistic variation with respect to age, sex, and denomination.The atlas contains seventy-three phonetic and phonologial maps, in addition to eighty morphological and thirty-eight lexical maps.Ten maps deal with the classification of the dialects.The atlas is of interest to semitists, dialectologists and variationists"

**Sven Behrendt**
***The Secret Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations in Oslo: The Success and Why the Process Ultimately Failed***
(Routledge, 2007)

**Joel Beinin** & **Rebecca Stein**, editors
***The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005***
(Stanford University Press, 2006)
Note: includes **Jonathan Cook**: *Israel's Glass Wall*

**Joel Beinin** & **Zachary Lockman**, editors
***Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation***
(Boston: MERIP / Middle East Research and Information Project & South End Press, 250 pages, 1989)
Note: see Zachary Lockman

**Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi**
***Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel***
(New York City: Olive Branch Press, 1993)

***Despair and Deliverance: Private Salvation in Contemporary Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 1992)

***The Israeli Connection: Who(m) Israel Arms and Why***
(New York City: Pantheon Books, 1987 / IB Tauris, 1987-1988)

with AI Rabin: ***Twenty Years Later: Kibbutz Children Grow Up***
(New York City: Springer, 1982)
Note: Author wrote numerous monographs on the social psychology of religion in Israel.

**Willard A. Belling**, editor (University of Southern California)
***The Middle East: Quest for an American Policy***
(State University of New York Press, 1973)
Conference papers.

**J. Bowyer Bell**
***Terror out of Zion – Irgun Zvai Leumi, LEHI, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949***
(St Martins' Press, 374 pages, 1974 / Avon Books, 468 pages, 1978)
Includes Bat Yam and Dorothy Osmond.

**Gawain Bell**
***Shadows on the Sand: The Memoirs of Sir Gawain Bell***
(Hurst & Co & St Martin's Press, 1983)
Colonial administration, with chapter on Mandate Palestine, 1938-1939.

**Gertrude Bell**

Featured in chapter 3 of **Julia Keay**: ***With Passport and Parasol: The Adventures of Seven Victorian Ladies*** (BBC Books, 168 pages, 1990, 1994)
Taken from BBC Radio historical drama series, with Rosalie Crutchley as Gertrude Bell.

***The Desert and the Sown***
(Heinemann 1907 / Virago, 1985 / Boston: Beacon Press, 1987)
With an introduction by **Sarah Graham-Brown**. Bell was widely travelled in Palestine and the region prior to and after the Great War, and influenced Westminster's policies, such as the drawing of boundaries that formed form Iraq.

***Gertrude Bell: From Her Personal Papers 1914–1926***
(Ernest Benn, 1961)
**see also: Georgina Howell: *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert – Shaper of Nations* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006) also issued as *Daughter of the Desert: The Remarkable life of Gertrude Bell*** (Macmillan, 2006)

**Shlomo Ben-Ami** (academic, foreign minister in Ehud Barak's government)

***Prophets without Honor: The Untold Story of the 2000 Camp David Summit and the Making of Today's Middle East***
(Oxford University Press, 368 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "The clash between Israel and Palestine has been one of the most emotionally engaging causes of modern times. *Prophets without Honor* tells the story of the grueling attempts to solve the conflict and examines the reasons for its resilience. Shlomo Ben-Ami, who participated at a high level in the July 2000 Camp David peace talks that almost led to a historic deal, uses his insider experience to illuminate the specific factors that impede a solution to the conflict. He finds that the occupation's traits of permanence, Israel's insatiable quest for Lebensraum, and a hopelessly fragmented and disoriented Palestinian national movement are to blame. Ben-Ami challenges the funereal historiography that emerged in the wake of the Camp David process, when—for the first time ever—Israelis and Palestinians engaged in the Sisyphean task of breaking the taboos surrounding the conflict. The Clinton Peace Parameters that emerged out of this process eventually became the litmus test of every serious peace proposal in the future. But ill-conceived perceptions of the other party, all-or-nothing theological fanaticism, and a lack of bold and enlightened leadership have made these attempts at peace-making a defining failure of the two-state concept. Ben-Ami scrutinizes the ominous alternatives to the two-state solution, such as the binational state, a unilateral pullout from much of the West Bank, and Donald Trump's Deal of the Century. He also examines the merits of a Jordanian-Palestinian solution. In discussing Palestine from a comparative perspective, he underlines its singularity while also shedding light on the dilemmas that stand at the center of any peace enterprise. Ultimately, his account is the most non-partisan, comprehensive, and balanced written by an insider representing one of the parties."

***Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2006)

**Eyal Ben-Ari** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

***Rethinking Contemporary Warfare: A Sociological View of the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(State University of New York Press, 2011)
"…this study is indeed unique in documenting and analyzing the actual experience of ground troops fighting a low-intensity, messy, local war, and as such it is an interesting read for military sociologists who seek to expand their knowledge on the challenges facing industrial democracies that fight irregular wars." –*Review of Middle East Studies*

***Mastering Soldiers: Conflict, Emotions and the Enemy in an Israeli Military Unit***
(Berghahn Books, 2001)
Publisher's blurb: "Studies of the military that deal with the actual experience of troops in the field are still rare in the social sciences. In fact, this ethnographic study of an elite unit in the Israeli Defense Force is the only one of its kind. As an officer of this unit and a professional anthropologist, the author was ideally positioned for his role as participant observer. During the eight years he spent with his unit he focused primarily on such notions as "conflict", "the enemy", and "soldiering" because they are, he argues, the key points of reference for "what we are" and "what we are trying to do" and form the basis for interpreting the environment within which armies operate. Relying on the latest anthropological approaches to cognitive models and the social constructions of emotion and masculinity, the author offers an in-depth analysis of the dynamics that drive the men's attitudes and behavior, and a rare and fascinating insight into the reality of military life."

as co-editor, with **Yoram Bilu**: ***Grasping Land: Space and Place in Contemporary Israeli Discourse and Experience***
(State University of New York Press, 1997)

**Yehoshua Ben-Arieh**

***Jerusalem in the 19th Century: The Old City***
(Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Institute / St Martin's Press, 1984)

***Jerusalem in the 19th Century: The Emergence of the New City***
(St Martin's Press, 1986)

**Yuval Ben-Bassat** (University of Haifa)

With **Johann Buessow** (Ruhr-Universitat, Bochum, Germany): ***Late Ottoman Gaza: An Eastern Mediterranean Hub in Transformation***
(Cambridge University Press, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In contemporary public discourse, Gaza tends to be characterized solely as a theatre of the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. However, little is known about Gaza's society, politics, economy, and culture during the Ottoman era. Drawing on a range of previously untapped local and imperial sources, Yuval Ben-Bassat and Johann Buessow explore the city's history from the mid-nineteenth century through WWI. They show that Gaza's historical importance extends far beyond the territory of the 'strip' since the city was an important hub for people, goods, and ideas in the Eastern Mediterranean from Antiquity until the twentieth century. Using new digital methodologies, Ben-Bassat and Buessow introduce readers to the world of Gazans from various walks of life, from the traditional Muslim elites to the commoners and minority communities of Christians and Jews. In so doing, they tell the lively story of this significant but frequently misunderstood city."

***Petitioning the Sultan: Protests and Justice in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1865-1908***
(IB Tauris, 2013)

with co-editor **Eyal Ginio**: ***Late Ottoman Palestine: The Period of the Young Turk Rule***
(IB Tauris, 2012)

**Regina F. Bendix**, **Aziz Haidar**, and **Hagar Salamon**, editors

***June 1967 in Personal Stories of Palestinians and Israelis***
(Göttingen : Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 501 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "The clash of June 1967, called by Israelis the Six-Day War and by Palestinians the Naksa (setback), is a critical milestone within the longstanding Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Despite all the scholarly attention ever since, there remain unheard voices and untold stories. It is the personal stories of people in the region that are at the center of this book. How do they remember 1967? How were their

lives affected, even changed dramatically as a result of that short war? Listening to their stories as told some 50 years later, an incomplete tapestry of memories and understandings emerge. This book is the product of a re- search collaboration among Palestinian, Israeli and European folklorists, cultural anthropologists and sociologists. The personal stories were collected in the framework of interviews with men and women from all walks of life, on the days before, during and after this dramatic confrontation. The book is comprised of eleven chapters based on a corpus of several hundred conversations, as well as eight representative interviews. Together they afford insight into differential memories and sensations, visions of euphoria and despair, newly revived hopes, pain and disappointment, disillusionment and repentance."

**Gabriel Ben-Dor**

***The Druzes in Israel: A Political Study – Political Innovation and Integration of a Middle Eastern Minority***
(Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979)

As editor, with **David B. Dewitt**: ***Confidence Building Measures in the Middle East***
(Routledge, 2019) Contents: The Palestinians and confidence building measures in the Arab-Israeli conflict: the implications of statelessness / Rex Brynen -- Confidence and security building: the Israeli domestic dimension / Alan Dowty -- Confidence building measures and Israeli security concerns / Mark A. Heller -- The role of extremist political groups in the context of confidence building between the Israelis and Palestinians / Noemi Gal-Or -- Reflections on confidence building in an intricate regional "security complex"--the Middle East / Gideon Gera -- Israel and Syria: the problem of confidence / Gideon Gera -- Jordan and the question of confidence building: the politics of ambivalence / Emile Sahliyeh -- Confidence building and dilemmas of cooperation: the Egyptian-Israeli experiment / Janice Gross Stein -- The United States and the Arab-Israeli peace process / Bernard Reich -- Russia's role in peacemaking and confidence building in the Middle East: present and future / Victor A. Kremenyuk -- The evolution of arms control in the Middle East / Keith R. Krause -- Can the media mediate?: mass-mediated diplomacy in the Middle East / Gabriel Weimann -- Towards a confidence transformational dynamic / Howard Adelman -- Confidence building and the peace process in the Middle East / Gabriel Ben-Dor and David B. Dewitt.

**Ingela Bendt & James Downing**

***We Shall Return: Women of Palestine***
(Zed Books, 129 pages, 1982)
Lebanon refugee camps. Translated by **Ann Henning**.

**Uri Ben Eliezer**

***The Making of Militarism in Israel***
(Indiana University Press, 1998)

**Alon Ben-Meir** (New York University's Center for Global Affairs; longtime negotiator)

***Toward the Abyss: Israel and the Palestinians***
(Washington DC: Policy Studies Organization / Westphalia Press, 2015)
Columns 2010-2014.

***Israel and the Arab Peace Initiative: Reconciling Israel's Core Requirements for Peace with the Arab Peace Initiative***
(Author/World Policy Institute,45 pages, 2008)
Analysis of the Arab Peace Initiative, launched in Beirut, March 2002, and re-adopted by the Arab League in Riyadh, March 2007. "Essentially, the initiative calls on Israel to agree to full withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967; to arrive at a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, and to

accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with East Jerusalem at the capital. The demands made by the Arab Peace Initiative can be fully reconciled with Israel's core requirements for peace, which are: 1) ensuring Isarael's national security and territorial integrity, 2) sustaining Israel's Jewish national identity, 3) securing the unity of Jerusalem as Israel's capital while accommodating the Palestinian demands, and 4) establishing normal relations with the entire Arab world."

***A Framework for Arab-Israeli Peace***
(St. Louis, Missouri: Robert Publishing, 92 pages, 1993)

***Israel: The Challenge of the Fourth Decade***
(New York City: Cyrco Press, 231 pages, 1978)
With a major focus in on Palestinians.

**Stephen Bennett**

***British Rule in Palestine***
(Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 279pages, 1948)

**Phyllis Bennis** (International journalist and fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington DC)

***Understanding Palestine and Israel***
(Olive Branch Press, 240 pages, 2025)

***Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer***
(Olive Branch Press, 200 pages, 2015 and earlier editions)
Note: Bennis was a prominent contributor to the influential 2016 Media Educational Foundation documentary, *The Occupation of the American Mind*, with other contributors Loretta Alper, Max Blumenthal, Noam Chomsky, Jeremy Earp, Norman Finkelstein, and Sut Jhally.

**Guy Ben-Porat** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

***Global Liberalism, Local Populism: Peace and Conflict in Israel/Palestine and Northern Ireland***
(Syracuse University Press, 342 pages, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on scholarship in the field of globalization and on archival research, including interviews with leading businessmen involved in the peace process, Ben-Porat believes that a critical interrogation of the interface between economic interests and policy makers is central to an understanding of the complex relationship between globalization and peace. In clear and convincing arguments, this book presents an important and innovative approach to two of the world's most intractable conflicts."

**Yoram Ben-Porath**

With **Emanuel Marx**: ***Some Sociological and Economic Aspects of Refugee Camps in the West Bank***
(Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 78 pages, 1971)
Report no. R-835-FF, commissioned by the Ford Foundation.

***Some Economic Characteristics of a Refugee Camp: Preliminary Results***
(Jerusalem: Information Service of the Syrian Prime Minister's Office, 7 pages, 1969)
Study also conducted by **Emmanuel Marx** and **Shimon Shamir**.

***The Arab Labor Force in Israel***
(Jerusalem: Israel University Press, 96 pages, 1966)

**Norman Bentwich** (influential British Zionist of the Mandate era)

***Palestine***
(Benn Ltd, 1946)

***Jewish Youth Comes Come: The Story of the Youth Aliyah, 1933-1943***
(Victor Gollancz, 1944)

***The Case for the Jews***
(News Chronicle, 1939)

***Fulfilment in the Promised Land, 1917-1937***
(Soncino Press, 1938)

***England in Palestine***
(Kegan Paul – Trench Tubner & Co, 1932)

***Wanderer in the Promised Land***
(Soncino Press, 1932)

***The Mandates System***
(Longmans & Col, 1930)

***Palestine of the Jews: Past, Present and Future***
(Kegan Paul & Co., 1919)

**Eyal Benvenisi**

***Legal Dualism: The Absorption of the Occupied Territories into Israel***
(Routledge, 2019)
Topics include: Lawmaking by the military government -- The prescription of Israeli law to the Jewish settlements -- Extraterritorial prescription of Israeli law -- Assimilation of Israeli law by the military government -- The Israeli high court of justice and the territories.

With **George W. Downs**: ***Between Fragmentation and Democracy: The Role of National and International Courts***
(Cambridge University Press, 225 pages, 2017)

With **Anny** & **Paul Yanowicz**: ***The International Law of Occupation***
(Princeton University Press, 383 pages, 1993; Oxford University Press, 383 pages, second edition 2013)

***The Law of Global Governance***
(Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2013; Hague Academy of International Law, 334 pages, 2014)

Co-edited with: **Chaim Gans** & **Sari Hanafi** (American University Beirut)
***Israel and the Palestinian Refugees***
(Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer, 501 pages, 2007)
Includes **Abdel Jawad**: *Zionist Massacres – The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem in the 1948 War.*

***The International Law of Occupation***
(Princeton University Press, 241 pages, 1992, 2004)

***Legal Dualism: The Absorption of the Occupied Territories into Israel***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 76 pages, 1990)

**Meron Benvenisti** (Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem under Teddy Kollek, 1971-1978, administering East Jerusalem / Al-Quds; advocate of One Democratic State)

With **Ziad Abu-Zayad** and **Danny Rubinstein**: ***The West Bank Handbook; A Political lexicon***
(Routledge, 257 pages, 2019)

***Son of Cypresses: Memories, Reflections and Regrets from a Political Life***
(University of California Press, 2006)
Translated by Maxine Kaufman-Lucasta

***Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948***
(University of California Press, 2000)
Translated by **Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta**

***Demographic, Economic, Legal, Social and Political Developments in the West Bank: 1987 Report***
*(Boulder,* Colorado: Westview Press, 1997)

***City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem***
(translated by Maxine Kaufman Nunn; University of California Press, 1996)
(University of California Press, revised edition, 1995)

***Intimate Enemies: Jews and Arabs in a Shared Land***
(University of California Press, 260 pages, 1995)

***The Shepherds' War: Collected Essays, 1981-1989***
(Jerusalem Post, 1989)

***Conflicts and Contradictions***
(New York City: Villard Books, 1986 / Silver Spring, Maryland: Eshel Books, 1989)

With **Shlomo Khayat**: ***West Bank and Gaza Atlas***
(Jerusalem: West Bank Data Project/The Jerusalem Post, 140 pages, 1988)

***The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies***
(Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1984/1987)

with **Usamah Halabi** and **Aron Turner**: ***Land Alienation in the West Bank: A Legal and Spatial Analysis***
(Jerusalem: West Bank Data Project, 1985)

**Nachman Ben-Yehuda**

***The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel***
(University of Wisconsin Press, 401 pages, 1995)
Contents: I. The Puzzle and the Background. 1. Introduction: The Research Puzzle. 2. The Historical Events of Masada. 3. Excavations of Masada -- II. The Masada Mythical Narrative. 4. Shmaria Guttman. 5. Masada and Youth Movements. 6. Masada and the Pre-State Jewish Underground Groups. 7. Masada and the Israeli Army (IDF). 8. Masada in Textbooks. 9. Masada, the Media, and Tourism. 10. Masada in Children's Literature and in Art. 11. The Masada Mythical Narrative -- III. Analysis, Discussion, and Summary. 12. Methodological Framing. 13. Theoretical Interpretation. 14. Summary and a Personal Note. Appendix: Main Jewish Underground Groups in Palestine, 1920-1948.

**Efrat Ben-Ze'ev**

***Remembering Palestine in 1948: Beyond National Narratives***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

Contents: Part I. Constructing Palestine: National Projects: 1. The framework; 2. The British cartographic imagination and Palestine; 3. Cartographic practices in Palestine: British, Jewish, and Arabs, 1938-1948 — Part II. Palestine-Arabs Memories in the Making: 4. 1948 from a local point of view: the Palestinian village of Ijzim; 5. Rural Palestinian women: witnessing and the domestic sphere; 6. Underground memories: collecting traces of the Palestinian past — Part III. Jewish-Israeli Memories in the Making: 7. Palmach fighters: stories and silences; 8. The Palmach women — Part IV. British Mandatory Memories in the Making: 9. Carrying out the mandate: British policemen in Palestine; Conclusion and implications.

**Uzi Benziman**

***Sharon: An Israeli Caesar***
(Adama Press, 1985)

**Abraham Ben-Zvi** (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University)

***John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel***
(Routledge / Frank Cass, 2002)

***Decade if Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance***
(Columbia University Press, 1998)

**Michael D. Berdine**

***Redrawing the Middle East: Sir Mark Sykes, Imperialism and the Sykes-Picot Agreement***
(IB Tauris, 2018)

**Raffi Berg** (BBC Middle East news editor)

***Red Sea Spies: The True Story of Mossad's Fake Diving Resort***
(Icon Books, 320 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "In the early 1980s on a remote part of the Sudanese coast, a new luxury holiday resort opened for business. Catering for divers, it attracted guests from around the world. Little did the holidaymakers know that the staff were undercover spies, working for the Mossad - the Israeli secret service. Providing a front for covert night-time activities, the holiday village allowed the agents to carry out an operation unlike any seen before. What began with one cryptic message pleading for help, turned into the secret evacuation of thousands of Ethiopian Jews who had been languishing in refugee camps, and the spiriting of them to Israel. Written in collaboration with operatives involved in the mission, endorsed as the definitive account and including an afterword from the commander who went on to become the head of the Mossad, this is the complete, never-before-heard, gripping tale of a top-secret and often hazardous operation."

**Peter Bergamin**

***The Making of the Israeli Far-Right: Abba Ahimeir and Zionist Ideology***
(IB Tauris, 273 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Abba Ahimeir (1897 –1962) writer, journalist and historian began his public life as a socialist, but subsequently moved toward the rightward extreme of Zionist ideology. One of the earliest opponents of the British Mandate, in 1930 he founded a radical right-wing organization called Brit Habiryonim (the Union of Zionist Rebels). This was a clandestine, self-declared fascist faction of the Revisionist Zionist Movement (ZRM) in Palestine whose official ideology was Revisionist Maximalism, an ideology for which Ahimeir is now most well-known. Ahimeir's career as a political activist came to an early end, when he was arrested in connection with the murder of the Labour Zionist leader, Chaim Arlosoroff. Although acquitted, Ahimeir nonetheless went to prison for his involvement as a political activist. This is the first intellectual biography of one of the most influential figures on the Zionist Right. Based on much unseen primary source material from the

Ahimeir archive in Ramat Gan and the Jabotinsky Institute in Tel Aviv, as well as Ahimeir's newspaper articles, the author provides a rigorous analysis of Ahimeir's ideological development. The book positions him more accurately within the contexts of the far-right and the Zionist movement in general, updates common misunderstanding about this period of history and revises Israeli collective memory." Note also items held by the Weiner Holocaust Library, London: **Horace B. Samuel**: ***Who Killed Arlosoroff? A Record of Crime and Justice in the Mandated Territory of Palestine*** (typescript, 300 pages, ca. 1934); ***The Arlosoroff Murder Trial: Speeches and Relevant Documents*** (Jerusalem: Hasseolel Press, 170 pages, 1934).

**Rabbi Elmer Berger** [anti-Zionist American rabbi, Director of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, then forced to resign after the 1967 war, and so he founded American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism; in Frank Sakran's *Palestine Dilemma: Arab Rights Versus Zionist Aspirations* (1948), Berger is noted as asserting that "there is no such thing as 'the Jewish People', that the real purpose of the Jewish nationalists is not the alleviation of the condition of their fellow Jews, but the perpetuation of the position of 'official Jews'. Nationalism, he says, 'seeks to retain, in one form or another, that corporate control over the lives of Jews that emancipation would normally end."

***The Jewish Dilemma***
(New York City: Devin-Adair Co, 1946)

***A Partisan History of Judaism***
(New York City: Devin-Adair Co, 1951)

***Who Knows Better Must Say So***
(New York City: American Council for Judaism, 1955)
Letters on a fact-finding tour of the Middle East with particular reference to Israel and the plight of Palestinian refugees.

***Judaism or Jewish Nationalism: The Alternative to Zionism***
(New York City: Bookman Associates, 1957)

***Zionism and Palestine: The Implications for Christians and Jews***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina University Press, 11 pages, 1971)
Paper presented at the AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates third annual convention, 1970.

***Letters and Non-Letters: The White House, Zionism and Israel***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972)
Correspondence between Berger and the staff of the President of the United States.

***Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978)
Offprint of an article in the *Journal of Palestine Studies,* nos. 17/18, 1975-1976.

***Zionist Ideology: Obstacle to Peace***
(Geneva: EAFORD – International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1981)

***Human Rights or Self-Righteousness? A Critique of the Department of State's 1981 "Country Report of Human Rights Practices" in the State of Israel***
(Geneva: EAFORD – International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1981)

***The Structure of the Zionist Movement in the United States***
(Geneva: EAFORD – International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1983)

***Judaism or Zionism: What Difference for the Middle East***
(Zed Books / Geneva: EAFORD – International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; 1983)
Note: Berger wrote the preface.

See also: **Jack Ross** [biographer] - ***Rabbi Outcast: Elmer Berger and American Jewish Anti-Zionism***
(Washington DC, Potomac Books, 2011)

**Ronen Bergman**
***Rise and Kill First: The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations***
(John Murray Publishing, 2018/2019)
Unpacks the Mossad, Shin Bet and IDF killings, including that of Abu Jihad, for his role in the Intifada, although his killing didn't stall it. Author claims that, although Mahmoud Abbas' home was nearby, he wasn't similarly targeted as not being enough of a prize. Winner of the 2018 National Jewish Book Award!

**Fred Berk**, editor
***Ha-Rikud: The Jewish Dance***
(American Zionist Youth Foundation, 1972)
Contains **Gurit Kadman**: ***Folk Dance in Israel***, on appropriation of Dabke by Zionist culturists.

**Ayse Berktay**, **Stephane Hessel**, **Trevor Griffiths** and, as editor, **Tony Simpson**
***On Palestine and Prisoners***
(Spokesman Books, 196 pages, 2013)

**David Berlin**
***The Moral Lives of Israelis: Reinventing the Dream State***
(Vintage Books Canada, 320 pages, 2012)
Journalism critical of Zionism.

**Howard M. Berlin**
***The Coins and Banknotes of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1927-1947***
(North Carolina: McFarland Press, 152 pages, including 8 pages of illustrations, some in colour, 2001)

**Lila Corwin Berman**
***The American Jewish Philanthropic Complex: The History of a Multibillion Dollar Institution***
(Princeton University Press, 280 pages, 2020)
Study of the growth of this effort avoids politics and AIPAC but encompasses Sheldon Adelson's Birthright project in giving away free ten-day visits in Israel young Jewish Americans.

**Count Folke Bernadotte**
***Death of a Mediator***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1968; originally published, Paris, United Nations, 1948)
Note: Includes Bernadotte's Progress report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine. Part 1: The mediation efforts.

***To Jerusalem – The Journal of the Palestine Mission***

(Hodder & Stoughton, 1951 / Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976)
Translated by **Joan Bulman**

**David L. Bernstein**
***Woke Antisemitism: How a Progressive Ideology Harms Jews***
(New York City: Wicked Son Press/Simon & Schuster, 213 pages, 2022)

**Deborah S. Bernstein**
***Constructing Boundaries: Jewish and Arab Workers in Mandatory Palestine***
(State University of New York Press, 2000)
The author's Haifa focus observes the segregation of cheap and expensive labour went beyond class exploitation and was boosted by a wilful Jewish nationalism. See also, George Mansour: *The Arab Worker under the Palestine Mandate* (1937)
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648832

**M. Bernstein**
***Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(approx. 30 pages, 1934)
Offprint from the *International Labour Review*, November & December 1934.

**Claude Berrebi** & **Esteban F. Klor**
***On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes: Theory and Evidence from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Princeton University Industrial Relations – working paper, 12 pages, 2004)

**Daniel Berrigan**, **Edward Said** and **Israel Shahak**
***Arabs and Jews: Possibility of Concord***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 29 pages, 1974)

**Emanuel Beška**
***From Ambivalence to Hostility: The Arabic Newspaper Filastin and Zionism, 1911-1914***
(Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press)
The iconic paper's shift to reality when the purchasing of land by Zionists for segregation comes to urban Jaffa.

**Nicholas Bethell** (European Parliament member, interviewed many participants)
***The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle between the British, the Jews and the Arabs, 1935-1948***
(Andre Deutsch, 1979 / Futura Publications, 1980)

**Bethlehem 2000 Project**
***Bethlehem 2000 Chronicle: The Story of a National Palestinian Development Project***
(Bethlehem: Bethlehem 2000 Project, 116 pages, 2002)

**Uri Bialer**
***Cross on the Star of David: The Christian World in Israel's Foreign Policy, 19948-1967***
(Indiana University Press, 2005)

***Oil and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1963***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 1998, 1999)

***Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1948-1956***
(Cambridge University Press, 1990)

***"Our Place in the World": Mapai and Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1947-1952***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem; Judah Magnes press, 1981

***Armed Forces in Foreign Territories under the Terms of Peace Agreements***
(Tel Aviv University Center for Strategic Studies, 1979)

**Frederica Bicchi**

***Europe and the Occupation of Palestinian Territories since 1967***
(Routledge, 136 pages 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "What has been Europe's role in the occupation of Palestinian territories since 1967? How have European actors responded, countered and/or supported the occupation? The international context of this exceptionally long occupation shows a complex web of denunciations, but also and especially complicit engagements and indifference. The book looks at the perspective of international law, before analysing the European Union and key European countries (France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom). It also embraces different perspectives, from the debate on campus to the role of European multinational companies to the conceptual approach of the World Bank. While much of the literature focuses on Israel, Palestine and the United States, this volume by leading experts adds a very important piece to the puzzle: the European dimension. The chapters in this book were originally published as a special issue of the journal, *Global Affairs*."

**Ian J Bickerton** (University of New South Wales) and **Carla L. Klausner** (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History***
(Reaktion Books, 2009; Routledge, 600 pages, 2022)

**Jess Bier** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

***Mapping Israel, Mapping Palestine: How Occupied Landscapes Shape Scientific Knowledge***
(MIT Press, 424 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Digital practices in social and political landscapes: Why two researchers can look at the same feature and see different things. Maps are widely believed to be objective, and data-rich computer-made maps are iconic examples of digital knowledge. It is often claimed that digital maps, and rational boundaries, can solve political conflict. But in *Mapping Israel, Mapping Palestine*, Jess Bier challenges the view that digital maps are universal and value-free. She examines the ways that maps are made in Palestine and Israel to show how social and political landscapes shape the practice of science and technology. How can two scientific cartographers look at the same geographic feature and see fundamentally different things? In part, Bier argues, because knowledge about the Israeli military occupation is shaped by the occupation itself. Ongoing injustices—including checkpoints, roadblocks, and summary arrests—mean that Palestinian and Israeli cartographers have different experiences of the landscape. Palestinian forms of empirical knowledge, including maps, continue to be discounted. Bier examines three representative cases of population, governance, and urban maps. She analyzes Israeli population maps from 1967 to 1995, when Palestinian areas were left blank; Palestinian state maps of the late 1990s and early 2000s, which were influenced by Israeli raids on Palestinian offices and the legacy of British colonial maps; and urban maps after the Second Intifada, which show how segregated observers produce dramatically different maps of the same area. The geographic production of knowledge, including what and who are considered scientifically legitimate,

can change across space and time. Bier argues that greater attention to these changes, and to related issues of power, will open up more heterogeneous ways of engaging with the world."

**John Bierman** & **Colin Smith**
***Fire in the Night: Wingate of Burma, Ethiopia and Zion***
(Macmillan, 2000) – Biography of Major General Orde Wingate, who armed and trained Jewish forces in Palestine, during the 1936-1939 Arab Palestinian uprising.

**Liora Bigon** (Hebrew University ) and **Yossi Katz** (Bar-Ilan University)
***Garden Cities and Colonial Planning: Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine***
(Manchester University Press, 2017)
One half-the book is on Palestine.

**Kenneth Bilby**
***New Star in the Near East***
(Doubleday & Co., 1950)
Journalist's observations of 1948, includes observation of the Northern European and American likeness in the kibbutz community.

**Eliyahu Biletsky**
***Libel-Zionism=Racism***
(Tel Aviv: Amal, 177 pages, 1980)
Translated by **Naomi Handelman**.

**Jack Binsley**
***Palestine Police Service***
(Minerva, 1997)

**Yoram Binur**
***My Enemy, My Self***
(Doubleday, 1989)
A Jewish Israeli poses as an Arab Palestinian worker in Israel.

**Kai Bird**
***The Good Spy: The Life and Death of Robert Ames***
(Broadway Books/Bantam-Doubleday, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "On April 18, 1983, a bomb exploded outside the American Embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people. The attack was a geopolitical turning point. It marked the beginning of Hezbollah as a political force, but even more important, it eliminated America's most influential and effective intelligence officer in the Middle East – CIA operative Robert Ames. What set Ames apart from his peers was his extraordinary ability to form deep, meaningful connections with key Arab intelligence figures. Some operatives relied on threats and subterfuge, but Ames worked by building friendships and emphasizing shared values – never more notably than with Yasir Arafat's charismatic intelligence chief and heir apparent Ali Hassan Salameh (aka "The Red Prince"). Ames' deepening relationship with Salameh held the potential for a lasting peace. Within a few years, though, both men were killed by assassins, and America's relations with the Arab world began heading down a path that culminated in 9/11, the War on Terror, and the current fog of mistrust."

***Crossing Mandelbaum Gate: Coming of Age between the Arabs and the Israelis, 1956-1978***
(Simon & Schuster 2010)
Worthy memoir by the son of an American diplomat who grew up witnessing changes along the Palestinians' time line.

**Martin D. Birnhack** (Tel Aviv University)
***Colonial Copyright: Intellectual Property in Mandate Palestine***
(Oxford University Press, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "When the British Empire enacted copyright law for its colonies and called it colonial, or Imperial, copyright, it had its own interests in mind. Deconstructing the imperial policy regarding copyright offers a startling glimpse into how this law was received in the colonies themselves. Offering the first in-depth study from the point of view of the colonized, this book suggests a general model of Colonial Copyright as it was understood as the intersection of legal transplants, colonial law, and the particular features of copyright, especially authorship. Taking as a case study the story of Mandate Palestine (1917-1948), the book details the untold history of the copyright law that became the basis of Israeli law, and still is the law in the Palestinian Authority. It queries the British motivation in enacting copyright law, traces their first, indifferent reaction, and continues with the gradual absorption into the local legal and cultural systems. In the modern era copyright law is at the forefront of globalization but this was no less true when colonial copyright first emerged. By shining a light on the introduction and reception of copyright law in Mandate Palestine, the book illuminates the broader themes of copyright law: the questions surrounding the concept of authorship; the relationship between copyright and the demands of progress; and the complications of globalization.

**Birzeit University**
***Palestinian Women: A Status Report: A Gender Profile of the Determinants and Outcomes of Schooling in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Birzeit University Women's Studies Program, 1997)

***The Criminalization of Education: Academic Freedom and Human Rights at Birzeit University during the Palestinian Uprising*** (First Intifada]
(Birzeit University Public Relations Office, 91 pages, 1989)

**Amzi Bishara** (Balad Party founder, exiled by Israelis after several terms in the Knesset; Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies)
***Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice***
(Hurst, 360 pages, 2022)
See also: **Mariane A. Maasri**

**Marwan Bishara** aka **Marwan Bishawa** (Al Jazeera English senior editor)
***Palestine/Israel: Peace or Apartheid – Occupation, Terrorism and the Future***
(Zed Books, 172 pages, 2002)
With a foreword by **Richard Falk**.

**George Emile Bisharat** [University of California law professor]
***Palestinian Lawyers and Israeli Rule: Law and Disorder in the West Bank***
(University of Texas Press, 1989) On the decline of the Palestinian legal profession over the first two decades of the Israelis' West Bank occupation.

**Bassam Bishuti**
***The Role of the Zionist Terror in the Creation of Israel***

(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 214pp, 1969)

**Patrick Bishop**

***The Reckoning: How the Killing of One Man Changed the Fate of the Promised Land***
(Collins, 2014)
The assassination of Avraham Stern (The Stern Gang), with use of the private archive of Palestine Police Superintendent Geoffrey Morton.

**Donald Black** aka **J.L. Gray**

***Red Dust: An Australian Trooper in Palestine***
(Jonathan Cape, 1931)

**Edwin Black**

***The Transfer Agreement: The Dramatic Story of the Pact between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine***
(New York City: Macmillan/London: Collier Macmillan, 430 pages, 1984; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Brookline Books, 430 pages, 1999; New York City: Carroll & Gaff, 484 pages, 2001; Washington DC: Dialog Press, 430 pages, 2023)
Afterword by Abraham H. Foxman. Dialog Press blurb: "…compelling, award-winning story of a negotiated rescue in 1933 between Zionist organizations and the Nazis to transfer some 50,000 Jews, and $100 million ($25 billion in 2025) of their assets to Jewish Palestine. In the process, the arrangement stopped the worldwide Jewish-led boycott launched against the Hitler regime." See also: **Francis R. Nicosia**: *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (IB Tauris, 1985)

**Ian Black** (36 years with *The Guardian* newspaper, becoming Middle East Editor; LSE)

***Enemies and Neighbours: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017***
(Allen Lane, 605 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb|: "Ever since the Ottoman Empire was defeated and British colonial rule began in 1917, Jews and Arabs have struggled for control of the Holy Land. Israel's independence in 1948 in the wake of the Holocaust was a triumph for the Zionist movement but a catastrophe - 'nakba' in Arabic - for the native Palestinian majority. Ian Black has written a gripping, lucid and timely account of what was doomed to be an irreconcilably hostile relationship from the beginning. He traces how, half a century after the watershed of the 1967 war, hopes for a two-state solution and an end to occupation have all but disappeared. The author, a veteran Guardian journalist, draws on deep knowledge of the region and decades of his own reporting to create a uniquely vivid and valuable book. It is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the story so far - and why both peoples face an uncertain future."

with **Benny Morris**: ***Israel's Secret Wars: The Untold History of Israeli Intelligence***
(Hamish Hamilton, 1991 / Futura, 1992 / Grove Weidenfeld, 1999)

***Zionism and the Arabs, 1936-1939***
(New York City: Garland Publishing, 1978, 1986)
Based on LSE thesis.

**William Eugene Blackstone** (1841-1935)

***Christian Protagonists for Jewish Restoration***
(New York City: Arno Press, 23 pages, 1977)
First published by the author, Oak Park, Illinois. See also Nathan Strauss.

**Roisin Blake**

***Palestinian Refugees in Syria and Lebanon: Government Policy and the Refugees since 1948***
(University of Cambridge thesis, 2012)
Available via University of Cambridge Library.

**Nicholas Blanford** (Atlantic Council, Washington DC)
***Counting the Cost: Avoiding another War between Israel and Hezbollah***
(Atlantic Council, 2020)

***Warriors of God: Inside Hezbollah's Thirty-Year Struggle against Israel***
(Random House, 522 pages, 2011)

**Louise Blanke** (Edinburgh University) and **Jennifer Cromwell** (Manchester Metropolitan University), editors
***Monastic Economies in Late Antique Egypt and Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2023)

**Nicholas Blincoe** (novelist, playwright, screenwriter, producer of documentaries by Leila Sansour)
***More Noble Than War: A Soccer History of Israel-Palestine***
(Nation Books aka Bold Type Books, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Soccer has never been apolitical. This is especially true for Israel and Palestine. The sport was introduced originally through the church, and then encouraged by the British Army, with Jews and Arabs playing on the same team. After the creation of Israel in 1948, teams split down Jewish and Arab lines and tensions grew. For Palestine, soccer continues primarily abroad, where the top four teams in Jordan are refugee teams; while Israel has a thriving domestic league. But some of Israel's best players are of Palestinian descent–creating a rare occurrence in which a Palestinian is heralded and praised by Israelis. In recent years, efforts are being made to bridge the divide between Israelis and Palestinians with mixed youth leagues. This is a vibrant and often shocking story filled with driven, even ferocious people who are inspired by nationalism as much as a love of the game. There are many sacrifices, as brilliant teams are scattered by wars, sidelined through boycotts, and stories of players arrested, expelled, driven to hunger strikes, and beaten or shot. It is a story not simply of Jewish-Arab rivalry, but also deep and often violent animosities within both communities. In this unusual history of the world's most intractable conflict, Nicholas Blincoe sets out to answer questions such as: is it hopelessly romantic to think of soccer as a fourth field, beyond farmlands, graveyards and battlefields? Or will it always be just another space to be fought over and polluted?"

***Bethlehem: Biography of a Town***
(Bold Type Books, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Bethlehem is so suffused with history and myth that it feels like an unreal city even to those who call it home. For many, Bethlehem remains the little town at the edge of the desert described in Biblical accounts. Today, the city is hemmed in by a wall and surrounded by forty-one Israeli settlements and hostile settlers and soldiers. Nicholas Blincoe tells the town's history through the visceral experience of living there, taking readers through its stone streets and desert wadis, its monasteries, aqueducts, and orchards to show the city from every angle and era. His portrait of Bethlehem sheds light on one of the world's most intractable political problems, and he maintains that if the long thread winding back to the city's ancient past is severed, the chances of an end to the Palestine-Israel conflict will be lost with it."

**Frederick Jones Bliss** ("the father of Palestinian archaeology")
***The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine – Lectures Delivered before Lake Forest College – The Bross Lectures, 1908***
(T & T Clark / C. Scribner's & Sons, 1912)

***The Development of Palestine Exploration – Being the Ely Lectures for 1903***
(C. Scribner's & Sons, 1906)

With **RA Stewart Macalister**: ***Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)
See also: Samuel R. Wolff

***A Mound of Many Cities: or, Tell el-Hesy Excavated***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1898)

***Excavations in Jerusalem, 1894-1897***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896)
Illustrations by **AC Dickie**.

**John E. Blundell**
***Out of the Desert: A Story of Palestine, Ploesti and Beyond***
(Turner Publishing, 112 pages, 1999)
Publisher's blurb: "The daring low level mission to the oil refineries of Ploesti has long been considered as one of the most significant missions of World War Il. The allies were determined to annihilate the very source of the fuel which fed the German war machine. In *Out of the Desert*, a distinguished veteran of the 98th Bomb Group, John Blundell, provides not only an insider's point of view on the mission, but also compelling photos of the heroes and hardships faced by America's Force for Freedom"

**Etan Bloom**
***Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture***
(Leiden: Brill, 2011)

**Barbara Board** [news reporter for the *Daily Mirror*]
***Newsgirl in Palestine***
(Michael Joseph, 1937)
A privileged read by a rare woman head reporter who thus had special access. Her keen 1936 eye unpacks childbirth, camelbirth, a rugby scrum, the emancipated Christian Arab women, the Jewish land-girls accomplished with rifles, women's extra earning selling fake non-alcoholic *Bols*and real Syrian hashish, the hyper-romantic British women who want to "escape from modern life" and marry Arab Sheikhs, Palestine radio's *Children's Hour* "Aunties" (Wadi Shatara & 'Aida Shammas) who tell stories from the Arabian Nights, and the Hebrew version, with five "Aunties," and a few volunteer English ones. These are brief observations, but fascinating journalism.

***Newsgirl in Egypt***
(Michael Joseph, 1938)

***Reporting from Palestine, 1943-1944***
(Nottingham: Five Leaves Press, 2008)

**Aie Bober**
***The Other Israel: The Radical Case against Zionism***
(Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972)

**Riccardo Bocco**, **Blandine Destremau** and **Jean Hannoyer**, editors
***Palestine, Palestiniens: Territoire National, Espaces Commuautaires***

(Beirut: Centre d'etudes et de recherches sur le Moyen-Orient contemporain (CERMOC), 416 pages, 1997)
Conference papers, in French, Arabic, and English. Contains **Randa Farah**: *Crossing Boundaries – Reconstructions of Palestinian Identities in Al-Baq'a Refugee Camp, Jordan.*

**Adolf Böhm**
***The Jewish National Fund***
(The Hague: JNF, 72 pages, ca. 1917)

**Gail J. Boling**
***The 1948 Palestinian Refugees and the Individual Right of Return: An International Law Analysis***
(Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 49 pages, 2001)

**Hector Bolitho** (New Zealand-born world travel writer and journalist, mainly in Britain)
***The Angry Neighbours: A Diary of Palestine and Transjordan***
(Arthur Baker, 1957)
Author went to Palestine in 1932 while writing his biography of Alfred Mond, First Lord Melchett. The following year he went to live with King Abdullah in Transjordon, hoping to write a biography of King Hussein. Over these two years he kept a diary which is the basis of this book. He also lived in Zionist settlements.

***Beside Galilee: A Diary in Palestine***
(Cobden-Sanderson, 1933)

**John R. Bolton** (US Ambassador to the UN, 2005-2006; US National Security Advisor, 2018-2019)
***Repeal UN "Zionism is Racism" Resolution***
(US Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, 3 pages, 1990)

**Ethel Wolfe Born**
***A Tangled Web: A Search for Answers to the Question of Palestine***
(Women's Division, General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 1989)
Church leader's team tour of the region and subsequent work with the UN.

**Avram S. Bornstein**
***Crossing the Green Line: Between Israel and the West Bank***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001/2002)

**Ber Borochev** (1881-1917; Marxist Zionist, posthumously influential in intellectualising settlement and segregated labour activity under the British Mandate)
***Class Struggle and the Jewish Nation*** [sic]: ***Selected Essays in Marxist Zionism***
(New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984)
Edited by **Mitchell Cohen**

***Nationalism and the Class Struggle: A Marxian Approach to the Jewish Problem***
(Greenwood Press, 205 pages, 1972)
Introduction by **Abraham G. Duker**

***Borochov for Our Day: The Socialist-Zionist View of the Jewish People***

(New York City: Progressive Zionist League, 63 pages, 1958)
Essays by Raphael Mahler, David Flakser, Daniel Ben-Nahum ; with an introduction by Avraham Schenker ; **Richard Yaffe**, editor.

***Selected Essays in Socialist Zionism***
(Rita Searl, 50 pages, 1948)
Edited by Schneier Levenberg.

**Peter Bouckaert** (Director, Human Rights Watch 1997-2017) and **Nadim Houry** (Arab Reform Initiative)
***Fatal Strikes: Israel's Indisacriminate Attacks against Civilians in Lebanon***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 49 pages, 2006)
Edited by **Sara Leah Whitson**.

***IDF Military Operations***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 50 pages, 2002)

**Arafet Boujemaa**
***Internally Displaced Palestinians: "The Present Absentees"***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 109 pages, 2010)
Focus on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Publisher's blurb: "The book is based on research study aims to answer an important question in the case of IDPs inside Israel: Why is the issue of IDPs absent locally (within Israel) and internationally? To research why the Israeli State does not recognize IDPs as displaced persons, we should consider the Israeli policy towards them since Al-Nakba."

**Issa J. Boullata**
***The Bells of Memory: A Palestinian Boyhood in Jerusalem***
(Quebec: Linda Leith Publishing, 89 pages, 2014)

**Kamal Boullata**
***Palestinian Art 1850-to the Present***
(London: Saqi aka Al Saqi Books, 2009)
See: Steve Sabella

**WF Boustany** ("Representative of the Arab Cultivators in the Mudawra Lands Agreement with the Palestine Government – Member of the Third Palestine Arab delegation to London")
***The Palestine Mandate: Invalid and Impractical: A Contribution of Arguments and Documents Towards the Solution of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: American Press, 168 pages, 1936)
"Presented to His Excellency the High Commissioner for Palestine in June, and submitted to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies in July, 1936. Part Ten and appendices added and Arabic version presented to the Supreme Arab Committee in August, 1936."

**Tom Bowden**
***The Politics of Arab Rebellion in Palestine, 1936-1939***
(Frank Cass Publishing, 27pp, 1975; offprint from *Middle Eastern Studies,* May 1975)

**Jeremy Bowen** [BBC Middle East Correspondent]
***The Arab Uprisings: The People Want the Fall of the Regime***
(Simon & Schuster, 2013)

***War Stories***
(BBC, including large print edition, 2008 / Pocket Books, 2007)

***Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East***
(Simon & Schuster, 2003 / Pocket Books, 2004)

**Robert Bowker**
***Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity and the Search for Peace***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2003)

**John Bowle**
***Viscount*** [**Herbert**] ***Samuel: A Biography***
(Victor Gollancz, 1957)

**Glenn Bowman** & **David Harrison**
***The Politics of Tour Guiding: Israeli and Palestinian Tour Guides in Israel and the Occupied Territories***, in **David Harrison**, editor: ***Tourism and the Less Developed Countries***
(Belhaven Press, 1992)

**Humphrey Ernest Bowman** (Director of Education in Palestine under the British Mandate Government)
***Middle-East Window***
(Longmans, 1942)
Introduction by **Ronald Storrs**

**Chaz Bowyer**
***RAF Operations, 1918-1938***
(William Kimber Publishing, 1988)
Reference to British forces' aerial bombing of Palestinian villages, 1938-1939.

**Daniel Boyarin** (anti-Zionist Talmudic scholar, University of California Berkeley)
***The No-State Solution: A Jewish Manifesto***
(Yale University Press, 200 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Today there are two seemingly mutually exclusive notions of what "the Jews" are: either a religion or a nation/ethnicity. The widespread conception is that the Jews were formerly either a religious community in exile or a nation based on Jewish ethnicity. The latter position is commonly known as Zionism, and all articulations of a political theory of Zionism are taken to be variations of that view. In this provocative book, based on his decades of study of the history of the Jews, Daniel Boyarin lays out the problematic aspects of this binary opposition and offers the outlines of a different—and very old—answer to the question of the identity of a diaspora nation. He aims to drive a wedge between the "nation" and the "state," only very recently conjoined, and recover a robust sense of nationalism that does not involve sovereignty."

**John Boykin**
***Cursed is the Peacemaker: The American Diplomat versus the Israeli General, Beirut 1982***
(Belmont, California: Applegate Press, 488 pages, 2002)
Focus on Philip Charles Habib and Ariel Sharon.

**Boy Scouts** (Palestine troop)

***The World Jamboree 1929***

(London: Boy Scouts Association, 1929)

Note: Visit of Palestinian Boy Scouts to the 1929 International Jamboree is documented in issues of *Jamboree* (London: Boy Scouts Association) and newspapers, including the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Observer,* the *Irish Times,* and the *Times of India.* Later coverage is noted in the Palestinian press; see Fred Pragnell.

**Francis Anthony Boyle**

***The Palestinian Right of Return under International Law***

(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 2010)

***Breaking All the Rules: Palestine, Iraq, Iran, and the Case for Impeachment***

(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 2008)

***Palestine, Palestinians and International Law***

(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 2003, 2018)

**Susan Silsby Boyle**

***Betrayal of Palestine: The Story of George Antonius***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001)

Publisher's blurb: "challenge that remains unresolved: the Palestine-Zionist conflict. *Betrayal of Palestine* is an important and innovative work about the continuing controversy of empire and nationalism. This book traces Antonius's contribution and ideas on nation building and good governance and resonates for contemporary seekers of peace in the Middle East. As an archaeology of ideas and meaning, the book will be of great significance for the millennium. It speaks to the paradigm of a conqueror's code, and to the ever present danger of special interests capturing public policy and corrupting good governance. By rediscovering Antonius's message about institutions and nation building, and the true meaning of morality, conscience and public service, *Betrayal of Palestine* speaks to contemporary people in a voice that reconnects the past with the present. The book offers hope to a region where many solutions have failed, and a reminder that the solutions have been there all along, in the people and traditions of the Middle East, but they have been obscured by a conqueror's code of empire and nationalism. It is a reminder of the genius of democracy and the power of first principles: that ordinary people are important, that power must be shared, and that society as nation transcends tribalism and its more virulent contemporary form: nationalism."

**R. Michael Bracy [Robert]**

***Printing Class: 'Isa al-'Isa, Filastin, and the Textual Construction of Modern Identity, 1911-1931***

(Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2011)

**Musa S. Braizat**

***The Jordanian Palestinian Relationship: The Bankruptcy of the Confederal Idea***

(British Academic Pres, 256 pages, 1998)

***Jordan's Diplomacy: Balancing National Survival with Nation's Revival***

(Amman: Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, 58 pages, 1995)

**Laurie A. Brand** (University of Southern California)

***Palestinians in the Arab World: Institution Building and the Search for State***

(Columbia University Press, 286 pages, 1988)

Focuses on the exiled diaspora in Egypt, Jordan, and Kuwait, using five units for analysis: The General Union of Palestine Students, the General Union of Palestine Workers, the General Union of Palestinian Women, the General Union of Palestinian Teachers, and the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS). See also: **Shafeeq N. Ghanbra**: ***Palestinians in Kuwait*** (Westview Press, 1987).

**Louis Dembitz Brandeis**

***Democracy in Palestine***

(New York City: Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, 4 pages, 1915)
Compares early Zionists to the American Founding Fathers and the early settlers to the Mayflower Pilgrims.

**Harpal Brar** (former Chair of the Communist Party GB)

***Imperialism in the Middle East: with Specific Reference to the Struggle of the Palestinian People for National Self-Determination***

(London: author, 741 pages, 2002)
With contribution by **Ella Rule**.

**Irus Braverman** (State University of New York at Buffalo, Harvard University, Hebrew University, University of Toronto)

***Planted Flags: Trees, Land, and Law in Israel/Palestine***

(Cambridge University Press, 2009)
The story of trees through the narratives of military and government officials, architects, lawyers, Palestinian and Israeli farmers, and Jewish settlers. Note: first book, "House Demolitions in East Jerusalem," was published in Hebrew only in 2006.

**Mark Braverman**

***A Wall in Jerusalem: Hope, Healing, and the Struggle for Justice in Israel and Palestine***

(Hachette/Nation Books, 288 pages, 2013)

***Fatal Embrace: Christians, Jews and the Search for Peace in the Holy Land***

(Synergy Books, 2010)

**Michael Brecher** (Hebrew University, University of California Berkeley, Stanford University)

***Dynamics of the Arab-Israel Conflict***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This book comprises findings from the author's wide-ranging research since 1948 on the unresolved Arab/Israel protracted conflict. Brecher reflects back on his detailed analysis of the UN Commission created in November 1947, and his near-seven decades of research and publications on this complex protracted conflict continued since the first of nine Arab/Israeli wars. The book includes an analysis of the crucial early phase of the unresolved struggle for control of Jerusalem in 1948-49 and beyond, based on extensive interviews with Israel's leaders and prominent Egyptian senior officials, journalists and academics. It addresses the many diverse attempts at conflict resolution, including a peace plan to resolve the Arab/Israel conflict of the author's own design. It concludes with historical reflections about Israel's behaviour, domestically and externally, in 1948-1949 and 2008 and beyond. No other book on this protracted conflict contains so many important interviews with the first two generations of Israeli leaders and Egyptian officials and academics, and no other author can speak from such a deep and prolonged engagement."

**Marshall J. Breger** and **Ora Ahimeir**

***Jerusalem: A City and its Future***

(Syracuse University Press, 490 pages, 2002)
Contents: Part One. Issues of law and politics -- Jerusalem in our time: past, present, and future / Maya Choshen 17 -- Jerusalem: some legal aspects / Ruth Lapidoth 61 -- The future settlement of the dispute over Jerusalem: strategical and institutional aspects / Moshe Hirsch 91 -- Jerusalem and the U.S. Congress / Geoffrey Watson 124 -- Rule and role in Jerusalem: Israel, Jordan, and the PLO in a peace-building process / Menachem Klein 137 -- The role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in a future permanent-status settlement in Jerusalem: legal, political, and practical aspects / Reuven Merhav and Rotem Giladi 175 -- Part Two. Issues of law and religion -- The religious significance of Jerusalem in the Middle East peace process: some legal implications / Silvio Ferrari 223 -- Haredim and Palestinians in Jerusalem / Menachem Friedman 235 -- A new status for Jerusalem?: an Eastern Orthodox viewpoint / Charalambos K. Papastathis 256 -- Part Three. The Temple Mount -- Jewish-Muslim modus vivendi at the Temple Mount: al-Haram al-Sharif Since 1967 / Yitzhak Reiter 269 -- Delicate balances at the Temple Mount, 1967-1999 / Amnon Ramon 296 -- Part Four. Issues of governance -- The municipal organization of the Jerusalem Metropolitan Area: conceptual alternatives / Shlomo Hasson 335 -- Jerusalem economy and the peace process / Abraham (Rami) Friedman 360 -- Environmental issues in the Jerusalem Metropolitan Area / Qasem Abdul-Jaber and Deborah F. Mir 379 -- Living together and apart in Jerusalem: lessons learned / Bill Hutman and Amir Cheshin 401.

**Marshall J. Breger**, **Yitzhak Reiter** and **Leonard Hammer**, editors
***Sacred Apace in Israel and Palestine: Religion and Politics***
(Routledge, 2012)
Contents: Part I: Designating and grading holy places; 1. "How awesome is this place": holy places in Jewish law; 2. "Holy places" and "sacred spaces": canonical issues; 3. The protection of heritage and holy sites in international law: a Palestinian perspective; 4. From unknown saint to State site: the Jewish dimension in the sanctification process of tombs in the State of Israel; 5. The renewal of the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa 6. The Zamzam well ritual in Islam and its Jerusalem connection Part II: Interpreting religious law in light of political need; 7. The place of religious aspirations for sovereignty over the Temple Mount in religious-Zionist rulings; 8. The battle over the Muslim cemeteries in Israel; Part III: The role of religious leaders in addressing issues pertaining to holy sites; 9. Nationalizing and denationalizing the sacred: shrines and shifting identities in the Israeli-occupied territories; 10. Political holiness: negotiating holy places in Eretz Israel/Palestine, 1937-2003 11. The importance of interfaith cooperation for the protection of Jerusalem's holy sites12. Christian Palestinian communities in Israel: tensions between laity, clergy and state

**Marshall J. Berger**, **Yitzhak Reiter** and **Leonard Hammer, editors**
***Holy Places in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Confrontation and Co-Existence***
(Taylor & Francis, 317 pages, 2009)
Contents: 1 Introduction; 2 The legal regulation of holy sites; 3 Protection of holy places in international law; 4 Wars and sacred space: The influence of the 1948 War on sacred space in the state of Israel; 5 The three kinds of holy places in Jewish Law: The case of Nachmanides' Cave in Jerusalem as a third kind; 6 The waqf in Israel since 1965: The case of Acre reconsidered; 7 Holy places in urban spaces: Foci of confrontation or catalyst for development?; 8 The pessimist's guide to religious coexistence. 9 Contest or cohabitation in shared holy places?: The Cave of the Patriarchs and Samuel's Tomb10 Treatment of antiquities on the Temple Mount/Al-Haram al-Sharif; 11 The Shihab Al-Din Mosque a air in Nazareth: A case study of Muslim Christian Jewish relations in the state of Israel; 12 Holy shrines (maqamat) in modern Palestine/Israel and the politics of memory; 13 Self-empowerment through the sacred culture and representation in.

**Marshall Breger** and **Tom Idinopulos**
***Jerusalem's Holy Places: Their Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process***
(Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998)

**Ahron Bregman**

***Israel's Wars: A History since 1947***
(Routledge, 2016)

***Cursed Victory: A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(Allen Lane, 352 pages, 2009; Penguin, 367 pages, 2014, 2015)
Assessment of the evolving military occupation since the 1967 war. Author "enjoyed unparalleled access to high-level sources that enabled him to quote directly from top-secret memos, letters, and intelligence reports that are unlikely ever to be made public … Bregman's account of the conflict born of the cursed victory is intelligent, informative and rich in telling details." (Avi Shlaim, *Guardian*)

***Elusive Peace: How the Holy Land Defeated America***
(Penguin, 336 pages, 2005)

***Israel's Wars: From the 1947 Palestine War to the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(Routledge, 288 pages, 2002)

With **Jihan El-Tahri**
***The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs***
(Penguin & BBC Books, 301 pages, 1998)
Originally produced as a television documentary by WGBH Boston for PBS distribution.

***Civil-Military Relations in Israel Military Influence on War Policy***
(thesis, University of London, 393 pages, 1994)

**M.J. Brennan**

***The Israeli Mossad Training Manual: Elite Spyt Methods and Intelligence Tradecraft, Deep Cover Operations, Cyber Warfare, Arabic Immersion, and Technical Intelligence***
(assumed author, 223 pages, 2026)
Published as part of a series, with other titles focusing on the Soviet KGB, the USA CIA, and the British MI6. Publisher's blurb: "This comprehensive manual reveals the extraordinary training that makes such operations possible. Drawing from declassified materials, documented operations, and testimonies from former operatives, it examines every phase of preparation: from initial recruitment through years-long deep cover deployments. The book examines recruitment criteria, physical combat training in Krav Maga, surveillance detection in Middle Eastern environments, secure communications methods, agent recruitment in enemy territory, and the ethical frameworks Israeli intelligence provides for operations that sometimes conflict with peacetime values. Written for intelligence professionals, military personnel, security specialists, Middle East scholars, and serious students of espionage, this manual provides unprecedented insight into one of the world's most effective intelligence services. Sections: **The Midrasha Training Academy** - Israel's secret desert facility where recruits undergo months of intensive preparation including 72-hour survival tests, close-quarters combat training, and the psychological conditioning required for operating alone in enemy territory / **Language and Cultural Immersion** - How Hebrew-speaking Israelis master Damascus Arabic, Tehran Persian, and other regional dialects with native fluency, then learn to practice Islamic prayers and customs so convincingly that even locals cannot detect the deception. / **Deep Cover Operations** - The preparation for living months or years under false identity in hostile nations, building businesses, developing genuine relationships, and maintaining operational effectiveness despite profound psychological isolation. / **Cyber Warfare and Technical Operations** - From Stuxnet operations against Iranian nuclear facilities to signals intelligence collection, document exploitation, and the integration of digital capabilities with traditional intelligence tradecraft. / **The Human Cost** - The psychological burden operatives carry from years of deception, identity confusion, moral complexities, and the permanent scars from living as someone they're not in societies that would execute them if discovered."

**Lenni Brenner**

with **Matthew Quest**: ***Black Liberation and Palestine Solidarity***
(AK Press, 2013)

as editor: ***51 Documents: Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis***
(Fort Lee, New Jersey: Barricade Books, 342 pages, 2002)

***Arabs, Jews and Socialism: The Debate on Palestine, Zionism and Anti-Semitism***
(Socialist Organiser, ca. 1987)

***Jews in America Today***
(Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart / Al Saqi Books, 370 pages, 1986)

***The Iron Wall: Zionist Revisionism from Jabotinsky to Shamir***
(Zed Books, 221, 1984)

***Zionism in the Age of the Dictators***
(Croon Helm / Lawrence Hill, 277 pages, 1983)
Contents: 1. Zionism and Anti-Semitism Prior to the Holocaust -- 2. Blut und Boden (Blood and Soil): The Roots of Racist Zionism -- 3. German Zionism and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic -- 4. Zionism and Italian Fascism, 1922-1933 -- 5. German Zionism Offers to Collaborate with Nazism -- 6. The Jewish Anti-Nazi Boycott and the Zionist-Nazi Trade Agreement -- 7. Hitler Looks at Zionism -- 8. Palestine-The Arabs, Zionists, British and Nazis -- 9. The World Jewish Congress -- 10. Zionist-Revisionism and Italian Fascism -- 11. Revisionism and Nazism -- 12. Georg Kareski, Hitler's Zionist Quisling Before Quisling -- 13. Choosing the Chosen People-The Doctrine of "Zionist Cruelty" -- 14. The World Zionist Organisation and Italian Fascism, 1933-1937 -- 15. Austria and the 'Gentile Friends of Zionism' -- 16. The Jewish Parties of Eastern Europe -- 17. Spain-The Nazis Fight, the Zionists Do Not -- 18. Zionism's Failure to Fight Nazism in the Liberal Democracies -- 19. Zionism and the Japanese East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere -- 20. Poland, 1918-1939 -- 21. Zionism in Holocaust Poland -- 22. Zionist Collusion with the Polish Government-in-Exile -- 23. Illegal Immigration -- 24. The Wartime Failure to Rescue -- 25. Hungary, the Crime Within a Crime -- 26. The Stern Gang.

**Haim Bresheeth-Zabner**

***An Army Like No Other: How the Israel Defence Forces Made a Nation***
(Verso, 448 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israeli army, officially named the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), was established in 1948 by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, who believed that "the whole nation is the army." In his mind, the IDF was to be an army like no other. It was the instrument that might transform a diverse population

into a new people. Since the foundation of Israel, therefore, the IDF has been the largest, richest and most influential institution in Israel's Jewish society and is the nursery of its social, economic and political ruling class. In this fascinating history, Bresheeth-Zabner charts the evolution of the IDF from the Nakba to wars in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and the continued assaults upon Gaza, and shows that the state of Israel has been formed out of its wars. He also gives an account of his own experiences as a young conscript during the 1967 war. He argues that the army is embedded in all aspects of daily life and identity. And that we should not merely see it as a fighting force enjoying an international reputation, but as the central ideological, political and financial institution of Israeli society. As a consequence, we have to reconsider our assumptions on what any kind of peace might look like."

**Brit Shalom** (Zionist group for Jewish-Arab co-operation, organised 1925)

***Jewish Arab Affairs – Occasional Papers Published by the Brit Shalom Society, June 1931***
(Jerusalem: Brit Shalom Society, 60pp, 1931)

***Practical Proposals by the Brit Shalom Society for Co-operation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Brit Shalom Society, August 1930 – no UK repository copy confirmed).

***Memorandum by the Brit Shalom on an Arab Policy & The Jewish Agency***
(Jerusalem: Azriel Press, January 1930 – no UK repository copy confirmed).

**Brit Tzedek v'Shalom** aka **Jewish Alliance for Justice and Peace** (American Zionist lobby)

***A Rabbinic Guide to 40 Years of Occupation*** [sic]
(BTS/JAJP, 2007)

**British Anti-Zionist Organisation** – Palestine Solidarity

***Palestine: Facts in Focus***
(Glasgow: BAZO-PS, 38pp, 1981)

**British Information Services**

***The Political History of Palestine under British Administration***
(New York City: British Information Services, 40 pages, 1947)
Memorandum by HM Government presented in 1947 to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, pub. At Jerusalem, 1947. British Government Memorandum on the history of their supervision of the Mandate in Palestine, contains much information on Communal Violence in Palestine, economic development, immigration, the White Paper, and Palestine during the second world war and after.

**Earl Browder** & **John Arnold**

***The Meaning of the Palestine Partition***
(New York State: Communist Party, 1937)
One essay each and a third authored corporately.

**John Brown**

***The Road to Power***
(Selwyn & Blount, 1937)
Maverick who visited, sometimes illegally, every European dictatorship; includes account of Palestinian rebellion starting in 1936.

**Nathan J. Brown**

***Palestine in Flux: From Search for State to Search for Tactics***
(Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 32 pages, 2016)

***Requiem for Palestinian Reform: Clear Lessons from a Troubled Record***
(Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 17 pages, 2007)

***Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine***
(University of California Press, 334 pages, 2003)
Includes multiple drafts of a Constitution in the transformation of the PLO as a revolutionary organisation into merely a chamber of an anticipated Palestinian state. Contents: Resuming Arab

Palestine -- The legal framework: disputing in, over, and outside courts -- Constituting and reconstituting Palestine -- Inventing a parliament -- Civil society in theory and practice -- Democracy, nationalism, and contesting the Palestinian curriculum.

***The Palestinian Reform Agenda***
(Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 53 pages, 2002)

**Brendan Ciaran Browne** (Trinity College Dublin)
***Transitional (in)Justice and Enforcing the Peace on Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 97 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This book considers the growing interest in transitional justice practices that take place against the backdrop of ongoing settler-colonialism in Palestine. By critiquing the role of common top-down and bottom-up interventions, namely truth recovery and international criminal justice, the book argues that transitional justice acts as an extension of a deeply flawed peacebuilding process that has been so destructive in Palestine and has a deflating effect when it comes to advancing calls for meaningful decolonisation. A 'radicalisation' of transitional justice that takes place in settler-colonial contexts, one that prioritises conversations around meaningful decolonisation, is therefore required. The book will appeal to those with an interest in peacebuilding, conflict transformation and transitional justice."

**Elizabeth Brownson** (University of Wisconsin-Parkside)
***Palestinian Women and Muslim Family Law in the Mandate Period***
(Syracuse University Press, 240 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: In this volume, Brownson sheds new light on Palestinian Muslim women's agency in shari'a courts from the British Mandate period to the present. Her extensive archival research on wife-initiated maintenance claims, divorce, and child custody cases deepens our understanding of women's position in the courts, demonstrating that Muslim women were and are active participants in their legal affairs. Using court registers and interviews, Brownson uncovers a variety of ways women have manipulated the system to their benefit despite its patriarchal bias. She also finds that few reforms were implemented during the Mandate period. The British were uninterested in improving colonized women's legal status and sought to avoid further antagonizing Palestinians. At the same time, Palestinians wished to uphold the one indigenous institution they still controlled while both British rule and Zionism threatened their nationalist aspirations. Although Palestinian women have had few alternatives to using this male privileged system to redress grievances with their husbands and in-laws, they continue to resist its injustices every day. Brownson finds that women's understanding of family law fundamentals has enabled some to deftly navigate the system; however, a unified, reformed law reflecting society's current needs is required so women can have full access to their rights."

**Julius Braunthal** (Wien historian of world Socialism)
***The Significance of Israeli Socialism and the Arab-Israeli Dispute***
(London: Lincolns-Prager, 46 pages, 1958)
With foreword by **Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani**.

**David Brog**
***Standing with Israel: Why Christians Support the Jewish State***
(Lake Mary, Florida: FrontLine, 285 pages, 2006)

**Michael Broning** (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Harvard University)
***Political Parties in Palestine Leadership and Thought***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "Political Parties in Palestine is an up-to-date elucidation of the Palestinian political landscape. The book offers vital background information on movements such as Hamas and Fatah, as well as smaller political factions that have defined the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for decades but, due to lack of available information, have not been subject to academic scrutiny. The book provides a comprehensive discussion of the ideological outlook, historical development, and political objectives of all major political actors in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). A well-informed but accessible overview, it combines analytical introductions with engaging profiles of party founders, interviews with current party leaders, organizational charts, and excerpts from party programs previously unavailable in English"

***The Politics of Change in Palestine: State-Building and Non-Violent Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 247 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "This book contradicts the dominant myth that incompetent, corrupt, and uncompromising Palestinian decision-makers are responsible for the lasting stalemate in the Middle East peace process."

**Kevin Alan Brook**

***The Jews of Khazaria***
(Rowman & Littlefield, 352 pages, 2004, 2006, 2018)
With focus on the Khazars' conversion to Judaism

**Philip Brutton**

***A Captain's Mandate: Palestine, 1946-1948***
(Leo Cooper Publishing, 1996)

**Rex Brynen**

As editor, ***Echoes of the Intifada: Regional Repercussions of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Westview Press, 314 pages, 1991; Routledge, 322 pages, 2020)

***The Palestinian Refugee Problem: The Search for a Resolution***
(Pluto Press, 221 pages, 2013, 2014)
1. Research, Policy and Negotiations and Resolving the Palestinian Refugee Problem; 2. Implementation Mechanism: Policy Choices and Implementation Issues; 3. Whither UNRWA?; 4. Return, Repatriation, Residency and Resettlement; 5. An Offer They Can Refuse: Host Countries and the Palestinian Refugee Issue; 6. Refugee Compensation: Policy Choices and Implementation Issues; 7. Addressing Jewish Claims in the Context of a Palestinian-Israeli Agreement. 8. Refugee Absorption and Development9. Intangible Needs, Moral Acknowledgement and the Palestinian Refugee Issue; 10. Managing Refugee Expectations; 11. A Never-Ending End to Claims

***The Past as Prelude? Negotiating the Palestinian Refugee Issue***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs, aka Chatham House, 24 pages, 2008)

***A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza***
(Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 287 pages, 2000)

***The (Very) Political Economy of the West Bank and Gaza: Learning Lessons aboutPeace-Building and Development Assistance***
(Montreal: Inter-University Consortium for Arab Studies, 21 pages, 1996)

***Sanctuary and Survival: The PLO in Lebanon***
(Boulder, Colorado/London: Westview Press, Pinter Publishers, 255 pages, 1990/Routledge, 2019)

**Rex Brynen** & **Roula el-Rifai**, editors

***Compensation to Palestinian Refugees and the Search for Palestinian-Israeli Peace***
(Pluto Press, 2013)
Contributors – Leila Hilal: *Palestinian Negotiation Priorities on Reparations for Refugees* / Orit Gal: *Compensation for Palestinian Refugees: An Israeli Perspective* / Lena El-Malak: *An Analysis of the Palestinian refugees' Right to Reparation under International Law with a Focus on the Right to Compensation* / Michael R. Fischbach: *The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine's Records on Palestinian Refugee Property Losses* / Roby Nathanson & Hagar Tzameret-Kertcher: *Israel's Policy Regarding Palestinian Refugee Real Estate Holdings: Israel's State Records* / Elia Zureik & Jaber Suleiman: *In Search of Information about Refugee Property Ownership* / Thierry J. Senechal & Leila Hilal: *The Value of 1948 Palestinian Refugee Material Damages – An Estimate Based on International Standards* / Atif Kubursi: *Palestinian Refugee Losses in 1948* /Heike Niebergall & Norbert Wühler: *Implementation of an Agreed Solution for Palestinian Refugee Claims – Learning from the Experience of other Claims Mechanisms* / Megan Bradley: *Gender Dimensions of Redress for the Palestinian Refugees* / Megan Bradley: *Redressing Internally Displaced Persons in Israel* / Michael R. Fischbach: *Linking Palestinian Compensation Claims with Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries* / Rex Brynen: *Palestinian Refugee Compensation – Connections and Complexities* / Anne Massagee: *Beyond Compensation – Reparations, Transitional Justice and the Palestinian Refugee Question*

***Palestine refugees: Challenges of Repatriation and Development***
(IB Tauris/International Development Research Centre, 242 pages, 2007)
Contents: Refugee repatriation, development, and the challenges of Palestinian state-building / Rex Brynen and Roula El-Rifai -- Statistical data on Palestinian refugees: what we know and what we don't / Hasan Abu-Libdeh -- Living in provisional normality: the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in the host countries of the Middle East / Jon Hanssen-Bauer and Laurie Blome Jacobsen -- Social capital, transnational kinship and refugee repatriation process: some elements for a Palestinian sociology of return / Sari Hanafi -- Return of Palestinian refugees and displaced persons: the evolution of a European Union policy on the Middle East Peace Process / Mick Dumper -- Refugees, repatriation, and development: some lessons from recent work / Rex Brynen -- Planning in support of negotiations: the refugee issue / Khalil Nijem -- Infrastructure scenarios for refugees and displaced persons / Nick Krafft and Ann Elwan -- Land and housing strategies for immigrant absorption: lessons from the Israeli experience / Rachelle Alterman -- Israeli settlements and the Palestinian refugee question: evaluating the prospects and implications of settlement evacuation in the West Bank and Gaza-- a preliminary analysis / Geoffrey Aronson and Jan de Jong.

**B'Tselem** (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, founded in 1989)

**Naama Baumgarten-Sharon**: ***Show of Force: Israeli Military Conduct in Weekly Demonstrations in a-Nabi Saleh***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 31 pages, 2011)
Edited by **Yael Stein**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Nir Shalev**: ***The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma' ale Adummim and Their Human Rights Ramifications***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 58 pages, 2009)
Fieldwork by **Kareem Jubran**, **Najib Abu Rokaya** and **Iyad Haddad**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**

**Ofir Feuerstein**: ***Without Trial: Administrative Detention of Palestinians by Israel and the Internment of Unlawful Combatants Law***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 74 pages, 2009)
Edited by **Yael Stein** and **Michelle Bubis**; translated by **Szi Shulman**.

**Yehezkel Lein**: ***Absolute Prohibition: The Torture and Ill-Treatment of Palestinian Detainees***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem & HoMoked Center for the Defence of the Individual, 104 pages, 2007)

**Anat Barsella**: ***Ground to a Halt: Denial of Palestinians' Freedom of Movement in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 118 pages, 2007)
Edited by **Yehezkel Lein**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Eitan Diamond**: ***Crossing the Line: Violation of the Rights of Palestinians in Israel without a Permit***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 98pages, 2007)
Edited by **Yehezkel Lein**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Anat Barsella**: ***Barred from Contact: Violations of the Right to Visit Palestinians Held in Israeli Prisons***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 50 pages, 2006)
Edited by **Yehezkel Lein**.

**Antigona Ashkar**: ***Perpetual Limbo: Israel's Freeze on Unification of Palestinian Families in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem & HaMoked, 49 pages, 2006)
Edited by **Yehezkel Lein**.

**Darryl Li** & **Yehezkel Lein**: ***Act of Vengeance: Israel's Bombing of the Gaza Power Plant and its Effects***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 35 pages, 2006)

**Antigona Askhar**: ***Means of Expulsion: Violence, Harassment and Lawlessness against Palestinians in the South Hebron Hills***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 59 pages, 2005)

**Yehezkel Lein** & **Alon Cohen-Lifshitz**: ***Under the Guise of Security: Routing the Separation Barrier to Enable the Expansion of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem & BIMKOM, 93 pages, 2005)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Yehezkel Lein**: ***One Big Prison: Freedom of Movement to and from the Gaza Strip on the Eve of the Disengagement Plan***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 81 pages, 2005)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman** & **Shaul Vardi**.

**Shlomi Swisa**: ***Not all it Seems: Preventing Palestinians Access to Their Lands West of the Separation Barrier in the Tulkarm-Qalqiliya Area***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 26 pages, 2004)

**Ronen Shnayderman**: ***Through No Fault of Their Own: Punitve House Demolitions during the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 66 pages, 2004)

**Yezekhel Lein** & **'Atef Abu a-Rob**: ***Forbidden Roads: Israel's Discriminatory Road Regime in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 55 pages, 2004)
Edited by **Shirley Eran** & **Eyal Raz**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

***Forbidden Families: Family Unification and Child Registration in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 2004)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Facing the Abyss: The Isolation of Sheikh Sa'ad Village – Before and After the Separation Barrier***
(Jerusalem: B'Selem, 26 pages, 2004)

**Shlomi Swisa**: ***Al-Mawasi, Gaza Strip: Intolerable Life in an Isolated Enclave***
(Jerusalem: B'Selem, 25 pages, 2003)
Edited by **Yael Stein**.

**Shlomi Swisa**: ***Hebron, Area H-2: Settlements Cause Mass Departure of Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: B'Selem, 45 pages, 2003)
Fieldwork by **Musa Abu Hashhash**; translated by **Avi Shulman** with assistance from **Rachel Greenspahn**.

**Shlomi Swisa**: ***Harm to Medical Personnel: The Delay, Abuse and Humiliation of Medical Personnel by Israeli Security Forces, December 2003***
(Jerusalem: B'Selem, 30 pages, 2003)
Fieldwork by **Musa Abu Hashhash**; data coordination by **Nimord Amzalek**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Behind the Barrier: Human Rights Violations as a Result of Israel's Separation Barrier***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 41 pages, 2003)

**Yezekhel Lein**, **Sohad Sakalla** & **Suha Zeyd**: ***Nu'Man, East Jerusalem: Life under Threat of Expulsion***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 33 pages, 2003)
Edited by **Ofir Feuerstein** & **Yael Stein**; data co-ordination by **Yael Handlesman** & **Maya Johnson**.

**Yezekhel Lein** & **Eyal Weizman**: ***Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, May 2002)
Greater Jerusalem enlarged to include 15% of the West Bank. Translated by **Shaul Vardi** & **Zvi Shulman**. See also publications by BIMKOM (Planners for Planning Rights, established in May 1999, with such publications as: *The Prohibited Zone – Israeli Planning Policy in the Palestinian Villages in Area C* (Bimkom / Oxfam / ICCO / New Israel Fund, 2008)

**Shlomi Swisa**: ***Lethal Curfew: The Use of Live Ammunition to Enforce Curfew***
(Jerusalem: B'Selem, 33 pages, 2002)

**Yael Stein** and **Eyal Raz**: ***Operation Defensive Shield, March 29 – April 21, 2002: Soldiers' Testimonies, Palestinian Testimonies***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 35 pages, 2002)

**Ron Dudai** and **Yael Stein**: ***Wounded in the Field: Impeding Medical Treatment and Firing at Ambulances by IDF Soldiers in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 31 pages, 2002)
Translated by **Rachel Greenspahn** and **Zvi Shulman**.

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 104 pages, 2002)

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Forseen but Not Prevented: The Israeli Law Encorcement Authorities Handling of Settler Attacks on Olive Harvesters***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 32 pages, 2002)
Edited by **Yael Stein**; data co-ordianation by Maya Johnston; fieldwork by Musa Abu Hashhash, Najib Abu Rokaya, 'Ali Daraghmeh, Iyad Haddad, Raslan Mahagna, Suha Zeyd; translated by Shaul Vardi, Maya Johnston, and Zvi Shulman.

***Excessive Force: Human Rights Violations during IDF Actions in Area A: Beit Jala, 6 May 2001; Beit Rima, 24 October 2001; Bethlehem Area, 19-28 October 2001***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 82 pages, 2002)

**Ron Dudai**: ***Free Rein: Vigilante Settlers and Israel's Non-Enforcement of the Law***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 28 pages, 2001)

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Civilians under Siege: Restrictions on Freedom of Movement as Collective Punishment***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 40 pages, 2001)

**Yezekhel Lein**: ***Not Even a Drop: The Water Crisis in Palestinian Villages without a Water Network***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 23 pages, 2001)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Ron Dudai**: ***Tacit Consent: Israeli Law Enforcement on Settlers in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 45 pages, 2001)

***Legislation Allowing the Use of Physical Force and Mental Coercion in Interrogations by the General Security Service***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 2000

**Yehezkel Lein** & **Najib Abu-Rokaya**: ***Thirsty for a Solution: The Water Crisis in the Occupied Territories and its Resolution in the Final-Status Agreement***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 109 pages, 2000)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**; edited by **Yael Stein**.

**Yehezkel Lein** and **Renata Capella**: ***Cooperating against Justice: Human Rights Violations by Israel and the Palestinian National Authority following the Murders in Wadi Qelt***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 28 pages, 1999)

**Zehezkel Lein**: ***Captive Corpses***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem & HaMoked, 31 pages, 1999)
On the burial of Palestinian Arabs in Israel. Translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

**Yakezkel Lein** & **Najib Abu-Rokaya**: ***Builders of Zion: Human Rightds Violations of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories Working in Israel and the Settlements***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 99 pages, 1999)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**. Contents: Chapter One: Background Data on Palestinian -- Workers in Israel -- A Fluctuatons in Entry of Palestinian Workers -- B. Distribution of Palestinian Workers in the Israeli Economy -- C. Recuitment of Workers and Restriction of Entry -- Chapter Two: Beatings and Shootings at Checkpoints -- A. Beatings at Checkpoints -- B. Shootings -- C. Ili-Treatment of Detained Workers -- Chapter Three: Violence in Labor Relations -- Chapter Four: Work Permits as a Means of Pressure -- Chapter Five: Social Rights and Terms of Employment -- A. The Payments Section -- B. False Reporing -- C. The Closure Policy and its Effects on Social Rights -- D. National Insurance Righrs -- E. Rights of Palestinian Workers in the Settlements and -- Industrial Zones in the Occupied Territories -- F. Obstacles to Exercising Rights in the Labor Courts -- Conclusions and Recommendations -- Appendix: Decision of the Ministerial Committee -- for Security Matters (8 October 1970) -- Response of the Border Police.

**Yehezkel Lein**: ***Disputed Waters: Israel's Responsibility for the Water Shortage in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 32 pages, 1998)

**Martin Buber**

***Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs***
(Oxford University Press, 1983)
Edited by **Paul R. Mendes-Flohr**

with **Judah L. Magnes**: ***Jewish-Arab Unity – Testimony before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission of the Shud-Union Association***
(Victor Gollancz, 1947)
See also: **Judah Leon Magnes**

**Laetitia Bucaille**

***Growing Up Palestinian: Israeli Occupation and the Intifada Generation***
(Princeton University Press, 2004)
Translated by Anthony Roberts

**George Wesley Buchannan**

***The Strange Little City of Ancient Zion***
(Gilgamesh Publishing, 2015)
The Temple Mount, Jerusalem, as located a few miles south of where it's considered to be today.

**Musa Budeiri** [aka **Budayri**]

***The Palestine Communist Party, 1919-1948: Arab and Jew in the Struggle for Internationalism***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 256 pages, 2010; Ithaca Press, 289 pages, 1979)
Publisher's blurb: "This history of the Palestinian Communist Party upends the caricature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an ancient religious blood feud. Musa Budeiri shows how the complex history of the Palestinian Left before the Zionist destruction of historic Palestine was defined by secularism and solidarity between Arab and Jewish workers." See Budieri's ***Democracy…and the Experience of National Liberation: The Palestinian Case***, in **Ilan Pappe** & **Jamil Hilal**, editors: ***Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History*** (IB Tauris, 2010)

**Sir Reader Bullard**

***Britain and the Middle East, from the Earliest Times to 1950.***
(Hutchinson, 200 pages, 1951 / Routledge 204 pages, 2025)
Also updated to 1963, published by Hutchinson, 1964.

**Martin Bunton** (University of Victoria)

***Colonial Land Policies in Palestine, 1917-1936***
(Oxford University Press, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "Martin Bunton focuses on the way in which the Palestine Mandate was part of a broader British imperial administration - a fact often masked by Jewish immigration and land purchase in Palestine. His meticulous research reveals clear links to colonial practice in India, Sudan, and Cyprus amongst other places. He argues that land officials' views on sound land management were derived from their own experiences of rural England, and that this was far more influential on the shaping of land policies than the promise of a Jewish National Home. Bunton reveals how the British were intent on preserving the status quo of Ottoman land law, which (when few Britons could read Ottoman or were well grounded in its legal codes) led to a series of translations, interpretations, and hence new applications of land law. The sense of importance the British attributed to their work surveying and registering properties and transactions, is captured in the efforts of British officials to microfilm all of their records at the height of the Second World War. Despite this however, land policies remained in flux."

**John Bunzl** & **Benjamin Beit-Hallami**, editors
***Psychoanalysis, Identity and Ideology: Critical Essays on the Israel/Palestine Case***
(Kluwer Academic Publishing, 2002)
Papers presented at a conference at the Freud Museum, Vienna, 1999.

**Avraham Burg** (former Speaker of the Knesset)
***In Days to Come: A New Hope for Israel***
(New York City: Nation Books, 2018)
Translated by **Joel Greenberg**; focus on Jewish self-identity as incompatible with a state for Jews.

***The Holocaust is Over – We Must Rise from its Ashes***
(St Martins Press / Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
Suggests the connection between Jews and "the sources of Jewish culture" could be constitutionally protected in "an open, non-racist society."

**Michelle Burgis-Kasthala** (Edinburgh Law School)
***Middle East Boundaries and State Formation***
(Oxford University Press, 2019)

As **Michelle L.Burgis**: ***Boundaries of Discourse in the International Court of Justice: Mapping Arguments in Arab Territorial Disputes***
(Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 340 pages, 2009)
Includes focus on the legal consequences of the Israeli construction of the separation wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

**Michael Hamilton Burgoyne** (Mamluk Buildings project in Jerusalem, 1969-1984; Head of project from 1979; lecturer at Glasgow School of Architecture)
***Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study***
(World of Islam Festival Trust / British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 623 pages plus separate portfolio of maps, 1987)
With additional historical research by **D.S. Richards** (Oxford).

**Christopher Burnham**
***Sir Ronald Storrs: Personality and Policy in Mandate Palestine, 1917-1926***
(Routledge, 226 pages, 2024/2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume utilises the personal papers of Sir Ronald Storrs, as well as other archival materials, to make a microhistorical investigation of his period as Governor of Jerusalem between 1917 and 1926. It builds upon Edward Said's work on the Orientalist 'determining imprint' by arguing that Storrs took a deeply personal approach to governing the city; one determined by his upbringing, his education in the English private school system and his service as a British official in Colonial Egypt. It recognises the influence of these experiences on Storrs' perceptions of and attitudes towards Jerusalem, identifying how these formative years manifested themselves on the city and in the Governor's interactions with Jerusalemites of all backgrounds and religious beliefs. It also highlights the restrictions placed on Storrs' approach by his British superiors, Palestinians and the Zionist movement, alongside the limitations imposed by his own attitudes and worldview. Placing Storrs' personality at the centre of discussion on early Mandate Jerusalem exposes a nuanced and complex picture of how personality and politics collided to influence its everyday life and built environment. The book is aimed at historians and students of the late-Ottoman Empire and British Mandate in Palestine, colonialism and imperialism, and microhistory."

**Eedson Louis Millard Burns** (Commander, UN Expeditionary Force)
***Between Arab and Israeli: a Record of Experience in the Service of the United Nations***
(New York City: Obolensky Books/London: George G. Harrap & Co, 336 pages, ca. 1962 / Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969)

**Millar Burrows**
***Palestine is Our Business***
(Philadelphia: Westminster, 155 pages, 1949)
Period analysis, with chapters focusing on 'The Wrong Done to the Arabs of Palestine, 'The Case for Zionism', and various political/religious interests.

**Guy Burton**
***Rising Powers and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1947***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 206 pages, 2018)
Focus on Israel's relationships with Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.

**Isabel Burton** aka **Lady Burton**

***The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land: from My Private Journal***
(London: Henry S. King & Col, two volumes, 1875)

**Reja-e Busailah** (Indiana & Birzeit Universities)
***In the Land of My Birth: A Palestinian Boyhood***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, 2017)
Abstract: "*In the Land of My Birth* recounts the coming of age of a blind Palestinian boy of modest milieu during the turbulent years leading up to the fall of Palestine in 1948. Above all, it is the boy's life—his struggles to make his way in the sighted world, his upbringing, schooling, friendships, and adventures. It is a compelling human story with a mine of information on popular culture and customs, the educational system, and Palestinian life. While the looming conflict forms the essential backdrop, it comes to the fore only when it impinges directly on the boy's world. The fact that the memoir unfolds largely in "real time," with events, conversations, and situations recounted not retrospectively but as they are experienced, provides a rare window on the political attitudes, social views, legends, prejudices, perceptions and misperceptions of ordinary Palestinians at the time, unmediated and unvarnished. Essential reading for anyone interested in the cultural, social, and political history of Palestine, the condition of blindness, and the education of the blind." With forward by Elias Khoury: "the most eloquent account of Lydda's tragedy that exists: the expulsions, the killings, and the terrible march through the wilderness forced upon the city's inhabitants by the Israeli occupiers." See also memoirs: Edward Said's *Out of Place* and Jabra Ibrahim Jabra's *The First Well*.

**Judith Butler** (University of California at Berkeley)
**Jewish Voice for Peace**: ***On Antisemitism: Solidarity and the Struggle for Justice in Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 271 pages, 2017)
Foreword by **Judith Butler**.

***Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism***
(Columbia University Press, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "Judith Butler follows Edward Said's late suggestion that through a consideration of Palestinian dispossession in relation to Jewish diasporic traditions a new ethos can be forged for a one-state solution. Butler engages Jewish philosophical positions to articulate a critique of political Zionism

and its practices of illegitimate state violence, nationalism, and state-sponsored racism. At the same time, she moves beyond communitarian frameworks, including Jewish ones, that fail to arrive at a radical democratic notion of political cohabitation. Butler engages thinkers such as Edward Said, Emmanuel Levinas, Hannah Arendt, Primo Levi, Martin Buber, Walter Benjamin, and Mahmoud Darwish as she articulates a new political ethic. In her view, it is as important to dispute Israel's claim to represent the Jewish people as it is to show that a narrowly Jewish framework cannot suffice as a basis for an ultimate critique of Zionism. She promotes an ethical position in which the obligations of cohabitation do not derive from cultural sameness but from the unchosen character of social plurality. Recovering the arguments of Jewish thinkers who offered criticisms of Zionism or whose work could be used for such a purpose, Butler disputes the specific charge of anti-Semitic self-hatred often leveled against Jewish critiques of Israel. Her political ethic relies on a vision of cohabitation that thinks anew about binationalism and exposes the limits of a communitarian framework to overcome the colonial legacy of Zionism. Her own engagements with Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish form an important point of departure and conclusion for her engagement with some key forms of thought derived in part from Jewish resources, but always in relation to the non-Jew. Butler considers the rights of the dispossessed, the necessity of plural cohabitation, and the dangers of arbitrary state violence, showing how they can be extended to a critique of Zionism, even when that is not their explicit aim. She revisits and affirms Edward Said's late proposals for a one-state solution within the ethos of binationalism. Butler's startling suggestion: Jewish ethics not only demand a critique of Zionism, but must transcend its exclusive Jewishness in order to realize the ethical and political ideals of living together in radical democracy."

**Linda Butler** (Editor, *Journal of Palestine Studies*) & **Bishara Bahbah**
***Israel and Latin America: The Military Connection***
(Macmillan / Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986)

**Kathryn KF Butler**
***"Raise Your Keffiyeh" – Headdress as a Lens for Understanding the Arab Revolt in Mandatory Palestine, 1936-1939***
(Clemson University thesis, 112 pages, 2025)
Free download: https://open.clemson.edu/all_theses/4528/ - Abstract: "In the fall of 1938, approaching the apex of the most intensive period of violence during the Arab Revolt against the British government in Mandatory Palestine (1936-1939), a seemingly unassuming change occurred for Arab men in cities throughout the region: they donned a new headdress. Sartorial shifts in the early post-Ottoman period were not unique to Palestine. During the Interwar period, changes in male headgear occurred throughout the greater Middle East in Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran, Syria and Iraq, to name a few. These transformations of dress signaled a shift in something either societal or political and oftentimes both. I argue that the headdress introduced to townsmen in 1938 Mandatory Palestine, the *keffiyeh*, acts as a new lens for understanding Arab male expressions of nationalism, resistance and class consciousness during the Revolt. I aim to accomplish this by examining how historians have understood the Revolt, modernity and nationalism and the relationship between clothing and nationalist identity in order to establish a framework for how we might begin to view these sartorial shifts. Furthermore, I seek to trace the fragmented history of male headgear as expressions of modernity and nationalism in the greater Middle East during the Interwar era to demonstrate the interconnected nature of culture and thought in the region."

**Gerald Butt**
***Life at the Crossroads: A History of Gaza***
(Nicosia: Rimal Books, 200 pages, 2009)

**Robert Byron**
***The Road to Oxiana***

(Macmillan, 1937 / numerous subsequent editions)
Classic period travelogue through the then-colonialist Middle East.

**CAABU** (**Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding**)
***Israel and South Africa: A Strategic Alliance*** (CAABU, 32 pages, 1989)
Contributions to a seminar held in London, May 1989. Contributors include: **David Watkins, Denis Goldberg, Elfi Pallis** & **Jane Hunter**

***1948-1988 ~ The Palestinians: From Exodus to Uprising***
(CAABU, 32 pages, 1988)
Authors include: **David Watkins, Faisal Aouidha, Akive Orr, Musa Mazzawi, Tawfik Zayyadand** & **Salih Baransi**

***The CAABU Anthology: A Source Book of Quotations on the Palestine Question***
(CAABU, revised edition, 88 pages with index, 1979)
Topics include: Jewish critics of Early Zionism; Ottoman & Arab reactions to early Zionism; the Arab Exodus 1947/1948; various Zionist wars; Zionism & racism. See also: David Watkins

**Joseph Jiryis Cadora** (Ohio State University)
***Remembering Ramallah: A Preservation of History***
(author, 2023)
Translated by **Samira Rafidi Maghdessian** Publisher's blurb: "The book traces the history of the town of Ramallah, its problems and the turbulent times it went through in the late forties and early fifties when Joseph Cadora was one of the mayors who cared for the town and were eager to see it succeed. It is really a description of how much he loved the town and its people, and how he yearned to see it develop as a center of tourism for Palestine and later for Jordan. He traces its origins from the archaeological remains that were found in its vicinity to the successes of its inhabitants in the United States, who never forgot where they came from and made sure to protect and to keep it flourishing. He and other mayors saw to it that it developed all the services needed such as water, electricity, a hospital, banks and hotels. The translation involved considerable research in the academic sources that were used by the author and by the translator. A detailed bibliography of them appears in the book. Some folksongs have also been translated to English. These songs are indicative of the simple daily life of the people as they celebrate weddings, emigration and death. They appear in the appendix." Focus includes migration to Ramallah, its municipality, sects, schools, social organisations, and rural and urban dialects.

**Michael F. Cairo** (Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky)
***American Presidents and Israeli Settlements Since 1967***
(Routledge, 240 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Tracing presidential administrations since Lyndon B. Johnson, this book argues that the Trump administration's policy toward Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Jerusalem is not an aberration but the culmination of over 50 years of American foreign policy. Under the Johnson administration, the United States rhetorically supported the applicability of international law regarding Israeli settlements. However, throughout the 1970s, administrations did little to reverse the construction and expansion of settlements. Moreover, presidents sent mixed signals regarding Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories. The Israeli settlement movement received support when Reagan argued that settlements were not illegal. Since then, American presidents have opposed settlement activity to various degrees, but not based on their illegality. Rather, presidents have described them as unwise, unhelpful, or obstacles to peace. Even when presidents have had opportunities to confront Israeli settlements directly, domestic pressure and America's special relationship with Israel have prevented serious action beyond rhetoric and condemnation."

**John Calhoun**

***Palestinian Prisoners: A Question of Conscience***
(Geneva: World Council of Churches, 116 pages, 2015)

**CAMERA (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America)**

***Indoctrinating Our Youth: How a US Public School Curriculum Skews the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Islam***
(Boston: CAMERA, 108 pages, 2018)

***The Assault on Evangelical Support for Israel: CAMERA Conference, Los Angeles, January 18, 2016***
(Boston: CAMERA, 127 pages, 2016)

**Gilead Ini & Ricki Hollander**
***Indicting Israel: New York Times Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict - a July 1 – December 31, 2011 Study***
(Boston: CAMERA, 97 pages, 2012)

***Bearing False Witness: Jimmy Carter's Palestine Peace not Apartheid***
(Boston: CAMERA, 100 pages, 2007)

**Maxine Wolf**
***The Media, The Message and the Middle East***
**(**Boston: CAMERA, spiral bound 70 pages, 1989)

**Michelle U. Campos**

***Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early 20th Century Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2011)
See also: Sandy Sufian & Mark LeVine

**Tawfiq Canaan** (doctor and ethnographer)

***Tawfiq Canaan: An Autobiography***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 196 pages, 2020)
Edited by **Mitri Raheb**.

**Neil Caplan**

***Futile Diplomacy – Vol. 4: Operation Alpha and the Failure of Anglo-American Coercive Diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1954-1956***
(Routledge, 2015)

***Futile Diplomacy – Vol. 3: The United Nations, the Great Powers and Middle East Peacemaking, 1948-1954***
(Routledge, 2015)

***Futile Diplomacy – Vol. 2: Arab-Zionist Negotiations and the End of the Mandate***
(Frank Cass, 1986 / Routledge, 2015)

***Futile Diplomacy – Vol. 1: Early Arab-Zionist Negotiation Attempts, 1913-1931***
(Frank Cass, 1983 / Routledge, 2015)

***Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question, 1917-1925***

(Frank Cass, 1978 / Routledge, 2015)

***The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories***
(Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

***The Lausanne Conference, 1949: A Case Study in Middle East Peacemaking***
(Tel Aviv University: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies, 176 pages, 1993)

***Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question***
(Frank Cass, 268 pages, 1978)

See also Caplan's ***'Oom-Shmoom' Revisited ; Israeli Attitudes towards the UN and the Great Powers, 1948-1960***, in **Abraham Ben-Zvi** & **Aharon Klieman**, editors: ***Global Powers: Essays in Honour of David Vital*** (Frank Cass, 2001)

**Paola Caridi** (Lettera22 press agency founder, *L'Espresso*, *Sole 24 Ore*, *La Stampa* and *FamigliaCristiana*)
***Hamas: From Resistance to Government***
(Seven Stories Press, 416 pages, 2012, 2023)
Translated by **Andrea Teti**. Author covers both aspects of Hamas: as a resistance organisation and as a provider of support to refugees.

**Ulf Carmesund**
***Refugees or Returnees: European Jews, Palestinian Arabs and the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem around 1948***
(Uppsala Universitet, 265 pages, 2010)

**Na'ama Carmi**
***Oslo – Before and After: The Status of Human Rights in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1999)

**Roane Carey** & **Jonathan Shainin**, editors, with **Tom Segev** & **Anthony Lewis**
***The Other Israel: Voices of Refusal and Dissent***
(New York City: New Press, 2002)

**Roane Carey**, editor
***The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid***
(Verso, 2001)

**David Carter** (Middle East Evangelical Concern, Leicester)
***Mistaken Identity: Who is Who? And Why it Matters***
(author, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Prompted by an 'unexpected pilgrimage' this book seeks to follow the story and understand the identity of God's people from the garden to The Cross. It examines God's purpose in calling people for mission. Asking about the people, the land, the promises and the Jewish messiah leads to answers that challenge the accepted tenets of Christian Zionism."

**Jimmy Carter** (former US President)
***White House Diary***
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2010; Picador, 2011)

***The Blood of Abraham: Insights into the Middle East***
(London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985; University of Arkansas Press, 1993, 2007)

***Palestine: Peace not Apartheid***
(Simon & Schuster, 2006)

***Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President***
(Collins Books, 1982; Bantam Books, 1983; University of Arkansas Press, 1995)

**Henry Cattan**

***The Palestine Question***
(Croom Helm, 1988; Saqi Books, 2000; Routledge, 420 pages, 2022/2024)
Incorporates, ***The Question of Jerusalem***.

***Jerusalem***
(Croom Helm, 229 pages, 1981)

***The Question of Jerusalem***
(76pp report; Third World Centre, 1980)

***Palestine and International Law: The Legal Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Longman, 1973 / 1976)

***Palestine: The Road to Peace***
(Longman, 1971)

***Palestine, The Arabs and Israel: The Search for Justice***
(Longman, 1969 / 1970)

**Edward Cavanagh** & **Lorenzo Veracini**, editors

***The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism***
(Routledge, 469 pages, 2017)
Contents include two chapters on Palestine: Gershon Shafir: *Theorizing Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine* Arnon Degani: *A Dying Settler Colonialism: Israel and the Palestinians after 1948*. See also **Lorenzo Veracini**.

**David Cesarani**

***Major Farran's Hat: Murder, Scandal and Britain's War against Jewish Terrorism, 1945-1948***
(Vintage, 2010)
A single, counter-terrorism act against the Stern Gang is highlighted as futile effort to manage militant Zionism.

***Zionism in England, 1917-1939***
(PhD thesis, 493 leaves, Oxford University, 1986)
Available at the Bodleian Library, shelfmark: MS.D.Phil.c.6231.

**[Archbishop] Elias Chacour** (Jerusalem priest)
with **Alain Michel**: ***Faith Beyond Despair: Building Hope in the Holy Land***
(Canterbury Press, 2008)

Translated by **Anthony Harvey**

***We Belong to the Land: The Story of a Palestinian Israeli Who Lives for Peace and Reconciliation***
(Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992/2001)
Melkite Church priest's story; sequel to *Blood Brothers*.

***Blood Brothers*** - with **David Hazard**
(Chosen Books & Eastbourne: Kingsway Press, 1984)
Note: Father Chacour asked tourists, "Did you come for the shrines, or do you want to learn about the *living* stones?"

**Gérard Chaliand**

***The Palestinian Resistance***
(Penguin, 1972)
Translated by **Michael Perl**. An outgrowth of article in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 1969) that was republished as *The Palestinian Resistance Movement* (Beirut: The Fifth of June Society, 45pp, 1969)

***The Palestinian Resistance Movement (in early 1969): A Report … Published by "Le Monde diplomatique", March 1969***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 45pp, 1969)
Containing descriptions of commando training, the background and ideologies of the different groups, interviews with commando leaders and with rank-and-file, and a historical summary of the Palestine conflict. Contents: Between Israel and the Arab states -- Near the River Jordan -- The Ashbal -- Al-Fateh's victory -- The old Palestinian Liberation Organisation -- Ten years to create an authentic Palestinian resistance -- The strategy of the "Foco" -- After June 1967 -- Consolidation -- Al-Fateh's primordial aim : the struggle for national identity -- A meeting with Yasser Arafat -- The crisis within the Popular Front -- The Marxists -- A valuable armed nucleus -- Who helps whom? -- Al-Fateh and the refugees : hospitals, schools... and men -- At Schneller Camp -- The new exodus -- The heart of the issue : a national conflict -- The revolution and the Arab states -- The Palestinian resistance and the Arab mases.

**Youseff Chaitani**

***Post-Colonial Syria and Lebanon: The Decline of Arab Nationalism and the Triumph of the State***
(IB Tauris, 210 pages, 2007)

***Dissention among Allies: Ernest Bevin's Palestine Policy between Whitehall and the White House, 1945-1947***
(Saqi Books, 156 pages, 2002)

**Julia Chaitin** (Sapir Academic College, Israel)

***Peace-building in Israel and Palestine: Social Psychology and Grassroots Initiatives***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 198 pages, 2011)

**Benoit Challand**

***Palestinian Civil Society: Foreign Donors and the Power to Promote and Exclude***
(Routledge, 2008)

**Paul Thomas Chamberlin**

***The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order***
(Oxford University Press, 336 pages, 2012, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "In 1968, a ragtag group of Palestinian guerrillas burst onto the world stage as part of a global offensive that combined controversial armed operations, diplomacy, and revolutionary politics. In the following years, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) forced the question of Palestine to the forefront of the world's attention and cement its status as the sole legitimate representative of a nation of people striving for statehood. While their spectacular acts of revolutionary violence - hijackings, guerrilla attacks, suicide operations - seized headlines and made the PLO the face of "international terrorism" in the 1970s, it would be the organization's diplomatic campaign that would propel it to prominence in the global arena. By the middle years of the decade, the PLO would stand beside Vietnamese, Cuban, Algerian, and South African guerrilla fighters at the vanguard of a new generation of revolutionaries in the Third World. More than just a subplot in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian struggle sat the juncture of a critical phase in the Cold War and the wave of revolutions that swept through the Third World in the 1960s. Using Arabic sources and recently declassified U.S. documents, The Global Offensive returns the PLO's story to its international context. As the PLO gained both prestige and infamy, leaders in both the United States and the Soviet Union hastened to come to terms with this new force in Middle Eastern affairs. Fearing the PLO's potential to revolutionize the Arab world and project armed violence across a global spectrum, American leaders faced the choice of establishing diplomatic relations with the organization or crafting a containment policy for a new generation of Arab revolutionaries. Their decisions—along with those of Palestinian, Arab, and Israeli leaders—would have dramatic implications into the twenty-first century and help to remake the art of revolution and the structure of global power in the late-Cold War world and beyond. However, despite its sweeping victories in the international system, the Palestinian liberation struggle would not gain statehood in the twentieth century."

**Colin Gilbert Chapman** (former lecturer in Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut)
***Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Oxford: Lion, 2004 / Baker, 2005; Several editions; alternate title: *Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Future of Peace in the Middle East* )
Author has written several books on Christianity in the Middle East.

***Whose Promised Land ? The Continuing Crisis over Israel and the Palestinians***
(Oxford: Lion, 2002)

**David A. Charters**
***British Army and Jewish Insurgency in Palestine***
(Macmillan, 1989)
Addresses the failure of British Intelligence efforts.

**Stephanie M. Chasin**
***British Jews and Imperial Service: Nationalism, Pan-Islamism and Zionism in Mandate Palestine and Colonial India***
(IB Tauris, 248 pages, 2023)
Includes focus on Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner of Palestine.

**Dawn Chatty** and **Gillian Lewando Hundt**, editors
***Children of Palestine: Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East***
(Berghahn Books,256 pages, 2005)
Focus includes Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

**Karma R. Chavez**

***Palestine on the Air : A Supplement to*** [The] ***Journal of Civil and Human Rights***
(University of Illinois Press, 188pages, 2019)
With a foreword by **Michael Ezra**. Contents: From the Mexico-U.S. borderlands to Palestine / Karma R. Chavez -- "Settler violence in Duma Village, West Bank," September 9, 2015 / Haitham Salawdeh -- "Pinkwashing and the Boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaign," May 25, 2016 / Ghadir Shafie -- "Akka, Israel," June 17, 2015 / Johayna Saifi -- "One year after Operation protective edge," July 22, 2015 / Charlotte Silver -- "The American studies association and the U.S. campaign for the Academic and cultural boycott of Israel," December 18, 2013 / David Lloyd -- "The firing of Steven Salaita," September 3, 2014 / Katherine Franke and Sarah Roberts -- "Uncivil rites," October 21, 2015 / Steven Salaita -- "In our power," February 25, 2015 / Nora Barrows-Friedman -- "Israel/Palestine and the Queer international," August 28, 2013 / Sarah Schulman -- "War against the people," May 4, 2016 / Jeff Halper

**Amir Cheshin**, **Bill Hutman** and **Avi Melamed**

***Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem***
(Harvard University Press, 288 pages, 2022)

**Amir Cheshin**

***Municipal Policies in Jerusalem: An Account from Within***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 146 pages, 1998)

**Sami Shalom Chetrit**

***Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: Jews, Black Jews***
(Routledge, 2010)
Israel's Black Panthers movement, "the first Israeli group to make contact with members of the PLO, recognizing the Palestinian right to self-determination and linking that to the Mizrahi cause." The religious Sephardis have "in recent years become increasingly territorial-expansionist, rightist, and racist." – Rachel Shabi, *Not the Enemy*.

**Michel Chiha** (Lebanese journalist, banker, and politician)

***Palestine: Edited*** [editorial] ***Reflections of Michel Chiha, 1944-1955***
(Stacey International, 2007; translation of or French original by Beirut: Editions du Trident, 1957) – editorials written for the daily Beirut newspaper, *Le Jour,* which he part-owned.

**Child Soldiers International**

***Report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child in Advance of Israel's Second Periodic Report under the Convention on the Rights of the Child***
(CSI, 2012)

**Erskine B. Childers** aka **Erskine Barton Childers** (BBC correspondent, UN civil servant)

***The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 42 pages, 1973)
Reprinted from Abu-Lughod's *The Transformation of Palestine* (1971)

***Palestine: The Broken Triangle***
(Columbia University Press, 13 pages, 1965)
Reprinted from the *Journal of International Affairs,* vol. 19 No. 1; "Distributed by the League of Arab States – Arab Information Centre, London."

***The Other Exodus***
(39 pages, 1961)
Reprint of author's article and of the correspondence in *The Spectator*, to which this article gave rise.

**Dan Chill**
***The Arab Boycott of Israel: Economic Aggression and World Reaction***
(Praeger, 121 pages, 1976)
Focus on Israel's Economic Warfare Authority.

**Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy**
***Churchill and the Middle East***
(Toronto: The Society, 47 pages, 2003)
Speech at 20th annual dinner, 18 November 2003)

**Noam Chomsky** (Linguist and historian, with *numerous* overlapping books on the Palestinian struggle)
With **Gilbert Achcar** and **Stephen R. Shalom**: ***Perilous Power: The Middle East and US Foreign Policy***
(Routledge, 2024)

***Pirates & Emperors, Old & New***
(Pluto Press, 2015)
Compilation of essays, 1986-2001, some of which are on the Palestine.

***Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians***
(Pluto Press, 1999 enlarged edition from 1983 original, with further expanded edition, Haymarket Books, 2015)
Includes critical analysis of the Kahan Commission Report, an Israeli investigation into the 1982 Beirut massacres of Shatila and Sabra Camps (jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/kahan.html)

***Middle East Illusions – Including Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood***
(Rowman & Littlefield, 2003)

**Nadav Even Chorev**
***Arab NGOs for Civic and Social Change in Israel: Mapping the Field***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 2008)

**Rachel Christina**
***Tend the Olive, Water the Vine: Globalization and the Negotiation of Early Childhood in Palestine***
(Greenwich, Connecticut: IAP-Information Age, 2006)

**Kathleen Christison** & **Bill Cristison** (former CIA official) -
***Palestine in Pieces: Graphic Perspectives on the Israeli Occupation***
(Pluto Press, 2009)
Publisher's blurb: "Former CIA political analysts Kathleen and Bill Christison give a comprehensive description of the occupation and the ways in which Israel dominates the Palestinians: Settlements, the Separation Wall, roads restricted to cars with Israeli license plates, home demolition on a massive scale, imprisonment and mass killings. With more than 50 photographs vividly demonstrating the impact of

the occupation on the Palestinian people, the authors argue that Israel's long-term intention is to so fragment the occupied territories that any sustainable presence in the land by Palestinians as a nation will be negated."

**Kathleen Christison**

***The Wound of Dispossession***
(Sanfa Fe, new Mexico: Sunlit Hills Press, 274 pages, 2001-2002)
Focus includes Palestinian Americans.

***Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on US Middle East Policy***
(University of California Press, 1999)

**Harel Chorev-Halewa** (Tel Aviv University)

***Networks of Power in Palestine: Family, Society and Politics Since the Nineteenth Century***
(IB Tauris, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Informal networks are an elusive and hidden factor in every society. In the Middle East, the Arab Spring recently highlighted their power and scope from Iraq to Morocco, exposing how family and clan networks wield influence behind institutional facades. While many studies of Middle Eastern societies solely analyse formal structures and official governing bodies, this book illuminates longstanding informal social systems by examining the sociopolitical history of the Palestinian highlands, known from 1950 as the West Bank. By studying family-based networks in cities like Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron, Harel Chorev-Halewa shows how their influence has receded more slowly and less dramatically in recent generations than is commonly believed. He also connects individual elite families to the broader landscape of informal networks, comprising inter-familial alliances, collective economic systems, Sufi orders and customary law - all of which make up the unseen 'familial order.' Unfolding chronologically, this book spans a period of immense change from the Late Ottoman period to the present day, asking: How did Palestinian informal networks adapt to new realities?Why and how did they endure? And what does this say about modern Palestinian national politics in particular, and Arab societies in general? Offering an original and innovative look at informal networks in Palestine, this study is of crucial importance to scholars of Middle East studies, Palestine studies, political science and anthropology."

**Christian Nationalist Crusade** [**Gerald LK Smith** aka **Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith**]

***Jewish Influence on the United States Media***
(Los Angeles: CNC, 106 pages, ca. 1975)
"The material contained in this booklet, although gathered from the public domain and available to anyone who wishes to do research on the matter, was prepared and edited by the Palestine Arab Delegation and has been reproduced for circulation by the Christian Nationalist Crusade at their own expense."

**David John Clark**

***The Colonial Police and Anti-Terrorism: Bengal – 1930-1936; Palestine, 1937-1947; and Cyprus, 1955-1959***
(Thesis, Oxford University, 1978) Available at the British Library – shelfmark: Document Supply DRT 451552.

**Howard Clark**: ***People Power – Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity***
(Pluto Press, 237 pages, 2009)
World focus, but includes **Angie Zelter**: *International Women's Peace Service in Palestine* / **Veronique Dudouet**: *Cross-border Nonviolent Advocacy during the Second Palestinian Ontifada: the International Solidarity*

*Movement* / **Ann Wright**: The Work of the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI). See also selection on EAPPI in the CHRISTIAN PALESTINIANS section.

**Joe Cleary**

***Literature, Partition and the Nation-State: Culture and Conflict in Ireland, Israel, and Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 259 pages, 2002)
Includes a focus on Ghassan Kanafani.

**Eli Clifton** (Quincy Institute) and **Ian Lustick** (University of Pennsylvania)

***Israel's Lobby: America in the Grip of a Foreign Power***
(Astria/One Signal Publishers, 304 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "The greatest story in geopolitics and in American domestic affairs is how the far-right government of a small Middle Eastern country came to hold a controlling interest in United States foreign policy. Israel's lobby is now in a position to police the speech of American politicians, college students and journalists, and coerce and persuade the White House to back unpopular, costly, and ultimately national security-threatening policies. From the Biden administration's unwillingness to bring American leverage to bear an end to genocidal violence that only harmed our national security interests, to the Trump administration's role in lifting the parole restrictions on a spy who had sold vital government secrets, American subservience to its putative client state, Israel, is a vivid and vexing example of the tail wagging the dog."

**Tony Clifton** (text) and **Catherine Leroy** (photographs)

***God Cried***
(Quartet Books, 141 pages with 38 pages of photographs, 1983)
Focus on the Lebanon civil war, 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon aka Operation Peace for Galilee.

**Ta-Nehisi Coates**

***The Message***
(Penguin, 256 pages, 2024)
Tangential to Palestine; includes the Black American concern for the Palestinian emancipation. Author's account of West Bank visit in May 2023, stunned by Black IDF soldiers' power over Muslims.

**Helena Cobban** (former war correspondent of the Lebanese Civil War; publisher of Just World Books)
With **Rami G. Khouri** (editor of the *Daily Star* [Beirut] and *Jordan Times* / American University Beirut):

***Understanding Hamas and Why That Matters***
(OR Books, 224 pages, 2024)
With contributions by **Paola Caridi**, **Jeroen Gunning**, **Khaled Hroub**, **Mouin Rabbani** and **Azzam Tamimi**. Publisher's blurb: "This book does not advocate for or against Hamas. Rather, in a series of rich and probing conversations with leading experts, it aims to deepen understanding of a movement that is a key player in the current crisis. It looks at, among other things, Hamas's critical shift from social and religious activism to national political engagement; the delicate balance between Hamas's political and military wings; and its transformation from early anti-Jewish tendencies to a stance that differentiates between Judaism and Zionism."

***The Israeli-Syrian Peace Talks: 1991-1996 and Beyond***
(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, ***Stranger in My Own Land: Palestine, Israel and One Family's Story of Home***
(Hurst, 447 pages, no index, 2022)
1999/2000)

***The Superpowers and the Syrian-Israeli Conflict***

(Praeger Press / Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991)

***The Making of Modern Lebanon***
(Hutchinson/HarperCollins, 1985 / Routledge, 248 pages, 2024)

***The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics***
(Cambridge University Press, 305 pages, 1985)
Unpacks uncountable insights over three decades, including some quoted and candid testimonies, as though you were there.

***The Shia Community and the Future of Lebanon***
(Washington DC: American University Press, 1985)

**David Cobham** (University of St. Andrews, Scotland) and **Nu'man Kanafani** (Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Copenhagen), editors

***The Economics of Palestine: Economic Policy and Institutional Reform for a Viable Palestine State***
(Routledge 301 pages, 2012)

**Andrew & Leslie Cockburn**

***Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the US-Israeli Covert Relationship***
(HarperCollins / Bodley Head, 1991/1992)

**Rachel Cockerell**

***Melting Point: Family, Memory and the Search for a Promised Land***
(London: Widfire Books, 416 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "On June 7th 1907, a ship packed with Russian Jews sets sail not to Jerusalem or New York, as many on board have dreamt, but to Texas. The man who persuades the passengers to go is David Jochelmann, Rachel Cockerell's great-grandfather. It marks the beginning of the Galveston Movement, a forgotten moment in history when 10,000 Jews fled to Texas in the lead-up to WWI. The charismatic leader of the movement is Jochelmann's closest friend, Israel Zangwill, whose novels have made him famous across Europe and America. As Eastern Europe becomes infected by anti-Semitic violence, Zangwill embarks on a desperate search across the continents for a temporary homeland: from Australia to Canada, Angola to Antarctica. He reluctantly settles on Galveston, Texas. He fears the Jewish people will be absorbed into the great American melting pot, but there is no other hope."

**Abner Cohen**

***Arab Border-Villages in Israel: A Study of Continuity and Change in Social Organisation***
(Manchester University Press, 1965 / 1972)

**Aharon Cohen** (Secretary, 1941-1948, of the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Co-operation, which sought a bi-national post-Mandate state)

***Israel and the Arab World***
(Funk & Wagnalls, WH Allen, 1970 / Beacon Press, 1976)

**Amnon Cohen**

As co-editor with **Oded Eran**: ***Israel, The Middle East, and Islam: Weighing the Risks and Prospects***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem, 2003)

***The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem***
(Brill, 2001

***Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century***
(Harvard University Press, 1984)

***Political Parties in the West Bank under the Jordanian Regime, 1949-1967***
(Cornell University Press, 278 pages, 1982)
Focus on the Communist Party, Al-Qawmiyun al-Arab, the Moslem Brothers, and the Liberation Party.

With **Bernard Lewis**: ***Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine the Sixteenth Century***
(publisher unidentified, 199 pages, 1978; Princeton University Press, 230 pages, 2015)

***Palestine in the 19th Century: Patterns of Government and Administration***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem, Judah Magnes Press, 1973)

**Asher Cohen** & **Yehoyakim Cochavi**, editors
***Zionist Youth Movements during the Shoah***
(Peter Lang Publishing, 1995)

**Avner Cohen**
***Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb***
(Columbia University Press, 370 pages, 2010)

With **Terence McNamee**
***Why do States Want Nuclear Weapons? The Cases of Israel and South Africa***
(Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, 2005)

***Israel and the Bomb***
(Columbia University Press, 470 pages, 1998)

**Dalya Cohen-Mor**
***Mahmoud Darwish: Palestine's Poet and the Other as the Beloved***
(Palgrave Pivot, 105 pages, 2019)
Contents: Chapter 1 The Poet's Public Persona: A Lover from Palestine -- Chapter 2 Dangerous Liaisons: Arab-Jewish Romantic Relationships -- Chapter 3 Self-Defining Memories: When Mahmoud met "Rita" -- Chapter 4 The Rita Poems and Prose Passages -- Chapter 5 Unbeliever in the Impossible.

**Geula Cohen** aka **Geulah Cohen** aka **Shula Cohen** – (Stern Gang pirate radio presenter; socialite Haganah spy in beirut)
***Woman of Violence: Memories of a Young Terrorist, 1945-1948***
(Rupert Hart-Davis / Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1966) –
Translated by Hilliel Halkin; Written with the narrative air of fiction.

**Hillel Cohen**
***Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1929***

(Brandeis University Press, 287 pages, 2015)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

***The Rise and Fall of Arab Jerusalem: Palestinian Politics and the City since 1967***
(Routledge, 162 pages, 2011)
Photographs by **Rafi Kotz**. Commissioned by the Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies.

***Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948-1967***
(University of California Press, 281 pages, 2009)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

***Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948***
(University of California Press, 344 pages, 2008)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**. Author pitches that "there is no universal definition of treason" and details Zionist efforts to divide the Palestinian community, favouring Ragheb Nashashibi's National Defense Party (NDP), and funding, in the 1920s, of the Palestinian "farmers' parties." Emphasises Al-Hajj Amin Al-Husayni's influence; see the unacknowledged 2002 biography by Philip Matter for another angle.

**Israel Cohen** (1879-1961, Secretary of the World Zionist Organisation)

***The Palestine Problem***
(London; 6 pages, 1946)
Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review*.

***The Zionist Movement***
(London: F. Muller, 352 pages, 1945)

***A Short History of Zionism, 1860-1944: Six Lectures***
(Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 6 volumes, 1945)
Lecture 4: *Palestine under Mandatory Regime, 1921-1928, 23 pages.*

***The Progress of Zionism***
(London: Central Office of the Zionist Organisation; 2nd edition, 33 pages, 1935; 1st edition, 21 pages, 1929, plus various page lengths, 1943, 1944, 1947)

***Britain's Nameless Ally***
(London: W.H. Allen & Col, 48 pages, 1942)

***Palestine, the Jews, and the War***
(Letchworth: Garden City Press; 7 pages, 1942)
Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review*, March 1942.

***The Future of Palestine***
(10 pages, 1939)
Reprinted from *The Nineteenth Century and After,* July 1939, Vol. 126, pages 24-33.

***What Britain Makes out of Palestine: A Fallacy Exploded***
(London: *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 pages, 1938)

***Points about Palestine: Facts and Figures***
(Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland/National Liberal Club, 16 pages, 1936)

***Palestine Strides Forward***
(London: Jewish Agency for Palestine; 10 pages, 1935)
Reprinted from *The Fortnightly*, January 1935.

***Recent Progress in Palestine***
(London: Zionist Organisation, 24 pages, 1934)

***The Situation in Palestine***
(London: Jewish Agency for Palestine; 10 pages, 1933)
Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review,* December 1933.

***The Jews under the Palestine Mandate***
(25 pages, 1930)
Reprinted from *The Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.*

***Palestine and the British Tax-Payer***
(London: Jewish Agency for Palestine, 12 pages, 1929)
"Palestine Papers No. 1."

As editor: [Arthur James Balfour] ***Speeches on Zionism***
(London: Arrowsmith, 128 pages, 1928)
Contents: Preface by the **Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel** - The Balfour declaration - Great Britain and Palestine - Zionism in America - A defence of the mandate - The ratification of the mandate - The Hebrew university - Aspects of the Jewish national home - Ten years after - Retrospect.

***Zionism: Bibliography***
(Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Northumberland Press, 3 pages, 1928)

***Zionist Progress in Palestine: A Four Years' Record***
(London: Palestine Foundation Fund / Keren Haysod aka Keren Hayesod, 19 pages, 1923)

***The "Conflict" in Palestine***
(London: Zionist Organisation, 19 pages, 1922)
'Seeds of Conflict' Series; reprinted from *Eastern Europe*, Vol. 6 No. 1.

***The "Conflict" in Palestine: A Reply to the Secretary of the Palestine Arab Delegation***
(London: Zionist Organisation; 19 pages, 1922)

***The German Attack on the Hebrew Schools in Palestine***
(London: *Jewish Chronicle* & *Jewish World*; 19 pages, 1918)

***The Turkish Persecution of the Jews***
(London: Alabaster, Passmore & Sons, 20 pages, 1918)

***The Palestine Mandate: The Zionist Case***
(4 pages, ca. 1918-1920)

As by the **English Zionist Federation**: ***Programme of a Jewish Demonstration to Thank His Majesty's Government for Their Declaration in Favour of the Establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People***
(English Zionist Federation: 1 folded page, 1917)
Printed for public demonstration, Sunday 2 December 1917 at the London Opera House, Kingsway.

***The Zionist Movement: Its Aims and Achievements***
(London: W. Speaight & Sons, 1912)

As editor: ***Zionist Work in Palestine, by Various Authorities***
(London & Leipzeig: T. Fisher Unwin / New York City: Judaean Publishing / World Zionist Organisation, 208 pages, 1911-1912)

With foreword by **David Wolffsohn**. Pieces from a special issue of *Die Welt*, autumn 1910.

As translator: **Max Nordau**: ***Zionism: It's History and its Aims***
(London: English Zionist Federation, 20 pages, 1905)

**Jerrold Cohen**

***Israeli Terrorism and Other Violations of International Law***
(Aberdeen Publishing/author, 392 pages, 2009)

**Kobi Cohen-Hattab**

***Zionism's Maritime Revolution: The Yishuv's Hold on the Land of Israel's Sea and Shores, 1917-1948***
(Dee Gruyter Oldenbourg, 336 pages, 2019)

**MJ Cohen** aka **Michael J. Cohen** (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

***The British Mandate in Palestine, A Centenary Volume, 1920-2020***
(Routledge, 2020)
Contributors are Arab, Druze and Jewish academics from Israel.

***Britain's Moment in Palestine: Retrospect and Perspectives, 1917-1948***
(Routledge, 2014)

as co-editor with **Martin Kolinsky**: ***Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East – Britain's Responses to Nationalist Movements, 1943-1955***
(Frank Cass, 1998)
Contents include: Nicholas Owen – *Britain and Decolonization – The Labour Governments and the Middle East, 1945-1951*/ Michael Thornhill – *Britain and the Politics of the Arab League, 1943-1950* / Rodney Wilson – *Economic Aspects of Arab Nationalism* / Ilan Pappe – *British Rule in Jordan, 1943-1955* / Avraham Sela – *Britain and the Palestine Question, 1945-1948 – The Dialectic of regional and International Constraints*.

as co-editor with **Martin Kolinsky**: ***Britain and the Middle East in the 1930s – Security Problems, 1935-1939***
(Macmillan & King's College London, 1992).
See: *The Collapse and Restoration of Public Security*, an examination of the Revolt and British counter-insurgency measures; and Meir Pail's *A Breakthrough in Zionist Military Conceptions, 1936-1939* (learnt from British forces).

***Truman and Israel***
(University of California Press, 342 pages, 1990; 368 pages, 2020)

***Palestine to Israel: From Mandate to Independence***
(Frank Cass, 1988)

as editor: ***The British Decision to Evacuate Palestine, 1947-1948***
(Garland, 1987)

as editor: ***United Nations Discussions on Palestine, 1947***
(Garland, 1987)

as editor: ***The Anglo American Committee on Palestine, 1945-1946***
(Garland, 1987)

as editor: ***Palestine and the Arab Federation, 1935-1945***

(Garland, 1987)

as editor: ***Jewish Resistance to British Rule in Palestine, 1944-1947***
(Garland, 1987)

***Churchill and the Jews***
(Frank Cass, 1985)

***Palestine and the Great Powers, 1945-1948***
(Princeton University Press, 1982)
As by **Mark Julian Cohen**: ***Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate: The Making of British Policy, 1936-1945***
(Elek, 1978 / Garland, 1987)

**Morris Raphael Cohen**

*Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism*
(New York City: American Council for Judaism, 12 pages, 1946)
An American philosopher's analysis of Zionism and the American Jewish community, with criticism of the anti-enlightenment strands in Zionism. Postscript adds the hopeful expectation that a nonsectarian state will emerge in Palestine.

**Naomi W. Cohen**

***The Americanization of Zionism, 1897-1948***
(Brandeis University Press, 261 pages, 2003)
Contents: Forging an American Zionism: the Maccabaean -- A clash of ideologies: reform Judaism vs. Zionism -- Zionism in the Public Square -- A modern synagogue in Jerusalem -- The social worker and the diplomat: Maurice B. Hexter and Sir John Hope Simpson -- Jewish immigration to Palestine: the Zionists and the State Department -- The American Jewish Conference: a Zionist experiment at unity and leadership -- Out of step with the times: Rabbi Louis Finkelstein of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

***The Year after the Riots: American Responses to the Palestine Crisis of 1929-1930***
(Wayne State University Press, 210 pages, 1988)

***American Jews and the Zionist Idea***
(New York City: Ktav Publishing, 1975)

**Netta Cohen**

***New under the Sun: Early Zionist Encounters with the Climate in Palestine***
(University of California Press, 288 pages, 2024)

**Ra'anan Cohen** (former Israeli Government minister)

***Strangers in Their Homeland: A Critical Study of Israel's Arab Citizens***
(Sussex Academic Press, 256 pages, 2008, 2009)

**Shaul Ephraim Cohen**

***The Politics of Planting: Israeli-Palestinian Competition for Control of Land in the Jerusaem Periphery***
(University of Chicago Press, 1993)

Contents:
1. Introduction -- 2. Land and Trees in Historical Perspective -- 3. Afforestation in Palestine from the Turn of the Century through 1948 -- 4. Afforestation as a National Enterprise, 1948-1967 -- 5. Jerusalem Divided; Jerusalem United -- 6. Land Law, Policy, and Practice in the West Bank -- 7. Jerusalem's Green Belt -- 8. The Village of Sur Baher -- 9. Beit Iksa and Beit Surik -- 10. The Village of Abu Dis -- 11. An Overview: The Politics of Planting.

**Stanley Cohen** & **Daphna Golan**
***The Interrogation of Palestinians During the Intifada: Ill-treatment, "Moderate Physical Pressure" or Torture?***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1991)
See: Daphna Golan

**Rabbi Dan Cohn-Sherbok** (University of Kent)
with **Dawoud El-Alami**: ***The Palestine-Israeli Conflict: A Beginner's Guide***
(OneWorld, 2008, 336 pages, 2015)

with **Mary Grey**: ***Debating Palestine and Israel***
(Exeter: Impress, 2014)

***The Politics of Apocalypse: The History and Influence of Christian Zionism***
(OneWorld Publications, 2006)

**Christine Collette** & **Stephen Bird**, editors
***Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918-1948***
(Ashgate, 194 pages, 2000)
Includes chapters on Jewish Labor Committee and Anti-Nazi Activity 1933-41; office clerks & the Histadrut in Mandate Palestine; utopian visions of Labour Zionism, British Labour and the Socialist International in the 1930s; the Jewish Section of the CPGB, 1926-45; Szmul Zygielbojm, a London-based 1943 Zionist political suicide.

**John Collins** (Saint Lawrence University, New York)
***Global Palestine***
(Hurst, 2011)
Palestine's continued international relevance.

***Occupied by Memory: The Intifada Generation and the Palestinian State of Emergency***
(New York University Press, 2004)
An ethnographic study of the first Intifada.

**Larry Collins** & **Dominique Lapierre**
***O Jerusalem! The Bitter, Epic Struggle for the City of Peace***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972)

**Colonial Office**
**Sir Alison Russell**, **A.P Waterfield**, and **T. Reid**: ***Report – Palestine Partition Commission***
(London: HMSO, 310 pages, October 1938)
Chapters include: *The Boundaries of the Enclave for the Holy Places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and of the Enclave at Nazareth / The Boundary of Jaffa, including the Boundary between the Towns of Jaffa and Tel Aviv / The Boundary between the Proposed Arab and Jewish States under Plan A / The Figures for the Population and Land of the Arab and*

*Jewish States and the Enclaves under Plan A / The Possibility of Exchanges and Transfer of Population / The Jewish Claim in Regard to Jerusalem / A Detailed Examination of Plans A and B / Jewish Proposals for the Jewish State (Apart from Jerusalem) / Plan C / Jewish Settlement in the Mandated Territories Under Plan C / Jewish Immigration in the Mandated Territories under Plan C / Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee / The Provision of Safeguards for the Rights of Religious and Racial Minorities / Internal Communications* [travel and information infrastructure] / *Finance and Budgetary Prospects / Public Debt and other Financial Obligations* [Government loans] / *Reservations by Sir Alison Russell & Mr. Reid.*

***Palestine: Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Palestine Administration, 1923***
(London: HMSO, 32 pages, 1925)
Note: Many relevant UK Government publications via HMSO.

**Commission of the European Communities**

***Proposal for a Council Decision on the conclusion of a convention between the European Economic Community and the United National Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) concerning aid to refugees in the countries of the Near East***
(Brussels: CEC, 1993)

**Committee of Palestinian Deportees**

***Homeward Bound…The Return Boat Journey of Palestinian Deportees***
(The Committee, 17pp, 1988)
On an Intifada-period boat-lift to return Palestinians who had been deported in previous years; includes a list of the names and occupations of those on the boat.

***Israeli Violations of Human Rights***
(The Committee, 64 pages, 1974)

***Stop Israeli War Crimes***
(The Committee, 6 pages, ca. 1971)

**Communist Party of Great Britain**

***Palestine: Is a Just Solution Possible?***
(London: CPGB, 1987)

***The Middle East…in the Eye of the Storm***
(London: CPGB, 4 pages, 1982
Focus on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

***The Palestinians: Victims of Imperialism***
(London: New Communist Party, 28 pages, 1982)

**Bert Ramelson**: ***The Middle East: Crisis, Causes, Solution***
(London: CPGB, 42 pages, 1967)

***We Speak for Freedom***
(London: CPGB, 96 pages, 1947)
Conference reports and speeches 26 February-2 March 1947, including Palestine.

***European Jewry and the Palestine Problem: Statement Submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry***

(London: CPGB, 16 pages, 1946)
Evidence from **Phil Piratin MP** (MileEnd) and **Jack Gaster**.

**Phil Piratin MP** (Communist Party of Great Britain, Mile End): ***For Peace in Palestine***
(London: CPGB, 4 pages, 1946)
"With a letter from William Gallacher to thePrimeMinister."

***Palestine: Terror or Peace***
(London: CPGB, 32 pages, 1938)
British support for the Zionist project seen based on blocking the Arab National Movement, and using Jewish business as a lever for prosperity in the Mandate.

**Communist Party of Palestine** (not the Palestine Communist Party, active in the UK in the 1920s)
***Memorandum to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine*** aka ***Memorandum to the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Palestine***
(Tel Aviv: CPoP, 27 pages, 5th July 1947; also noted as 12 pages)
Held at Kings College London Libraries.

**Community Security Trust** (British, pro-Israel lobbying organisation, cooperating with the Home Office; publications held at the Wiener Holocaust Library, London, and the University of Southampton Library)
***Hate, Fear, Past, Trust, Respect, Future: Perspectives on Antisemitism***
(London: CST, 2010)

***A Guide to Fighting Hate Crime***
(London: CST, 35 pages, 2010)

***Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2008***
(London: CST, 58 pages, 2008)

***Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad, 1968-2003***
(London: CST, 42 pages, 2004)
Revised version of a paper originally published by the International Polity Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Reichman University.

***CST Review*** (variably titled)
(London: CST, 2001-2013)

**John Connell** (John Henry Robertson)
***The House by Herod's Gate***
(Sampson Low & Marston, 1947)
An account of Mandate Palestine, 1940-1042.

**Chris Conti** (journalist) and **Altair Alcantara** (photographer)
***Palestine: Memories of 1948 – Photographs of Jerusalem***
(Hesperus, 256 pages, 2019)
Translated by **Isabelle Lavigne**.
19 men and women remember the Nakba and their restricted access to Jerusalem since.

**Jonathan Cook**
***Disappearing Palestine: Israel's Experiments in Human Despair***

(Zed Books, 2008)

***Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran, and the Plan to Remake the Middle East***
(Pluto Press, 2008)

***Blood and Religion: The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State***
(Pluto Press, 2006)

**Stanley Cook** aka **Stanley Arthur Cook**
***The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology***
(Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 252 pages, 1925,1930)

***The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Second Millennium BC: In the Light of Archaeology and Inscriptions***
(Constable/Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 121 pages, 1908, 1921)

**Thomas Cook** (travel agency)
***Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria***
(Thomas Cook & Sons Ltd / Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1886)

***Cook's Travellers' Handbook to Palestine, Syria and Iraq***
(Thomas Cook & Sons Ltd / Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1934)

**William A. Cook** (University of La Verne, USA)
***The Plight of the Palestinians: A Long History of Destruction***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "A collection of voices from around the world that establishes in both theoretical and graphic terms the slow, methodical genocide taking place in Palestine beginning in the 1940s. Voices decrying in startling, vivid, and forceful language the calculated atrocities taking place."

**John K. Cooley** (Middle East Correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*)
***An Alliance Against Babylon: The US, Israel and Iraq***
(Pluto Press, 2005)
with foreword by William R. Polk

***Green March, Black September: The Story of the Palestinian Arabs***
(Frank Cass, 263 pages, 1973)

**Anthony Coon**
***Town Planning Under Military Occupation: An Examination of the Law and Practice of Town Planning in the Occupied West Bank***
(Dartmouth, 1992)

**Pamela Cooper** (co-founder of Medical Aid for Palestinians
***A Cloud of Forgetting***
(Quartet Books, 379 pages, 1993)
Autobiography, including Beirut relief work.

**Jean Corbon**

***Western Public Opinion and the Palestine Conflict***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society,18 pages, ca. 1969)

**Georges Corm**
***Israel in the International Strategy of the Western Powers***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 24 pages, 1970)

**Jane Corbin**
***Gaza First: The Secret Norway Channel to Peace between Israel and the PLO***
(Bloomsbury, 213 pages. 1994)

**Jeremy Corbyn** (former longtime British Labour Party MP), Neve Gordon (Queen Mary University London), and **Shahd Mammouri** (University of Kent, Law for Palestine)
***The Gaza Tribunal: Britain's Complicity in Genocide***
(Pluto Press, 192 pages, 2026)
With an afterword by **Sally Rooney**.

**Wadad Makdisi Cortas** (mother-in-law of Edward Said)
***The World I Loved***
(Nation Books aka Bold Type Books, 2009)
Lebanon, but relevant to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: " 'This is my story, the story of an Arab woman. It is the story of a lost world. It begins in 1917, in Lebanon, when I was seven years old.' So opens this haunting memoir by Wadad Makdisi Cortas, who eloquently describes her personal experience of the events that have fractured the Middle East over the past century. Through Cortas' eyes we experience life in Lebanon under the oppressive French mandate, and her desire to forge an Arab identity based on religious tolerance. We learn of her dedication to the education of women, and the difficulties that she overcomes to become the principal of a school in Lebanon. And in final, heartbreaking detail, we watch as her world becomes rent by the "Palestine question," Western interference, and civil war."

**Paul Cossali** and **Cathy Hartley**
***Survey of Arab-Israeli Relations***
(Routledge, 2002, 2004, 2006)

**Paul Cossali** (teacher) and **Clive Robson** (development worker)
***Stateless in Gaza***
(Zed Books, 1986)
Based on interviews with Gazans; authors are foreign Gaza residents.
see also: Martin Wright; Shirley Eber

**Paul Cotterell**
***The Railways of Palestine and Israel***
(Tourret, 1986)

**Zama Coursen-Neff**
***Second Class: Discrimination against Palestinian Arab Children in Israel's Schools***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 18 pages, 2001)

**Roger Courtney**

***Palestine Policeman: An Account of Eighteen Dramatic Months in the Palestine Police Force During the Great Jew-Arab Troubles***
(Herbert Jenkins Publications, 1939)

**Kenneth Cragg** (Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, academic, with numerous books on Christianity and Islam)

***The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East***
(Louisville, Kentucky: John Knox Press, 1991 / Mowbray, 1992)

***Palestine: The Prize and Price of Zion***
(Cassell, 1997)
History of the relationship between Palestinian Arabs and Jews.

**Richard Ben Cramer**

***How Israel Lost: The Four Questions at the Heart of the Middle East Crisis***
(Free Press, 2005)

**Martin Van Creveld (Israeli military historian)**

***The Sword and the Olive Tree: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force***
(New York City: Public Affairs, 449 pages, 2008)
Contents: The Surge, 1907-1949; The Years of Greatness, 1949-1973; Running Out of Steam, 1974-1997.

***Defending Israel: A Controversial Plan Toward Peace***
(New York City: Thomas Dunne Books/St Martin's Press, 188 pages, 2004)

***Israel and the Non-Proliferation Treaty***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University Leonard Davis Institute, 14 pages, 1995)

***Military Lessons of the Yom Kippur War: Historical Perspectives***
(Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 60 pages, 1975)

**David Cronin**

***Balfour's Shadow: British Support for Zionism and Israel, 1917-2017***
(Pluto Press, 2017)

***Europe's Alliance with Israel: Aiding the Occupation***
(Pluto Press, 2010, 2011)

**Richard Crossman**

***Palestine Mission: Personal Record***
(Hamish Hamilton, 1947)
Labour MP for Coventry East, who, in 1946, unsuccessfully challenged Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin to allow 100,000 European Jews to emigrate to Mandate Palestine. Admits here that Arab Palestinian opposition to Zionism was not anti-Jewish.

**A. Jay Cristol**

***The Liberty Incident: The 1967 Israeli Attack on the US Navy Spy Ship***
(Brassey's, 2002)

**Bartley Cavanaugh Crum**

***Behind the Silken Curtain: A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy in Palestine and the Middle East***

(Simon & Schuster 1947 / Victor Gollancz, 1947)

Rumoured to have been ghosted by Gerold Frank.

**Harold M. Cubert**

***The PFLP's Changing Role in the Middle East***

(St Andrews University thesis, 1995; Frank Cass Publishing/Routledge, 240 pages, 1997; Taylor & Francis e-book, 256 pages, 2014)

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Contents: Introduction: overview of the PFLP's ideology and aims -- 1. Historical and ideological background -- 2. Western incursions; Ottoman concessions -- 3. Arab nationalism: issues and programmes -- 4. A history of Palestinian nationalism -- 5. The PFLP succeeds the ANM and competes with the dominant Fatah movement -- 6. The Palestinian national movement since 1988 -- 7. Towards an Israel-PLO accord -- 8. Ideology -- 9. Structure -- 10. Operating environments and methods -- 11. The PFLP's role and position within the PLO -- 12. Fatah-PFLP rivalry within the PLO.

**Jonathan Cummings** (Director of BICOM – Britain Israel Communication and Research Centre; Knesset assistant)

***Israel's Public Diplomacy: The Problems of Hasbara, 1966-1975***

(Rowman & Littlefield, 218 pages, 2016)

**Mark Curtis** (former Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House)

***Secret Affairs: Britain's Collusion with Radical Islam***

(Serpent's Tail, revised edition, 2018)

Tangential to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.

**Michael Curtis**, **Joseph Neyer**, **Chaim Waxman** and **Allen Pollack**, editors

***The Palestinians@ People, History, Politics***

(Transaction, 1975)

"Prepared under the auspices of the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East. Contents: Jews and Arabs in Palestine: Palestine in the Islamic and Ottoman period -- Moshe Sharon -- Land ownership in Palestine, 1880-1948 -- Moshe Aumann -- Arab immigration into pre-state Israel: 1922-1931 -- Fred M. Gottheil -- Arab-Jewish contacts in Palestine: 1923-1931 -- Frederick H. Kisch -- The Jewish people and Palestine -- Chaim Weizmann -- Middle East refugees -- Terence Prittie -- Palestinian Arabs: Palestinians: who are they -- Yaácob Caroz -- Social and political changes in Arab society in Israel -- Aharon Layish -- West Bank sentiments: 1967-1973 -- Amnon Cohen -- Palestinian Arab nationalism: Political and social aspects of Israeli and Arab nationalism -- Shlomo Avineri -- Varieties of Palestinian nationalism -- Chaim I. Waxman -- The Palestinian-Arab nationalist movement -- Yehoshua Porat -- The emergence of Yasser Arafat -- Joseph Neyer -- Insufferable silence -- Muhammad Watad -- Palestinian organizations and terrorism: Palestinian organizations, their leaders and ideologies -- Palestinian national covenant -- Yehoshefat Harkabi -- A Palestinian democratic state as the political goal of the Palestinians -- Yehoshefat Harkabi -- Debate at the 12th Palestinian National Council -- Yehoshefat Harkabi -- Position of the Palestinian organizations on the establishment of a Palestinian state and on peace-- Zahir Mukhsan (PLO and Saiqa), George Habash (PFLP), Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) (Fatah), Nayef Hawatmeh (PDFLP) -- Israeli views on the Palestinian problem: On the Palestinian problem -- Yitzhak Rabin -- On a Palestinian identity -- Yigal Allon -- Palestinian nationalism: an established fact -- Amnon Rubinstein -- Palestinian option -- Uri Avneri -- Palestinian state -where? -- Moshe Maoz -- General: Palestinian nationalism: its development and goal -- Marie Syrkin -- On Israel's East -- David Pryce-Jones --

Israel and the Palestinian question -- Terence Prittie -- Moscow and the Palestinians: a new tool of Soviet policy in the Middle East -- Augustus R. Norton -- Appendices: Maps -- Palestinian Arab terrorist acts against international civil aviation: 1968-1973 -- Palestinian Arab terrorist acts: 1968-1974 -- Political program of the Palestinian National Council.

**Ted Curtis**
***By Theft and Murder: A Beginner's Guide to the Occupation of Palestine***
(Spare Change Books, 2003)

**Penelope Curtis**, **Katrina Brown** and **Eyal Weizman**
***The Object Quality of the Problem: On the Space of Palestine/Israel***
(Henry Moore Institute, 48 pages, 2008)

**Richard H. Curtiss**
***A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute***
(Washington DC: American Educational Trust, 1982/1986)

**Richard Curtiss** and **Janet McMahon**, editors (both editors of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*)
***Seeing the Light: Personal Encounters with the Middle East and Islam***
(Washington DC: American Educational Trust, 280 pages, 1997)

**Richard Curtiss** and **Janet McMahon** (both editors of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*)
***Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for4 Control of US Middle East Policy***
(Washington DC: American Educational Trust, 4th edition, 278 pages, 1996)
Foreword by **Andrew I. Killgore**.

**Pauline Cutting**
***Children of the Siege***
(William Heinemann / Pan, 1988)
Dr Cutting spent the mid-1980s in Bourj al-Barajneh, a Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut, treating victims of bombardment, sniper fire, and starvation diets of dogs, rats, and grass. Note: see also Dr Swee Chai Ang, Dr Runa MacKay & Dr [Christos] Chris Giannou.

**Sylvain Cypel**
***The State of Israel vs the Jews***
(New York: Other Press, 361 pages, 2021)
Translated by **William Rodarmor**.

***Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation***
(Sussex Academic Press, 326 pages, 2010)
Contents: pt. I. Anti-Semitism in the Arab and Muslim world : myth and reality. Modern myths of Muslim anti-Semitism / Mark R. Cohen -- The image of the Jew/Zionist/Israeli in the Arab world / Esther Webman -- pt. II. Ambivalent attitudes in Muslim-Arab countries. The breakdown of Arab-Israeli peace : research from remote, reciprocal stereotypes and anti-normalization : the case of Jordan / Wasfi Kailani -- Islam and the question of peace with Israel : Jad al-Haqq's Fatwa permitting Egypt's 1979 peace treaty with Israel / Yitzhak Reiter -- Saudi Arabia and Israel : the essence of strategic pragmatism / Joseph Kostiner and Michael Kahanov -- Myth, history and realpolitik : Morocco and its Jewish community / Samir Ben-Layashi and Bruce Maddy-Weitzman -- Babylon versus Zion : changing

Iraqi perceptions of Israel / Ofra Bengio -- pt. III. Non-Arab Muslim countries/communities in Asia. Azerbaijani public perceptions of Jews and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Tural Ahmadov -- Turkish policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Saziya Burcu Giray -- Dancing in the dark : pulling the veil off Israeli-Pakistan relations / Paul Rockower and Aneeq Cheema -- Indian Muslims and the three Js : Jews, Jerusalem and the Jewish state / P.R. Kumaraswamy -- Indonesian Muslims' perceptions of Jews and Israel / Ibnu Burdah -- pt. IV. Muslim communities in Africa, Europe and the USA. African Islam : its attitudes twoards Israel and Judaism / Arye Oded -- "The triangle" : Europeans, Muslims, Jews / Amikam Nachmani -- An examination of current attitudes of Muslim Americans toward Jews, Israel and Jerusalem / Paul L. Scham.

***Walled: Israeli Society at an Impasse***
(The Other Press, 2007)
From the publisher: Walled examines the contemporary state of mind of Israel's citizens, tracing the history of the State of Israel back to the Jewish national movement and the beginnings of Zionism. Sylvain Cypel offers a lucid analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian situation and powerfully demonstrates that the wall of protection erected in the West Bank by Israel is the most visible symptom of a society in peril. Those who are walled, Cypel argues, are first and foremost the Israelis themselves, who have chosen to ignore rather than acknowledge the existence and rights of their neighbors. Through the study of political discourse, intellectual controversy, and national institutions such as the army and the educational system, Cypel illuminates the mechanics of the culture of force that has led Israeli society into its current impasse. Walled combines historical, cultural, and sociological analysis with personal testimonies and a delightful Jewish wit, offering a cogent and gripping portrait of two peoples walled by denial: Israeli society and its "other," the Palestinians.

**Nadia Taysir Dabbagh** (Psychiatrist at the Royal Free Hospital, London)
***Suicide in Palestine: Narratives of Despair***
(C. Hurst, 265 pages, 2005)
Focus on the West Bank. Based on ***Attempted Suicide in Arab Palestinian Society*** (University of London PhD thesis, 258 pages, 2000).

**Osama Dabbagh**
With **Quhafah Mahasneh**: ***Towards a Trade Policy for Palestine***
(Cairo: Economic Research Forum for the Arab Countries, Iran & Turkey, 15 pages, 2000/2001)

***Monetary Integration between Jordan and Palestine***
(Cairo: Economic Research Forum for the Arab Countries, Iran & Turkey, 46 pages, 1999)

***Trade Prospects for Palestine***
(Ramallah: Arab Economists Association, 25 pages, 1996)
From a conference at Birzeit University, 1996.

**S.M. Dabbagh** aka **Salah Mustafa Dabbagh**
***Law, Israel and the Palestine Revolution: The Right of Self-Determination and the Right of Resistance***
(Kuwait, 15 pages, 1971)
The 2nd International Symposium on Palestine.

**Aurelie Daher** (Université Paris-Dauphine and at Sciences Po, Paris)
***Hezbollah: Mobilisation and Power***
(Hurst & Co., 432 pages, 2019)

Tangential to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: "Forty years after its foundation, Lebanese Hezbollah remains an organization difficult to understand. An Islamist terrorist group dedicated to destroying Israel or the first Arab national Resistance to have ever defeated Tel-Aviv's troops, a patriotic and respectable party or a fascist network having managed to control all levers of Lebanese political life...what exactly is Hezbollah? How did it acquire such an important role in the Middle-Eastern game and in Lebanese politics? This book has three purposes. It first gives an articulated definition of Hezbollah, presenting a thorough history of the party, describing its well-built internal structure, and the large scope of its social and political action. It then explains the evolution of the party's mobilization. Finally, it illustrates another path, political but mainly identity-related, that of the Shiite community, today the main constituent of Lebanese society. Through a rigorous and richly documented study, mainly based on primary sources, amongst which hundreds of interviews with rank and file members, executives and officials of the party, and research material never examined before, the author unveils brand new aspects of this organization, thus completing, in a clear and efficient manner, our understanding of both the "Hezbollah phenomenon" and Lebanese politics of the last two decades."

**Roald Dahl**

***Going Solo***
(Jonathan Cape, 1986 / Penguin, 224 pages, 2012, 2018 / Slightly Foxed, 236 pages, 2019)
Four pages of the RAF pilot's autobiography deal with encountering a Zionist near Mount Carmel.
Also published with ***Boy***, as ***Boy; Going Solo: An Autobiographical Account 1916-1941)***

**Craig Daigle**

***The Limits of Détente: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1969-1973***
(Yale University Press, 384 pages, 2012)

As co-editor, with **Nina Howland**: ***Foreign Relations of the United States – Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1973***
(Washington DC: General Post Office [GPO], 1,233 pages, 2011)
Volume 25 in series.

**Burhan Dajani** (one of the founders of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut)

***Regional Co-operation of Arab States in the Field of Industrial Development***
(Vienna: United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 56 pages, 1970)

**Muna Dajani** (London School of Economics), **Munir Fakher Elden** (Birzeit University, Palestine), **and Michael Mason** (London School of Economics), editors

***The Untold Story of the Golan Heights: Occupation, Colonization, and Jawlani Resistance***
(Bloomsbury, 248 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This landmark volume is the first academic study in English of Arab politics and culture in the occupied Golan Heights. It focuses on an indigenous community, known as the Jawlanis, and their experience of everyday colonisation and resistance to settler colonisation. Chapters cover how governance is carried out in the Golan, from Israel's use of the education system and collective memory, to its development of large-scale wind turbines which are now a symbol of Israeli encroachment. To illustrate the ways in which the current regime of Israeli rule has been contested, there are chapters on the six-month strike of 1982, youth mobilisation in the occupied Golan, Palestinian solidarity movements, and the creation of Jawlani art and writing as an act of resistance. Rich in ethnographic detail and with chapters from diverse disciplines, the book is unique in bringing together Jawlani, Palestinian and UK researchers. The innovative format - with shorter 'reflections' from young Arab researchers, activists and lawyers that respond to more traditional academic chapters - establishes a bold new 'de-colonial' approach."

**Muna Dajani** (London School of Economics)

***Water Struggles as Struggles for Recognition: The Lived Geographies of Farming Communities in Sahl al-Battuf and the Occupied Golan Heights***

(London School of Economics PhD thesis, 2018)

**Ismail Z. Dajani**

***Palestine – Its Unknown History – A Chronicle 2000 BC – 1948***

(American University in Cairo Press, 83 pages, 1991)

**Souad R. Dajani**

***Ruling Palestine: A History of the Legally Sanctioned Jewish-Israeli Seizure of Land and Housing in Palestine***

(Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions [COHRE] / Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights, 2005)

***Eyes without Country: Searching for a Palestinian Strategy of Liberation***

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994-1995)

***The Intifada***

(Centre for Hebraic Studies, University of Jordan, 1990)

**Gustaf Dalman** (1855-1941)

***Work and Customs in Palestine***

(Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013)

Two volumes; originally published in German by Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1928; reprinted by Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1987. English translation of the later by **Nadia Abdulhadi-Sukhtian.**

**William Dalrymple**

***From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium***

(Travel with some Palestinian relevance, HarperCollins 1997/Flamingo 1998)

**Hugh Dalton** (Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Atlee Government, encouraging support for the widest possible Zionist geographic spread in the Middle East)

***The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton: 1918-1940, 1945-1960***

(Jonathan Cape, 1986).

Note this biography by **Ben Pimlott:** ***Hugh Dalton*** (Jonathan Cape 1985, HarperCollins, 1995)

**Michael Dan**

***The Two-State Dilemma: A Game Theory Perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***

(Toronto: Barlow Publishing, 280 pages, 2020)

**Karam Dana** (American Muslim Research Institute, University of Washington Bothell)

***To Stand with Palestine: Transnational Resistance and Political Evolution in the United States***

(Columbia University Press, 416 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "This book provides a new lens on activism around Palestinian issues, demonstrating how the global Palestinian diaspora has driven transnational political movements. Karam Dana explores

the ways that exile has shaped Palestinian identity and allowed for new forms of global activism. He examines the social, political, economic, and technological forces that have created space for Palestinian voices to be heard by wider audiences worldwide. Drawing on interviews with scholars and advocates—including members of the Palestinian diaspora and Jewish American activists—as well as public opinion data and media analysis, Dana traces how global Palestinian communities have influenced American views. He addresses the backlash against pro-Palestinian advocacy but argues that solidarity with Palestinians—both in the United States and globally—will continue to strengthen. Timely and insightful, To Stand with Palestine offers an inside look at how Palestinians have shared their story with the world and why sympathy for their plight is growing, with significant implications for the global political landscape."

**al-Hakam Darwaza**

***A Short Survey of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: PLO Research Centre, 30 pages, 1966)
Later edition as ***The Palestine Question: A Brief Analysis*** (93 pages)

**Marwan Darweish** aka **Darwish** & **Andrew Rigby**

***Popular Protest in Palestine: The Unknown Future of the Non-Armed Resistance***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018)

***Palestinians in Israel: Nationality and Citizenship***
(University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, 1995)

**Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights** (Chicago), which has published an annual publication from 1989, likely only to 1990: *The Cost of Freedom: Palestinian Human Rights under Israeli Occupation*

***Israeli Censorship in the Occupied Territories***
(Chicago: DPPHR, 18 pages, 1990)
Researched by **Karima Bennoune**.

***The Palestinian Intifada, December 9, 1987-December 8, 1988: A Record of Israeli Repression***
(Chicago: DPPHR, 234 pages, 1989)
Edited by **M. Cherif Bassiouni** and **Louis Cainkar**. Also published as ***Uprising in Palestine: The First Year: Documentation on Human Rights and the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987 to December 1988*** (Chicago: DPPHR, 462 pages, 1989). A similar publication, ***Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987-December 1988.*** by Al-Haq is freely downloadable: alhaq.org

***The Demolition of Palestinian Homes and other Structures by Israeli Authorities - Israel's War by Bureaucracy: "We'll Blow Your House Down"***
(Chicago: DPPHR, 30 pages, 1988; 16 pages, 1989)
Written by **Anita Vitulla** in coordination with field workers and staff of the Palestine Human Rights Information Center.

***Colonial Pursuits: Settler Violence During the Uprising in the Occupied Territories***
(Chicago: DPPHR, 81 pages, 1989)
Researched by **Scott Reese**, with foreword and epilogue by **Jan Abu-Skakrah**.

**Joseph E. David** (Sapir Academic College, Israel), **Yael Ronen** (Academic Center for Science and Law, Hod Hasharon, Israel), **Yuval Shany** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and **J.H.H., Weiller** (New York University), editors

***Strengthening Human Rights Protections in Geneva, Israel, the West Bank and Beyond***

Publisher's blurb: "This collection of essays is written by some of the world's leading experts in international human rights law, and corresponds to the main junctures in the professional life of Professor David Kretzmer, a leading human right academic and practitioner. The different essays focus on contemporary human rights protection challenges. They address conceptual problems such as differences between limits and restrictions, and application of human rights standards to businesses and international organisations; legal doctrinal responses to changing realities in the field of surveillance and identity politics; the weakness of monitoring institutions engaged in standard setting; and the practical difficulties in applying international human rights law to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a manner sensitive to gender dimensions and the particular political dynamics of the situation. Collectively, the essays offer a rich picture of the current potential shortcomings of international human rights law in addressing complex problems of law, politics and ethics."

**Joseph E. David** (Sapir Academic College, Israel), **Udi Dromi**, **Sari Sapir** & **Susan Kennedy** – editors
***The State of Israel: Between Judaism and Democracy – A Compendium of Interviews and Articles***
(Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2003)
A compilation of pieces reflecting Liberal Zionism. Includes: Anita Shapira – *Agreement on the Limits of Disagreement* / A.B. Yehoshua – *An Israeli State* / Asa Kasher – *A Democratic State of the Jews* / Sammy Smooha – *The Nation Before the State*

**Lawrence Davidson**
***America's Palestine: Popular and Official Perceptions from Balfour to Israel's Statehood***
(University Press of Florida, 2001)

**John H. Davis** (former Head of UNRWA)
***The Evasive Peace: A Study of the Zionist-Arab Problem***
(John Murray, 1968)

**John-Michael Davis** (Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Massachusetts) and **Yaacov Garb** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
***Polluted Politics: The Development of an Israeli-Palestinian E-Waste Economy***
(Cambridge University Press, 2024)

**Rochelle A. Davis** (Arab Studies, Georgetown University)
As editor, with **Mimi Kirk** (Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore): ***Palestine and the Palestinians in the 21st Century***
(Indiana University Press, 2013)
Contents: Gabriel Piterberg: *The Zionist Colonization of Palestine in the Context of Comparative Settler Colonialism* / Leila Farsakh: *Colonial Occupation and Development in the West Bank and Gaza – Understanding the Palestinian Economy through the Work of Yusif Sayigh* / Tamim al-Barghouti: *War, Peace, Civil War: A Pattern?* / As'ad Ghanem: *Hamas Following the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Election: A Critical Victory* / Sara Roy: *Before Gaza, After Gaza: Examining the New Reality in Israel/Palestine* / Susan Akram: *The Legal Trajectory of the Palestinian Refugee Issue – From Exclusion to Ambiguity* / Islah Jad: *The Debate on Islamism and Secularism: The Case of Palestinian Women's Movements* / Loren Lybarger: *Other Worlds to Live In: Palestinian Retrievals of Religion and Tradition under Conditions of Chronic National Collapse* / Michael C. Hudson: *Palestine in the American Political Arena – Is a "Reset" Possible?* / Noura Erakat: *Human Rights and the Rule of Law* / Ali Abunimah: *Lessons for Palestine from Northern Ireland: Why George Mitchell Couldn't Turn Jerusalem into Belfast* / Saree Makdisi: *One State: The Realistic Solution*

***Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced***

(Stanford University Press, 2011)

**Uri Davis** (A member of Fatah since 1984, long at the University of Bradford)

***The JNF / KKL: A Charity Complicit with Ethnic Cleansing***
(Middle East Monitor/MEMO, 491pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The JNF/KKL (Jewish National Fund/Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel) was founded in 1901, projected as a non-profit organisation with the goal of purchasing and developing land in Palestine for Jewish settlement. It was initially registered in Britain as a company limited by guarantee, and following the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, was incorporated as the JNF as it is currently known. Following the signing of a covenant between the JNF and Israel in 1961, contends Davis, the charity and the state became "partners on an almost equal footing in the administration of 93 percent of the territory" in Israel's pre-1967 borders. However, the JNF's activities have extended beyond this, having been implicated in the destruction of several Palestinian Arab villages in the post-67 territories."

As co-editor, with **Nils A. Butenschon** and **Manuel Hassassian**: ***Citizenship and the State in the Middle East: Approaches and Applications***
(Syracuse University Press, 2000)

***Citizenship and the State: A Comparative Study of Citizenship Laws in Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon***
(Ithaca Press, 1997)

***Crossing the Border: An Autobiography of an Anti-Zionist Palestine Jew***
(Books & Books, 1995)

***The State of Palestine***
(Ithaca Press, 87 pages, 1991)

***Israel: An Apartheid State***
(Zed Books, 1986)

***Apartheid Israel: Possibilities for the Struggle Within***
(Zed Books, 2003)

With **Abbas Shiblak**: ***Civil and Citizenship Rights of Palestinian Refugees***
(Jerusalem: Shami, 1995)

With **Walter Lehn**: ***The Jewish National Fund***
(Kegan Paul, 390 Pages, 1988)

***The Golan Heights under Israeli Occupation, 1967-1981***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1983)

As co-editor with **Fouzi el-Asmar:** ***Palestinian Arabs in Israel: Two Case Studies***
(Ithaca Press / Middle East Research and Action Group, 1977)
Study 1 – Hasan Amun, Uri Davis, Nasr Dakhlallah San'allah: *Deir al-Asad, The Destiny of an Arab Village in Galilee* / Study 2 – Adnan Abed Elrazik, Riyad Amin, Uri Davis: *The Destiny of Arab Students in Institutions of Higher Education in Israel*

***Israel, Utopia Incorporated: A Study of Class, State, and Corporate Kin Control***
(Zed Press, 182 pages, 1977)

As co-editor, with **Fouzi el-Asmar** & **Naim Khadr**:
***Towards a Socialist Republic of Palestine***

(Ithaca Press, 1978)

As co-editor, with **Norton Mezvinsky**: ***Documents from Israel, 1967-1973: Readings for a Critique of Zionism***
(Ithaca Press, 228 pages, 1975)

As co-editor, with **Andrew Mack** & **Nira Yuval-Davis**: ***Israel and the Palestinians***
(Ithaca Press & University of Bradford, 1975)

As co-editor, with **Martin Blatt** and **Paul Kleinbaum**
***Dissent & Ideology in Israel: Resistance to the Draft, 1948-1973***
(Ithaca Press / Housmans Bookshop / Middle East Research & Action Group / Lansbury House Trust, 203 pages, 1975)
With an introduction by **Noam Chomsky**. Contains glossary.

**Nira Yuval-Davis** & **Daiva Stasiulis**, editors
***Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class***
(Sage, 1995)

**C. Ernest Dawn**
***From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism***
(University of Illinois Press, 1973)
Contents: The Amir of Mecca al-Ḥusayn ibn-ʻAli and the origin of the Arab revolt - ʻAbdullāh ibn-al-Ḥusayn , Lord Kitchener, and the idea of an Arab revolt -- Ideological influences in the Arab revolt -- Hashimite aims and policy in the light of recent scholarship on Anglo-Arab relations during World War I -- From Ottomanism to Arabism: the origin of an ideology -- The rise of Arabism in Syria -- Ramifications and reflections.

**Arthur R. Day**
***East Bank/West Bank: Jordan and the Prospects for Peace***
(New York City: Council on Foreign Relations, 1986)

**Moshe Dayan**
***Break-Through: A Personal Account of Egypt-Israel Peace Negotiations***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981)

***Story of My Life***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976)

***Diary of the Sinai Campaign 1956***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966 / Sphere Books, 1967)

**Aoibhin De Burca**
***Preventing Political Violence against Civilians: Nationalist Militant Conflict in Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 216 pages, 2014
Half focused on Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

**Nathalie Debrauwere-Miller**, editor (Vanderbuilt University)
***Israeli-Palestine Conflict in the Francophone World***

(Routledge, 261 pages, 2020)

**Janine Di Giovanni**
***Against the Stranger: Lives in Occupied Territory***
(Penguin, 226 ages, 1994)

**Deir Yassin Massacre (1948)**:
**Michael Prior**, editor
***Speaking the Truth: Zionism, Israel and the Occupation***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2005)
Michael Prior: *Zionism and the Challenge of Historical Truth and Morality* / Rosemary & Herman Ruether: *Zionism, Christianity and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* / Ilan Pappe: *State of Denial: The Nakbah in Israeli History and Today* / Daniel McGowan: *Why We Remember Deir Yassin* / Rev. Stephen Sizer: *The International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem: A Case Study in Political Christian Zionism* / Peter Miano: *Mainstream Christian Zionism* / Duncan Macpherson: *Politics and Multi-Faith in the Holy Land: A Challenge for Christians* / Jean Zaru: *Theologising, Truth and Peacemaking in the Palestinian Experience* / Paul Eisen: *Speaking the Truth to Jews* / Nasser Aruri: *The Right of Return and its Detractors* / Betsy Barlow: *Waking the Sleeping Giant* / with foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu

**Efraim Dekel**
***Shai – The Exploits of Hagana Intelligence***
(Thomas Yoseloff Publishing, 1959)

**Angelos Delachanis** and **Vincent Lemire**, editors
***Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940***
(Brill, 2018)
'Open Jerusalem' series, Vol. 1. Publisher's blurb: "Angelos Dalachanis, Vincent Lemire and thirty-five scholars depict the ordinary history of an extraordinary global city in the late Ottoman and Mandate periods. Utilizing largely unknown archives, they revisit the holy city of three religions, which has often been defined solely as an eternal battlefield and studied exclusively through the prism of geopolitics and religion. At the core of their analysis are topics and issues developed by the European Research Council-funded project "Opening Jerusalem Archives: For a Connected History of Citadinité in the Holy City, 1840–1940." Drawn from the French vocabulary of geography and urban sociology, the concept of*citadinité* describes the dynamic identity relationship a city's inhabitants develop with each other and with their urban environment."

**Peter Demant**
***Settlers and Settlements under Rabin and Peres: Obstacles on the Road to Peace***
(Amsterdam: Research Center for International Political Economy and Foreign Policy Analysis, 36 pages, 1996)

***The European Experience and the Peaceful Solution of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Topical Synopsis of DSD Seminars***
(Amsterdam: publisher not identified, 38 pages, 1992)

***Plowshares into Swords: Israeli Settlement Policy in the Occupied Territories, 1967-1977***
(Ameterdam: publisher not identified, 1988)

**Lala Demirdjian**
***The Case of Palestinian Refugee Education in Lebanon***
(Oxford University, 103pages, 2007)

University thesis.

**Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine** [aka **Democratic Front for the People's Liberation of Palestine** aka **DFLP** aka **PDFLP**; note: many publications, including serials such as the *DFLP Bulletin* (Damascus, 1985-1986) and the *DFLP Report* (ca. 1972-1975)]

***Press Statement on the Sessions of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine***
(Possibly Nicosia: DFLP, 6 pages, 1987)

***Interview with Nayef Hawatmeh, Secretary General of the DFLP***
(Assumed Beirut: DFLP, 39 pages, 1978)
Translation of interview that appeared in the weekly magazine, *al-Hurriyah*, on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the Front.

***The Political Program***
(44pp, 1975)
In English and Arabic.

***On Terrorism / Role of the Party / Leninism vs. Zionism***
(Buffalo, New York: Palestine Solidarity Committee / Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 14pp, ca. 1970s)
Precis and full titles per the text: "Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence, is a critical analysis of terrorism and its role in revolutionary struggle…Role of the Party, states the necessity of forming a vanguard party in order to insure the continual development of the resistance struggle along the path of the socialist revolution… The Leninst Struggle Against Zionism, is a brief historical analysis of Zionism in its conflict with the international communist movement showing the positions taken by the Arab Communist parties as Zionism and the Zionest [sic] movement seized control of Palestine." All first published in the *Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, a DPFLP aka DFLP journal.

***Towards a Democratic Solution to the Palestinian Question***
(Quebec: Presses Solidaires Publication / Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 21pp, 1970)
Calls for eliminating Israel and "liberating Jews from the Zionist movement."

**Chris Kaspar de Ploeg**

***The Exterminating Empire: Capitalism's War on Life from Palestine to the Burning Planet***
(Monthly Review Press, 296 pages, 2026)
With foreword by **Jason Hickel**. Publisher's blurb: "Taking the ongoing genocide in Palestine as a point of departure, The Exterminating Empire traces capital's centuries-long war against life itself. From the slave plantations and scorched-earth campaigns of early colonialism, to Vietnam, Haiti, Iraq, and today's climate apartheid, Chris Kaspar de Ploeg shows that, not only has exterminatory violence against peoples and ecosystems been central to the imperial project, but omnicidal tendencies—the drive to kill everything—have always been present. Operating at different scales, these tendencies possess the potential to annihilate even the imperial core itself, along with the rest of the planet. Drawing from the revolutionary traditions of the Global South, de Ploeg offers a strategic vision of resistance rooted in class struggle, internationalism, socialism, and ecological justice. The Exterminating Empire gives a coherent worldview to those first politicized by the genocidal violence against Palestinians, and at the same time offers fresh perspectives to the seasoned reader. Whether unearthing the Roman invasions of Palestine, or exhuming the invention of hell, delivering the imperial birth story behind eco-fascism, or brandishing the weaponization of hunger and wage slavery de Ploeg maintains a relentless clarity and momentum, packing shocking facts, historical revelations, and praxis onto every page. This book is both an admonition against the annihilation we face and a survival guide."

**Alan M. Dershowitz** (Harvard University professor and lawyer; for decades, the USA's most prominent advocate for the Jewish State, both in print and on network news television. A sample of his many books is below.

***Jewish Blood is No Longer Cheap: A Call to Arms in Preventing Recurrence of Past Disasters***
(New York City/Brattleboro, Vermont: Skyhorse Publishing, 71 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Invoking the Talmud's directive to pre-emptively defend against killers, it criticizes historical Jewish underreactions due to fears of overreacting, citing figures like Rabbi Stephen Wise and Felix Frankfurter. Professor Alan Dershowitz argues that Israel's military response to the October 7, 2023, Hamas massacres—killing over 1,400 Israelis—was a justified overreaction to centuries of cheap Jewish blood, emphasizing deterrence over proportionality. It rejects genocide accusations, contrasting Israel's collateral civilian deaths with Nazi extermination and Allied WWII bombings. The text explores the civilian-combatant continuum in Gaza, questioning the innocence of massacre supporters and doubting Hamas's casualty figures. It advocates population transfers for peace, citing post-WWII examples like Sudetenland and Königsberg, proposing a demilitarized, rebuilt Gaza as a "Singapore on the Mediterranean." Dilemmas of hostage retrieval in democracies are examined, weighing military needs against family pressures. Israel is urged to prioritize security over public relations, amid global bias, and embody both Sparta's military prowess and Athens's technological and intellectual strength to counter threats like Iran's nuclear ambitions. Dershowitz calls for adapting morality preemptively against immoral foes to prevent recurrence. He warns of a pincer attack from right-wing (e.g., Tucker Carlson) and left-wing extremists (e.g., The Squad), posing political dilemmas for Jews, and advocates proactive steps to avert future disasters."

***Palestinianism: The Newest Attack on Peace, Human Rights and Democracy***
(New York City/Brattleboro, Vermont: Skyhorse Publishing, 76 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinianism is not only the newest manifestation of anti-Semitism; it also poses grave threats to peace, human rights, and democratic values. Its dangers must be exposed and challenged in the marketplace of ideas. It is the purpose of this book to pose that challenge and to put Palestinianism on trial for the moral crimes of bigotry, incitement to violence, and destroying any prospects for peace. By "Palestinianism," Alan Dershowitz does not mean merely supporting a Palestinian state or the rights and well-being of the Palestinian people. Those are entirely reasonable positions to take. He means only the obsessive focus on the claims of Palestinians and their supporters—to the exclusion or minimization of the claims of other, more deserving, groups. This singular focus on the "rights" of Palestinians is coupled with an equivalent singular focus on the alleged "wrongs" of only one country—Israel, the nation-state of the Jewish people. It is the coupling of these biases that constitutes the new "Palestinianism" that we are now experiencing on university campuses, in international organizations, among hard-left politicians, and in many media. In *Palestinianism*, Dershowitz explores the sources of contemporary Jew-hatred, Israel demonization, and other threats to Jewish communities around the world. He demonstrates why he believes things are likely to get worse, as they did in Germany during the late 1930s. He does not believe they will culminate in another genocidal holocaust but that when the young bigots who so fervently rally behind Palestinianism grow into influential adults, they will increase the hatred against Jews and their nation-state. He argues that Jews and their state must become more self-reliant, and less dependent on the approval, support, or selection by others."

***War Against the Jews: How to End Hamas Barbarism***
(New York City: Hot Books, 216 pages, 2023)

***Terror Tunnels: The Case for Israel's Just War against Hamas***
(New York City: Rosetta Books, 162 pages, 2024)
Contents: 1: Operation Protective Edge-The Historical Context -- 2: The Case Against the Goldstone Report-and Why It Still Matters -- 3: Finally, A Hamas Leader Admits that Israel Killed Mostly Combatants in Gaza -- 4: Goldstone Needs to Recant in Light of the New Evidence -- 5: How Goldstone is Making Peace More Difficult -- 6: The Phony War Crimes Accusation Against Israel -- 7: The Case Against "Universal Jurisdiction" -- 8: If Israel Killed Mahmoud al-Mabhouh, Did It Have the Right To? -- 9: Israel's Actions in Intercepting the Turkish Flotilla Were Entirely Lawful though Perhaps Unwise -- 10: Why Israel Must Remain Strong -- 11: Hamas-Not Israel-Killed BBC Reporter's Baby --

12: UN Palestine Vote Poses Major Threats for Israel -- 13: A Settlement Freeze Can Advance Israeli-Palestinian Peace -- 14: Mideast Peace Talks Should Resume -- 15: Terrorists Win with Israel Prisoner Swap -- 16: Israel's Right to Self-Defense Against Hamas -- 17: The Palestinian Leadership is Responsible for the Continuing Israeli Occupation of the West Bank -- 18: Some Hard Questions about the Western European Double Standard Against Israel -- PART II -- Introduction: Operation Protective Edge -- 19: Israel Defends Entire Civilized World -- 20: The Current Conflict between Israel and Hamas Shatters Myths -- 21: Israel Must Maintain Its Weapons Siege of Gaza -- 22: Media Death Count Encourages Hamas to Use Human Shields -- 23: Netanyahu, the Reluctant Warrior -- 24: Gazans' Real Enemy Is Hamas, Not Israel -- 25: Why Doesn't J Street Support Israel? -- 26: Hamas's Threat to Israel's Airport Threatens a Two-State Solution -- 27: Accusing Hamas of Using Human Shields Is Not Racist -- 28: UN Probe of Israel Will Only Encourage Hamas War Crimes. 29: The "Occupation of Gaza" Canard -- 30: Qatar and Other American "Allies" Are among the Villains in Gaza -- 31: Hamas Uses Cease-Fire to Kidnap -- 32: What Should Israel Do? What Would the United States Do? -- 33: The Empty Spaces in Gaza -- 34: Hamas Exaggerates Civilian Deaths -- 35: Supporting Hamas Is Anti-Semitic -- 36: Did Israel Have the Right to Destroy Hamas Terror Tunnels? -- 37: ISIS is to America as Hamas is to Israel -- 38: No One Should Be Surprised at Isis's Brutality because the World Rewards Terrorism -- 39: Ten Reasons Why BDS Is Immoral and Hinders Peace -- 40: Debate between Alan Dershowitz and John Dugard

***Defending Israel: Against Hamas and its Radical Left Enablers***
(New York City: Hot Books, 306 pages, 2023)

***The Case Against Israel's Enemies: exposing Jimmy Carter and Others Who Stand in the Way of Peace***
(John Wiley & Sons, 293 pages, 2008)

As editor: ***What Israel Means to Me***
(John Wiley & Sons, 360 pages, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "With an introduction by Alan Dershowitz, this is a collection of essays solicited by Professor Dershowitz from noted individuals -- both Jews and non-Jews -- with their thoughts in their own words on what Israel means to them. It is expected that the high profile contributors would include Bill and Hillary Clinton, Barbra Streisand, Al Gore, Henry Kissinger, Elie Wiesel, Saul Bellow, Arnold Schwartzenegger, Jerry Seinfeld, Sir Martin Gilbert, Harvey Weinstein, Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Ron Silver, Barney Frank, Larry King, and like individuals. Alan Dershowitz has long been one of Israel's most ardent defenders. Now, in his new book, he sums up what Israel means to him-and offers a distinguished group of politicians, journalists, artists, and religious leaders the opportunity to share their feelings about Israel as well. From Larry King, William Bennett, Ed Koch, Rabbi Harold Kushner, and David Mamet to Barney Frank, Pat Robertson, Erica Jong, and Jonathan Kellerman, the diverse group of all-star contributors pays tribute to the Jewish state, highlighting their personal connections to Israel's history, land, people, politics, and faith."

***The Case for Peace: How the Arab-Israeli Conflict can be Resolved***
(John Wiley & Sons, 246 pages, 2005)

***The Case for Israel***
(John Wiley & Sons, 265 pages, 2003)
Contents: Is Israel a colonial, imperialist state? -- Did European Jews displace Palestinians? -- Was the Zionist movement a plot to colonize all of Palestine? -- Was the Balfour Declaration binding international law? -- Were the Jews unwilling to share Palestine? -- Have the Jews always rejected the two-state solution? -- Have the Jews exploited the Holocaust? -- Was the U.N. partition plan unfair to Palestinians? -- Were Jews a minority in what became Israel? -- Has Israel's victimization of the Palestinians been the primary cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict? -- Was the Israeli War of Independence expansionist aggression? -- Did Israel create the Arab refugee problem? -- Did Israel start the Six-Day War? -- Was the Israeli occupation without justification? -- Was the Yom Kippur War Israel's fault? -- Has Israel made serious efforts at peace? -- Was Arafat right in turning down the Barak-Clinton peace proposal? -- Why have more Palestinians than Israelis been killed? -- Does Israel torture Palestinians? --

Has Israel engaged in genocide against Palestinian civilians? -- Is Israel a racist state? -- Is the Israeli occupation the cause of all the problems? -- Has Israel denied the Palestinians statehood? -- Is Israel's policy of house destruction collective punishment? -- Is targeted assassination of terrorist leaders unlawful? -- Is settlement in the West Bank and Gaza a major barrier to peace? -- Is terrorism merely part of a cycle of violence? -- Is Israel the prime human rights violator in the world? -- Is there moral equivalence between Palestinian terrorists and Israeli responses? -- Should universities divest from Israel and boycott Israeli scholars? -- Are critics of Israel anti-Semitic? -- Why do so many Jews and even Israelis side with the Palestinians? -- Conclusion: Israel, the Jew among nations.

***Why Terrorism Works***
(Yale University Press, 256 pages, 2002)
Ostensibly on response to terrorism, drawing most evidence from the Israeli practice.

**Andrea Dessi** (IAI/Instituto Affari Internazionali)

***Normalizing the Israel Asset: The Reagan Administration and the Second Cold War in the Middle East: Leverage, Blowback and the Institutionalization of the US-Israel 'Special Relationship'***
(London School of Economics, PhD thesis, 2018)

***Israel and the Palestinians after the Arab Spring: No Time for Peace***
(Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2012)

***Palestine and theUN: from Challenge to Opportunity***
(German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2012)

**Isaac Deutscher** (Marxist anti-Zionist)

***The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays***
(Oxford University Press, 164 pages, 1968 / Verso Books, 2017)
Edited, with an introduction by **Tamara Deutscher**; includes Socialism as an answer to Zionism.

***The Confusion of the International Left: A Jewish Testimony***
(Al-Fateh, 3 pages, 1967)

**Donna Robinson Devine**

***Exiled in the Homeland: Zionism and the Return to Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2009)

***Politics and Society in Ottoman Palestine: The Arab Struggle for Survival and Power***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1994)

**Donna Robinson Devine** & **Philip Carl Salzman**, editors

***Postcolonial Theory and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Routledge, 2008)

**Roberto De Vogli** (University of Padova; University of London)

***Selective Empathy: The West through the Gaza of Gaza***
(Haymarket Books/De Gruyter Brill, 173 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Blending sharp political critique with psychological insight, and filled with haunting testimonies, suppressed facts, and fearless indictments of Western leaders, journalists, and intellectuals, this book reveals a civilization that reserves compassion for some while ignoring others. Gaza has

become the West's mirror - and our moral litmus test. Will humanity survive its own indifference? De Vogli challenges prevailing assumptions and calls for a new global solidarity grounded in universal empathy, justice, and emotional decolonization."

**David De Vries** (Tel Aviv University)

***Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951***
(Berghahn Books, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Strike-action has long been a notable phenomenon in Israeli society, despite forces that have weakened its recurrence, such as the Arab-Jewish conflict, the decline of organized labor, and the increasing precariousness of employment. While the impact of strikes was not always immense, they are deeply rooted in Israel's past during the Ottoman Empire and Mandate Palestine. Workers persist in using them for material improvement and to gain power in both the private and public sectors, reproducing a vibrant social practice whose codes have withstood the test of time. This book unravels the trajectory of the strikes as a rich source for the social-historical analysis of an otherwise nation-oriented and highly politicized history."

***Diamonds and War: State, Capital, and Labour in British Rules Palestine***
(Berghahn Books, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "The mining of diamonds, their trading mechanisms, their financial institutions, and, not least, their cultural expressions as luxury items have engaged the work of historians, economists, social scientists, and international relations experts. Based on previously unexamined historical documents found in archives in Belgium, England, Israel, the Netherlands, and the United States, this book is the first in English to tell the story of the formation of one of the world's main strongholds of diamond production and trade in Palestine during the 1930s and 1940s. The history of the diamond-cutting industry, characterized by a long-standing Jewish presence, is discussed as a social history embedded in the international political economy of its times; the genesis of the industry in Palestine is placed on a broad continuum within the geographic and economic dislocations of Dutch, Belgian, and German diamond-cutting centers. In providing a micro-historical and interdisciplinary perspective, the story of the diamond industry in Mandate Palestine proposes a more nuanced picture of the uncritical approach to the strict boundaries of ethnic-based occupational communities. This book unravels the Middle-eastern pattern of state intervention in the empowerment of private capital and recasts this craft culture's inseparability from international politics during a period of war and transformation of empire."

**Yoav Di-Capua**

***No Exit: Arab Existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Decolonization***
(University of Chicago Press, 2018)

**Alain Dieckhoff**

***Routledge Handbook of Modern Israel***
(Routledge, 2013)
Translated by **Carolyn Shread**.

***The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 297 pages, 2003)
Translated by **Jonathan Derrick**.

**Evelin Dierauff**

***Translating Late Ottoman Modernity in Palestine: Debates on Ethno-Confessional Relations and Identity in the Arab Palestinian Newspaper Filastin, 1911-1914)***
Contents: Intro -- Title Page -- Copyright -- Body -- Acknowledgements -- Notes on the Transliteration and the Use of Terms -- List of Abbreviations -- Introduction -- 1. Historical Context and Definitions -- 2. Historiographical Context -- 2.1. `Dual Society' and Inter-Confessional

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**Jonathan Dimbleby** (BBC and ITV news reporter, long in the Middle East) & **Donald McCullin**
***The Palestinians***
(Quartet Books, 256 pages, 1980; 256 pages, 2025)
A striking period book depicting refugee camp life, especially in Lebanon. McCullin's approximately 40 revealing photographs are supplemented with important news agency images from earlier eras. Notable is Dimbleby's chapter on British responsibility for the Nakba. 2025 edition has addition of agency photographers' work as well as a new introduction.

**Linda Dittmar**
***Tracing Homelands: Israel, Palestine and the Claims of Belonging***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 240 pages, 2023)
Author unpacks the story behind a ruined Palestinian village, revealing decades of Nakba obfuscation.

**Herbert Dobbing**
***Cause for Concern: A Quaker's View of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 70 pages, 1970)

**Peter Dodd** & **Halim Barakat**
***River without Bridges: A Study of the Exodus of the 1967 Palestinian Arab Refugees***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969)

**Peter Dodd**

***Suffering Humanity: Human Dignity in Exile: The Problem of the Jordanian Refugees***
(Beirut: University Christian Centre Forum, 16 pages, 1967)

**Ray Dolphin** (United Nations)

***The West Bank Wall: Unmaking Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "Since Israel began its construction in 2002, the Wall has sparked intense debate, being condemned as illegal by the International Court of Justice. Israel claims it is a security measure to protect Israeli citizens from terrorist attacks. Opponents point to the serious impact on the rights of Palestinians, depriving them of their land, mobility and access to health and educational services. This book explores the Palestinian experience of the Wall in their international context. What are the real intentions behind the Israeli security argument? Is it a means of securing territory permanently through an illegal annexation of East Jerusalem? The West Bank Wall is a cutting account of the impact of the wall and how it affects prospects of a future peace in the Middle East."

**Jasmine Donahaye** (Swansea University)

***Losing Israel***
(Seren, 2015)
Author discovers her grandparent kibbutzniks' displacement of fellahin "by capital in the 1920s and 1930s, and by war in 1948."

**Sundel Doniger**, editor

***A Zionist Primer: Essays by Various Writers***
(New York City: Young Judea, 85 pages, 1917)
"Young Judea attempts to make clear to the Jewish youth the Jewish problem and the solution as formulated in the Zionist program." Contents: **Charles A. Cowen** – introduction / **Jessie E. Sampter** – *What Our History Means* / **D. de Sola Pool** – *The Jewish Problem* / **Lotta Levensohn** – *The Forerunners of Zionism* / **Israel Goldberg** - *Dr. Theodor Herzl* / **B.A. Rosenblatt** – *The Zionist Organization* / **Louis Lipsky** – *Parties in Zionism* / **Margaret Gluck** - *What Our Pioneers Have Accomplished* / **Ittamar Ben Avi** – *No, You Do Not Know the Land* / **D. de Sola Pool** – *Palestine and the Jewish Dispersion*

**Daniel Dor**

***The Suppression of Guilt: The Israeli Media and the Reoccupation of the West Bank***
(Pluto Press, 2005)

***Intifada Hits the Headlines: How the Israeli Press Misreported the Outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising***
(Indiana University Press, 2004)

**Michael Doran** (University of Central Florida)

***Pan-Arabism before Nasser: Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question***
(Oxford University Press, 240 pages, 1999, 2002)
Publisher's blurb: "This book aims to profoundly alter the accepted version of the history of post-World War II Pan-Arabic foreign policy. To this end, Doran convincingly demonstrates the absence of any true pan-Arabic front from the very beginning of the Arab League. Reconsidering Cairo's policy decisions during the critical years from 1944 to 1948, he proves that Egyptian national interests were always placed before the united Arab front against Israel. Even while participating in the 1948 war with Israel, Egypt regarded Zionism and the Palestine Question as less important than achieving independence from Britain and thwarting the expansionist aims of Iraq and Jordan. Ultimately, this study is a bold rethinking

of twentieth-century Middle Eastern politics and history, with key implications for both the study of the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict and the volatile politics of the Middle East in general."

**Beshara Doumani**

***The Rise of the Sanjak in Jerusalem in the Late Nineteenth Century,*** in **Ilan Pappe**, editor: ***The Israel/Palestine Question***
(Routledge, 2007)

***Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property and Gender***
(State University of New York Press, 2003)

***Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900***
(University of California Press, 340 pages, 1995)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on previously unused primary sources, this book paints an intimate and vivid portrait of Palestinian society on the eve of modernity. Through the voices of merchants, peasants, and Ottoman officials, Beshara Doumani offers a major revision of standard interpretations of Ottoman history by investigating the ways in which urban-rural dynamics in a provincial setting appropriated and gave meaning to the larger forces of Ottoman rule and European economic expansion. He traces the relationship between culture, politics, and economic change by looking at how merchant families constructed trade networks and cultivated political power, and by showing how peasants defined their identity and formulated their notions of justice and political authority. Original and accessible, this study challenges nationalist constructions of history and provides a context for understanding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is also the first comprehensive work on the Nablus region, Palestine's trade, manufacturing, and agricultural heartland, and a bastion of local autonomy. Doumani rediscovers Palestine by writing the inhabitants of this ancient land into history."

**Alan Dowty** (University of Notre Dame / University of Amsterdam)

***Arabs and Jews in Ottoman Palestine: Two Worlds Collide***
(Indiana University Press, 2019) Publisher's blurb: "When did the Arab-Israeli conflict begin? Some discussions focus on the 1967 war, some go back to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, and others look to the beginning of the British Mandate in 1922. Alan Dowty, however, traces the earliest roots of the conflict to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, arguing that this historical approach highlights constant clashes between religious and ethnic groups in Palestine. He demonstrates that existing Arab residents viewed new Jewish settlers as European and shares evidence of overwhelming hostility to foreigners from European lands. He shows that Jewish settlers had tremendous incentive to minimize all obstacles to settlement, including the inconvenient hostility of the existing population. Dowty's thorough research reveals how events that occurred over 125 years ago shaped the implacable conflict that dominates the Middle East today."

As editor: ***The Israel/Palestine Reader***
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019 online, 2017 printed, and earlier editions)
Contents: Ernest Renan -- Innocents abroad / Mark Twain -- Nu'man al-Qasatli's Travels in Palestine / Abdul-Karim Rafeq -- The Jewish story -- Two poems / Yehuda Halevi -- Bilu manifesto, 1882 -- The Jewish state / Theodor Herzl -- On the slaughter / Chaim Nachman Bialik -- A hidden question / Yitzhak Epstein -- Open questions / Nehama Pukhachewsky -- The Arab story -- References to Jews in the Quran -- On the Franks / Nehama Pukhachewsky -- The Arab awakening / George Antonius -- The awakening of the Arab nation / Najib Azuri -- My view of Zionism / Khalil as-Sakakini -- The emergence of Israel -- The iron wall / Vladimir Jabotinsky -- The Arab case for Palestine / Hamid Frangieh -- We have our state / Golda Meir -- Memoirs of the first Palestine war / Gamal Abdul Nasser -- War is inevitable -- why? / Gamal Abdul Nasser -- Central Intelligence Agency memorandum, May 26, 1967 -- The re-emergence of the Palestinians -- Identity card / Mahmoud Darwish -- An olive branch and a gun / Yasir Arafat -- The road to peace / Anwar Sadat -- The 1978 negotiations at Camp David / Ezer Weizman -- The road to Oslo /

Mahmoud Abbas -- The first pass at peace -- The Palestinians' fourteen demands / Sari Nusseibeh -- The Oslo accord / Yossi Beilin -- The Oslo accord / Mahmoud Abbas -- Collapse at Camp David / Ehud Barak -- Collapse at Camp David / Robert Malley and Hussein Agha -- The fourth stage -- Hamas covenant (1988) -- The second Intifada / Marwan Barghouti -- The Intifada: Israel government white paper -- Palestine papers: Olmert's offer to Abu Mazen -- My offer to Abbas / Ehud Olmert -- Conditions for a two-state solution / Benjamin Netanyahu -- The downward spiral -- Recognize Palestine as a UN member-state / Mahmoud Abbas -- Collapse of Kerry initiative / Martin Indyk -- 2014 Gaza war: Palestinian view / Diana Buttu -- 2014 Gaza war: Israeli view / Benjamin Netanyahu -- Saving the two-state solution / John Kerry -- The impasse that remains -- Territorial issues / Michael Herzog -- West Bank settlements: a Palestinian view / Walid Salem -- West Bank settlements: an Israeli view / Hillel Halkin -- The refugee issue: a Palestinian view / Rashid Khalidi -- The refugee issue: an Israeli view / Efraim Karsh -- The perfect conflict -- The one-state solution: a Palestinian version / Ghada Karmi -- The one-state solution: an Israeli version / Naftali Bennett -- The two-state solution / David C. Unger -- Linking justice to peace / Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov.

**Nandita Dowson** (CADFA) and **Abdul Wahab** Sabbah, editors
***For Hammam: A Handbook for Young People on Human Rights in Palestine***
(London: Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association, 2010)

**Chris Doyle** (CAABU/Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding head)
With **Matthew Jackson**: ***The Road Map: An Incomplete Map for an Incomplete Peace?***
(London: CAABU, 29 pages, 2003)

***The Wye Agreement: A Summary***
(London: CAABU, 1999)

***Tourism in Palestine and the Bethlehem 2000 Project***
(London: CAABU, 3 pages, 1998)

***The Wye River Memorandum: A Summary: Chris Doyle Explains the Israel-Palestinian Authority Agreement Signed in October 1998***
(London: CAABU, 3 pages, 1998)

**Catriona Drew** (SOAS)
***Remembering 1948: Who's Afraid of International Law in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?*** in: **R. 000000000000a & G. Simpson**, editors: ***Who's Afraid of International Law?***
(Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2017)

***Self-Determination, Population Transfer and the Middle East Peace Accords***, in **K. Arts** & **P. Leite**, editors: ***Human Rights, Self-determination and Political Change in the Palestinian Occupied Territories***
(The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997)

**Marcia Drezon-Tepler**
***Interest Groups and Political Change in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 1990)
Gush Emunim focus.

**Israel Drori**
***The Seam Line: Arab Workers and Jewish Managers in the Israeli Textile Industry***

(Stanford University Press, 2000) See also, George Mansour: *The Arab Worker under the Palestine Mandate* (1937) https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648832

**Fintan Drury**
***Catastrophe: Nakba II***
(Merrion Press, 320 pages, 2025)

**Richard Toshiyuki Drury**, **Robert C. Winn** and **Michael O'Connor**
***Plowshares and Swords: The Economics of Occupation in the West Bank***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 222 pages, 1992)

**Arie M. Dubnow** and **Laura Robson**, editors
***Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism***
(Stanford University Press, 400 pages, 2019)
Partition as an imperial power implementation.

**Mrs. Edgar Dugdale / Blanche Dugdale**
***The Balfour Declaration: Origins and Background***
(Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1940)

**Douglas Duff aka Douglas Valder Duff** (10 years in the Palestine Police)
***Bailing with a Teaspoon***
(London: 224 pages, John Long, 1953)

***Palestine Unveiled***
(London & Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1938; Hesperides Press, 242 pages, 2006)

***Harding of the Palestine Police***
(London & Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 240 pages, 1941)

***Poor Knight's Saddle***
(Herbert Jenkins, 318 pages, 1938)
An account of a visit to Palestine.

***Palestine Picture***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 318 pages, 1936, 1938)
"It is certain that we cannot rule Palestine by winning the love of the Arabs; they hate us. Then let us either rule by fear, which is the beginning of respect in Oriental countries, if we intend to rule at all, or let us evacuate the land which our palsied fingers and insincere policy are ruining, and whose children we are sacrificing far more ruthlessly than if we governed in the Roman fashion."

***Galilee Galloper***
(John Murray, 1935)
Biography of Edwin G Bryant, known as 'Abu George,' superintendent of the Acre Prison.

**John Dugard** (human rights lawyer)
***Confronting Apartheid: A Personal History of South Africa, Namibia, and Palestine***
(Chicago: Independent Publishers Group, 312 pages, 2019)

**Michael Dumper**

With **Amneh Badran**
***Routledge Handbook on Palestine***
(Routledge, 564 pages, 2024)

With **Wendy Pullan** (Cambridge University): ***Jerusalem: the Cost of Failure***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs / Chatham House, 2010)

As editor: ***Arab-Israeli Conflict: Major Writings in Middle Eastern Studies***
(Routledge, 2009)

***The Future of the Palestinian Refugees: Toward Equality and Peace***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rirnner Publications, 2007)

As editor: ***Palestinian Refugee Repatriation: Global Perspectives***
(Routledge, 2006)

***The Politics of Sacred Space***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publications, 2002)

***Islam and Israel: Muslim Religious Endowments and the Jewish State***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 192 pages, 1997)
A survey of the Waqf system from the late Ottoman period, through the British Mandate, Jerusalem sing 1967 and the Occupied Territories.

***The Politics of Jerusalem Since 1967***
(Columbia University Press, 1996)

**Douglas Morton Dunlop**

***The History of the Jewish Khazars***
(Princeton University Press, 293 pages, 1954)
Focus on the conversion of Khazaria to Judiasm.

**Marda Dunsky**

***Stories from Palestine: Narratives of Resilience***
(Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 262 pages, 2021)

***Pens and Swords: How the American Mainstream Media Report the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Columbia University Press, 2008)

**Louis Eaks**

***Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Israel***
(London: Union of Liberal Students, 32 pages, ca. 1972)

***Kuneitra: The City Israel Destroyed***
(Petra Publishing, 16 pages, ca. 1970)
Kuneitra, in the Golan.

**Abba Eban**

***An Autobiography***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978)

**Shirley Eber, Kevin O'Sullivan, John Fisher, John Richardson**, editors; with **Paul Cossali**
***Israel and the Occupied Territories: The Rough Guide***
(Rough Guides, 1989, 1992, 1998)
The evolution of a major travel guide.

**Maurice Ebileeni** (University of Haifa)
***Being There, Being Here: Palestinian Writings in the World***
(Syracuse University Press, 240 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Arabic is unconditionally the national language of Palestinians, but for many it is no longer their mother-tongue. More than a century after the early waves of immigration to the Americas, and more than seven decades after the Nakba of 48, generations of Palestinians have grown up in a variety of different contexts within Israel-Palestine and the world at large. This ongoing scattered state has led to the proliferation of Palestinian culture as it is simultaneously growing in multiple directions, depending on geographical, political, and lingual contextualization. The Palestinian story no longer exists exclusively in Arabic. A new generation of Palestinian and Palestinian-descended writers and artists from both Latin and North America, Scandinavia, and Europe at large, as well as Israel-Palestine are bringing stories of their heritage and the Palestinian nation into a variety of languages such Spanish, Italian, English, Danish, and Hebrew—among so many other languages. *Being There, Being Here* is the product of an eight-year long journey in which Maurice Ebileeni explores how the Palestinian homeland is being imagined in multiple languages from a variety of positions both locally and globally. The book poses unsettling questions about this current situation and also looks to the future to speculate about how a Palestinian nation might still house the notion of home for an increasingly diverse Palestinian population."

**O.S. Edwardes**
***Palestine: Land of Broken Promise: A Statement of the Facts Concerning Palestine and an Examination of the Anglo-American Commission***
(Dorothy Crisp & Co., 1946)
Argues against partition and for self-determination of the Arab majority.

**Henry Edwards**
***The Colonisation of Palestine***
(London, 1846)

**Peter Eglin** (Wilfred Laurier University; Universitat Konstanz; Oxgord University)
***Analysing the Israel Effect in Canada: A Critical AutoEthnography***
(Routledge, 240 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "What is the life of a Palestinian worth to intellectuals in Canadian universities and news media? Analyzing the Israel Effect documents and analyzes the discursive and organizational methods by which public criticism of Israel's oppression of the Palestinians is silenced in Canada, as experienced through ten episodes in the life of the author over a thirty-year period from 1990-2020 in interaction with his university and local and national Canadian news media.
As a sociological work the book is a critical autoethnography. But it is also an atrocity tale, a horror story of institutional self-censorship amounting to the abrogation of intellectual responsibility by those specifically charged with upholding it. In the end, the book is a crossover between academic treatise and journalistic exposé, "a historical narrative written by an academic from the standpoint of a political participant-observer" (Rajan Philips). The Israel Effect itself is analyzed as a three-tier propaganda industry. Hasbara is produced in Israel (Tier 1), disseminated to Israel Lobby groups around the world (Tier 2) and independently re-produced, actively and passively, by the "intellectual" institutions – universities and news media (Tier 3). This book is about the non-Jewish, non-Zionist

institutions of Tier 3, the onlookers to war crimes, ethnic cleansing and, arguably, genocide, as in Gaza in October-November 2023."

**Max Egremont**

***Under Two Flags: The Life of Major-General Sir Edward Spears***
(Phoenix, 1998)

***Balfour: A Life of Arthur James Balfour***
(Collins, 1980)

**Esmat Elhalaby** (University of Toronto)

***Parting Gifts of Empire: Palestine and India at the Dawn of Decolonization***
(University Press of California, 268 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "*Parting Gifts of Empire* narrates an untold story of how Arabs and South Asians in the twentieth century sought to decolonize their minds. The histories of Palestine and India—both partitioned by the British Empire—are intimately linked. In the face of similar imperially created chasms, Arab and Indian intellectuals reinvigorated centuries of shared histories to forge new horizons, new solidarities, new institutions, and new fields of knowledge. In this book, Esmat Elhalaby traces the forgotten lives of scholars like Wadi' al-Bustani, revisits Arab and Indian feminist meetings, highlights gatherings such as Delhi's 1947 Asian Relations Conference, and argues for the centrality of Palestine to the rise of the Third World. This book breaks new ground to unfold a global intellectual history of anticolonialism, Asian unity, pan-Islamism, and nonalignment in the making of what became known as the Global South."

**Tor Eigeland** (photography)

***Exodus, 1967 – The Story of Arab Refugees***
(Beirut: Friends of the Arab Refugees, 24pp, 1967)
Numerous full page photographs of Arab refugees from the Six Day War.

**Abd al-Fattah M. El-Awaisi**

*The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine Question, 1928-1947* (IB Tauris, 1998)
Publisher's blurb: "Founded in 1928 in Egypt and still an important factor in Middle Eastern politics, the Muslim Brothers' Society was a precursor of contemporary Islamist movements in the Arab world. This book presents a detailed history of the Muslim Brotherhood's involvement in the Palestine question - an episode that was equally significant both for its own development and for the subsequent and, in recent years, dramatic growth of the Islamic element in Palestinian politics. Using a wide range of documentary sources, supplemented by interviews, the author provides an account of the ideology of the movement, the evolution of its organizational structure and the various means by which it disseminated its message."

**Roza El-Eini** (Royal Historical Society)

***Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948***
(Routledge, 2004, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "In this ground-breaking authoritative study, a highly documented and incisive analysis is made of the galvanising changes wrought to the people and landscape of British Mandated Palestine (1929-1948). Using a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach, the book's award-winning author examines how the British imposed their rule, dominated by the clashing dualities of their Mandate obligations towards the Arabs and the Jews, and their own interests. The rulers' Empire-wide conceptions of the 'White man's burden' and preconceptions of the Holy Land were potent forces of change, influencing their policies. Lucidly written, *Mandated Landscape* is also a rich source of information supported by numerous maps, tables and illustrations, and has 66 appendices, a

considerable bibliography and extensive index. With a theoretical and historical backdrop, the ramifications of British rule are highlighted in their impact on town planning, agriculture, forestry, land, the partition plans and a case study, presenting discussions on such issues as development, ecological shock, law and the controversial division of village lands, as the British operated in a politically turbulent climate, often within their own administration."

**Laura Zittrain Eisenberg** (Carnegie Mellon University)
With **Neil Caplan** (Concordia University): ***Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities***
(Indiana University Press, updated 3rd edition, 502 pages, 2025)
Covering 1977-2023.

***My Enemy's Enemy: Lebanon in Early Zionist Imagination, 1900-1948***
(Wayne State University Press, 219 pages, 1994)

**Laura Zittain Eisenberg** & **Neil Caplan**
***Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities***
(Indiana University Press, 252 pages, 1998 / 2nd edition, 431 pages, 2010)

**Robert Eisenman**
***Islamic Law in Palestine and Israel: A History of the Survival of Tazimat and Sharia in the British Mandate and the Jewish State***
(Grave Distractions Publications, 2015)

**Bishop Riah Abu El-Assal** (Palestinian Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem 1998-2007)
***Caught in Between: The Story of an Arab-Christian Israeli***
(Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1999)

**Eliahu Elath**
***Zionism at the UN: A Diary of the First Days***
(Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976)
Translated by Michael Ben-Yitzhak

**Daniel Elazar** (Jerusalem Institute for Federal Studies), editor
***Governing Peoples and Territories***
(Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1983)
Conference papers, citing 100 worldwide examples of autonomy and self-rule.

**Issac Elazari-Volcani**
***Dairy Industry as a Basis for Colonisation in Palestine***
(Tel-Aviv: Palestine Economic Society, 1928)

***The Communistic Settlements in the Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(Tel-Aviv: Palestine Economic Society, 128pages, 1927)
See also the author's titles for the Jewish Agency in Palestine.

***Preliminary Report on the Agricultural Aspects of the Sugar Industry in Palestine***
(Tel-Aviv: Zionist Organisation Institute of Agriculture and Natural History/P.Z.E. Department of Commerce and Industry, 108 pages, 1924)

**Akiva Eldar** (*Ha'aretz, Al Monitor*) & **Idith Zertal** (University of Basel)
***Lords of the Land: The War for Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007***
(Nation Books, 576 pages, 2007, 2009)
Translated by **Vivian** Eden. Cites the settlers' movement as influencing Israeli Government policy. Chapter titles include *Soldiers of the Messiah* and *Everything is Legal in the Land of Israel.*

**Michael Eldridge**
***Churchill and the Jews: An Assessment of Two Recent Studies and Their Contemporary Relevance***
(Farnsfield: Olive Press, 22 pages, 2009)

**Syed Ali El-Edroos**
***The Hashemite Arab Army, 1908-1979 – An Appreciation and Analysis of Military Operations***
(Amman: Publishing Committee, 1980).
A great many useful maps.

**Khaled Elgindy** (Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft)
***Blind Spot: American and the Palestinians, from Balfour to Trump***
(Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 345 pages, 2019)

**Asaf Elia-Shalev**
***Israel's Black Panthers: The Radicals Who Punctured a Nation's Founding Myth***
(University of California Press, 344 pages, 2024)
The story of Moroccan Israeli Jews who challenged the ethnic hierarchy in the 1970s.

**Yaacov Eliav**
***Wanted***
(Shengold Publishers, 1984)
Translated from 1983 Hebrew original by **Mordecai Schreiber**. Relevant to the history of the Irgun.

**Uri Ben-Eliezer**
***War over Peace: One Hundred Years of Israel's Militaristic Nationalism***
(University of California Press, 315 pages, 2019)
Translated by **Shaul Vardi**. Publisher's blurb: "Violence and war have raged between Zionists and Palestinians for over a century, ever since Zionists, trying to establish a nation-state in Palestine, were forced to confront the fact that the country was already populated. Covering every conflict in Israel's history, War over Peace reveals that Israeli nationalism was born ethnic and militaristic and has embraced these characteristics to this day. In his sweeping and original synthesis, Uri Ben-Eliezer shows that this militaristic nationalism systematically drives Israel to solve its national problems by military means, based on the idea that the homeland is sacred and the territory is indivisible. When Israelis opposed to this ideology brought about change during a period that led to the Oslo Accords in the 1990s, cultural and political forces, reinforced by religious and messianic elements, prevented the implementation of the agreements, which brought violence back in the form of "new wars." War over Peace is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the role of ethnic nationalism and militarism in Israel as well as throughout the world"-

***Old Conflict, New War: Israel's Politics Toward the Palestinians***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

***The Making of Israeli Militarism***
(Indiana University Press, 278 pages, 1998)

**Elisha Efrat**

***Disputed Land: A Geopolitical Perspective on the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(Jerusalem: ABC, 309 pages, 2010)

***The Golan Heights: Occupation, Annexation, Negotiation***
(Jerusalem: ABC, 284 pages, 2009)
Translated by **Shoshana Michael-Zucker**.

***The West Bank and Gaza Strip: A Geography of Occupation and Disengagement***
(Routledge, 216 pages, 2006)

***The New Towns of Israel (1948-1988): A Reappraisal***
(München: Miverva 184 pages, 1989)

***Geography and Politics in Israel Since 1967***
(Cass, 225 pages, 1988)

***Israel's Map of Inequality in Spatial Development***
(offprint from *Geo Journal*, 11 pages, 1986)

***A Long-Term National Plan for Israel's Road Network***
(Jerusalem: Ministry of Interior, Planning Department, 18 pages, 1971)

***Physical Master Plan of the Jerusalem-Ashdod Region***
(Jerusalem: Ministry of Interior, Planning Department, 38 pages, 1967)

With **Ehud Gabrieli**: ***Physical Master Plan of the Northern Negev***
(Jerusalem: Ministry of Interior, Planning Department, 38 pages, 1966)

With **Jacob Dash**: ***The Israel Physical Master Plan***
(Jerusalem: Ministry of Interior, Planning Department, 91pages, 1964)

**Khaled Elgindy** (Brookings Institution)

***Blind Spot: America and the Palestinians from Balfour to Trump***
(Brookings Institution Press, 345 pages, 2019)

**Ghassan Elkahlout** (Director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies)

***Gaza's Cycle of Destruction and Rebuilding: Understanding the Actors, Dynamics, and Responses***
(Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 266 pages, 2024/2026)
Publisher's blurb: "an integrated, multidisciplinary, and comprehensive academic inquiry into Gaza wars and their drivers, actors, dynamic, paradigms, and responses. Unlike studies on the previous wars in Gaza, it seeks to present to the regional and global readership a different perspective towards the conflict—one that is authored by nearly a dozen Palestinian researchers and academics. It strives to steer away from the 'Northern'-dominated research space to present an informative, analytical, and thought-provoking argument. The book provides a combination of theoretical, thematic, and topical analysis of

the war. It is designed to guide the reader through the background and development of the events of the 2023 war. Put differently, the book's objective goes beyond tracing the historical roots of instability in Gaza. Instead, it directly addresses the Gaza Strip's contemporary context."

***Post-Oslo Reconstruction of Palestine, 1993-2000: From Rhetoric to Reality***
(University of York PhD thesis, 2001)

**Ahmed R. Elkashef**
***United States Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Arms Race, 1950-1966***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 211 pages, 1969)
Includes a supplement on the 'Arab View of Western Air' by Dr. Hassan Saab.

**Caroline Elkins**
***Legacies of Violence: A History of the British Empire***
(The Bodley Head, 875 pages, 2022)
Includes state terrorism in Palestine. See also: Co-edited with **Susan Pedersen**: ***Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century***.

**Mohammed El-Kurd** (*Mondoweiss* editor, *The Nation* correspondent, poet)
***Perfect Victims and the Politics of Appeal***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 256 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Why must Palestinians prove their humanity? And what are the implications of such an infuriatingly impossible task? With fearless prose and lyrical precision, Mohammed El-Kurd refuses a life spent in cross-examination. Rather than asking the oppressed to perform a perfect victimhood, El-Kurd asks friends and foes alike to look Palestinians in the eye, forgoing both deference and condemnation."

**Rasmus C. Elling** and **Sune Haugbolle**
***The Fate of Third Worldism in the Middle East: Palestine, Iran and Beyond***
(Oneworld Publications, 320 pages, 2024)
Contents: Foreword by the editors: *The Transformation of Third Worldism in the Middle East* / **Sorcha Thomson**: *Demystifying Third World Solidarity: Cuba and the Palestinian Revolution in the Seventies* / **Pelle Valentin Olsen**: *Nursing the Revolution: Norwegian Medical Support in Lebanon as Solidarity, 1976–1983* / **Simon Wolfgang Fuchs**: *Searching for Friends Across the Global South: Classified Documents, Iran, and the Export of the Revolution in 1983* / **Marral Shamshiri**: *The Gendered Politics of Dead Bodies: Obituaries, Revolutionaries, and Martyrs between the Iranian, Palestinian, and Dhufar Revolutions* / **Mohammad Ataie**: *Brothers, Comrades, and the Quest for the Islamist International: The First Gathering of Liberation Movements in Revolutionary Iran* / **Nathaniel George**: *Abu Jubran and Jabal ʿAmil Between the Palestinian and Iranian Revolutions* / **Maryam Alemzadeh**: *The Islamic Republic Party and the Palestinian Cause, 1979–80: A Discursive Transformation of the Third Worldist Agenda* / **Nasser Mohajer** and **Eskandar Sadeghi-Boroujerdi**: *Translation, Revolutionary Praxis, and the Enigma of Manuchehr Hezarkhani* / **Klaudia Wieser**: *The Front of our Friends:* Shu'un Falastiniyya *as an Archive of Palestinian Third Worldism* / **Rasmus C. Elling** and **Jahangir Mahmoudi**: *Fragile Solidarity: The Iranian Left and the Kurdish National Question in the 1979 Revolution* / **Sune Haugbolle**: *The 'Ends' of the Palestinian Revolution in the Fakhani Republic* / Afterword by **Toufoul Abou-Hodeib** and **Naghmeh Sohrabi**: *Towards a Praxis-Centred Historiography of Middle East Third Worldism*

**Deborah Ellis**
***Three Wishes: Palestinian and Israeli Children Speak***
(Groundwood Books, 2006)

**Marc H. Ellis**

***Reading the Torah Out Loud: A Journey of Lament and Hope***
(Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2007)
Note: on liberation theology. See also **Suzanne Scholz**.

***Israel and Palestine out of the Ashes: The Search for Jewish Identity in the Twenty-First Century***
(Pluto Press, 2002)

***Remember Deir Yassin: A Reflection on Memory and Justice***
(possibly Birzeit University, 1997)
Lecture to commemorate the 49th anniversary of the massacre at Deir Yassin.

**Marc H. Ellis** & **Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors

***Beyond Occupation: American Jewish, Christian and Palestinian Voices for Peace***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 1990)

**Marc H. Ellis** & **Daniel A. McGowan**, editors

***Remembering Deir Yassin: The Future of Israel and Palestine***
(New York City: Olive Branch Press, 1998)

**General George Fielding Eliot**

***Hate, Hope and High Explosives***
(Bobbs Merrill, 1948, plus other reprints)
A military man's reports in the spring of 1948 from such cities as Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Teheran, Bagdad, Amman, Athens, Istanbul & Ankara, Trieste, and Salonika. It includes statements of Haganah officers.

**Deborah Ellis**

***Three Wishes: Palestinian and Israeli Children Speak Out***
(Groundwood Publications, 110pp, 2004)

**Sharif S. Elmusa** (University of Cairo, United Nations) see also: POETRY

***Water Conflict: Economics, Politics, Law and Palestinian-Israeli Water Resources***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, 408 pages, 1998)

***Negotiating Water: Israel and the Palestinians***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, 1996)

***A Harvest of Technology: The Super-Green Revolution in the Jordan Valley***
(Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1994)

***The Water Issue and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Washington DC: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 18 pages, 1993)

**Lena El-Malak** (attorney)

***Stolen Nation: The Right to Reparation of Palestinian Refugees***
(IB Tauris / SOAS, 208 pages, 2024)

Includes land laws in Palestine from the Ottoman period 1858 to the British Mandate 1948; the legalisation of dispossession via Israeli legislation; and avenues of potential reparations.

**Nada Elia**

***Greater than the Sum of Our Parts: Feminism Inter/Nationalism & Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 200 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian activist Nada Elia unpacks Zionism, from its hyper militarism to incarceration, its environmental devastation, and gendered violence. She insists that Palestine's fate is linked through bonds of solidarity with other communities crossing racial and gender lines, weaving an intersectional feminist understanding of Israeli apartheid throughout her analysis. She also looks deeper into the interconnectedness of Palestine with Black, migrant, and queer movements, and with other indigenous struggles against settler colonialism, including that of Native Americans."

**Amos Elon**

***Jerusalem: City of Mirrors***
(Boston: Little – Brown, 1989; Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1990)
Also published as ***Jerusalem: Battlegrounds of Memory*** (Kodansha International, 1995)

***The Israelis: Founders and Sons***
(Rinehart & Winston, 1971 / Penguin, 1981, 1983)

with **Sana Hassan**: ***Between Enemies – A Compassionate Dialogue between an Israeli and an Arab***
(Andre Deutsch, 1974)

**Zvi Elpeleg** (Tel Aviv University and Colonel in the Israeli Army / Military Governor of the West Bank)

***Through the Eyes of the Mufti: The Essays of Had Amin Al-Hussaini***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 2009)
Translated by **Rachel Kessell**

***The Grand Mufti: Haj Amin Al-Hussaini, Founder of the Palestinian National Movement***
(Frank Cass, 1993)
Translated by **David Harvey**

**Eliyahu Elyashar** aka **Elie Eliachar** (Jewish Palestinian)

***Living with Jews***
(Weidenfeld &Nicolson, 238 pages, 1983)
Partly autobiographical. Translated by **Peretz Kidron** & **Marzell Kay**

***Israelis & Palestinians: Co-existence or – "The Credo of Elia Eliachar"***
(Tel Aviv: Gaalyah Cornfeld, 178 pages, 1977)
Edited by **Philip Gillon**; translated by **Tsippora Raphael**.
From the foreword: " based on chapters from … *Living with Palestinians*, by Elie Eliachar, published in 1975, augmented by numerous discussions I have had with him since."

***Sephardi Non-Presence***
(Tel Aviv: New Outlook, 1977)
Off-print from periodical.

**David Mandel:** ***The Road Ahead: Interview with Elie Eliachar***
(Tel Aviv: new Outlook, 1976)
Off-print from periodical.

***The Sephardim in Israel: Problems and Achievements***
(Jerusalem: Council of the Shepardi Community, 23 pages, 1971)

***Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs: Key to Arab-Jewish Coexistence***
(Jerusalem: Council of the Shepardi Community, 38 pages, 1970)

***A Jew in Palestine before the Royal Commission***
(Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 29 pages, 1936)

**English Zionist Federation**
***The Jewish National Fund and its Object***
(London: EZF/Legare Street Press, 26 pages, 2022)
Translated from German.

**Sai Englert** (Leiden University)
***Settler Colonialism: An Introduction***
(Pluto Press, 2022)

**Sai Englert**, **Michal Schatz**, and **Rosie Warren**, editors
***From the River to the Sea: Essays for a Free Palestine***
(Haymarket Books/Verso Books, 2023)
Contributors: Reda Abu Assi, Asmaa Abu Mezied, Tawfiq Abu Shomer, Khalil Abu Yahia, Dunia Aburahma, Spencer Ackerman, Hil Aked, Yousef Al-Akkad, Jamie Allinson, Hammam Alloh, Riya Al'Sanah, Soheir Asaad, Tareq Baconi, Rana Barakat, Omar Barghouti, Sara Besaiso, Ashley Bohrer, Haim Bresheeth-Zabner, Nihal El Aasar, Mohammed El-Kurd, Sai Englert, Noura Erakat, Samera Esmeir, Rebecca Ruth Gould, Toufic Haddad, Adam Hanieh, Khaled Hroub, Rashid Khalidi, Noah Kulwin, Saree Makdisi, Ghassan Najjar, Samar Saeed, Reema Saleh, Alberto Toscano, and Eyal Weizman, alongside a number of Palestinian writers published pseudonymously.

**Ayala H. Emmett**
***Our Sisters' Promised Land: Women, Politics and Israeli-Palestinian Coexistance***
(University of Michigan Press, 1996)

**James M. Ennes**
***Assault on the Liberty: The True Story of the Israeli Attack on an American Intelligence Ship***
(Random House, 1979)

**Mary Entwistle**
***Four Stories on Syrian Life, for Use in Primary and Kindergarten Schools***
(Syria & Palestine Relief Fund, pamphlet, 1918)

***Habeeb – Boy of Palestine***
(Church Missionary Society, 92 pages, 1924, 1927)

***If I Lived in Palestine***
('Junior Background Series no. 3' – 63 pages, Edinburgh House Press, 1929)

**Frank Henry Epp**

***Whose Land is Palestine? The Middle East Problem in Historical Perspective***
(Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 283 pages, 1971)

**Noura Erakat** (Rutgers University) and **John Reynolds** (National University of Ireland)
***Confronting Zionism: Decolonizing Palestine and Building the World Anew***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 288 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "colonial and racist in essence and practice. Tracing the history of the Zionist project, the establishment of the Israeli settler colonial state and development of its apartheid laws and institutions—plus the damning failure of diplomatic efforts, including the Oslo peace process—this book provides the concepts and tools for understanding the horrors unfolding in Palestine today. Erakat and Reynolds also provide a clear-eyed assessment of the role of international law, in a world where its relevance is increasingly in question. Taking lessons from ongoing inequalities in South Africa as well as anticolonial and socialist policies across the global south, *Confronting Zionism* argues that at this crucial historical juncture, decolonization in Palestine predicated on redistribution, reparations and refugee return remains the only just way forward."

**Noura Erakat** (Rutgers University)
***Justice for Some: Law and Question of Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 352 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Justice in the Question of Palestine is often framed as a question of law. Yet none of the Israel-Palestinian conflict's most vexing challenges have been resolved by judicial intervention. Occupation law has failed to stem Israel's settlement enterprise. Laws of war have permitted killing and destruction during Israel's military offensives in the Gaza Strip. The Oslo Accord's two-state solution is now dead letter. *Justice for Some* offers a new approach to understanding the Palestinian struggle for freedom, told through the power and control of international law. Focusing on key junctures—from the Balfour Declaration in 1917 to present-day wars in Gaza—Noura Erakat shows how the strategic deployment of law has shaped current conditions. Over the past century, the law has done more to advance Israel's interests than the Palestinians'. But, Erakat argues, this outcome was never inevitable. Law is politics, and its meaning and application depend on the political intervention of states and people alike. Within the law, change is possible. International law can serve the cause of freedom when it is mobilized in support of a political movement. Presenting the promise and risk of international law, *Justice for Some* calls for renewed action and attention to the Question of Palestine."

**Edward J. Erickson**
***Palestine: The Ottoman Campaigns of 1914-1918***
(Pen & Sword Military, 240 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "The campaigns fought by the Ottomans against the British in Palestine are often neglected in accounts of the Great War, yet they are fascinating from the point of view of military history and critically important because of their impact upon the modern Middle East. Edward Erickson's authoritative and absorbing account of the four-year struggle for control of Palestine between 1914 and 1918 of the battles fought for Suez, Sinai, Gaza, Jordan and Syria opens up this little-understood aspect of the global conflict and it does so in a strikingly original way, by covering the fighting from the Ottoman perspective. Using Turkish official histories and military archives, he recounts the entire course of the campaigns, from the initial attack by German-led Ottoman forces on Sinai and the Suez Canal, the struggle for Gaza and the outbreak of the Arab Revolt to the British offensives, the battle for Jerusalem, the Ottoman defeat at Megiddo and the rapid British advance which led to the capture of Damascus and Aleppo in 1918."

**C. Peter Erlinder**
***Shackled Dreams: A Palestinian's Struggle for Truth, Justice, and the American Way***

(National Liberty Fund, 224 pages, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "'Shackled Dreams" is a must-read for anyone interested in the status of civil rights in post-Sept. 11 America and the plight of pro-Palestinian activists. It describes the life and work of Dr. Sami Al-Arian, a former University of South Florida professor targeted by John Ashcroft's Justice Department as a result of his extraordinary efforts to raise awareness about human rights violations against Palestinians. The final section of the book contains illuminating interviews, speeches and articles by Al-Arian, who has been detained in Florida since Feb. 2003, where he is awaiting trial. More than anything, "Shackled Dreams" sets straight misconceptions about Al-Arian's case, tireless work and his beliefs. "The case of Dr. Sami Al-Arian will be seen by history as a defense of the best aspects of the U.S. Constitution that Sami has embraced, and in which he continues to have faith." --C. Peter Erlinder, William Mitchell College of Law. "In learning to fight McCarthyism through Jeffersonian liberalism, [Sami] became absolutely convinced that the American Muslim must find ways to replace the culture of bullet with the culture of ballot." --Agha K. Saeed, American Muslim Alliance. "Were it not for the suffering of... Sami Al-Arian, we Americans might still proudly proclaim that our judicial system deems the accused innocent until proven guilty." --Charles E. Butterworth, University of Maryland."
See also: **Sami Al-Arian**: ***Conspiring Against Joseph: Reflections of a Prisoner of Conscience in a Federal Penitentiary***
(National Liberty Fund, 238 pages, 2004)
With foreword by **Agha Sa'eed**; 62 poems. Publisher's blurb: "Offering an inside look into life in a federal penitentiary, "Conspiring Against Joseph" is a collection of 62 poems written by Professor Sami Al-Arian, a Palestinian-American political prisoner. His use of vivid imagery to describe day-to-day life in the suffocating prison will both astound and enrage readers who have never pictured such abuses. This beautiful anthology offers insightful commentary on subjects as diverse as the 56-year Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the American dream before and after 9/11. Al-Arian's unique, evocative style places the reader in the heart of the poem, whether set in 1948 Palestine or America during the Revolutionary War. At once, the writer displays wit, wisdom, imagination, deep spirituality and awe-inspiring perseverance. Al-Arian, who began writing poetry at the age of fifteen while a refugee in Egypt, composed this latest collection over a period of six months, while awaiting trial in the solitary confinement wing of Coleman Federal Penitentiary in Florida. Above all, his writing demonstrates survival in the face of oppression. Long after this struggle for freedom and justice is over, these words will serve as a haunting reminder of the oppression suffered by one advocate of freedom who spoke truth to power."

**Zahava Englard**
***Settling for More: From Jersey to Judea***
(Devora Publishing, 175 pages, 2010)

**Mrs. Steuart (Beatrice) Erskine** (Worked with the Arab Centre in the late 1930s)
***Palestine of the Arabs***
(George G Harrap, 1935)

**Rosemarie M. Esber** (consultant to the United Nations and the World Bank)
***Under the Cover of War: Expulsion of the Palestinians***
(Alexandria, Virginia: Arabicus Books & Media, 442 pages, 2008)
Author includes American Red Cross and oral history testimony, with an emphasis on November 1947-May 1948, when 400,000 Palestinians were driven from some 220 villages, town and key cities (Haifa and Jaffa). See also 2004 University of London PhD thesis, using UK archival records, ***War in Mandate Palestine: 29 November 1947 to 15 May 1948***.

**ESCO Foundation for Palestine**
***Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies***
(Yale University Press/Oxford University Press, 2 volumes, 1947, 1949; Kraus, 1970)

**Haggai Eshed**

***Reuven Shiloah: The Man Behind the Mossad: Secret Diplomacy in the Creation of Israel***
(Frank Cass, 1997)

**Aida Asim Essaid** (Director, King Hussein Foundation, Amman; formerly University of Jordan and Exeter University)

***Zionism and Land Tenure in Mandate Palestine***
(Routledge, 272 pages, 2014)
Researched and written with the support of Salman Abu Sitta and Ilan Pappe. Contents: The Politics of Landownership / The Legal Framework / Land Settlement, Transfers, and Disputes / Case Studies: Sarafand al-Kharab / The Village of Al-Haram / The Village of Yaquq/ reproduced letters to the editor of *The* Times in 1930. Publisher's blurb: "A fundamental aspect of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis is the territorial dispute which began long before the State of Israel was established. Analysing the land tenure system in Palestine under the administration of the British Mandate, this book questions whether, and to what extent, the land tenure system in Palestine facilitated Zionist land acquisition. The research uses benchmarks elaborated in the guidelines of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme as its analytical starting point, and looks at the formation and implementation of the land tenure system in Palestine. It goes on to place the penetration of Zionism into the land tenure system within the theoretical context of a colonial-settler framework, employing information from land registry records located at the Jordanian Department of Lands. Providing a political-historical analysis of the land tenure system from the end of Ottoman Rule until the end of the British Mandate, this book will be of interest to scholars and students of Middle Eastern History, Imperial and Colonial History, and Middle Eastern Politic"

**Eurabia** (European Co-ordinating Committee of Friendship Societies with the Arab World)

***Zionism and Racism: A Case to Answer***
(Eurabia, Paris, 26 pages, 1976)

**European Co-ordinating Committee of Friendship Societies with the Arab World**

***Zionism and Racism: A Case to Answer***
(Paris: EURABIA, 26 pages, ca. 1975-1976)

**European Council on Foreign Relations**

**Hugh Lovatt:** ***House in Disorder: How Europeans Can Help Palestinians Fix Their Political System***
(London: EDFR, 2023)

**Hugh Lovatt**: ***Back to Democracy: Europe, Hamas, and the Palestinian Elections***
(London: ECFR, 2021)

**Hugh Lovatt**: ***The End of Oslo: A New European Strategy on Israel-Palestine***
(London: ECFR, 2020)

**Hugh Lovatt**: ***Gaza's Fragile Calm: The Search for Lasting Stability***
(London: ECFR, ca. 2018)

**Valentina Azarova**: ***Israel's Unlawfully Prolonged Occupation: Consequences under an Integrated Legal Framework***
(London: ECFR, 2017)

**Omar Dajani** & **Hugh Lovatt**: ***Rethinking Oslo: How Europe Can Promote Peace in Israel-Palestine***
(London: ECFR, 15 pages, 2017)

**Hugh Lovatt**: ***Occupation and Sovereignty: Renewing EU Policy in Israel-Palestine***
(London: ECFR, 2017)

**Hugh Lovatt**: ***EU Differentiation and the Push for Peace in Israel-Palestine***
(London: ECFR, 15 pages, 2016)

**Mike Evans**
***Israel: America's Key to Survival***
(Bedford, Texas: Bedford Books, 1983)
Influential Christian Zionist book.

**Bruce J. Evensen**
***Truman, Palestine, and the Press: Shaping Conventional Wisdom at the Beginning of the Cold War***
(Greenwood Press, 1992)
Author concludes that Zionists and the mainstream press combined to steer President Truman to support the formation of an Israeli state.

**Boaz Evron** (*Ha'aretz* journalist)
***Jewish State or Israeli Nation?***
(Indiana University Press, 288 pages, 1995)
Zionist questions the exclusivity of a Jewish state. See also article, *Political Uses of the Holocaust,* in *Radical America*, Vol. 17 No.4, 1983)

**Gil Eyal**
***The Disenchantment of the Orient: Expertise in Arab Affairs and the Israeli State***
(Stanford University Press, 3209 pages, 2006)
Contents: What is mizrahanut? a methodological introduction -- The Jews underneath the Arab's mask: the experience of the Orient in the prestate period -- The field of Orientalist expertise before 1948 -- The struggle over jurisdiction, 1948-1953 -- The discourse about the Arab village -- Military intelligence and Middle Eastern studies.

**Yaron Ezrahi** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
***Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel***
(University of California Press / Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997)

**Fabian Society** (Labour Party-connected policy group)
***Palestine Controversy: A Symposium – Papers Prepared for the Fabian Colonial Bureau***
(Fabian Publications/Victor Gollancz, October 1945)
With an introduction by HN [Henry Noel] Brailsford.

**Siba Fahoum**, editor (b. Nazareth 1923)
***Palestinian Political Women Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Prisons***
(Beirut: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Lebanese Section 129 pages, 1975)

Published for International Women's Year 1975 and highlights, with photographs, some of the imprisoned women, and details of their torture.

**Elham Fakhro** (New York, Exeter and Harvard Universities, Chatham House)

***The Abraham Accords: The Gulf States, Israel, and the Limits of Normalization***
(Columbia University Press, 352 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In August 2020, Donald Trump announced that his administration had brokered a groundbreaking treaty between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, the first normalization agreement between Israel and an Arab state in more than twenty years. Soon afterward, Bahrain joined the agreements, known as the Abraham Accords. How were these treaties achieved, and why did the parties involved see normalization as in their interest? In what ways have the accords altered the Middle East's political landscape, and how have they affected the question of Palestine? This book is a groundbreaking in-depth analysis of the Abraham Accords, shedding new light on their causes and consequences. Elham Fakhro demonstrates how shared security concerns, economic interests, and regional political shockwaves led to a surprising strategic convergence between the Gulf states and Israel, setting the stage for covert relations to come out into the open. She examines the role of the Trump administration in negotiating the agreements and shows how the UAE and Bahrain have instrumentalized the accords to burnish their reputations in Western capitals. Fakhro underscores how Washington's Middle East policy shifted toward expanding the agreements at the expense of attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—with profound costs. Offering a critical lens on a much-hailed agreement, this book argues that the pursuit of normalization in isolation from a lasting solution to the conflict has entrenched the conditions that continually plunge the Middle East into crisis."

**Ghazi Falah** aka **Ghazi-Walid Falah**

***The Role of the British Administration in the Sedentarization of the Bedouin Tribes in Northern Palestine, 1918-1948***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, 83 pages, 1983)

***Patterns of Spontaneous Bedouin Settlement in Galilee***
(University of Durham, 61 pages, 1983)

**Ophir Falk** (Herzliya, Israel)

***Targeted Killings, Law and Counter-Terrorism Effectiveness: Does Fair Play Pay Off?***
(Routledge, 156 pages, 2023)

**Richard Falk**

***Unlocking the Middle East: The Writings of Richard Falk***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2003)

**James Fallows**

***Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy***
(New York City: Pantheon, Vintage Books, 1996)
American mainstream news of the era as political gamesmanship; tangential to coverage of Palestine.

**Muhammad El-Farra** (Jordanian Ambassador to the United Nations, 1965-1971; President of the UN Security Council, 1966)

***Years of No Decision***
(KPI, 1987)

**Najwa Qawar Farah**

***Rose Stones of Jerusalem***
(Leicester: Christians Aware, 2002)

***The Way of the Cross***
(Leicester: Christians Aware, 1999)

***A Continent Called Palestine: One Woman's Story***
(Triangle, 1996)
Focus on Christian women, including themes of Nazareth life, parenting, Palestinian exile, and threat to the region's Christian community. Foreword by Gareth Hewitt (Director of Amos Trust)
*An Illustrated Treasury of Palestinian Folk Tales* (Leicester: Christians Aware, ca. 2000s)

**László (Ladislas) Faragó** aka **Ladislas Farago**

***Palestine on the Eve***
(Putnam, 286 pages with 62 pages of plates, 1936)
Praised by Ronald Storrs; published as ***Palestine at the Crossroads***, in New York City: Putnam's, 1937)

**Muhammad Farah**

***Legal Status of Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 60 pages, 1975)

**Maurice Harry Farbridge**

***The Industrial Development of Palestine***
(London: Skeffington & Son, 31 pages, ca. 1919)
With a foreword by **Maurice A. Canney**.

**Hani Faris** aka **Hani A. Faris** (University of British Columbia, Vancouver)

***One in Three-Million: The Story of a Palestinian***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 1972)
Narrated by Ghazi Danial

**Nabih Amin Faris** (1906-1968, Palestinian professor, mainly of early Islam) As editor:

***The Arab Heritage***
(Princeton University Press, 1944, 1946 / New York: Russell & Russell, 1963)

**Esther Farmer**, **Rosalind Petchevsky** and **Sarah Sills**, co-editors

***A Land with a People: Palestinians and Jews Confront Zionism***
(Monthly review Press, 184 pages, 2021)
With foreword by **Noura Erakat**. Book based on a storytelling project of Jewish Voice for Peace in New York City; includes personal histories, photographs and poetry.

**Lieutenant Colonel Warner D. Farr**

***The Third Temple's Holy of Holies: Israel's Nuclear Weapons***
(Alabama, Maxwell Air Force Base: USAF Counterproliferation Center Future Warfare Series, 52 pages, 1999/ BiblioScholar, 2012 / US Department of Defense website: defense.gov)
Contents: 1948-1962: With French cooperation -- 1963-1973: Seeing the project through to completion -- 1974-1999: Bringing the bomb up the basement stairs. Appendix: Estimates of the Israeli nuclear arsenal.

**Major Roy Farran**

***Winged Dagger: Adventures on Special Service***
(Collins, 1948)

**Raouf Farrah** and **Suraya Dadoo**, editors

***Rising for Palestine: Africans in Solidarity for Decolonisation and Liberation***
(Pluto Press, 288 pages, 2025)
With a foreword by **Francesca Albanese**. Contents: Introduction: Entangled Struggles, Shared Liberation: Africa–Palestine and the Architecture of Empire – Raouf Farrah and Suraya Dadoo
1. Seeing Genocide, Ending Genocide – Ariella Aïsha Azoulay / 2. Growing Up Under Apartheid in Namibia: A Personal History of Genocide, Resistance, and Solidarity with Palestine – Jephta Uaravaera Nguherimo / 3. From the River to the Rift: The Global Struggle for Self-Determination in Palestine and the Congo – Kambale Musavuli / 4. You are being mass-murdered! Wait in line: Palestine as International Law's Breaking Point – Shahd Hammouri / 5. Reviving Global Solidarity for Palestinian Liberation – Fathi Nimer / 6. Palestine, Hamas and the Logic of Armed Resistance (interview with Basim Naim) – Suraya Dadoo / 7. Can South Africa's Palestine Solidarity Withstand its Internal Contradictions? – Roshan Dadoo / 8. The 2024 ACHPR Resolution on Palestine: A Moment of Reckoning for Africa's Commitment to Ending Colonial Domination – Saleh Hijazi / 9. Africa's Enduring Commitment to Palestine (interview with Amb. Abdal Karim Ewaida) – Raouf Farrah
10. Western Sahara and Palestine: A Shared History of Colonialism and Aspiration for Self-determination (interview with Amb. Malainin Lakhal) – Raouf Farrah / 11. Beyond Betrayal: Hope and Renewal in Kenya – Zahid Rajan / 12. Bodies In Motion: A Historical Convoy From the Maghreb to Gaza – Raouf Farrah / 13. On the Politics of Duplicity and Israeli Solutions to African Problems – Yotam Gidron / 14. Weaponising Faith: Christian Zionism in Africa – Suraya Dadoo
15. Occupation by Other Means: Israeli Technologies and the Repression of African Dissent – Kribsoo Diallo / 16. Africa and Palestine: Some Reflections on Decolonising Terror, Peace and Reparations – Amzat Boukary-Yabara / 17. The Climate Crisis, Imperialism and Palestine Liberation– Hamza Hamouchene / 18. The Rot is in the Frameworks: Exploring reactionary media models impacting Palestine and Sudan– Muzan Alneel / 19. Our Struggles Are One: Pan-African Feminists Keeping Palestine Solidarity Alive – Rosebell Kagumire / 20. Palestine and the Structural Limits of International Law and its Institutions – Maha Abdallah / Conclusion: No Liberation Without Action: Toward a Decolonial Practice of Solidarity – Raouf Farrah and Suraya Dadoo / Epilogue: 21. [New Gaza] – Marwan Makhoul / 22. [A Moment Before Death] – Dareen Tatour

**Leila H. Farsakh** aka **Leila Farsakh** (University of Massachusetts; Journal of Palestine Studies Editorial Board)

***Rethinking Statehood in Palestine: Self-Determination and Decolonization Beyond Partition.***
(University of California Press, 328 pages, 2021)
Available as a free e-book via: luminosoa.org.

With **Bashir Bashir**: ***The Arab and Jewish Questions: Geographies of Engagement in Palestine and Beyond***
(Columbia University Press, 2021)
Contributors also include: **Amal Ghazl**, **Brian Klug**, **Derek Penslar**, **Ella Shohat**, **Gil Anidjar**, **Hakem Al-Rustom**, **Jacqueline Rose**, **Maram Masarwi**, **Moshe Behar**, and **Yuval Evri**.

***Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel: Labour, Land and Occupation***
(Routledge, 264 pages, 2005)

***The Political Economy of Agrarian Change in the West Bank and Gaza***
(San Domenico de Fiesole, Italy: European University Institute, 17 pages, 2004)

***Palestinian Labour Flows to Israel: Migration, Occupation, and Structural Change in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 1967-2000***
(University PhD thesis, SOAS, 299 pages, 2002)

***The Implementation of Labor-Related Articles in the Protocol on Economic Relations between the Government of Israel and the PLO: A Critical Assessment***
(Jerusalem: MAS, 92 pages, 1999)

**Samih K. Farsoun** (see also work with **Elaine C. Hagopian**)
With **Naseer Hasan Aruri:** ***Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2006)

***Culture and Customs of the Palestinians***
(Greenwood Press, 2004)

With **Christina E. Zacharia**: ***Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997)

**Didier Fassin** (College de France; Medecins Sans Frontieres)
***How the World Failed to Stop the Destruction of Gaza***
(Verso Books, 128 pages, 2025)
Translated by **Gregory Elliott**. Critique of Western governments in the Gaza context.

**Al-Fateh (Al-Fatah), the PLO, the Palestine Research Center** (Beirut), and other bodies
Note: The Research Center was established in Beirut, 1964-1965. See separate entry section for the **Palestine Research Center** (Beirut).
Numerous publications in English by the Palestine National Liberation Movement, eg:
**Hatem I. Hussaini**: ***In Solidarity with Palestine***
(Washington, DC: P.L.O. Palestine Information Office, 44 pages, 1982)

**Hatem I. Hussaini**: ***Toward Peace in Palestine***
(Washington, DC: P.L.O. Palestine Information Office, 63 pages, 1981)

***Palestine Liberation Organization: a Brief Survey***
(Washington, DC: P.L.O. Palestine Information Office, 28 pages, 1979)

***The Other Face of Palestinian Resistance***
(London: PLO, 11 pages, 1976, 1981)
Focus on social and welfare services.

**Clovis Maksoud** (Arab League representative): ***Palestine Lives – Interviews with Leaders of the Resistance***
(Palestine Research Center, 1973)
Participants: **Khalid al-Hassan** [Fateh], **Abu Iyad** [Fateh], **George Habash** [PFLP], **Nayef Hawatmeh** [DFLP aka PDFLP], **Sami al-Attari** [Saʾiqa], and **A. W. Saʾid** [Arab Liberation Front]; with introduction by **Clovis Maksoud**

**Khalid Kishtainy**: ***The New Statesman and the Middle East***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1972)
Thorough unpacking of the Labour Party-leaning magazine's consistent Zionist bias.

**Michael E. Jansen**: ***The Three Basic American Decisions on Palestine***
(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Center, 46pp, 1971)

See author's entry.

***The Aims of the Palestinian Resistance Movement with Regard to the Jews: Quotations from Resistance Leaders and Documents***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center; Fifth of June Society, 14 pages, 1970)
Selections arguing that a democratic Palestinian state would have a place for non-Zionist Jews. Likely similar to *Towards a Democratic State in Palestine, Political Program of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh* (Washington DC: Middle East Research and Information Project, 21pp, 1970)

***The Palestinian Freedom Fighters and the World Press: Selections from May 1968 to March 1969***
(articles from mainly London newspapers reprinted).

***Revolution until Victory***
(Palestinian Liberation Movement, Fateh and Al-Tali'a, 30pp, ca 1969)

***A Dialogue with Fateh***
(Palestinian Liberation Movement, Fateh and Al-Tali'a, 104pp, 1969)

**Michael W. Suleiman, Adawia Alami,** & **H.H.**: ***Essays on the American Public Opinion & the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 192pp, February 1969)
Essay titles include: *The Middle East Crisis of 1967 and the New York Times*; *The Mass Media and the June War*; and *The Treatment of the Arab World in Selected American Textbooks for Children*

***The 'Activities' of the Hagana, Irgun and Stern Bands: as Recorded in British Command Paper No. 6873***
(New York: The Palestine Liberation Organization, 19 pages, 1968)
With foreword by **Dr. Izzat Tannous**.

**Leonora Stradalova**: ***Today the Palestinian People are Resisting, but…There Will Come Tomorrow***
(Al-Fatah, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, 47pp, 1968)
Collection of the author's articles, originally published in Al-Mosawwar and Jeune Afrique.

***The Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh***
(Beirut?: Fateh, 19 pages, ca. 1968)

***The Palestine Question: Seminar of Arab Jurists on Palestine – Algiers, 22-27 July 1968***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 203pp, 1968)

***The Freedom Fighters***
(Al-Fatah, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, 8 pages, 1968)

**Benoit Faucon**
***West Bankers: From Arafat to Hamas – How Money Made and Ruined the PLO and How it Can Bounce Back***
(London: Mashreq Editions, 2010)

**C. Brad Faught** (Tynedale University, Toronto)
***Cairo 1921: Ten Days That Made the Middle East***
(Yale University Press, 320 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Called by Winston Churchill in 1921, the Cairo Conference set out to redraw the map of the Middle East in the wake of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The summit established the states of Iraq and Jordan as part of the Sherifian Solution and confirmed the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine – the future state of Israel. No other conference had such an enduring impact on the region. C. Brad Faught demonstrates how the conference, although dominated by the British with limited local participation, was an ambitious if ultimately unsuccessful attempt to move the Middle East into the world of modern nationalism. Faught reveals that many officials, including T. E. Lawrence and Gertrude Bell, were driven by the determination for state building in the area to succeed. Their prejudices, combined with their abilities, would profoundly alter the Middle East for decades to come."

**Neil Faulkner**

***Lawrence of Arabia's War: The Arabs, the British and the Remaking of the Middle East in WWI***

(Yale University Press, 2017)

Lawrence's military campaigns seen through the lens of Arab independence.

**Lutz Fiedler**

***Matzpen: A History of Israeli Dissidence***

(Edinburgh University Press, 472 pages, 2020)

Publisher's Blurb: "This book explores the history of the Israeli Socialist Organization – Matzpen (compass) – that splintered off from the Communist Party of Israel in 1962. After the Six Day War of June 1967, Matzpen shook Israeli society, calling for a withdrawal from the recently occupied territories, and placing itself outside the national consensus. Even before the war, the group emphasised the colonial dimension of the conflict between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, which was irresolvable within the paradigm of the nation-state. Matzpen instead advocated for Israel's de-Zionisation and a socialist revolution in the Middle East in order to both restore the rights of Palestinian Arabs and guarantee the existence of Israeli Jews as a new Hebrew nation. However, in the era after Auschwitz, when the Jewish world stood in almost unanimous solidarity with the Jewish state, Matzpen's radical perspective was at odds with the history and memory of the Holocaust. Against this backdrop, this study places Matzpen's political stance in its historical context and sheds new light on the political culture of Israel."

**Michael Feige**

***Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories***

(Wayne State University Press, 2009)

Gush Emunim focus.

**Gil Feiler**

***From Boycott to Cooperation: The Political Economy of the Arab Boycott of Israel***

(Routledge/Frank Cass Publishing, 335 pages, 1998)

"In the early 1990s, the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce estimated the forty-year cost of the boycott to Israel at $45 billion."- **Hil Aked**. Contents: 1. The theory and practice of economic sanctions and the Arab boycott -- 2. The history of the Arab boycott and its administration -- 3. The legal debate around economic sanctions -- 4. The boycott of Israel: the Arab perspective -- 5. Loopholes in the application of the boycott -- 6. Israel's anti-boycott campaign -- 7. The policy of the United States -- 8. The policy of the major west European countries -- 9. The attitude of the European community -- 10. The policies of Japan, South Korea, Australia and Canada -- 11. The boycott's effectiveness and cost -- 12. From boycott to economic cooperation.

**Eran Feitelson** & **Marwan Haddad**, editors

***Management of Shared Groundwater Resources: The Israeli-Palestinian Case with an International Perspective***
(Kluwer Academic, 496 pages, 2001)
Contents: pt. I. Problems and Approaches to Groundwater Management. Management of Shared Aquifers / Marwan Haddad, Eran Feitelson and Shaul Arlosoroff. Islamic Approach to the Environment and Sustainable Groundwater Management / Marwan Haddad -- pt. II. Israeli-Palestinian Case. Overview of the Mountain Aquifer / Yoav Harpaz, Marwan Haddad and Shaul Arlosoroff. Water Resource Management in Israel / Shaul Arlosoroff. Need for Joint Management and Monitoring of the Water "Usage" Cycle / Karen Assaf. Turonian-Cenomanian Aquifer / Yona Kahane. Legal and Administrative Responsibility of Domestic Water Supply to the Palestinians / Taher Nassereddin.

**T.R. Feiwel** [aka **Tosco Fyvel**]
***No Ease in Zion***
(Secker & Warburg, 1938)
Tosco Fyvel became perhaps George Orwell's best mate, and a keen Zionist during the Second World War. To his credit, Orwell agreed to disagree, recognising the colonialist project for what it was. This 1938 work is surprisingly questioning of the Jewish takeover of Palestine and assesses the immigrant movements from both Europe and the USA, noting various housing booms.

**Marjorie N. Feld**
***The Threshold of Dissent: A History of American Jewish Critics of Zionism***
(New York University Press, 288 pages, 2024)
Contents: 1 Jewish Anti-and Non-Zionism: The Reform Movement in the Early Twentieth Century -- 2 The Jews in Revolt: William Zukerman, the Jewish Newsletter, and Midcentury Critics of American Zionism -- 3 "Israel—Right or Wrong" Anticolonialism, Freedom Movements, and American Jewish Life -- 4 The Threshold of Dissent in the 1980s: New Jewish Agenda and American Civil Rights -- Conclusion: American Jewish Critics of Zionism and the Cost of a Forced Consensus -- Coda: A New Chapter in American Jewish Dissent?

***Nations Divided: American Jews and the Struggle over Apartheid***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 245 pages, 2014)
Focus on South African Apartheid and Zionism.

**Keith P. Feldman**
***A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America***
(University of Minnesota Press, 314 pages, 2015)
Focus on 1960-1985, such as the Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) group, which included Edward Said, Ibrahim Abu Lughod, and Elaine Hagopian.

**Ilana Feldman** (George Washington University)
***Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Predicaments and Palestinian Refugee Politics***
(University of California Press, 336 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian refugees' experience of protracted displacement is among the lengthiest in history. In her breath-taking new book, Ilana Feldman explores this community's engagement with humanitarian assistance over a seventy-year period and their persistent efforts to alter their present and future conditions. Based on extensive archival and ethnographic field research, *Life Lived in Relief* offers a comprehensive account of the Palestinian refugee experience living with humanitarian assistance in many spaces and across multiple generations. By exploring the complex world constituted through humanitarianism, and how that world is experienced by the many people who inhabit it, Feldman asks pressing questions about what it means for a temporary status to become chronic. How do people in

these conditions assert the value of their lives? What does the Palestinian situation tell us about the world? Life Lived in Relief is essential reading for anyone interested in the history and practice of humanitarianism today."

***Police Encounters: Security and Surveillance in Gaza under Egyptian Rule***
(Stanford University Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: Egypt came to govern Gaza as a result of a war, a failed effort to maintain Arab Palestine. Throughout the twenty years of its administration (19481967), Egyptian policing of Gaza concerned itself not only with crime and politics, but also with control of social and moral order. Through surveillance, interrogation, and a network of local informants, the police extended their reach across the public domain and into private life, seeing Palestinians as both security threats and vulnerable subjects who needed protection. Security practices produced suspicion and safety simultaneously. "Police Encounters" explores the paradox of Egyptian rule. Drawing on a rich and detailed archive of daily police records, the book describes an extensive security apparatus guided by intersecting concerns about national interest, social propriety, and everyday illegality. In pursuit of security, Egyptian policing established a relatively safe society, but also one that blocked independent political activity. The repressive aspects of the security society that developed in Gaza under Egyptian rule are beyond dispute. But repression does not tell the entire story about its impact on Gaza. Policing also provided opportunities for people to make claims of government, influence their neighbors, and protect their families."

***Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority and the Work of Rule, 1917-1967***
(Duke University Press, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: Feldman analyzes civil service in Gaza under the British Mandate (1917-1948) and the Egyptian Administration (1948-1967). In the process, she sheds light on how governing authority is produced and reproduced; how government persists, even under conditions that seem untenable; and how government affects and is affected by the people and places it governs. Feldman draws on archival research in Gaza, Cairo, and Jerusalem and two years of ethnographic research in Gaza involving interviews with retired civil servants. She argues that the authority and tenacity of government in Gaza were derived from the minutiae of its daily practice: the repetitions of filing procedures, the accumulation of documents, and the habits of civil servants. The unstable governing conditions that almost always existed in Gaza, which provided so little foundation for ruling authority, illuminate with particular clarity the significance that bureaucratic practice has for government. Feldman explains that the difficulties endemic to Gaza were managed through "tactical government," a mode of rule that makes limited claims about governmental capacity, shifts in response to crisis, often works without long-term planning, and presumes little stability in governing conditions. Tactical governing enables government to carry on without claiming legitimacy, precisely by holding the question of legitimacy in abeyance. The Israeli-captured archives from the 1967 war were closed to researcher access while the author was in fact doing her research.

**Keith P. Feldman** (University of California at Berkeley, 2015)
***A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America***
(University of Minnesota Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Focusing on the period from 1960 to 1985… Feldman deftly analyzes how artists, intellectuals, and organizations—from the United Nations, the Black Panther Party, and the Association of Arab American University Graduates to James Baldwin, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Edward Said, and June Jordan—linked the unfulfilled promise of liberal democracy in the United States with the perpetuation of settler democracy in Israel and the possibility of Palestine's decolonization."

**Eitan Felner**
***A Policy of Discrimination: Land Expropriation, Planning, and Building in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1997)

With **Yuval Ginbar**: ***Playing with Fire on the Temple Mount: Use of Lethal and Excessive Force by the Israel Police Force***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1996)

**Tovi Fenster** (Tel Aviv University)
***Home, History and Possession in Israel-Palestine***
(Routledge, 254 pages, 2024/2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Taking a micro-geographical approach to Israeli-Palestinian relations, this book analyses the history of space and place in West Jerusalem and Jaffa in the context of specific addresses. Based on the unique and innovative 'archaeology of addresses' methodology, the book provides an in-depth analysis of 11 specific sites. This 'micro' perspective – paying particular attention to the history and past ownership of an individual property – allows the author to draw new insights into the process of 'population exchange' that took place in 1948 when Jewish people began to populate Palestinian deserted homes after the *Nakba*. By looking at archival planning documents, the histories of addresses as 'contact zones' between previous and current owners are revealed. Moreover, the research on each address highlights new theoretical understandings, encompassing: the micro-politics of the contact zone; mediated agonism; ruinations and beginnings; creative destruction in urban planning; the right to the city and the right to return; the violence of property; and fragmented settler colonialism. The book concludes by proposing practical applications of the research in teaching and planning practice."

**Bernard Edward Fergusson (Lord Ballantrae)**
***The Trumpet in the Hall, 1930-1958***
(Collins, 1970)
Commander of the 'Police Mobile Force' in Mandate Palestine, from 1946.

**Pamela Ferguson**
***The Palestine Problem***
(Martin Brian & O'Keeffe, 1973)
Palestinian resistance movements, 1948-1973.

**Belen Fernandez**
***Martyrs Never Die: Travels through South Lebanon***
(Warscapes Magazine, 2016)
Tangential to the Palestinians, with Israel's invasion(s) into Lebanon and the Palestinian consequences.

**Jesse Ferris**
***Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Sox-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power***
(Princeton University Press, 342 pages, 2013)
Contents: The Road to War -- The Soviet-Egyptian Intervention in Yemen -- Food for "Peace": The Breakdown of US-Egyptian Relations, 1962-65 -- Guns for Cotton: The Unraveling of Soviet-Egyptian Relations, 1964-66 On the Battlefi eld in Yemen-and in Egypt -- The Fruitless Quest for Peace: Saudi-Egyptian Negotiations, 1964-66 -- The Six-Day War and the End of the Intervention in Yemen.

**Ofir Feuerstein**
***Ghost Town: Israel's Separation Policy and Forced Eviction of Palestinians from the Center of Hebron***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 2007)

**David Kenneth Fieldhouse**

***Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958***

(Oxford University Press, 2006)

**Roger Fieldhouse**

***Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain***

(London: Merlin Press, 2005)

Mainly a focus on South African anti-apartheid movement in the UK starting from the 1950s, with tangential referencing to Palestine.

**Gary Fields**

***Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror***

(University of California Press, 2017) Publisher's blurb: "Focusing on the English enclosures (which eradicated access to common land across the English countryside), Amerindian dispossession in colonial America, and Palestinian land loss, Fields shows how exclusionary landscapes have emerged across time and geography. Evidence that the same moral, legal, and cartographic arguments were used by enclosers of land in very different historical environments challenges Is rael's current claim that it is uniquely beleaguered. This comparative framework also helps readers in the United States and the United Kingdom understand the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in the context of their own histories."

**Michael A. Figueroa** (University of North Carolina)

***City of Song: Music and the Making of Modern Jerusalem***

(Oxford University Press, 240 pages, 2022)

Focus on the 1880s-2010.

**Jean-Pierre Filiu** (Sciences Po, Paris; Columbia University; Georgetown University)

***A Historian in Gaza***

(Hurst, 200 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "Noted historian of Gaza, Jean-Pierre Filiu, spent a month there between December and January 2025. This is his up-close, immersive documentary of reality inside the Palestinian enclave. Filiu is a historian who specialises in Gazan history (Gaza: A History, Winner of the Middle East Monitor Palestine Book Award and a Guardian Book of the Year) and has travelled there regularly since 1980. He also knows the Arabic dialect spoken there. In December, 2024, he once again crossed into Gaza, albeit under unimaginably different circumstances: at the time, only two convoys per week were allowed through the border crossings. In January 2025, Filiu returned. Writing in a lyrical but frank tone, he reveals a portrait of grim reality, delivering a book that is in part war reportage, and in part a narrative of human suffering. People living in Gaza must fight to find fresh water, eat proper meals, move from one city to another and struggle to obtain medical care if wounded. These quotidian are described in a manner that forces us to confront what is happening in Gaza every single day."

***Gaza: A History***

(Hurst, 640 pages, 2014, 2015, 2024)

Translated by John King. Just what it states and, amazingly, the first comprehensive book! Praised by the *Guardian, Sunday Times, Independent, New York Review of Books,* etc.

**Paul Findley** (former U.S. Congressman from Illinois, deposed by the Israeli lobby)

***Silent no More: Confronting America's False Images of Islam***

(Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 2001)

***Deliberate Deceptions: Facing the Facts about the U.S.-Israeli Relationship***

(Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1993)

***They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby***
(Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1985 / 1989 / 1993, 2003)
See also: Stephen J. Sniegoski.

**Kais M. Firro**
***The Druzes in the Jewish State: A Brief History***
(Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1999)

**Michael R. Fischbach**
***The Movement and the Middle East: How the Arab-Israeli Conflict Divided the American Left***
(Stanford University Press, 312 pages, 2019)
Topics include the 1970s American Jewish shift toward the GOP, as defending Israeli policy became part of that party's foundation, and the split in American feminism over Palestinian rights via SNCC in 1968.

***Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color***
(Stanford University Press, 2018)

***Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries***
(Columbia University Press, 2007-2008)
Shows that claims of deprived properties of Mizrahi expats to Israel were in a ratio of 22:1 in favour of the Palestinians.

***The Peace Process and Palestinian Refugee Claims: Addressing Claims for Property Compensation and Restitution***
(US Institute of Peace, 2006)

As **Michael Fischbach**: ***Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Columbia University Press, 2003)
Publisher's blurb: "No issue in the Arab-Israeli conflict has proven more intractable than the status of the Palestinian refugees. This work focuses on the controversial question of the property left behind by the refugees during the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. Beyond discussing the extent of the refugees' losses and detailing the methods by which Israel expropriated this property, the book also notes the ways that the property question has affected, and in turn been affected by, the wider Arab-Israeli conflict over the decades. It shows how the property question influenced Arab-Israeli diplomacy and discusses the implications of the fact that the question remains unresolved despite numerous diplomatic efforts. From late 1947 through 1948, more than 726,000 Palestinians-over half the entire population-were uprooted from their homes and villages. Though some middle class refugees were able to flee with liquid capital, the majority were small-scale farmers whose worldly fortunes were the land, livestock, and crops they left behind. This book tells for the first time the full story of how much property changed hands, what it was worth, and how it was used by the fledgling state of Israel. It then traces the subsequent decades of diplomatic activity on the issue and publishes previously secret UN estimates of the scope and value of the refugee property. Michael Fischbach offers a detailed study of Israeli counterclaims for Jewish property lost in the Arab world, diplomatic schemes for resolving the conflict, secret compensation efforts, and the renewed diplomatic efforts on behalf of property claims since the onset of Arab-Israeli peace talks. Based largely on archival records, including those of the United Nations Conciliation Commission of Palestine, never before available to the public and kept under lock and key in the UN archives, Records of Dispossession is the first detailed historical examination of the Palestinian refugee property question."

**Stanley Fischer**, **Dani Rodrik**, and **Elias H. Tuma**, editors
***The Economics of Middle East Peace: Views from the Region***
(MIT Press, 170 pages 1993)

**Sydney Nettleton Fisher** (Ohio State University)
***The Middle East: A History***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul / McGraw Hill, etc, 1959, 1971, 2011)

As editor: ***Social Forces in the Middle East***
(Greenwood Press, 1968)
Princeton University conference papers, 1952.

**Louis A. Fishman** (Brooklyn College, City University of New York)
***Jews and Palestinians in the Late Ottoman Era, 1908-1914: Claiming the Homeland***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2019)
Challenges previous work on late Ottoman Palestine; Argues that a unique sense of Palestinian identity emerged even before World War One; Claims some Zionists imagined a Jewish national home within an Ottoman framework; Transforms our current understanding of the roots of this century-long conflict; Based on documents in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew and French

**Simha Flapan** (1911-1987; a leading 'new historian' using declassified Israeli archival materials; Mapan Party, founder-director of the Jewish-Arab Institute & the Israeli Peace Research Institute, editor of *New Outlook*)
***The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities***
(Pantheon/Croom Helm, 1987)
"The strategic objective was to destroy the urban communities, which were the most organised an politically conscious sections of the Palestinian people. This was not done by house-to-house fighting inside the cities and towns, but by the conquest and destruction of the rural areas surrounding most of the towns. This technique led to the collapse and surrender of Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Safed, Acre, Lydda, Raml, Majdal, and Beersheba. Deprived of transportation, food, and raw materials, the urban communities underwent a process of disintegration, chaos, and hunger, which forced them to surrender." – Quoted by Ilan Pappe in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

***When Enemies Dare to Talk: An Israeli-Palestinian Debate (5-6 September 1978), Organised by 'New Outlook'***
(Croom Helm, 1979)
Author was founder-editor of the monthly *New Outlook*.

***Zionism and the Palestinians***
(Croom Helm, 1979)
Note: See Merle Thorpe, Jr.

**Eric Fleisch** (Pennsylvania State University)
***Checkbook Zionism: Philanthropy and Power in the Israel-Diaspora Relationship***
(Rutgers University Press, 250 pages, 2024)
Despite Jewish National Fund (JNF) corruption, American donors are depicted as sentimental, unquestioning, and subject to herd thinking.

With **Theodore Sasson**: ***The New Philanthropy: American Jewish Giving to Israeli Organisations***
(Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, 2012)

**Ellen L. Fleischmann**

***The Nation and its New Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948***
(University of California Press, 2003)
Extraordinary research.

**Dan Fleshler**
***Transforming America's Israel Lobby: The Limits of its Power and the Potential for Change***
(Washington DC: Potomac Books, 267 pages, 2009)

**Chris Flom**
***Justifying Peace***
(author, 2012)
Travelogue during the Second Intifada.

**Archibald Forder**
***In and About in Palestine***
(R.T.S.: 191 pages, 1919)
Travelogue with photographs.

**Ronald Florence**
***Lawrence and Aaronsohn: T.E. Lawrence, Aaron Aaronsohn and the Seeds of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Viking Press, 480 pages, 2007)
See also Alexander Aaronsohn: *With the Turks in Palestine* (Houghton Mifflin, 84 pages, 1916)

**HM Foreign Office**
***The Christian Communities in Jerusalem 1948-1967***
(Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1978)

**Arnold Forster** and **Benjamin R. Epstein** (both of the Anti-Defamation League)
***The New Anti-Semitism***
(McGraw Hill, 354 pages, 1974)
An early published marker of defining antisemitism as criticism of Israel, rather than Jew-hatred.

**Zachary J. Foster**
***The Invention of Palestine***
(Princeton University thesis, proquest.com, 281 pages, 2017)
Author's abstract: "Palestine exists in our minds, not in nature. If Palestine doesn't exist, why do we identify with it? We identify with Palestine, first, because it has a name. In fact, we only identify with places we've named. Unnamed places, such as 22°29'05"N 22.48 to 53°46'19"E 53.77, have no identities based on them. But we don't identify with every place we've named. We need to hear stories about a place if we are going to identify with it, stories about famines and wars, conquests and tribes, history, geography, economy, archeology and millions more topics. The more engaging the stories, the more likely we are to identify with places like Palestine. We also make maps of places like Palestine. The more maps we make, the more likely we are to identify with places like Palestine as well. Finally, we distinguish Palestine from other places. We exaggerate its glory and beauty and claim we have a special relationship to it. This dissertation explains when, how and why it all happened."

***Arab History in Mandatory Palestine***
(University thesis, proquest.com, 82 pages, 2012)

**Gavin Fowells**, as author and compiler:

***Carry on Winston***

(Aberystwyth: Gavin Fowells, 2017)

Four volumes, with Volume Three containing *Civil Disabilities of the Jews*. Earlier version, unconfirmed relevance to Palestine: *Churchill and a View Beyond – Carry on Winston* (Pioneer Press, 140 pages, 2015)

**Edward Fox**

***Palestine Twilight: The Murder of Dr Glock and the Archaeology of the Holy Land***

(HarperCollins, 2001; 277 pages, 2008)

A revised edition of *Sacred Geography*. Publisher's blurb: "Part travelogue, part true-thriller, Edward Fox's brilliantly original book investigates the murder of a US archaeologist on the West Bank in 1992 and opens up the Palestinian world he served – a Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil of Palestine and the West Bank."

**Abdallah Frangi**

***The PLO and Palestine***

(Zed Books, 256 pages, 1983)

Translated from German by **Paul Knight**.

**Lisa Maria Franke**

***At the Doors of Paradise: Discourses of Female Self-Sacrifice, Martyrdom and Resistance in Palestine***

(Würzburg: Ergon, 2015)

Publisher's blurb: "The participation of Palestinian women in active combat has triggered complex – verbal, visual, written – discourses about the *istishadiyat* within Palestinian society, which are analysed from a gender perspective. The present study demonstrates that no single discourse regarding the *istishadiyat* prevails in Palestinian society. It is rather a conglomerate of power relations and interests in which this controversial topic is negotiated."

**David Frankel** & **Will Reissner**

***Israel's War Against the Palestinian People***

(Pathfinder, 45 pages, 1988)

Contents: David Frankel – Palestine's Struggle for Freedom, the Marxist View / Will Reissner – Why Israel is Always at War.

**Oz Frankel** (New School for Social Research)

***Coca-Cola, Black Panthers, and Phanton Jets: Israel in the American Orbit, 1967-1973***

(Stanford University Press, 392 pages, 2024)

Publisher'sblurb: "In the late 1960s, Israel became more closely entwined with the United States not just as a strategic ally but also through its intensifying intimacy with American culture, society, and technology. *Coca-Cola, Black Panthers, and Phantom Jets* shows how transatlantic exchanges shaped national sentiments and private experiences in a time of great transition, forming a consumerist order, accentuating social cleavages, and transforming Jewish identities. Nevertheless, there remained lingering ambivalence about, and resistance to, American influences. Rather than growing profoundly "Americanized," Israelis forged unique paths into the American orbit. As supporters and immigrants, American Jews assumed an ambiguous role, expediting but also complicating the Israeli-American exchange. Taking an expansive view of Israeli–American encounters, historian Oz Frankel reveals their often unexpected consequences, including the ripple effects that the rise of Black Power had on both

extremes of Israeli politics, the adoption of American technology that fed the budding Israeli military-industrial complex, the consumerist ideologies that ensnared even IDF soldiers and Palestinians in the newly occupied territories, and the cultural performances that lured Israelis to embrace previously shunned diasporic culture. What made the racial strife in the US and the tensions between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews in Israel commensurable? How did an American military jet emerge as a national fixation? Why was the US considered a paragon of both spectacular consumption and restrained, rational consumerism? In ten topical chapters, this book demonstrates that the American presence in Israel back then, as it is today, was multifaceted and contradictory."

**G.E. Franklin**

***Palestine Depicted and Described***

(J.M. Dent & Sons, 219 pages, 1911)

Contains 376 photographs by the author.

**Seth J. Frantzman** (*Jerusalem Post*, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Washington DC)

***The October 7 War: Israel's Battle for Security in Gaza***

(New York City: Wicked Son Press/Simon & Schuster, 326 pages, 2024)

***Drone Wars: Pioneers, Killing Machine, Artificial Intelligence, and the Battle for the Future***

(New York City: Bomardier Books/Post Hill Press, 267 pages, 2021)

**Antonia Fraser**

***Our Israeli Diary: Of That Time, Of That Place, 8-22 May 1975***

(Oneworld, 158 pages, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "In May 1978 Harold Pinter and Antonia Fraser visited Israel at the time of the 30th Anniversary of Independence. It was three years after they first lived together; neither had set foot in Israel before. Based in Jerusalem, they toured many of the country's historic sites: from Bethlehem to the fortress of Masada, encountering future Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Mayor of Jerusalem Teddy Kollek, Jackie Kennedy and a long-lost cousin of Harold's on a kibbutz. It was a trip during which Pinter's feelings about his heritage emerged for the first time. As he said himself: 'For the first time I feel Jewish'. This diary was kept daily by Antonia Fraser: the vivid narrative and descriptions (Antonia swimming in the Dead Sea while Harold had a beer) are leavened with humour, occasionally wry where Harold's quirks were concerned, and always tender. Above all, it is a unique picture of a time and place – and a touching insight into fifteen days in the lives of two writers, one Jewish, one Catholic, one a playwright and one a biographer, who were also a devoted couple."

**Ronnie Fraser** (Founder of Academic Friends of Israel)

***British Trade Unions, the Labour Party, and Israel's Histadrut***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 322 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "This book explores the British Labour Party and the trade unions and how their relationship with the Jews of Palestine and Israel has evolved over the past one hundred years. It also reflects the changing attitudes of the Labour Party and the unions towards the persecution of the Jews, a Jewish homeland in Palestine, Israel and antisemitism. An in-depth examination of critical events in European and Middle East history reveals the links between British unions and their Israeli union counterpart, the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour), and sets out the circumstances in which the unions went from backing the Labour Party's 1917 war aims declaration, which called for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, through to the present day, which sees the unions promoting campaigns for boycotts and sanctions against the State of Israel."

**Ronnie Fraser** (Founder of Academic Friends of Israel) and **Lola Fraser**, editors:
***Challenging the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement: 20 Years of Responding to Anti-Israel Campaigns***
(Routledge, 263 pages, 2023)
Zionist
defence of the Palestinian rights movement.

**T.G. Fraser**
***Partition in Ireland, India and Palestine: Theory and Practice***
(Macmillan, 225 pages, 1984)

**Des Freedman** (Goldsmiths, University of London), editor
***Capitalism's Conscience: 200 Years of the Guardian***
(Pluto Press, 32o pages, 2021)
Tangential to Palestine in the 'liberal' British newspaper's ongoing support for the Zionist project.
Contents include **Ghada Karmi**: *The Guardian and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* / **Victoria Brittain**: *Radical Moments at the Guardian* / **Justin Schlosberg**: *The Guardian and Corbynism and Antisemitism*.

**Robert O. Freedman**
***Israel's First Fifty Years***
(University of Florida Press, 2000)
Contains: Mark Tessler: *Israeli Thinking about the Palestinians: A Historical Survey*

**Chas W. Freeman, Jr**. (American diplomat)
***America's Misadventures in the Middle East***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2010)
Author charts how US foreign policy has failed the people of the region and Washington itself.

As editor: ***The Middle East after the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon***
(Syracuse University Press, 263 pages, 1986)
Relevant contents: **Robert O. Freedman** – Soviet Middle East Policy after the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon / **Rashid Khalidi**: Palestinian Politics after the Exodus from Beirut / **David Pollock**: Israel Since the Lebanon War / **John F. Devlin**: Syrian Policy in the Aftermath of the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon.

**David French**
***The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945-1967***
(Oxford University Press, 2011)

**Erwin Frenkel** (longtime editor of the *Jerusalem Post*)
***The Press and Politics in Israel: The 'Jerusalem Post' from 1932 to the Present***
(Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 186 pages, 1994)
An Israeli-centric, observational sketch of (post-Mandate) politics and how Government and the military effected the *Jerusalem Post*.

**Saul Friedlander** (historian of the Jewish holocaust) and **Mahmoud Hussein**
***Arabs & Israelis: A Dialogue***
(New York City & London: Holmes & Meier, 221 pages, 1975)
Translated by Paul Auster and Lydia Davis.

**Isaiah Friedman**

***Palestine: A Twice -Promised Land? Volume 1: The British, the Arabs, and Zionism 1915-1920***
(Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1999 / Routledge 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "In this book, Isaiah Friedman examines one of the most complex problems that bedeviled Middle East politics in the interwar period, one that still remains controversial. The prevailing view is that during World War I the British government made conflicting commitments to the Arabs, to the French, and to the Jews. Through a rigorous examination of the documentary evidence, Friedman demolishes the myth that Palestine was a "twice-promised land" and shows that the charges of fraudulence and deception leveled against the British are groundless. Central to Arab claims on Palestine was a letter dated 24 October 1915, from Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, to King Hussein, the Sharif of Mecca, pledging Arab independence. Friedman shows that this letter was conditional on a general Arab uprising against the Turks. Predicated on reciprocal action, the letter committed the British to recognize and uphold Arab independence in the areas of the Fertile Crescent once it was liberated by the Arabs themselves. As all evidence shows, few tribes rebelled against the Turks. The Arabs in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia fought for the Ottoman Empire against the British. In addition to its non-binding nature, McMahon's letter has been misinterpreted with respect to the territories it covers. Friedman's archival discovery of the Arabic version actually read by Hussein indisputably shows that Palestine was not included in the British pledge. Indeed, Hussein welcomed the return of the Jews just as his son Emir Feisal believed that Arab-Jewish cooperation would be a means to build Arab independence without the interference of the European powers. Myth-shattering and meticulously documented, Palestine: A Twice-Promised Land? is revisionist history in the truest sense of the word."

***British Miscalculations: The Rise of Muslim Nationalism, 1918-1925***
(Transaction Publishers, 378 pages, 2012)
Contents: Missed opportunity -- Turkish-Arabic-Pan-Islamic league versus the British -- Egypt's struggle for independence -- Pan-Islamic-Bolshevik-Turkish assault on Britain -- Anglo-Soviet rivalry and the rise of nationalism in Afghanistan and Persia -- Mesopotamia: a futile adventure -- Rejection of British presence in Mesopotamia -- Rebellion in Mesopotamia -- Great Britain and the Graeco-Turkish conflict, 1918-1920 -- Great Britain and the Graeco-Turkish conflict 1920-1922 -- Great Britain and the Graeco-Turkish war, 1921-1922 -- Heading towards a disaster -- Inferno in Smyrna -- Was a peaceful coexistence between Arabs and jews in Palestine possible?

As editor: ***The Rise of Israel – The Zionist Commission in Palestine, 1918***
(Garland Press, 402 pages, 1918)
With an introduction by the author.

***British Pan-Arab Policy, 1915-1922: A Critical Appraisal***
(Transaction Publishers, 410 pages, 2010)

As Editor: ***The Rise of Israel – Tension in Palestine, Peacemaking in Paris, 1919***
(Garland Press, 356 pages, 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***The Post-Herzlian Period 1904-1914***
(Garland Press, 505 pages 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***Riots in Jerusalem, San Remo Conference, April 1920***
(Garland Press, 376 pages, 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***France and Zionism, 1914-1920***
(Garland Press, 202 pages, 1987)

With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***The Rise of Israel – Opposition to Zionism, 1919***
(Garland Press, 290 pages, 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***Herzl's Political Activity, 1897-1904***
(Clarendon Press, 397 pages, 1987)
With an introduction by the author; in English but with one chapter in German.

As editor: ***The Rise of Israel: British-Zionist Relations, 1914-1917***
(Garland Press, 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***The Rise of Israel: Britain Enters into a Compact with Zionism, 1917***
(Garland Press, 1987)
With an introduction by the author.

As editor: ***From Precursors of Zionism to Herzl***
(Garland press, 266 pages, 1987)
With introductions by the author and **Howard M. Sachar**.

***Germany, Turkey and Zionism, 1897-1918***
(Clarendon Press, 461 pages, 1977)
Expansion of author's university thesis.

***The Question of Palestine, 1914-1918: British-Jewish-Arab Relations***
(New York City: Schocken Books, 433 pages, 1973)

**Matti Friedman** (formerly with Associated Press; New York Times, etc)
***Spies of No Country: Secret Lives at the Birth of Israel***
(Algonquin Books/Workman Publishing, 2019)
Set in Haifa and Beirut. Publisher's blurb: "The four agents at the center of this story were part of a ragtag unit known as the Arab Section, conceived during World War II by British spies and Jewish militia leaders in Palestine. Intended to gather intelligence and carry out sabotage operations, the unit consisted of Jews who were native to the Arab world and could thus easily assume Arab identities. In 1948, with Israel's existence hanging in the balance, these men went undercover in Beirut, where they spent the next two years operating out of a newsstand, collecting intelligence and sending messages back to Israel via a radio whose antenna was disguised as a clothesline. Of the dozen spies in the Arab Section at the war's outbreak, five were caught and executed. But in the end, the Arab Section would emerge as the nucleus of the Mossad, Israel's vaunted intelligence agency."

**Steven Friedman** (University of Johannesburg)
***Good Jew, Bad Jew***
(Wits University Press, 230 pages, 2023)
Author analyses the weaponizing of antisemitism by Israel and Zionists, comparing with struggles in South Africa and India.

**Thomas L. Friedman** (New York Times bureau chief in Beirut from 1982)
***From Beirut to Jerusalem***
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989)
Title won a National Book Award ~ not to be confused with the book of the same date and title by **Dr. Swee Chai Ang**.

**Carl J. Friedrich**

***American Policy Toward Palestine***
(Washington DC: Public Affairs Press/American Zionist Council, 106 pages, 1944 / Westport, Connecticut: 106 pages, 1971)

**Alfred Friendly**

***Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes***
(London: Minority Rights Group, 1972)
See also: Minority Rights Group

**Howard Friel**

***Chomsky and Dershowitz: On Endless War and the end of Civil Liberties***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 288 pages, 2013)

**Friends of Al-Aqsa** (Leicester)

**Daud Abdullah**: ***A History of Palestinian Resistance***
(Friends of Al-Aqsa, ca. 2010s)

**Abu Huzayfa**: ***History of Masjid Al-Aqsa for Children***
(Leicester: Friends of Al-Aqsa Publications, 64 pages, 2010)

**Arwa Arburawa**, with **Rajnaara Akhtar**, editor: ***War Crimes in Gaza***
(Friends of Al-Aqsa, 64 pages, ca. 2009)
Roreword by **Ismail Patel**

**Hillel Frisch** (Bar-Ilan University)

***Hamas: A Social Welfare Government or War Machine?***
(Begin-Sadat Centre, Bar-Ilan University, 48 pages, 2015)

***Palestinian Strategy and Attitudes***
(Begin-Sadat Centre, Bar-Ilan University; 86 pages, 2004; approx. 190 pages, 2015)

***Israel's Security and its Arab Citizens***
(Cambridge University Press, 213 pages, 2011)

***The Palestinian Military: From the Mandate to the Palestinian Authority***
(Routledge, 218 pages, 2007)

***Motivation or Capabilities? Israeli Counterterrorism against Palestinian Suicide Bombings and Violence***
(Begin-Sadat Centre, Bar-Ilan University, 31 pages, 2006)

***The Islamic Dimension in Palestinian Politics***
(Begin-Sadat Centre, Bar-Ilan University, 29 pages, 2005)

***Countdown to Statehood: Palestinian State Formation in the West Bank and Gaza***
(State University of New York Press, 221 pages, 1998)
Focus on territorialising the PLO.

**David Fromkin** (Boston Univ

ersity)

***A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* aka: *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922***
(Henry Holt & Co, 688 pages, 1989, 2001, 2009 / Penguin, 1991)

**Michael G. Fry** and **Itamar Rabinovich**

***Despatches from Damascus: Gilbert MacKereth and British Policy in the Levant, 1933-1939***
(Shiloah Institute, Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University, 1985)

**Nelida Fuccaro**, editor (SOAS)

***Violence and the City in the Modern Middle East***
(Stanford University Press, 2016)
Contains a relevant chapter by Lauren Banko: *Citizenship Rights and Semantics of Colonial Power and Resistance – Haifa, Jaffa and Nablus, 1931-1933*. See monograph under author's name.

**Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht**

***The Fate of the Jews: A People Torn Between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics***
(New York City: Times Books, 282 pages, 1983 / Quartet Books, 282 pages, 1984)
Period challenge to Zionism based on the author's considered Jewish ethics, that the Israelis' treatment of Arabs is a violation of Jewish tradition. Example is made of IDF soldiers being taught to brutalise Palestinians, that they "are not like human beings."

**Bruce N. Fisk** and **J. Ross Wagner**, editors

***Being Christian after the Desolation of Gaza***
(Cascade Books, 390 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "What explains the fervent support among America's Christians for Israel's murderous assault on Gaza's Palestinians? Dying children cry beneath the rubble; doctors testify to atrocities; journalists and medics face sniper fire; experts cry genocide; Jewish Americans decry Israel's ethnic cleansing; protesting college students jeopardize their careers. Yet millions of Americans who profess allegiance to Jesus continue defending the desolation of Gaza, or refuse to speak against it. In these essays you will read stories and hear cries from Christians--American, Latin American, Jewish, Palestinian--who have spent years listening, laboring, and praying for a durable, equitable peace between Palestinians and their Jewish neighbors. Their perspectives have formed over years in the land, through lingering encounters, hard conversations, and troubling personal experiences. Disagree with them if you must, but first hear them out, and consider why so many of Israel's Christian partisans have confused a love for the Jewish people with a defense of the apocalypse Israel has unleashed since October 7, 2023. It may be too late to save Gaza's millions from starvation, amputation, displacement, and death. Is it too late to repent of our complicity? Too late to save our own souls? How should we be Christian after the desolation of Gaza?" Chapter contributors: **Mercy Aiken**, **Yousef Kamal Al-Khouri**, **Daniel Bannoura**, **Donald D. Binder**, **Gary M. Burge**, **David M. Crump**, **Rob Dalrymple**, **Anton Deik**, **Bruce N. Fisk**, **Suzanne Watts Henderson**, **Lisa Loden**, **Lamma Mansour**, **Amy Yoder McGloughlin**, **Benjamin Norquist**, **Ruth Padilla DeBorst**, and **J. Ross Wagner**.

**Robert Fisk** (longtime Beirut correspondent for the *Independent* aka *i* newspaper)

***Night of Power: The Betrayal of the Middle East***
(Fourth Estate, 672 pages, 2024)
Foreword by **Patrick Cockburn**. Reporter's final fork, starting with the aftermath of the Iraq invasion in 2005.

***The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East***
(Harper Perennial, 1,392 pages, 2006)

***Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon***
(Nation Books aka Black Type Books, 2002)
Publisher's blurb: "With the Israeli-Palestinian crisis reaching wartime levels, where is the latest confrontation between these two old foes leading? Robert Fisk's explosive Pity the Nation recounts Sharon and Arafat's first deadly encounter in Lebanon in the early 1980s and explains why the Israel–Palestine relationship seems so intractable. A remarkable combination of war reporting and analysis by an author who has witnessed the carnage of Beirut for twenty-five years, Fisk, the first journalist to whom bin Laden announced his jihad against the U.S., is one of the world's most fearless and honored foreign correspondents. He spares no one in this saga of the civil war and subsequent Israeli invasion: the PLO, whose thuggish behavior alienated most Lebanese; the various Lebanese factions, whose appalling brutality spared no one; the Syrians, who supported first the Christians and then the Muslims in their attempt to control Lebanon; and the Israelis, who tried to install their own puppets and, with their 1982 invasion, committed massive war crimes of their own. It includes a moving finale that recounts the travails of Fisk's friend Terry Anderson who was kidnapped by Hezbollah and spent 2,454 days in captivity. Fully updated to include the Israeli withdrawl from south Lebanon and Ariel Sharon's electoral victory over Ehud Barak, this edition has sixty pages of new material and a new preface. 'Robert Fisk's enormous book about Lebanon's desperate travails is one of the most distinguished in recent times.'—Edward Said"

**Alfred Friendly** (*Washington Post* reporter of the 1967 war)
***Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes***
(London: Minority Rights Group, 29 pages, 1972)

**H.F. Frischwasser-Ra'anan** aka **Heinz Felix Friscahwasser-Ra'anan**
***The Frontiers of a Nation: A Reexamination of the Forces which Created the Palestine Mandate and Determined its Territorial Shape***
(London: Butterworth Press, 168 pages, 1955; Hyperion, 1976)

**Yoni Furas** (University of Haifa)
With **Liat Kozma** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): ***Palestinian Doctors: Medical Practice and the Transformation of Palestine, 1900-1948***
(Cambridge University Press, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian doctors became a dynamic, vocal, influential, and fascinating professional community over the first half of the twentieth century, growing from roughly a dozen on the eve of WWI to 300 in 1948. This study examines the social history of this group during the late Ottoman and British Mandate periods, examining their social and geographic origins, their professional academic training outside Palestine and their role and agency in the country's medical market. Yoni Furas and Liat Kozma examine doctors' interactions with the rural and urban society and their entangled relationship with the British colonial administration and Jewish doctors. This book also provides an in-depth description on how Palestinian doctors thought and wrote about themselves and their personal, professional, and collective ambitions, underlining the challenges they faced while attempting to unionize. Furas and Kozma tell Palestine's story through the acts and challenges of these doctors, writing them back into the local and regional history."

***Educating Palestine: Teaching and Learning under the Mandate***
(Oxford University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "*Educating Palestine*, through the story of education and the teaching of history in Mandate Palestine, reframes our understanding of the Palestinian and Zionist national movements. It argues that Palestinian and Hebrew pedagogy could only be truly understood through an analysis of the conscious or unconscious dialogue between them. The conflict over Palestine, the study shows, shaped

the way Arabs and Zionists thought, taught, and wrote about their past. British rule over Palestine promised the Jews a national home, but had no viable policy towards the Palestinians and established an education system that lacked a sustainable collective ethos. Nevertheless, Palestinian educators were able to produce a national pedagogy that knew how to work with the British and simultaneously promoted an ideology of progress and independence that challenged colonial rule."

**Sir Geoffrey Furlonge**
***Palestine is My Country: The Story of Musa Alami***
(John Murray, 1969)

**Rony E. Gabbay**
***A Political Study of the Arab-Jewish Conflict***
(Geneva: Libraire E. Droz / Paris: Libraire Minard, 611 pages,1959)
"Looting and pillaging of Arab properties and the commandeering of goats, sheep and mules were not uncommon features"

**Muammar al-Gaddafi**
***Isratin: The White Book***
(Libyan state publishing house, 48 pages, 2003)
The title refers to a blending of 'Israel' and 'Falastin.' Sympathetic to Zionism, the idealised state would allow for the right of return for Palestinian refugees.

**Mark Gaffney**
***Dimona: The Third Temple ? The Story Behind the Vanunu Revelation***
(Amana Books, 1989)

**Hugh Gaitskell** (Labour Party leader), **Norman Bentwich** (British appointed Arrorney General of Mandate Palestine), **L.F. Rushbrook Williams, T.s. Simey** and **Isaiah Berlin**
***The State of Israel: Six Lectures***
(London: Anglo-Israel Association, 55 pages, ca. 1953-1954)
Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Clement Davies.

**General Sir Richard Gale**
***Call to Arms: An Autobiography***
(Hutchinson, 1968)
Chapter 15: 'Palestine.'

**Ziva Galili** & **Boris Morozov**
***Exiled to Palestine: The Emigration of Soviet Zionist Convicts, 1924-1934***
(Routledge, 160 pages, 2006, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "These leading authors bring to light undiscovered documents from archives opened after the collapse of the Soviet Union and go on to revise fundamental assumptions about these events. They examine the means by which internal power struggles and personal interventions in the uppermost echelons of the Soviet leadership allowed the Zionists to disseminate their message and recruit thousands of members before the massive arrests of the mid-1920s; demonstrate the extent to which personal contacts between Zionists and those who aided them, Soviet leaders and members of the security services, were vital to initiating and sustaining the practice of substitution; and using a broad array of British and Zionist documents, they reveal the crucial role of Anglo-Zionist co-operation in facilitating the immigration of Zionist convicts."

**Nancy (Elizabeth) Gallagher**

***Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism***
(American University in Cairo Press / Bloomsbury Press, 208 pages, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israeli–Palestinian conflict has resulted in the longest-standing refugee crisis in the world today. Based on new archival research and interviews with surviving participants, this book considers one early effort to resolve that crisis while offering helpful lessons for current efforts at conflict resolution in the Middle East and elsewhere. When war broke out in Palestine in 1948, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker service organization, had just won the Nobel Peace Prize for its peacemaking endeavors and its service to war refugees during the Second World War. On the basis of that experience, the United Nations invited the highly visible AFSC to provide humanitarian relief to Arab refugees in Gaza. The AFSC also sent volunteers to work in Israel, where they hoped to serve both Arabs and Jews. Its long-term goal was repatriation of the refugees and conciliation and coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. As eyewitnesses to some of the major events of the conflict, the AFSC volunteers came to understand it better than most outsiders at the time. By examining these early efforts at peacemaking and assistance, historian Nancy Gallagher has uncovered essential insights for today's peacemakers, human rights activists, and humanitarian NGOs."

**Katharina Galor** (Judaic Studies, Brown University)

***Finding Jerusalem: Archaeology between Science and Ideology***
(University of California Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Archaeological discoveries in Jerusalem capture worldwide attention in various media outlets. The continuing quest to discover the city's physical remains is not simply an attempt to define Israel's past or determine its historical legacy. In the context of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is also an attempt to legitimate—or undercut—national claims to sovereignty. Bridging the ever-widening gap between popular coverage and specialized literature, *Finding Jerusalem* provides a comprehensive tour of the politics of archaeology in the city. Through a wide-ranging discussion of the material evidence, Katharina Galor illuminates the complex legal contexts and ethical precepts that underlie archaeological activity and the discourse of "cultural heritage" in Jerusalem. This book addresses the pressing need to disentangle historical documentation from the religious aspirations, social ambitions, and political commitments that shape its interpretation."

As co-author, with **Hanswulf Bloedhorn**: ***The Archaeology of Jerusalem: From the Origins to the Ottomans***
(Yale University Press, 2013)

As co-editor, with **Piotr Bienkowski:** ***Crossing the Rift: Resources, Routes, Settlement Patterns and Interaction of the Wadi Arabeh***
(Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006)

**Johan Galtung**

***Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine***
(University of Hawaii Institute for Peace, 1989)

**Mohamed Abdel Gamasi El-Gamasy**

***The October War: Memoirs of Field Marshal El-Gamasy of Egypt***
(American University in Cairo Press, 1993)
Translated by **Gillian Potter**, **Nadra Morcos**, & **Rosette Francis**

**Zvi Ganin**

***An Uneasy Relationship: American Jewish Leadership and Israel, 1948-1957***
(Syracuse University Press, 255 pages, 2005)

***Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948***
(New York City: Holmes & Meier Publishing, 238 pages, 1979)

**Sean William Gannon**
***The Irish Imperial Service: Policing Palestine and Administering the Empire, 1922-1966***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 293 pages, 2018)
Contents: 1. Introduction.- 2. 'Our Irish Constabulary': The British Palestine Gendarmerie, 1922-26.- 3. 'A Strong Seasoning of Irishmen': the British Palestine Police, 1926-48.- 4. Palestine 'from the Aspect of Irishness'.- 5. Irish Models and Irishmen: Irish Imperial Policing in the Twentieth Century.- 6. Colonial Service Recruitment in Independent Ireland.- 7. Irishness and Empire in the Twentieth Century.- 8. Conclusion.

**Roger Garaudy** [Marxist historian with most publications in French]
***The Founding Myths of Modern Israel***
(Newport Beach, California: Institute for Historical Review, 2000)

***The Mythical Foundations of Israeli Policy*** (Studies Forum International, 1997)

***The Case of Israel: A Study of Political Zionism***
(Shorouk, 1993)

**Adam M. Garfinkle**
***Jewcentricity: Why the Jews are Praised, Blamed, and Used to Explain Just About Everything***
(Wiley, 2009)

**David Garnett**, editor
***The Letters of T.E. Lawrence***
London: Spring Books, 896 pages, 1964
Cites JMN Jeffries, concluding that President Woodrow Wilson's illness and the lack of any mandatory roll of the US as facturs in suppressing the three-year delay in the publication of the King-Crane Commission Report.

**Colonel** [John] **Garnier**
***Israel in Britain: A Brief Statement of the Evidences in Proof of the Israelish Origin of the British Race***
(London: Robert Banks & Son, ca. 1900s)

**Paul D. Garrett** and **Kathleen A. Purpura**
***Frank Maria: A Search for Justice and Peace in the Middle East***
(Bloomington, Indiana / Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2007)
Syrian-Lebanese-American activist.

**Ingrid Gassner-Jaradat**
***The Evolution of an Independent, Community-Based Campaign for Palestinian Refugee Rights: Palestinian Refugees in the 1967 Occupied Palestinian Territories, and 1948 Palestine/Israel Coping with the Post-Oslo Conditions***
(Bethlehem: BADIL Resource Center, 13 pages, 2000)

***UNRWA – Between Refugee Aid and Power Politics: A Memorandum Calling upon International Responsibility for the Palestinian Refugee Question***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1997)

***The Trap is Closing on Palestinian Jerusalemites: Israel's Demographic Policies in east Jerusalem from the 1967 Annexation to the Eve of the Final Status Negotiations***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1996)

***Residency Rights in the Territories Administered by the Palestinian National Authority***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1994)

co-edited with **Maxine Nunn**: ***Palestine and the Other Israel: Alternative Directory of Progressive Groups and Institutions in Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1991)

**Moshe Gat**

***In Search of a Peace Settlement: Egypt and Israel between the Wars, 1967-1973***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

***Britain and the Conflict in the Middle East, 1964-1967: The Coming of the Six-Day War***
(Praeger, 2002)

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***The Jewish Exodus from Iraq, 1948-1951***
(Frank Cass, 1997)
Details Iraq's anti-Communist efforts, the airlift Operation Ezra and Nehemiah, and the possible Mossad-instigated bombings of Iraqi Jewish institutions, 1950-1951.

**Dov Gavish**

***A Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920-1948***
(Routledge, 2010; originally published in Hebrew, 1991)
Publisher's blurb: "…a historical study of the survey and mapping system of Palestine under the British Mandate. It traces the background and the reasoning behind the establishment of the survey programme, examines the foundations upon which the system was based, and strives to understand the motivation of those who implemented it."

**Dalia Gavriely-Nuri**

***The Normalization of War in Israeli Discourse, 1967-2008***
(Lexington Books, 179 pages, 2012, 2013)

**Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler, K.H. - M.R.G.S.**

***Observations and Practical Suggestions in the Furtherance of the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine: The Most Sober and Sensible Remedy for the Miseries of Asiatic Turkey: Tranquillization of Syria and the East***
(London: T&W Boone, 48 pages, 1845)

**Shlomo Gazit**

***Trapped Fools: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories*** aka ***Fools in a Trap: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories***
(London: Taylor & Francis, 388 pages, 2004)
Topics include military control, Moshe Dayan, the PLO, the [settler] Jewish Underground, Gaza.
Introduction by **Shimon Peres**.

***The Carrot and the Stick: Israel's Policy in Judaea and Samaria, 1967-1968***
(Washington DC: B'nai B'rith, 317 pages, 1995)
Edited by **Patrick R. Denker**; translated by **Reuvik Danielli**.

***The Palestinian Refugee Problem***
(Tel Aviv University, 36 pages, 1995)

**Charles L. Geddes**
As editor: ***A Documentary History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(New York City: Praeger, 461 pages, 1991)

**John Gee** (Washington Report on Middle East Affairs; Palestine Solidarity Campaign; Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding

)

***Unequal Conflict: The Palestinians and Israel***
(Pluto Books / Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 1998)
Publisher's blurb: "The survival of the state of Israel has often been viewed as a victory against the odds. Looking back on over half a century of conflict, the Palestinians view matters very differently. In this history of the Arab-Israeli struggle, John Gee returns to the root of the conflict: the creation of the state of Israel. Although critical of Israel, Gee demonstrates that Zionism created a society within Palestine well adapted to win the struggle with the indigenous population. The Palestinians were ill-equipped to meet the challenge, their ability to resist impaired by social factors and, crucially, a reluctance to recognise the strengths and achievements of the Israelis. Gee demonstrates that an elaborate system of ideas and arguments was constructed to support the Zionist enterprise. Only by de-mythologising the workings of Zionism, argues Gee, will it be possible to find a solution which will enable Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to live together in peace."

***Israel, the Palestinians and the "Permanent Status" Issues***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding / CAABU, 1997)

**Yoav Gelber** (University of Haifa & Herzl Institute for Research and Study of Zionism)
***Israeli-Jordanian Dialogue, 1948-1953: Cooperation, Conspiracy or Collusion?***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "This book is a refutation of Professor Avi Shlaim's theory of an alleged collusion between the Jews and King Abdullah (Clarendon Press, 1998). Shlaim asserts that to further his own aims of creating a greater Jordanian empire, Abdullah conducted secret diplomacy with David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir and other Israeli leaders in self-serving manoeuvres which hastened the partition of Palestine, and left more than a million Palestinian Arabs without a homeland. This book describes the development and vicissitudes of the relations between Israel and Jordan from the end of the British mandate and Transjordan's invasion of Palestine, through the war in1948, the resumption of a direct dialogue that led to an armistice agreement, the abortive peace negotiations in 1949-51 and the simultaneous escalation of border hostilities. The conclusion drawn is that this five-year period saw the apparent indifference of the Great Powers to impose a settlement, a Jordan unsure of its place in the Arab fold, and a confusing situation between Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians over border issues. Gelber finds no evidence of an alleged collusion between the Jews and King Abdullah -- just a tragic unfolding of events that inflamed the still unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict"

***Palestine 1948: War, Escape and the Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Problem***

(Sussex Academic Press, 2000, 2001)
Publisher's blurb: "Based on new or newly interpreted Israeli, British and Arab documents, this book attempts to integrate present controversies concerning the development of the Jewish–Palestinian war from December 1947 to mid-May 1948 and the consecutive Israeli–Arab war. It follows the organization of both sides at the beginning of the war and the shaping of their respective war policies. Further, it describes the creation of the invading coalition and its disintegration in the wake of the Arab armies' military failure. The book stresses mainly the processes that led Palestinian society to its collapse and mass flight and the Israeli reactions and policies that turned this temporary escape into a long-lasting refugee problem. Emphasizing the different historical and cultural perspectives of the adversaries and the context of the war's development, it criticizes the approach of the Israeli "New Historians" who tend to isolate the refugee problem from the broader issues of the war and treat it separately. Includes a glossary of Arab/Israeli wartime operations"

***Jewish-Transjordanian Relations, 1921-1948***
(Frank Cass, 1996)

**Martha Gellhorn**
***The Arabs of Palestine: A Case Study of the Refugees,*** in ***The View from the Ground***
(Cambridge: Granta Books, 1989)
Note: originally published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1961; the entire November issue was filled with *Israel – A Special Supplement,* a Zionist response.

**Emmaia Gelman** (founding director of the Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism)
***The Anti-defamation League and the Racial State***
(University of California Press, 342 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is a major US political organization, yet its politics have gone largely unexamined. While the ADL is often portrayed as a defender against antisemitism and racism, its history shows that it is better understood as a proponent of the racial state and US empire. From "correcting" the embarrassing racial difference of immigrant Jews to policing the leftist politics of Black, Arab, and Jewish groups, the ADL pursued a conservative version of civil rights paired with aggressive anti-communism. Even as it became an authority on white nationalism in the 1970s, the ADL joined with the emerging anti-left, anti-Arab, and pro-Western neoconservative movement. This history presaged the ADL's work, from the 1980s to the present, in developing the hate crimes framework as a pro-state policing project, which soon merged with the "War on Terror," the "antisemitism scare," and anti-Palestinian racism. *The Anti-Defamation League and the Racial State* presents the ADL's history through its conflicts with social justice movements, illuminating the ADL's outsize role in shaping the ideas about race and rights that have underwritten US empire."

**Emmaia Gelman** and **Heike Schotten** (University of Massachusetts), co-editors: ***The Anti-Defamation League: A Critical Reader***
(Pluto Press, 204 pages, 2026)

**James L. Gelvin**
***The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War***
(Cambridge University Press, 2005; 4th edition, 2021)

**Irene L. Gendzier** (Professor of Political Science, Boston University)
***Dying to Forget: Oil, Power, Palestine, and the Foundations of US Policy in the Middle East***
(Columbia University Press, 2016)

***Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1945-1958***
(Westview Press, 1999)

**General Union of Arab Students in the UK and Ireland**
***The Myth of Zionism***
(General Union of Arab Students, 16 pages, 1975)

**John Reddaway** with **F. Khadra:** ***Palestine: Points of View***
(General Union of Arab Students, ca. 1970) – speeches given at the University of London, 1970

**Jean Genet**
***Prisoner of Love***
(Picador, 375 pages, 1989; Pan Books, 375 pages, 1990; Wesleyan University Press, 375 pages, 1992; New York Review of Books, 430 pages, 2003)
Translation of *Un captive amoureux* (1986) by **Barbara Bray**, with an introduction by **Ahdaf Soueif** (2003 edition) or **Edmund White** (1989 edition). A chronicle of the author's time amongst Palestinians in the early 1970s. See also the author's compilation, *The Declared Enemy: Texts and Interviews*, edited by **Albert Dichy** and translated by **Jeff Fort**, which includesa relevant chapter: *Four Hours in Shatila*

**Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces**
***The Security Sector Legislation of the Palestinian National Authority***
(DCAF, 520 pages, 2008)

**Jane Fletcher Geniesse** (biography of Freya Stark)
***American Priestess: The Extraordinary Story of Anna Spafford and the American Colony in Jerusalem***
(Knopf/Doubleday, 352 pages, 2008)

**Klaus Gensicke** (Berlin-based historian)
***The Mufti of Jerusalem and the Nazis: The Berlin Years***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Amin al-Huseini is undeniably one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He was the religious head of the Palestinian Muslims for sixteen years, their political leader for thirty years and for a time he was the most important representative of the Arab world. Gensicke examines the time that Amin al-Husaini spent in Nazi Germany from 1941 to 1945. He looks at what the Mufti was hoping to gain politically and ideologically while he was there. His interest is directed primarily at the four years which the Mufti of Jerusalem with his staff of some 60 persons and a secret service of his own spent in Berlin as a guest and at the expense of the Third Reich. Only a matter of four years and yet even today they continue to poison the Israeli-Arab relationship. Al-Husaini cooperated eagerly with the Nazis to prevent Jews emigrating from Europe to Palestine. Aware of what was happening he wanted to see the Jews destroyed. He also expected a high position for himself in the Arab World after the Nazis had won the Second World War. Germany s enemies became his enemies and he waged a campaign of hate against the British and Americans, who were, he claimed, pawns of the Jews. This began the path towards anti-Americanism and the struggle against Western depravity in the name of Islam. The book shows how he used murder, terrorism, intrigue, extortion and the abuse of religion to obtain his goals. His broadcasts to the Muslims in North Africa during the Second World War were appeals for martyrdom in order to help the Germans as that would guarantee Paradise. After the War he continued to act in precisely the same manner. His greed for wealth, hunger for power, despotism, ruthlessness and intransigence were all factors that brought disaster upon his people and have, unfortunately, set a standard that remains valid in Palestinian politics today."

**Haim Gerber** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

***Remembering and Imagining Palestine: Identity and Nationalism from the Crusades to the Present***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

***Crossing Borders: Jews and Muslims in Ottoman Law, Economy and Society***
(University of Istanbul Press, 2008)

***Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem, 1890-1914***
(Berlin: Schwarz, 1985)

**Fawaz A. Gerges** (Al-Jazeera commentator)

As editor: ***Contentious Politics in the Middle East: Popular Resistance and Marginalized Activism beyond the Arab Uprisings***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 566 pages, 2015)
Contains **David Zarnett**: *Transnational Domestic Contention: Explaining the Varying Level of Western Solidarity Given to Kurds and Palestinians* / **Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe**: *Claiming 'Marginal Space': the Contentious Politics of "Citizenship" among Palestinian Feminists in Israel* / **Alaa Tartir**: *Contentious Economics in Occupied Palestine*

As editor: ***The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World***
(Cambridge University Press, 2014)
Contains chapter – **Avi Shlaim**: *Palestine and the Arab Uprisings.*

***Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 292 pages, 2012)

**Deborah J. Gerner**

***One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict over Palestine***
(Avalon Publishing, 256 pages, 1994)

**Israel Gershoni** (Tel Aviv University)

***Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism***
(University of Texas Press, 368 pages, 2014/2015)
Contains two chapters directly on Palestine – **Rene Wildangel**: *More than the Mufti: Other Arab-Palestinian Voices on Nazi Germany, 1933-1945*; **Mustafa Kabha**: ***The Palestinian Press as a Shaper of Public Opinion: Writing Up a Storm***
(Vallentine Mitchell & Co, 2006)
A rewarding analysis of the press during the crucial 1929-1939 period.

**Frank Gerson**

***Israel, The West Bank, and International Law***
(Frank Cass, 1978)

**Frank Gervasi** (co-founder of the Writers and Artists for Peace in the Middle East, a pro-Israel group)

***To Whom Palestine?***
(New York City: Appleton-Century/American Zionist Council, 1946)

***The Jew as a Soldier***
(Chicago: Collier's, 7 pages, 1944)

Off-print from *Collier's Magazine*, 22 April 1944.

**Maayan Geva**

***Law, Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

Contents: 1. Introduction: Israel's Management of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) and International Humanitarian Law.-Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Research Methods for the Israeli Legal Field in the OPT.- Chapter 3: A Map of the Israeli Legal Field Operating in the OPT: Structuring law, structuring power.- Chapter 4: Military Lawyers Making Law: The contextual transformations of the MAG Corps' legal practice and the constitution of law.- Chapter 5: The International Law Department at war in Gaza.- Conclusion: Lawfare: Law's Contemporary State.

**Georgie Anne Geyer**

***Buying the Night Flight: The Autobiography of a Woman Foreign Correspondent***

(Brassey's, 1996 / University of Chicago Press, 2001)

**Maayan Geva** (University of Roehampton)

***Law, Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "This book investigates the Israeli engagement with international law in relation to the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) between 1967 and 2009. Grounded in a field-based study of the military International Law Department, it examines the dynamic position and impact that international law has had in the OPT. By analysing the Israeli 2008/9 offensive in Gaza as an example of contemporary warfare, the author argues that law and military agenda have become intertwined in 'lawfare', a condition sanctioning new forms of law and violence. The military legal system is central to the Israeli management of the OPT, yet despite the great interest in the legal aspects of the Israeli occupation, scholarly accounts of this institution are scarce. This discussion also has wider international relevance, particularly in the backdrop of the contemporary prominence of international law in Western militaries' operations. This book will appeal to researchers, practitioners and students interested in international relations, political theory, human rights, Middle Eastern politics, and legal studies."

**Shafeeq N. Ghabra**

***Palestinians in Kuwait: The Family and the Politics of Survival***

(Westview Press, 195 pages, 1987)

The family as key to survival in the diaspora, along with cultural rejuvenation from former Palestinian village social structure. See also: **Laurie A. Brand**: ***Palestinians in the Arab World*** (Columbia University Press, 1988)

**Zeina B. Ghandour**

***A Discourse on Domination in Mandate Palestine: Imperialism, Property and Insurgency***

(Routledge, 197 pages, 2010)

**As'ad Ghanem** aka **Asad Ghanem** (Al-Shabaka Policy Advisor / University of Haifa)

With **Nohad Ali**: ***Violence and Crime among the Palestinian Minority in Israel ~ The Shattering of the Indigenous***

(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 216 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "In the last two decades the rates of crime and violence among the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel have increased dramatically. This book is the first to describe, analyze and understand this phenomenon. The authors identify the Israeli state policies that have dismantled Palestinian society and show how these have undermined or eliminated the authoritative figures and social structures that

once supported and controlled this community. The rising violence in Arab society is depicted as a clear example of the success of Israeli efforts to weaken Arab society from within, where the community has lost its social, legal and political structures and its ability to organize itself or act as a collective. But in making this argument, the book also shows how the Palestinian minority can combat and overcome crime and violence in society, namely by resisting the superstructure of ethnic supremacy and finding new or lost points of reference that can deal with societal challenges. The book is based on the testimonies of activists who have attempted to combat violence worldwide and opinion polls from Palestinians in Israel to determine how they think the violence should be confronted."

With **Mohamad Mustafa**: ***Palestinians in Israel: The Politics of Faith after Oslo***
(Cambridge University Press, 200 pages, 2018)

***Ethnic Politics in Israel: The Margins and the Ashkenazi Center***
(Routledge, 2010)

***Palestinian Politics after Arafat: A Failed National Movement***
(Indiana University Press, 2010)

***The Palestinian Regime: A "Partial Democracy"***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2002)

***The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study***
(State University of New York Press, 2001)

with **Sammy Smooha**: ***Ethnic, Religious, and Political Islam among the Arabs in Israel***
(University of Haifa, 1998)

**Fawzi A. Gharaibeh**

***The Economies of the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Westview Press / Bowker, 182 pages, 1985; Routledge, 182 pages, 2019)
Contents: Overall Economic Performance and Structural Change -- Population, Labor Force, and Employment -- Agriculture -- Manufacturing and Mining -- Construction and Services -- Foreign Trade, Balance of Payments, and Capital Movement -- Currency, Banking, Prices, and Savings and Investment -- Israeli Policies Affecting the Economies of the Territories -- Future of the Territories -- A Proposed Plan for Agricultural Development in the Occupied Territories -- Israeli Proposals on the Powers, Responsibilities, and Structure of the Self-Governing Authority

**Edmund Ghareeb** (Lebanese-American professor at George Washington University, Washington DC)

***Split Vision: The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media***
(Washington DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983)

**Adnan [Mohammed] Abu-Ghazaleh**

***Palestinian Arab Cultural Nationalism***
(Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 125 pages, 1991)

***Arab Cultural Nationalism during the British Mandate***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Benghazi: University of Libya, 125 pages, 1973)

**Faida Abu-Ghazaleh**

***Ethnic Identity of Palestinian Immigrants in the United States: The Role of Material Cultural Artifacts***
(El Paso, Texas: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 210 pages, 2010)

Contents: CHAPTER 1: Palestine: A Historical Perspective; Events that Shaped Palestinian Identity; CHAPTER 2: The Construction of Identity; Arab and Palestinian Immigrants; Palestinian Communities in the United States; Palestinian Ethnic Identity and Land; 1. The Political Component; 2. The Social Component; 3. The Economic Component; Material Culture and Immigrants' Identity; CHAPTER 3: Who We Are; The Families; The Ameen Family; The Basim Family; The Dawood Family; The Esam Family; The Farah Family; The Ghazi Family; The Hani Family. Social interaction among women in the community, Documenting Material Culture; CHAPTER 4: Social Identity Practices of the Palestinians in Maryland; Political and Cultural Challenges; Linguistic Practices; Politics of Naming; Language and Dialect; Oral History and Storytelling in the Home; Choices in Consuming Media; Religious and Educational Choices; Adaptation in the New Home; CHAPTER 5: Come to my House; National Artifacts; Map; Flag; Hatta; Thobe; The Dome of the Rock; Pictures of Jerusalem; National Wall Hangings and Home Décor; Religious Artifacts; Christian Symbols; Islamic Symbols. Clothing and Jewelry, Social Artifacts; Clothing; Musical Instruments; Jewelry; Home Décor; Food from Distinct Cities; House and Garden; Artifacts and Identities; Artifacts and Heritage; Artifacts and Maintaining a Distinct Palestinian Identity; Exchange of Artifacts; Artifacts and Gender Identity; CHAPTER 6: When We Go Back ... ; The Social Identity Practices of Palestinian Families in Maryland; Cultural Artifacts in the Identity Formation of Palestinians in Maryland.

**Asima A. Ghazi-Bouillon**

***Understanding the Middle East Peace Process: Israeli Academic and the Struggle for Identity***

(Routledge, 2009)

**Maxim Ghilan** (Parisian poet & publisher of *Israel & Palestine, A Monthly Review*, 1971-1982)

***How Israel Lost its Soul***

(Penguin, 290 pages, 1974)

Contents: 'The only democracy in the Middle East' -- The foundations of Zionism, 1870-1914 -- Arab nationalism in Palestine before 1920 -- The stillbirth of 'Palestine', 1920-39 -- Jewish liberation movements up to 1942 -- The underground nationalist movements, 1942-8 -- Recognizing the Arabs: Canaanites, Pax Semitica and semitic action -- The phenomenon of Haolam Hazeh from 1950 on -- The Israeli Communist Party -- Matzpen and other new left groups -- Racialism in Israel -- Censorship -- Behind the scenes -- The class-structure and the economy -- The takeover of the land -- The army -- The racialism of belief -- Youth and the future.

**Dr. Mohammad H. Ghosheh** aka **Mohammad Hashim Ghosheh**

***Encyclopaedia Palestinnica***

(Author, 24 volumes, 2019)

Over 7,000 pages, containing 30,000 photographs and historic documents, including the Ottoman era, manuscripts and documentation of libraries, architecture, family endowments, daily life, postal history, flora and fauna, and other aspects of Palestine.

**Subhi S. Ghosheh** (Jerusalem Library in Amman; Palestinian National Council)

*Jerusalem: Arab Social Life, Traditions, and Everyday Pleasures in the 20th Century*

(Northampton, Massachuetts: Olive Branch Press, 192 pages, 2013)

Foreword by **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**.

**Tal'at (Ya'qub) al-Ghoussein** (Kuwaiti Ambassador to the USA)

***An Arab's View of the Palestine Crisis***

(39pp, Government Printing Press, 1966)

An address to the American University, Washington DC.

**Mathias Ghyoot**

***Brothers Behind Bars: A History of the Muslim Brotherhood from the Palestine War to Egypt's Prisons***

(Oxford University Press, 496 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Ghyoot argues that Egypt's state institutions played a crucial role in shaping ideologies within the Muslim Brotherhood, demonstrating how the institution of the prison became a critical site for the formation of political resistance in modern Egypt. Although prison severely encroached on the freedom of the Muslim Brothers, it also spurred reflection and conversations among them as well as with political prisoners of other ideological convictions, most notably communists and Zionists. By emphasizing not what state repression restricted the Muslim Brothers from doing, but rather what it allowed them to do, Ghyoot shows how the ideology of the Muslim Brothers was shaped not only by internal debates but also by encounters—good and bad—with leftist intellectuals, religious clerics, and intelligence officers inside Egypt's prisons."

**George Giacaman**, **Mushtaq Husain Khan** (SOAS), and **Inge Amundsen**, editors

***State Formation in Palestine: Viability and Governance During a Social Transformation***

(Routledge, 2004)

Other contributors include: **Linda Tabar** and **Mohamed M. Nasr** (both from the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy/Ramallah), **Adel Zagha** (Birzeit University), and **Husam Zomlot** (SOAS, Palestine Mission Ambassador to the UK).

**George Giacaman** & **Dag Jorund Lonning**

***After Oslo: New Realities, Old Problems***

(Pluto Press, 241 pages, 1998)

Contents: In the throes of Oslo: Palestinian society, civil society, and the future / George Giacaman -- The Oslo agreement: from the White House to Jabal Abu Ghneim / Nils A. Butenschøn -- The Oslo process and the Arab world / Fouad Moughrabi -- A peace without Arabs: the discourse of peace and the limits of Israeli consciousness / Amon Raz-Krakotzkin -- The geography of politics: Israel's settlement drive after Oslo / Jan de Jong -- The effect of the Oslo agreement on the Palestinian political system / Jamil Hilal -- The politics of internal security: the Palestinian authority's new security services / Graham Usher -- Vision and reality diverging: Palestinian survival strategies in the post-Oslo era / Dag Jørund Lønning. -- The "Voice of Palestine" and the peace process: paradoxes in media discourse after Oslo / Lena Jayyusi -- Reflections on the realities of the Oslo process / Azmi Bishara.

**Dr. Chris Giannou** aka **Christos Giannou**

***Besieged: A Doctor's Story of Life and Death in Beirut***

(Bloomsbury, 1991)

Note: see also Dr Swee Chai Ang, Dr Pauline Cutting, and Dr Runa MacKay.

**G.N. Giladi** aka **Gideon N. Giladi**

***Discord in Zion: Conflict between Ashkenazi & Sephardi Jews in Israel***

(Scorpion Publishing, 376 pages, 1990)

Translated by **Russell Harris**; first published in Egypt, 1988.

**Naeim Giladi** (Iraqi Jew who smuggled Jews to Israel, himself emigrating in 1950, later protesting the country's racist policies and co-founding the Israeli Black Panthers)

***Ben Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah and Mossad Eliminated Jews***

(Flushing, New York: Glilit, 1992 / Tempe, Arizona: Dandelion Books, 368 pages and 176 small print-on-demand pages, 2003)

Mistreatment and murder of Misrahi Jews in Iraq. Possible free download: https://wikispooks.com/wiki/File:Ben-Gurions_Scandals.pdf

**Gad G. Gilbar**

***Ottoman Palestine, 1800-1914: Studies in Economic and Social History***

(Leiden: Brill, 348 pages, 1990)

Contents: Introduction--economy and society in Palestine at the close of the Ottoman period: a diversity of change / Gad G. Gilbar -- Population characteristics of Jerusalem and Hebron regions according to Ottoman Census of 1905 / U.O. Schmelz -- The rise and decline of coastal towns in Palestine / Ruth Kark -- The land-equalizing musha‾ village: a reassessment / Ya'akov Firestone -- Changes in the agricultural sector of the Moshavot, 1882-1914 / Yossi Ben-Artzi -- The L. Stein factory: early attempts to establish a modern industry / Shmuel Avitsur -- Meissner Pasha and the construction of railways in Palestine and neighbouring countries / Walter Pinhas Pick -- The Anglo-Palestine Company: the formative years, 1903-1914 / Nachum T. Gross -- C.F. Spittler and the activities of the pilgrims mission in Jerusalem / Alex Carmel -- The Muslim waqf and the collection of jizya in late eighteenth-century Jerusalem / Oded Peri -- The dismemberment of awqa‾f in early nineteenth-century Jerusalem / Gabriel Baer -- The Ottomans and the Bedouin tribes of the Negev / Clinton Bailey.

**Martin Gilbert**

***Churchill and the Jews: A Lifelong Friendship***

(Simon & Schuster, 2007)

**Tony Gilbert**

***Israel, Where to? Constant War or Peace***

(London: Liberation, 16 pages, 1982)

Preface by Ernie Ross MP.

**Amos Gilboa**, **Ephraim Lapid**, and **Yochi Erlich**, editors

***Israel's Silent Defender: An Inside Look at Sixty Years of Israeli Intelligence***

(Jerusalem: Gefen Books, 2012)

**Eytan Gilboa** (Bar-Ilan University)

***American Public Opinion Toward Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***

(Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1987)

**Virginia C. (Crocheron) Gildersleeve**

***Many a Good Crusade: Memoirs***

(Macmillan, 1954)

With focus on the United Nations Charter, San Francisco, 1945, and the close of the British Mandate.

**Troy Gil** (McGill University; *Jerusalem Post*, *New York Times*)

With **Natan Sharansky**: ***Never Alone: Prison, Politics and My People***

(New York City: Perseus Books, 468 pages, 2020)

***The Zionist Ideas: Visions for the Jewish Homeland – Then, Now, Tomorrow***

(Lincoln: Jewish Publication Society, 433 pages, 2018)

With foreword by **Natan Sharansky**.

***Moynahan's Moment: America's Fight against Zionism as Racism***
(Oxford University Press, 357 pages, 2013)

***Why I am a Zionist: Israel, Jewish Identity and the Challenges of Today***
(Montreal: Bronfman Jewish Education Centre, 196 or 257 pages, 2006)

**David Gilmour**

***Lebanon: The Fractured Country***
(Martin Robinson, 1983 / Sphere, 1984)

***Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians, 1917-1980***
(Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980)

**Garth Gilmore**

***Final Report of Excavations on the Hill of the Ophel by R.A.S. Macalister and J. Garrow Duncan, 1923-1925 – Catalogue and Examination of the Finds in the Collections of the Palestine Exploration Fund***
(Routledge, 318 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume includes a history of the excavation and detailed descriptions and illustrations of finds ranging from the Chalcolithic through to the Ottoman periods. These include pottery, metal, bone and glass objects, seal impressions, figurines, clay tobacco pipes and other items, many of which have never been published before. Among the more significant finds from the excavation, both the subject of special studies, are an incised pottery sherd with images of two deity figurines interpreted as representing Yahweh and Asherah, and two incense burners that contribute to our understanding of the trade in incense in the Near East in the second and first millennia BCE. This volume will be of interest to students and researchers of ancient near eastern archaeology, and particularly those engaged in research in the southern Levant. The report complements the publications of the many subsequent excavations in the same area of Jerusalem, a location that is still today the focus of much attention for historical, religious and political, not to mention archaeological, reasons."

**Joseph Ginat** (Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa)and **Onn Winckler**, editors

***The Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli Triangle***
(Sussex Academic Press, 232 pages, 1998)

**Rami Ginat** & **Meir Noema**

Egypt and the Second Intifada: Policymaking with Multifaceted Commitments
(Sussex Academic Press, 120 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "This study argues that Egypt's policy towards the second Intifada may best be understood
yscrutinising several circles of reference that directly affected its policymaking processthroughout the long years of the bloody Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These circles of reference comprise interests and calculations derived from Egyptian internal issues; regional factors -Egypt's role and position in the Arab world in general, and its relations with the Palestinians in
particular; Egypt's relations with Israel; and its strategic ties with the United States. The growing strength and the expansion of the global Islamic terrorist network that challenges the stability of the present Arab regimes constitutes a lynchpin at every layer. It is based primarily on Egyptian sources as well as interviews and conversations with senior members of the Al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies. It also draws on other primary and secondary sources in Arabic, Hebrew and English. The book is essential reading for all scholars involved and engaged with the Israel-Arab conflict."

**Yuval Ginbar**

***Why Not Torture Terrorists? Moral, Practical, and Legal Aspects of the "Ticking Bomb" Justification for Torture***
(Oxford University Press, 2008, 2009)

***On the Way to Annexation: Human Rights Violations Resulting from the Establishment and Expansion of the Ma'alah Adumin Settlement***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1999)
Edited by **Na'ama Carmi**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**

***Legitimizing Torture: The Israeli High Court of Justice Rulings in the Bilbeisi, Hamdan, and Mubarak Cases***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1997)

***Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories as a Violation of Human Rights: Legal and Conceptual Aspects*** (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1997)
Edited by **Yael Stein**; translated by **Zvi Shulman**

**Isabella Ginor** and **Gideon Remez**

***The Soviet-Israeli War, 1967-1973: The USSR's Military Intervention in the Egyptian-Israeli Conflict***
(Oxford University Press, 506 pages, 2017)

***Foxbats over Dimona: The Soviets' Nuclear Gamble in the Six-Day War***
(Yale University Press, 304 pages, 2008)
Contents: Part 1. "We will not leave Egypt in the lurch" -- Rescuing and rearming the USSR's Allies in June 1967 -- Holding the line on the Suez Canal -- The Soviet presence is formalized and expanded -- Part 2. Operation Kavkaz -- Framing the cross-canal goal and the attrition strategy -- The nuclear non-issue -- "Yellow Arab helmet, blue Russian eyes" -- Facing the Bar-Lev line -- A new phase from March '69? -- What triggered Kavkaz? Refuting Heikal's version -- Dr Chazov's "Vacation in Egypt" -- The Soviet regulars move in -- Operation Kavkaz is formally organized -- The Soviet-Israeli battle is joined -- "A famous indiscretion" as the air war peaks -- An MIA mystery and Soviet intelligence methods -- SAM successes and a MiG debacle -- Ceasefire violation seals a strategic gain -- Part 3. A deceptive end -- Sadat proves his stability and loyalty -- Return of the foxbats -- Trial balloons from both sides -- Flexing muscles while offering a pullback -- Jockeying and posturing -- The deal at the summit and the "expulsion" myth -- Withdrawn regulars conceal "banished" advisers -- Deception-on-Nile, July 1972 -- The Soviets "return" in October -- Part 4. "We prepared the war" -- "We can't control the Arabs but must support them" -- "We will be two Ismails" -- The ultimate test of Ashraf Marwan -- In the thick of the Yom Kippur War -- The Soviet nuclear threat and Kissinger's Defcon-3 .

**Terri Ginsberg** (American University in Cairo)

***Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle: Towards a Critical Analytic of Palestine Solidarity Film***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book offers a much-needed focus on Palestine solidarity films, supplying a critical theoretical framework whose intellectual thrust is rooted in the challenges facing scholars censored for attempting to rectify and reverse the silencing of a subject matter about which much of the world would remain uninformed without cinematic and televisual mediation. Its innovative focus on Palestine *solidarity* films spans a selected array of works which began to emerge during the 1970s, made by directors located outside Palestine/Israel who professed support for Palestinian liberation. *Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle* analyzes Palestine solidarity films hailing from countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, Egypt, Iran, Palestine/Israel, Mexico, and the United States. *Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle* is an effort to insist, constructively, upon a rectification and reversal of the glaring and disproportionate

minimization and distortion of discourse critical of Zionism and Israeli policy in the cinematic and televisual public sphere."

**Shai Ginzburg** (Duke University)
***Rhetoric and Nation: The Formation of a Hebrew National Culture, 1880-1990***
(Syracuse University Press, 2014)
Author challenges the common conflation of modern Hebrew rhetoric and modern Jewish nationalism.

**Henry A. Giroux** (McMaster University, Ontario)
***Assassins of Memory: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Erasure***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 224 pages, 2025)
Focus on scholasticide, from Gaza to attacks on student protests beyond.

**Arthur Gish**
***Hebron Journal: Stories of Nonviolent Peacemaking***
(Herald Press, 2001)
Author's work with Christian Peacemaker Teams.

**Inbal Ben-Asher Gitler** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)
***Architectural Culture in British-Mandate Jerusalem, 1917-1948***
(Edinburgh University Press, 264 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Includes new research on public and civic architecture of Mandate Palestine / Focuses on four case studies: the Muslim Palestinian Palace Hotel, the Jewish-Zionist Zionist Executive Buildings, the British Palestine Archaeological Museum and the American Jerusalem YMCA Building. / Reveals the major role that architecture and architectural culture had in constructing communal and national identities in Jerusalem and in Mandate Palestine. / Increases our understanding of the interaction between cultural forces in the Middle East and the emergence of 20th-century architectural culture in Israel/Palestine. / Makes a significant contribution to research into the built environments of mixed cities, contested spaces and cities under foreign rule. / Deepens our understanding of present spatial dilemmas and their context within the Israeli–Palestinian conflict."

**Charles Glass**
***The Tribes Triumphant: Return Journey to the Middle East***
(HarperCollins, 2006)
Former kidnapped ABC TV network journalist returns to the region; the book has an emphasis on Palestine and Israel.

***Tribes with Flags: A Journey Curtailed***
(Secker & Warburg, 1990 / Pan and Picador, 1992)

**Joseph B. Glass**
***From New Zion to Old Zion: American Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Palestine, 1917-1939***
(Wayne State University Press, 2001)
American *aliya* movement sorted in four categories: orthodox, middle-class agriculturists, urban professionals, and the halutzim (pioneers). Contents: 1. Attitudes toward American Jewish Migration To Palestine -- 2. Information and Assistance -- 3. Motivations for American Immigration To Palestine -- 4. The Screening Process: Immigration Policies And Regulations -- 5. The Spatial Distribution of American Olim -- 6. American Ahuza Colonies -- 7. The American Zion Commonwealth (1914-1928) -- 8. Private

Development in The Rural Sector -- 9. American Jewish Settlement on Jewish National Fund Lands -- 10. Americans in the Urban Environment.

**Edward Gleichen** and the **Permanent Committee on Geographical Names**

***Revised List of Names in Palestine – March 1937***
((Royal Geographical Society, 12 pages, 1925)
***First List of Names in Palestine – February 1925***
(Royal Geographical Society, 12 pages, 1925)
Some locations referred to a "Jew. Col.", "Jew. Settlement", or "Jew. Township".

**Edward Bernard Glick**

***The Triangular Connection: America, Israel, and American Jews***
(Allen & Unwin, 1982)

**Mark Glickman**

***One Voice against Many: A Biographical Study of Elmer Berger, 1948-1968***
(Hebrew Union College thesis, 1990)
American antizionist, Rabbi Elmer Berger.

**Sir John Bagot Glubb**

***Into Battle: A Soldier's Diary of the Great War*** aka ***Arabian Adventures: Ten Years of Joyful Service***
(Cassell, 1978)

***A Soldier with the Arabs***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 1959) Nabka relevance.

***Britain and the Arabs: A Study of Fifty Years, 1908-1958***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 496 pages, 1959)
Contents: Britain and the Arabian corridor -- The rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire -- Beginnings of Arab nationalism -- Husain and McMahon -- Sykes-Picot -- The Revolt -- The campaign in Iraq, 1914-1918 -- Syria and Lebanon between the wars -- Iraq between the wars -- The twice-promised land -- Drifting towards the rocks -- Balm in Gilead -- Trusteeship for the masses -- Egyptian independence -- Nejed -- The duty of leadership -- Hilter turns east -- Damascus falls once more -- The aftermath of war -- The catastrophe -- The fertile crescent after the Palestine war -- The canal -- The poison of asps -- The tragedy of Arabia -- Crisis upon crisis -- Wishful thinking -- Putting the case -- The mass mind -- Communism and the Arabs -- The solution : from ideas to ideals.

***The Story of the Arab Legion***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 1948)
Numerous other titles.

Biography by **Trevor Royle**: ***Glubb Pasha: The Life and Times of Sir John Bagot Glubb, Commander of the Arab Legion***
(Little, Brown & Co, 1991; Abacus, 1993)

**Sherna Berger Gluck**

***An American Feminist in Palestine: The Intifada Years***
(Temple University Press, 1994)

**Frederic M. Goadby**

With **Moses J. Doukhan**: *The* ***Land Law of Palestine***
(Tel Aviv: Shoshany's Printing, 458 pages, 1935)

***Law and Jurisdiction in Palestine in Matters of Personal Status and Wakf*** [Waqf]
(Institut Francais de'Archeologie Orientale, pages 127-149 from *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Vol. 18, 1926)

***International and Inter-Religious Private Law in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Hamadpis Press, 305 pages, 1926)

***Commentary on Egyptian Criminal Law and the Related Criminal Law of Palestine, Cyprus, and Iraq***
(Cairo: Government Press, 3 volumes, 1924-1925)

***Introduction to the Study of Law: A Handbook for the Use of Law Students in Egypt and Palestine***
(London: Butterworth & Co., 467 pages, 1914, 1921)

**Arnon Golan** (University of Haifa)

***Israel and the Gaza Strip: The First Decade, 1947-1957***
(Routledge, 222 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Based on abundant Israeli, British and American documentation, articles from the contemporary Arab press and other sources that reflect Arab perspectives, the book deals with the formation of the Gaza Strip between the initial drawing of the boundaries of the 1947 UN partition plan until the Israeli withdrawal from the area in March 1957, following the 1956 War. It also concentrates on the development of the Israeli urban and rural settlement systems that enveloped the Gaza Strip and formed the Gaza Frontier Area. Ultimately, the book provides a wider understanding of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, shedding light on political, military and demographic-spatial plans to solve the Gaza Strip abnormality that involved radical measures such as mass population transfers."

**Aviezer Golan** & **Danny Pinkas**

***Code Name: The Pearl – Life of Shula Cohen***
(Delacorte / Allen Lane, 345 pages 1980)
Aka **Shulah Cohen** aka **Geula Cohen**, Stern Gang pirate radio presenter and later socialite Haganah spy in Beirut)

**Daphna Golan**

***Next Year in Jerusalem: Everyday Life in a Divided Land***
(New Press, 2005)
See Stanley Cohen

**Galia Golan** (member of Meretz, activist with Combat for Peace)

***Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals from Oslo to Disengagement***
(Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishing, 2007)
Contents: Oslo accords — Camp David — Clinton parameters — Taba — Mitchell-Tenet-Zinni recommendations– Saudi initiative-Arab League resolution and UNSC resolution — President Bush's Rose Garden speech — The road map — The Geneva accord — Nusseibeh Ayalon- petition — The disengagement plan — US-Israel understandings: Bush and Weissglas letters.

***Israel, Palestine and the Arab World***
(Routledge, 364 pages, 2006)

***The Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization: An Uneasy Alliance***
(New York City: Praeger Special Studies, 289 pages, 1980)
Not a strictly historical approach, but chapters on Palestinian statehood, a Geneva peace conference, internal differences within the PLO, Lebanon, the Soviet recognition of the PLO, and two bodies' differing on some accommodation with Israel.

***Soviet-PLO Relations and the Creation of a Palestinian State***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem, 28 pages, 1979)

**Matti Golan**

***With Friends Like You: What Israelis Really Think about American Jews***
(New York City: Free Press, 1992)
Translated from Hebrew by **Hillel Kalkin**.

***The Secret Conversations of Henry Kissinger: Step-by-Step Diplomacy in the Middle East***
(Quadrangle / New York Times / Bantam Books, 1976)
Translated from Hebrew by **Ruth Geyra**

***Shimon Peres: A Biography***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1982)
Translated from Hebrew by **Ina Friedman**

**Motti Golani** (Chaim Weizmann Institute, Tel-Aviv Universit
With **Jehuda Reinharz** (Brandeis University)
***Chaim Weizmann: A Biography***
(Brandeis University Press, 820 pages, 2024)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

***Palestine Between Politics and Terror, 1945-1947***
(Brandeis University Press, 2013)

***The End of the British Mandate for Palestine, 1948: the Diary of Sir Henry Gurney***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
Gurney, the last Chief Secretary for Palestine, in 1948, noted as having compared Zionists to Nazis.

**J.J. Goldberg** [Jonathan] (Jewish music historian and journalist for the *New York Times,* the *New Republic,* and the *Jerusalem Report*)

***Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment***
(Basic Books, 450 pages, 1996, 1997)

**Ori Goldberg** (Reichman University, Israeli National Defense College, Al Jazeera commentator)

***Faith and Politics in Iran, Israel, and Islamic State: Theologies of the Real***
(Cambridge University Press, 198 pages, 2019)

**Nahum Goldmann** (leader of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, but openly critical of Israeli policies)

***The Jewish Paradox***
(Grosset & Dunlap/Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 218 pages, 1978)
Originally published in French, 1976. David Ben-Gurion quoted: "If I were an Arab leader, I would never sign an agreement with Israel. It is normal; we haven their country. It is true God promised it to

us, but how could that interest them? Our God is not theirs. There has been Anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They see but one thing: we have come and we have stolen their country. Why would they accept that?"

**Israel Goldstein**

***We Await the Day: Second American Colony Prepares to Settle***
(New York City: Hashomer Hatzair, 31, 1940)
Cover features a Chalutz settler holding a rifle as the sun sets in the background.

**Ahmad Mahmoud H. Gomaa**

***The Foundation of the League of Arab States: Wartime Diplomacy and Inter-Arab Politics, 1941 to 1945***
(Longmans, 1977)

**Hirsh Goodman** (self-proclaimed anti-apartheid South African immigrant to Israel)

***The Anatomy of Israel's Survival***
(New York City: Public Affairs, 274 pages, 2011)

***Let Me Create a Paradise, God Said to Himself: A Journey of Conscience from Johannesburg to Jerusalem***
(Toronto: HarperCollins, 288 pages, 2005)
Autobiography.

As co-editor, with **Jonathan Cummings**: ***The Battle of Jenin: A Case Study in Israel's Communications Strategy***
(Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 65 pages, 2003)

With **W. Seth Carus**: ***The Future Battlefield and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Transaction books, 218 pages, 1990)

***Israel's Strategic Reality: The Impact of the Arms Race***
(Washington DC: Institute for Near East Policy, 52 pages, 1987)

***A Palestinian State: The Case Against***
(Jerusalem: Israel Information Center, 9 pages, 1979)

**Paul Goodman**

***Zionism in England: English Zionist Federation, 1899-1929***
(English Zionist Federation, 63 pages, ca. 1929)

**Adela (aka Ada) Goodrich-Freer (aka Goodrich-Freer Spoer)** (psychical research author who moved to Jerusalem, Cairo, and Illinois)

***Arabs in Tent and Town***
(Seeley, Service & Co, 1924)

***Things Seen in Palestine***
(Seeley, Service & Co., 1912)
With 50 illustrations.

***Inner Jerusalem***
(Constable, 1904)

**Amy Kaufman Goott** & **Steven J. Rosen**
***The Campaign to Discredit Israel***
(Washington, DC: AIPAC, 154 pages, 1983)

**Daniel Gordis**
***We Stand Divided: The Rift Between American Jews and Israel***
(HarperCollins, 2019)

**Alijah Gordon**
***Palestinians Speak***
(Malaysia: MSRI, 2001)
Testimonies of survivors from Tal Al-Za'atar, Israeli invasions, the Sabra-Shatila massacre, the War of the Camps, and Khiam Prison.

**Nahida Halaby Gordon**
***Palestine is Our Home: Voices of Loss, Courage, and Steadfastness***
(Palestine Books, 2016, 173 pages)
Including the ethnic cleansing of Jaffa.

**Neve Gordon**
with **Nicola Perugini**: ***The Human Right to Dominate***
(Oxford University Press, 2015)

***Israel's Occupation***
(University of California Press, 2008)

***Torture: Human Rights, Medical Ethics and the Case of Israel***
(Zed Books, 1995) Conference papers.

**Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt** (Creative Health specialist)
***Killing Corbynism: Zionism's War on Socialism***
(Incarnadine, 494 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Following decades of disenfranchisement, Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party signalled hope - that need would triumph over greed, that the planet might not burn, that politics would be kinder. His programme for government promised to be transformative. He also supported Palestine. He had to be stopped. Between 2015 and 2019, the Labour leadership was subject to accusations that anti-Semitism was endemic in the party, culminating in the allegation that Corbyn himself was Judeophobic. In the absence of factual evidence, his persecutors resorted to subjective claims of prejudice, demanded a purge of pro-Palestine socialists, dismissed logical objections and repeated lies until they took on the appearance of truth. The effect was cumulative, with each new story more damaging than the last, until the public believed that a lifelong anti-racist had enabled anti-Jewish racism to flourish. *Killing Corbynism* is an anatomy of a black op. In chronological detail, this groundbreaking book investigates the State of Israel's role in Labour's 'anti-Semitism crisis'. Delving into history, it considers how strategies and tactics developed in Jerusalem stood ready to deflect any challenge to the state's continued existence and expansion. The target in this case was not just a man but also the movement he inspired. This shameful story implicates parliamentarians, lobbyists, charities, bureaucrats and journalists in the intervention of a foreign state in UK democracy - a state founded on colonisation and genocide."

**Haim Goren, Eran Dolev,** & **Yigal Sheffy**, editors

***Palestine and World War I: Grand Strategy, Military Tactics and Culture in War***

(IB Tauris, 2014)

Contents: Jay Winter: The Palestine Campaign within the Great War / Jean-Noel Grandhomme: Alsace-Lorraine Soldiers in the Palestine Campaign: Conformism and Specificities of a National Minority within the German Military Mission in Turkey / Nir Arielli: Hopes and Jealousies: Rome's Ambitions in the Middle East and the Italian Contingent in Palestine, 1915 – 1920 / Benjamin Z. Kedar: The Conquest of Beersheba, 1917, Revisited: The Crucial Role of German Air Squadron No. 301 / Tilman Ludke: Loyalty, Indifference, Treason: The Ottoman – German Experience in Palestine during World War I / Matthew Hughes: Field Marshal Viscount Allenby: One of the Great Captains of History? / Eran Dolev, MD: A Different Kind of Battle: Allenby's Anti-Malaria Campaign, Palestine, 1918 / Jean Bou: A Cavalry Victory? Cavalry in the historiography of the Sinai-Palestine Campaign / Peter Collier: Mapping for the Third Battle of Gaza, 1917 / Yigal Sheffy: Destabilizing the Enemy: The Raid on Nazareth, 19 – 20 September 1918 / Roberto Mazza: A Diplomat in the Holy City: the Spanish Consul and World War I in Jerusalem / Mustafa Abassi: The Situation in Jerusalem during World War I, According to the Memoirs of Wasif Jawharieh / Anat Kidron: The Haifa Community Committee During World War I: Laying the Foundations for Multi-ethnic Public Leadership in the City / Yair Seltenreich: The Jewish Colonization Association in the Galilee – The Day After / Glenda Abramson: Hebrew Literature of World War I in Palestine / Nancy Rosenfeld: 'On the rock-strewn hills I heard/The anger of guns': Siegfried Sassoon in Palestine

**Gershom Gorenberg** (Jerusalem resident who writes for *Ha'aretz* and American magazines)

***The Unmaking of Israel***

(Harper, 2011)

Analysis of how the settler movement has corrupted Israeli central government.

***The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of Settlements, 1967-1977***

(Holt, 2006-7)

***End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount***

(Oxford University Press, 2002)

**Michael Gorkin** & **Rafiqa Othman**

***Three Mothers, Three Daughters: Palestinian Women's Stories***

(University of California Press, 1996)

**Michael Gorkin**

***Days of Honey, Days of Onion – The Story of a Palestinian Family in Israel***

(University of California Press, 1993)

**Anthony Gorman** (Edinburgh University) and **Sossie Kasbarian** (Lancaster University)

***Diasporas of the Modern Middle East: Contextualising Community***

(University of Edinburgh Press, 2015)

Includes case study of Palestinians in Lebanon.

**Yosef Gorni** aka **Joseph Gorny** (Zionist history professor, Tel Aviv University)

***From Binational Society to Jewish State: Federal Concepts in Zionist Political Thought, 1920-1990***

(Leiden: Brill, 2006)

***Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948: A Study of Ideology***
(Clarendon/Oxford University Press, 342 pages, 1987)
Publisher's blurb: "Yosef Gorny examines the attitudes of Jewish settlers and Zionist intellectual and political leaders towards the Arab population in the period when Jewish settlement began in Palestine, and shows that the ideological principles of Zionism were a decisive influence throughout the world."

***The British Labour Movement and Zionism, 1917-1948***
(Frank Cass, 273 pages, 1983)

**Government of Palestine (British Mandate Government) -** a sample. Note: The British Library hold many titles as part of Official Publications category, and numerous maps within their Maps Section. Researchers should of course investigate the holdings at the Imperial War Museum, the National Archives (formerly called the Public Record Office), and numerous university library stock noted on: **https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/** (formerly: copac.ac.uk)

R.W. [Robert William] Hamilton: ***The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque: A Record of Archaeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942***
(Gop / Oxford University Press, 104 pages, 1949 [sic])

***Annual Report of the Director of Audit on the Accounts of the Government of Palestine and the Palestine Railways' and Ports and Operated Lines for the Financial Year 1946-47***
(GoP, 45 pages, 1948)

***Annual Report of the Director of Audit on the Accounts of the Government of Palestine and the Palestine Railways' and Ports and Operated Lines for the Financial Year 1946-47***
(GoP, 45 pages, 1947)

***Supplementary Memorandum by the Government of Palestine, including Notes on Evidence given to the United Nations' Special Committee on Palestine up to the 12th July, 1947***
(GoP, 59 pages, 1947)

***Memorandum on the Water Resources of Palestine, Presented by the Government of Palestine to the United Nations' Special Committee on Palestine in July, 1947***
(GoP, 30 pages, 1947)

**G.S. Blake** & **M.J. Goldsmith**, editors: ***Geology and Water Resources of Palestine***
(GoP, 1947) Two volumes: Volume 1 is text, Volume 2 is maps.

**Immanuel Ben-Dor:** ***Guide to Beisan***
(Jerusalem: GoP Department of Antiquities, 1943)

***Palestine Royal Commission: Memoranda Prepared by the Government of Palestine***
(GoP, 207 pages, 1937)
Peel Commission; including minutes of evidence given at public sessions.

***Memorandum (Memorandum II) on the Violation by the Department of Posts and Telegraphs of the Government of Palestine of the Right of the Hebrew Language to Equality with the other Official Languages of Palestine. Presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations***
(Haifa: GoP, 1931, 1934)
In Hebrew and English.

***Civil Service List***
(GoP, 1932-1946)

Staff list. Related: J.H. Kann : ***Some Observations on the Policy of the Mandatory Government of Palestine, with Regard to the Arab attacks on the Jewish Population in August, 1929, and the Jewish and the Arab Sections of the Population*** (The Hague, 60 pages, 1930)

***System of Transliteration from Arabic into English***
(GoP / Cambridge University Press, 1923)

**J.B. Barron**, Director of Revenue & Customs, compiler: ***Palestine: Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922 taken on the 23rd of October 1922***
(GoP, ca. 1923)

**J.B. Barron**, Director of Revenue and Customs: ***Mohammedan Wakfs in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1922)

**Oleg Grabar**

***The Dome of the Rock***
(Harvard University Press, 2006)

**James A. Graff** & **Mohamed Abdolell**

***Palestinian Children and Israeli State Violence***
(Near East Cultural & Educational Foundation of Canada / University of Toronto Press, 1991)

**Sarah Graham-Brown**

***Returnees in Jordan: Report on a Visit to Jordan***
(The Refugee Council, pamphlet, 1993)

***Palestinians in Kuwait: Report on a Visit to Kuwait, May 1992***
(The Refugee Council / Gulf Information Project, pamphlet, 1992)

***Women and Politics in the Middle East***
(Washington DC: Middle East Research and Information Center, pamphlet, ca. 1990s)

***Refugees, Misplace People and Migrant Workers in Iraq and Jordan – Report on a Visit in September 1991***
(The Refugee Council / Gulf Information Project, pamphlet, 1991)

***The Palestinian Situation***
(Geneva: YMCA, ca. 1989)

***Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography in the Middle East, 1860-1950***
(Quartet Books, 1988)

***Education, Repression and Liberation: Palestinians***
(London: World University Service, 1984)
Edited by Neil MacDonald

***Palestinians and Their Society, 1880-1946***
(Quartet Books, 1980)
Photographic essay with text.

***Palestinian Workers and Trade Unions***
(Middle East Research and Action Group / UK Palestine Co-ordination / Lansbury House Trust, pamphlet, 1980)

See Gertrude Bell and the CULTURE section.

**John D. Grainger**

***The Battle for Palestine 1917***
(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 292 2006)
Focus on Gazza battles and eastward to Jerusalem.

**Ben Granby**

***Welcome to the Bethlehem Star Hotel: An Account of Life in Palestine with Descriptions of People, Places and Incidents***
(Garrett County Press, 2005)
Travelogue from 2002.

**Oded Granot**

***Activities of Palestinian Research Center Discussed***
(Near East/South Asia Report – Foreign Broadcast Information Service Joint Publications Research Service Reports, 1982)

**Abraham Granovsky**

***Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel***
(Eyre & Spottiswoode, 301 pages, 1956)

As by **A. Granott**, an anglicised form of Granovsky: ***The Land System in Palestine – History and Structure***
(Eyre & Spottiswoode, 359 pages, 1952)
Contents: The agrarian regime under the Moslems -- Distribution of landed property -- The emergence of large estates -- Large landed property in the hands of individuals -- Landed property of the state -- Landed property of the waqf -- The landed property of the Christian churches -- Medium and small landed property -- Landed property held in Mesha's tenure -- Changes in the distribution of landed properties -- Jewish land ownership -- Tenancy and leasehold. Translated from Hebrew by M. Simon.

***The Land Issue in Palestine***
(New York City: Jewish National Fund,84 pages, 1936)
Sequel to *Land Settlement in Palestine*

***Land and the Jewish Reconstruction in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Palestine and Near East Publications, 201 pages, 1932)

***Land Settlement in Palestine***
(London, 1930)
Translated from German by **M. Simon**.

***Land Problems in Palestine***
(Routledge, 104 pages, 1926)
Period piece studies the various phases of the land policy of the National Fund, the standard bearer of national Jewish land policy in Palestine. The problems of Jewish land policy were precipitated into the foreground because all Zionist groups came to realise the key role which the soil itself was thought to play in Jewish Palestine, and the imperative to own the land itself. Foreword by theRt. Rev. JC Wedgwood.

**Hilma [Natalia] Granqvist** [1890-1972]

***Portrait of a Palestinian Village ; The Photographs of Hilma Granqvist***
(London: Third World Centre, 1981)
Edited by **Karen Seger**, with foreword by **Shelagh Weir**

***Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan***
(Helsinki: Societas Scientarum Fennica, 1965)

***Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: A Study of a Muhammadan Village in Palestine***
(Helsingfors [Helsinki]: Söderström & Co., 1947)

***Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village II***
(Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1935)

***Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village I***
(Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931)

**Elihu Grant** aka **Eliahu Grant**

***The People of Palestine: an enlarged edition of The Peasantry of Palestine – Life, Manners, and Customs of the Village***
(Boston: Pilgrim Press, 255 pages with 39 leaves of plates, 1907 / Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 271 pages with 44 unnumbered leaves of plates, 1921; Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976)
Digitised for free use by Project Gutenberg: https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/61662

**Philip Perceval Graves**

***Palestine, The Land of Three Faiths***
(New York City: George H. Doran, 286 pages, ca. 1924)
With an introduction by **D.G. Hogarth**.

**R. M. Graves** aka **Richard Massie Graves** (Jerusalem Mayor, 1947-1948)

***Experiment in Anarchy***
(Gollancz, 238 pages, 1949)

**Chris Hables Gray** (University of California, Santa Cruz)

***AI, Sacred Violence, and War: The Case of Gaza***
(Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 145 pages, 2025/2026)
Free download via: link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-031-81501-0

**Great Britain, Department for International Development**

***Working in Partnership with UNRWA, the United National Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East***
(DFID, 9 pages, 1999)

**Stephen Green**

***Living By the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East, 1968-1987***
(William Morrow / Faber, 1988)

***Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel, 1948-1967***
(Faber/William Morrow, 1984; Green Mountain Press, 377 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Traces the hidden history of U.S.–Israel foreign policy through original government documents, firsthand interviews, and the personal writings of key officials. President Eisenhower cut off all U.S. aid to Israel—the only American president to ever do so. In 1967, the USS Liberty was napalmed by Israeli jets, while Washington downplayed the attack. John F. Kennedy's plan to rein in Israel's nuclear ambitions died with him in Dallas. Behind the scenes, CIA and Mossad operations shaped policy outcomes few Americans ever knew existed. From the Lavon Affair to Israel's early nuclear development, Green charts a timeline of covert maneuvers, secret intelligence sharing, and hardwired dependency. What emerges is a portrait of an alliance that advanced Israeli interests through deception, pressure, and political infiltration—often at odds with America's own strategic goals."

**Toby Green**

***Blair, Labour and Palestine: Conflicting Views on the Middle East after 9/11***
(Bloomsbury, 2014)

**Ela Greenberg**

***Preparing for the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2010)
Author connects Mandate era education with the educational reforms of the late Ottoman period. Assumes a knowledge of British Mandate history. "Deftly woven." – Andrea L. Stanton

**Michael Greenberg**

***What's Up in Palestine?***
(FACT, no. 20 in the 'Monograph a Month' series, 90 pages, 1938)
Period analysis, with focus on the Arab National Movement, Zionism, Palestinian rebellion and British repression, and a chapter titled (quote from Ronald Storrs), 'A Little Loyal Jewish Ulster.'

**Roberta R. Greene** (University of Texas Austin), **Shira Hantman** (Tel-Hai College, Israel), **Yair Seltenreich** (Tel-Hai College, Israel), **Mustafa Abbasi** (Tel-Hai College, Israel) & **Nancy Greene** (Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina)

***Living in Mandatory Palestine: Personal Narratives of Resilience of the Galilee during the Mandate Period, 1918-1948***
(Routledge, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This book, the product of a series of 40 interviews with Israelis and Palestinians, describes everyday life in Galilee during the Mandate period. The individual narratives are skillfully embedded in larger historical and social histories by a team of authors who come from diverse academic backgrounds. It offers a glimpse into Israelis' and Palestinians' experiences of war and peace and sheds new light on the challenges facing Israeli society today. This work is ideal for scholars and students of the social sciences, particularly those interested in the psychological repercussions of political and social events." Note: Mustafa Abbasi published Palestinians Fighting the Nazis: The Story of Palestinian Volunteers in the Second World War," in the journal WAR IN HISTORY (Vol. 26, n.2, 2019 – pages 227-249); it's available in electronic form at the British Library and in most university libraries.

**Toby Greene**

[Tony] ***Blair, Labour, and Palestine: Conflicting Views on Middle East Peace after 9/11***
(Bloomsbury, 2014)
Contents: Chapter 1 Roots of British Policy in the Israeli-Palestinian Arena; The Mandate period; After Israel's establishment; Suez and the British exit from the Middle East; The 1967 and 1973 Wars; The impact of the 1982 Lebanon War; The era of the peace process; Blair's and Labour's inheritance; Chapter 2 New Labour and the Israeli-Palestinian Issue; Labour up to the end of the Mandate; Israel's collusion with Empire; The era of occupation.Labour's turn against Israel. The

politics of Blair and New Labour; New Labour's turn to Israel; Countervailing factors: The Labour left and the Muslim lobby; Chapter 3 'Patient and Quiet Diplomacy' in Labour's First Term; Who made policy?; A steep learning curve; Blair lays down a marker in the peace process; From Kosovo to Chicago: Blair's foreign policy activism develops; The growing threat from Islamist violence; Barak's election and the role of Lord Levy; Responding to the peace process crisis; Chapter 4 Radical Islam, 9/11 and the Israeli-Palestinian Issue; Grappling with 9/11. The rise of the challenge of political IslamThe Clash of Civilizations interpretation; The neoliberal interpretation; The grievance-based interpretation and its appeal to the left; Israel: The cause of Islamist extremism, or an ally against it?; Framing Labour's response to 9/11; Chapter 5 The Israeli-Palestinian Issue and the Response to 9/11; Blair and Labour in the second term; The Israeli-Palestinian issue in Britain's response to 9/11; Trying to persuade Bush; Limited US engagement; Chapter 6 The Israeli-Palestinian Issue and the Iraq War; The agenda turns to Iraq. Managing the Israeli-Palestinian problemBlair commits to confronting Iraq; War in Iraq causes strains in UK-Israel relationship; Chapter 7 The Israeli-Palestinian Arena Becomes 'The Issue'; Blair's post-Iraq strategy in the War on Terror; Repairing the damage with Israel; British support for efforts to fill the diplomatic void; Backing Sharon's revolution and the revolt of the fifty-two; The death of Arafat and the re-election of Bush: An opportunity; Chapter 8 The Israeli-Palestinian Issue and Domestic Counter-Radicalization; Foreign policy meets domestic security. British Muslims and the Israeli-Palestinian issue in the first term Government relations with British Muslims after 9/11; Intensification of FCO engagement with British Muslims; 'Full scale engagement with British Muslims on foreign policy'; Increasing threat from violent British Islamists to the United Kingdom; Officials focus on foreign policy as a 'key driver'; Islamic foreign policy concerns at the ballot box; 7/7 changes the rules of the game; Which Muslims to engage with in the United Kingdom?; Ruth Kelly breaks the government link with the MCB; Chapter 9 Blair Confronts 'Radical Islam'. See also: **Labour Friends of Israel**.

**Ran Greenstein**

***Anti-Colonial Resistance in South Africa and Israel/Palestine: Identity, Nationalism, and Race***
(Routledge, 245 pages, 2023)

***Zionism and its Discontents: A Century of Radical Dissent in Israel/Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 248 pages, 2014)

**Tony Greenstein**

***Zionism During the Holocaust: The Weaponisation of Memory in the Service of State and Nation***
(author, 546 pages, 2022)

***Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Continuing Relationship***
(author, 78 pages, 2011)

***Anti-Semitism and its Zionist Shadow: The Reactionary Roots of Jewish Separatism***
(London: Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 140 pages, 1986)

***Zionism, Anti-Semitism's Twin in Jewish Garb***
(Brighton Labour Briefing, ca. 1980)

**Diana B. Greenwald** (City College of New York)

***Mayors in the Middle: Indirect Rule and Local Government in Occupied Palestine***
(Columbia University Press, 320 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Through a historically informed, empirically nuanced analysis of towns and cities across the West Bank, Diana B. Greenwald offers a new theory of local government under indirect rule—a strategy that is often associated with imperial powers of the past but persists in settings of colonialism and state-building today. Grounded in fine-grained data on municipal governance under

occupation as well as interviews with Palestinian mayors, council members, staff, activists, and political elites, this book traces how the Israel-PA regime has influenced the constraints and incentives of Palestinians serving in local government. *Mayors in the Middle* demonstrates that both the indirect rule system itself—as embodied in local policing arrangements—and the political affiliation of Palestinian mayors shape how politicians will govern. This variation, Greenwald argues, depends in part on whether local Palestinian governments are perceived as intermediaries within or opponents of the regime. Although Palestine is often treated as exceptional, Greenwald draws illustrative parallels with British colonial India and South Africa's apartheid regime. A groundbreaking study of Palestinian local politics, *Mayors in the Middle* illuminates the broader dilemmas of indigenous self-government under systems of exclusion and domination."

**James Grehan** (Portland State University)

*Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*
(Oxford University Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "In this study of everyday religious culture in early modern Syria and Palestine, James Grehan offers a social history that looks beyond conventional ways of thinking about religion in the Middle East. The most common narratives about the region introduce us to the separate traditions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, highlighting how each one has created its own distinctive traditions and communities. Twilight of the Saints offers a reinterpretation of religious and cultural history in a region which is today associated with division and violence. Exploring the religious habits of ordinary people, from the late seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century, when the region was part of the Ottoman Empire, Grehan shows that members of different religious groups participated in a common, overarching religious culture that was still visible at the beginning of the twentieth century. Most evident in the countryside, though present everywhere, this religious mainstream thrived in a society in which few people had access to formal religious teachings. This older, folk religious culture was steeped in notions and rituals that the modern world, with its mainly theological conception of religion, has utterly repudiated. Indeed, the people of Syria and Palestine today would hardly recognize religion as it was experienced in the not-so-distant past. Only by uncovering this lost lived religion, argues Grehan, can we appreciate the largely unacknowledged revolution in religion that has taken place in the region over the last century."

**Nina Gren**

***Occupied Lives: Maintaining Integrity in a Palestinian Refugee Camp in the West Bank***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2015)
An ethnographic study of Dheisheh Refugee Camp, near Bethlehem, 2003-2004.

**Alain Gresh**

***Strategic Crisis of the Palestinian' National Movement and UN Bid***
(Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, 2011)

***The PLO: The Struggle Within: Towards an Independent Palestinian State***
(Zed, 270 pages, 1985, 1988)
Translated from French by **AM Berrett**, with a preface by **Maxime Rodinson**. Contents:
The circumstances surrounding the discussion within the PLO -- The premises of the debate -- The debate -- The first phase of the occupation -- The second phase of the occupation -- The first period (1967-1970) -- Black September and its consequences -- The dark years (1971-1972) -- The turning point of 1973 -- The positions and forces within the PLO -- External factors and Palestinian decision-making -- The decision-making process and the preparations for the twelfth PNC -- Confirmation of the PLO's stand and international recognition -- The rejection front: towards a split? -- The question of a Palestinian government-in-exile -- The economic viability of a Palestinian state -- Israeli-Palestinian talks -- Novel arguments -- For a Palestinian state: the thirteenth PNC -- Palestinian autonomy or a Palestinian state? -- After Beirut -- An uncertain future.

**Dr. Mary Grey**

***The Spirit of Peace: Pentecost and Affliction in the Middle East***
(Sacristy Press, 2015)

**Jonathan M. Gribetz** aka **Jonathan Marc Gribetz** (Princeton University)

***Reading Herzl in Beirut: The PLO Effort to Know the Enemy***
(Princeton University Press, 408 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In September 1982, the Israeli military invaded West Beirut and Israel-allied Lebanese militiamen massacred Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Meanwhile, Israeli forces also raided the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center and trucked its complete library to Israel. Palestinian activists and supporters protested loudly to international organizations and the Western press, claiming that the assault on the Center proved that the Israelis sought to destroy not merely Palestinian militants but Palestinian culture as well. The protests succeeded: in November 1983, Israel returned the library as part of a prisoner exchange. What was in that library? Much of the expansive collection the PLO amassed consisted of books about Judaism, Zionism, and Israel. In *Reading Herzl in Beirut*, Jonathan Marc Gribetz tells the story of the PLO Research Center from its establishment in 1965 until its ultimate expulsion from Lebanon in 1983. Gribetz explores why the PLO invested in research about the Jews, what its researchers learned about Judaism and Zionism, and how the knowledge they acquired informed the PLO's relationship to Israel."

***Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race and the Early Zionist-Arab Encounter***
(Princeton University Press, 2014) Publisher's blurb: "As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict persists, aspiring peacemakers continue to search for the precise territorial dividing line that will satisfy both Israeli and Palestinian nationalist demands. The prevailing view assumes that this struggle is nothing more than a dispute over real estate. Defining Neighbors boldly challenges this view, shedding new light on how Zionists and Arabs understood each other in the earliest years of Zionist settlement in Palestine and suggesting that the current singular focus on boundaries misses key elements of the conflict. Drawing on archival documents as well as newspapers and other print media from the final decades of Ottoman rule, Jonathan Gribetz argues that Zionists and Arabs in pre-World War I Palestine and the broader Middle East did not think of one another or interpret each other's actions primarily in terms of territory or nationalism. Rather, they tended to view their neighbors in religious terms–as Jews, Christians, or Muslims–or as members of "scientifically" defined races–Jewish, Arab, Semitic, or otherwise. Gribetz shows how these communities perceived one another, not as strangers vying for possession of a land that each regarded as exclusively their own, but rather as deeply familiar, if at times mythologized or distorted, others. Overturning conventional wisdom about the origins of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Gribetz demonstrates how the seemingly intractable nationalist contest in Israel and Palestine was, at its start, conceived of in very different terms. Courageous and deeply compelling, Defining Neighbors is a landmark book that fundamentally recasts our understanding of the modern Jewish-Arab encounter and of the Middle East conflict today."

**Howard Grief**

***The Legal Foundation and Borders of Israel under International Law***
(Jerusalem: Mazo Publishers, 2008)

**Mark Griffiths** (Newcastle University)

***Checkpoint 300: Colonial Space in Palestine***
(University of Minnesota Press, 250 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Checkpoint 300, the highly securitized border facility between occupied Bethlehem and Jerusalem, is a central feature of Israeli control of Palestinian land and life. An apparatus of turnstiles, overcrowded corridors, and invasive inspections, the checkpoint regulates the movement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, granting access to some while excluding most. Offering a nuanced exploration of space, Mark Griffiths reveals Checkpoint 300 as a stark

symbol of Israeli colonialism that embodies larger systems of control and violence. Griffiths's sensitive and timely work highlights the myriad ways Palestinians are affected by Israel's spatial control-whether they travel through the checkpoint or not-demonstrating how colonial infrastructures of inequity extend far beyond their physical boundaries to shape daily life. Drawing on nearly a decade of fieldwork, Griffiths examines how colonial power infiltrates family dynamics, enforces gendered mobility restrictions, shapes local economies, and extends into the global exchange of capital and security technologies. He also underscores how Palestinians endure and resist under oppressive conditions and how indigenous forms of life and living are sustained, illuminating how colonial space is contested and countered, unmade and remade. Blending meticulous research with vivid human stories to show the lived realities of borders, power, and resistance in the West Bank, *Checkpoint 300* portrays the checkpoint as an entry into the ways that colonial space is formed through security infrastructure that is both the product and producer of wider geographies of oppression, complicity, and control."

**Lev Luis Grinberg**

***Mo(ve)ments of Resistance: Politics, Economy and Society in Israel, 1931-2013***
(Brighton, Massachusetts: Brighton Academic Press, 346 pages, 2013/2014)
Contents: Prologue. A personal account: reflections on the design of a progressive research program -- Introduction: political spaces and mo(ve)ments of resistance -- 1931: An Arab-Jewish civil society struggle against the British colonial government -- 1959: Wadi Salib riots: culminating a decade of ethnic discrimination -- 1960-1965: the Action Committees' revolt: full employment crisis, failed democratization and state expansion -- 1971: The Black Panthers movement: ethnic tensions and "left-right" tribal polarization -- 1980: Forum/13 powerful workers: hyperinflation and the challenge to state autonomy -- 1987-1993: The Intifada: the Palestinian resistance mo(ve)ment -- 2011: The J14 mo(ve)ment: the emergence of the Occupy repertoire of resistance -- Conclusion: on the dynamics of political spaces: time, movement, actors and masses.

***Politics and Violence in Israel: Democracy versus Military Rule***
(Routledge, 253 pages, 2010)
Contents: chapter 1 Introduction -- part Part I Theoretical and historical background -- chapter 2 The dynamics of political space -- chapter 3 Historical background: The Israeli-Palestinian imbroglio and the road to Oslo -- part Part II Peace negotiations: Between democratization and decolonization -- chapter 1 Introduction -- chapter 4 Peace without borders?: The "tactical failure" of Oslo -- chapter 5 From Gaza to Beit Lid: The strategic trap -- chapter 6 Rabin's assassination: The fall of a charismatic movement -- part Part III The imagined peace: The illusion and its shattering, 1996-2000 -- chapter 1 Introduction -- chapter 7 Redesigning Israeli political space: The rise of the post-conflict agenda -- chapter 8 Abandoning Oslo and reviving national unity -- part Part IV The military occupation of politics -- chapter 1 Introduction -- chapter 9 Repressing Intifada II: Atoning for leaving Lebanon -- chapter 10 The unilateral strategy: Separation walls, disengagement, elections, and war -- chapter 11 No paradise now.

**Miron Grindea**, editor (editor of Anglo-French literary magazine, *Adam International Review*)

***Jerusalem: The Holy City in Literature***
(Kahn & Averill / Adam International Review, 1996)
Contains a few pieces written by Palestinian Christians or Muslims.

**Lucas Grollenberg** [Bible historian]

***Palestine Comes First***
(SCM Canterbury Press, 151 pages, 1980)
Chapter topics include colonialism, Deir Yassin, etc.

**Peter Grose**

***Israel in the Mind of America***
(New York City: Knopf, 1984)

**David Grossman** (Jerusalem novelist and journalist; sacked from Kol Yisrael radio in 1988 for broadcasting the truth, that the PLO had declared a Palestinian state and Israel's right to exist.)

***The Thinking Heart***
(Jonathan Cape, 95 pages, 2024)
Essays, selected by **Eva Cossee** and **Christoph Buckwald**; translated by **Jessica Cohen**. Contents: Prologue: who will we be when we rise from the ashes? (10 October 2023) -- Part one. Nevertheless (22 May 2021) -- Israel in chaos (30 December 2022) -- Dictatorship threatens Israel (25 March 2023) -- What is a Jewish state? (26 April 2023) -- The march on Jerusalem (25 July 2023) -- The tightrope walker look down (29 August 2023) -- Part two. -- Writer in an occupying country (15 July 2017) -- Equality is not a prize (4 August 2018) -- The thinking heart (29 November 2022) -- After the war (1 March 2024) -- Suddenly a cry flew (Tel Aviv, 24 July 2024).

***Writing in the Dark***
(Bloomsbury, 2009)
Essays on politics and art, critical of 2006 invasion of Lebanon, during which his IDF tank commander son died.

***Death as a Way of Life: Despatches from Jerusalem*** aka ***Death as a Way of Life: Israel Ten Years after Oslo***
(Bloomsbury, 179 pages, 2003)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**; edited by **Efrat Lev**.

***Sleeping on a Wire*** (Vintage, 1993, 2010)
Journalism on Palestinians in Israel

***The Yellow Wind***
(1993, 2002)
West Bank journalism from 1987. Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

**David Grossman** (Bar-Ilan University)

***Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine: Distribution and Population Density During the Late Ottoman and Early Mandate Periods***
(Routledge, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume explores the distribution of the rural population in Palestine from the late Ottoman period (1870-1917) to the British Mandate period (1917-1948). The book focuses on demography, specifically migrations, population size, density, growth, and the pattern of distribution in rural Palestine before the inception of Jewish settlement (1882). Grossman traces little-known Muslim ethnic groups who settled in Palestine's rural areas, primarily Egyptians, but also Algerians, Bosnians, and Circassians. The author argues that the Arab population in the zones occupied by Jews after 1882 was about one-third that of the Arab core areas; in the period studied, the decline in per-capita rural Arab farmland was mainly due to overall population growth, not displacement of Arabs; economic development suffered largely because of violent disturbances and natural disasters; the pattern of growth of Egyptian and other Muslim groups was similar to that of the Jews. The main conclusions of this study note that the size of the rural Arab population in the zones occupied by Jews after 1882 was about one-tenth of that which occupied the Arab core zones; most Egyptian settlement areas coincided with those of the Jewish zones; between 1870 and 1945, the decline of Arab farmland was mainly due to Arab population growth rather than Jewish land acquisitions; and most migrants (Jewish and Muslim) settlement zones were leftovers characterized by some form of resource disability."

***The Jewish and Arab Settlements in the Tulkarm Sub-District***

(West Bank Data Base Project, 67 pages, 1986)

**Kurt B. Grossman**

***The Jewish DP Problem: Its Origins, Scope, and Liquidation***

(New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress, 43 pages, 1951)

**Ruth Gruber**

***Exodus 1947: The Ship That Launched a Nation***

(1948; Times Books / Random House, 1999 / Sterling Publishing / Union Square Press, 204 pages, 2007)

Introduction by **Bartley Crum**. *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent was the lone journalist covering the story, highly elevated in the Zionist canon. Originally published as *Destination Palestine: The Story of the Haganah Shipf Exodus 1947*.

**Kaoutar Guediri**

***A History of Anti-Partitionist Perspectives in Palestine, 1915-1988***

PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2013; hopefully, this will be a published book.

**Alfred Guillaume**

***Zionists and the Bible: A Criticism of the Claim that the Establishment of an Independent Jewish State in Palestine is Prophesied in Holy Scripture***

(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1956)

**Laure Guiruis** (Freie Universitat, Berlin)

***The Arab Lefts: Histories and Legacies, 1950s-1970s***

(Edinburgh University Press, 312 pages, 2022)

Relevant chapters: *Beating Hearts: Arab Marxism, Anti-Colonialism and Literatures of Coexistence in Palestine/Israel, 1944-1960*; and *Non-Zionists, Anti-Zionists, Revolutionaries: Palestinian Appraisals of the Israeli Left, 1967-1973*.

**Janet Varner Gunn** (South African University)

***Second Life: A West Bank Memoir***

(University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

With foreword by Lila Abu-Lughod. Hazel Rochman in Booklist: "Daily life in a Palestinian refugee camp on the West Bank is described by an American human rights worker who was there from 1988 to 1990. Gunn focuses her story on a teenager, Mohammad Abu Aker, who was critically shot during a stone-throwing demonstration, became a living martyr of the Intifada uprising, and died in 1990. She tells of arrests, land confiscations, home invasions, beatings, shootings–yet always she finds that the people's strongest weapon against the Israeli occupation lies in their holding on to the mundane details of daily life. Unfortunately, Gunn keeps reminding us that she's just an American outsider and that she can't be objective. She intrudes on every page with banal and boring parallels about her own personal loss. This may satisfy trendy academic requirements about what she calls "the problematics of positionality," but it's the Palestinians we want to know about. Gunn is most compelling when she tells of ordinary people who, despite their suffering, have a vitality and an indomitable spirit that help them carry on."

**Goran Gunner** and **Robert O. Smith**, co-editors

***Comprehending Christian Zionism: Perspectives in Comparison***

(Minneapolis: Fortress, 347 pages, 2014)

**Jeroen Gunning**

***Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence***

(Columbia University Press, 2008)

**Gulistan Gurbey**, **Sabine Hofmann** and **Ferhad Ibrahim Seyder**, (all from FreieUniversitat Berlin), editors

***Between Diplomacy and Non-Diplomacy: Foreign relations of Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 332 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "This book compares the involvement of Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine (Palestinian Territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip) in international relations from the viewpoint of their practical performance. In particular, it provides an overview over the current Kurdish and Palestinian paradiplomatic activities and their practical performance in terms of their capabilities, capacities and practical achievements. The contributing authors analyze the evolution of paradiplomacy, the domestic legal and institutional framework, the goals, instruments, and capabilities of Kurdish and Palestinian paradiplomacy, and selected foreign relations. The book identifies the similarities and differences between the paradiplomacy of Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine with regard to a set of guidelines: causes, legal foundations, institutionalization, predominant motives, practical implementation, and outcomes of paradiplomacy. It provides empirical explanations about how and why Kurdistan-Iraq and Palestine develop and practice paradiplomacy and contributes to a better understanding of Kurdistan-Iraq's and Palestine's involvement in international affairs and their activities."

**Yifat Gutman** (New School for Social Research, New York City)

***Memory Activism: Reimagining the Past for the Future in Israel-Palestine***

(Vanderbilt University Press, 200 pages, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Set in Israel in the first decade of the twenty-first century and based on long-term fieldwork, this rich ethnographic study offers an innovative analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It explores practices of memory activism by three groups of Jewish-Israeli and Arab-Palestinian citizens-Zochrot, Autobiography of a City, and Baladna-showing how they appropriated the global model of truth and reconciliation while utilizing local cultural practices such as tours and testimonies. These activist efforts gave visibility to a silenced Palestinian history in order to come to terms with the conflict s origins and envision a new resolution for the future. This unique focus on memory as a weapon of the weak reveals a surprising shift in awareness of Palestinian suffering among the Jewish majority of Israeli society in a decade of escalating violence and polarization–albeit not without a backlash. Contested memories saturate this society. The 1948 war is remembered as both Independence Day by Israelis and al-Nakba ( the catastrophe ) by Palestinians.The walking tour and survivor testimonies originally deployed by the state for national Zionist education that marginalized Palestinian citizens are now being appropriated by activists for tours of pre-state Palestinian villages and testimonies by refugees." See also: Zochrat

**Aviva Guttman** (Aberystwyth University)

***Operation Wrath of God: The Secret History of European Intelligence and Mossad's Assassination Campaign***

(Cambridge University Press, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "In this unprecedented history of intelligence cooperation during the Cold War, Aviva Guttmann uncovers the key role of European intelligence agencies in facilitating Mossad's Operation Wrath of God. She reveals how, in the aftermath of the 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre, Palestinians suspected of involvement in terrorism were hunted and killed by Mossad with active European cooperation. Through unique access to unredacted documents in the Club de Berne archive, she shows how a secret coalition of intelligence agencies supplied Mossad with information about Palestinians on a colossal scale and tacitly supported Israeli covert actions on European soil. These agencies helped to

anticipate and thwart a number of Palestinian terrorist plots, including some revealed here for the first time. This extraordinary book reconstructs the hidden world of international intelligence, showing how this parallel order enabled state relations to be pursued independently of official foreign policy constraints or public scrutiny."

**Achad Ha-am** aka **Ahad Ha'am**, pseudonym of **Asher Ginsberg** aka **Asher Avi Ginzberg** (Russian who criticised political Zionism and the exploitation of Palestinian peasantry; 1856-1927)

***Ten Essays on Zionism and Judaism***
(Routledge & Sons, 1922 / Arno Press, 1973 / Routledge, 2018)
Translated from Hebrew by **Leo Simon**. Makes the case that, regarding Palestine, the Jewish people were destined "rule over it and manage all its own affairs in its own way, without regard to the consent or non-consent of its present inhabitants. For thie rebuilding, it might be understood, is only a renewal of the ancient rights of the Jews, which over-rides the rights of the present inhabitants, who have wrongly established their national home on a land not their own."

***Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic: Basic Writings of Ahad Ha'am***
(New York City, Schocken Books, 319 pages, 1962)
Edited and with an introduction by **Hans Kohn**.

***Pinsker and Political Zionism***
(London: The Zionist, 28 pages, 1916)
Translated by **Leon Simon**.

***Slavery in Freedom***
(London: The Zionist, 16 pages, 1916)
Translated by **Leon Simon**.

***Selected Essays***
(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 347 pages, 1912)
Translated by **Leon Simon**.

**Jurj Habash** aka **George Habash** (founder of the one-state advocacy, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine)

***'Our Code of Morals is Our Revolution'***
(Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] Information Department, 14 pages, 1970)
An address given to residents of the Jordan Hotel, Amman, during the military battle between the PFLP and Jordanian forces, 7-11 June, 1970. See also: **Walid W. Kazziha**.

**Majid Al-Haj** (University of Haifa)

***Education among Indigenous Palestinians in Israel: Inequality, Cultural Hegemony, and Social Change***
(State University of New York Press, 367 pages, 2024)
Contents: Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework: Multiculturalism, Hegemony and Social Change -- Abstract -- Multiculturalism-A Background -- Retreat from the Multicultural Model -- Multicultural Education: Concepts and Development -- Positivist versus Critical Multiculturalism -- Multicultural Education and Critical-Transformative Pedagogy -- Critics of Critical Pedagogy -- The Gramscian Theory of Cultural Hegemony -- Eclectic Model of Empowering Multicultural Education -- Summary -- Chapter 2 Background: The Palestinian Arabs in Israel -- Abstract -- Theoretical Framework: Multicultural Democracy, National Minorities, and Indigenous Groups -- National Minorities -- Indigenous Groups -- International Recognition of Indigenous Rights -- Educational Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Groups -- Multicultural Democracy, Liberal Democracy, and Indigenous Rights -- T he Palestinian Arabs in Israel: An Involuntary Indigenous Minority -- Gap between Reality and Official Recognition of Arabs as an Indigenous Group -- Changes among the Palestinian Arabs in Israel -- Demographic

Change -- Social Change -- Social and Political Localization -- Identity of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel: Situated within a Double Periphery -- Barriers to Multicultural Democracy and Jewish-Arab Relations -- Multicultural Democracy and the Blurred Majority-Minority Boundaries -- Summary -- Chapter 3 Trends in Elementary, Intermediate, and Secondary Education: Quantitative Expansion and Persistent Qualitative Gaps -- Abstract -- Background -- The Administrative Structure of Arab Education -- Private Christian Schools -- Druze Education -- Bedouin Education -- The Arab Population's Standpoint toward Administrative Structure of Education. Increasing Access and Educational Expansion -- Secondary Schools -- Coeducation -- Qualitative Trends: Cumulative Disparities and Persistent Gaps -- Theoretical Framework: Neoliberalism, Marketization, and Standardization -- Standardization and Qualitative Trends in Arab Schools -- The Meitzav Tests -- Entitlement to Matriculation (Bagrut) Certificate -- International Tests -- Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) -- Reading Literacy -- Trends in International Mathematics and Science: TIMSS -- Introduction -- A Global Perspective -- Gaps in the Achievements of Arab and Jewish Students -- The PISA Tests in Israeli Media -- New Challenges Brought on by COVID-19 -- Summary -- Chapter 4 Controlled "Multiculturalism": A Comparative Analysis of the History Curriculum in Arab and Hebrew Schools, 1950-2020 -- Abstract -- Theoretical Framework: History, Hegemony, and Multicultural Education -- Israel: Multiple Cultures without Multiculturalism -- Goals for Arab Education over Time -- The First Period: 1950s-early 1970s -- Public Criticism of the Goals and Curricula for the Arab Schools 1950s-early 1970s -- Restating Goals and Curricula for Arab Schools in the Mid-1970s -- Amendment of the State Education Law, 2000 -- History Curriculum in Arab and Jewish Schools in Israel: Literature Review -- Comparative Analysis of History Curriculum in Arab and Jewish Schools -- The First Period: 1950s-Early 1970s -- The Second Period: Mid-1970s-1990s -- The Third Period: A New History Curriculum, Late 1990s-Present -- General Guidelines -- Textbooks Based on the New Curriculum: A Comparative Analysis of Arab and Jewish Schools -- Recent Developments -- Summary -- Chapter 5 Status of Arab Teachers: Attitudes, Burnout, and the Culture of Silence -- Abstract -- Theoretical Framework: Challenges Faced by Minority Teachers. Background: The Military Government and the Foundations of a Culture of Silence -- Continuity and Change: Findings from a Comprehensive Survey and Focus Groups -- Methodology -- Women in the Education System -- Relationships within Arab Schools -- Teaching of Actual Issues -- Burnout among Teachers -- Burnout Index -- Recent Trends: Local and Global Challenges -- The Implications of the COVID-19 Crisis -- Summary -- Chapter 6 Higher Education: Quantitative Expansion, Obstacles, and Qualitative Inequalities -- Abstract -- Theoretical Framework: Higher Education and Inequalities -- Decolonial Theory -- Higher Education among the Arabs in Israel: Background and Developments -- Main Trends in Higher Education -- Academic Colleges and Colleges of Education -- Arab Students at Foreign Universities -- T he Psychometric Entrance Test (PET) as a Gatekeeper -- Standardized Admission Test (SAT): Meritocracy and Unfairness -- The PET and Admission Inequalities -- Initiatives to Enhance Fair Access to Higher Education -- Adaptation Difficulties of Arab Students during Academic Studies -- Learning Difficulties -- Financial and Housing Difficulties -- Cultural Adjustment and Identity -- Employment and Socioeconomic Returns of Education -- Employment Distress of Arab College and University Graduates over Time -- Expansion of Higher Education among Arabs and Persistent Inequalities -- Arabs in the High-Tech Industry -- Summary -- Chapter 7 Self-Empowerment and Civil Society Organizations among Indigenous Palestinians: The Case of the INSANN Association -- Abstract -- Introduction: Public Sociology and Academic Activism -- Theoretical Framework: Empowerment, Civil Society, and Indigenous Peoples -- Definition and Role of Civil Society -- Civil Society and Indigenous Peoples -- Civil Society among Indigenous Palestinian Arabs in Israel -- The INSANN Association. INSANN's Vision and Goals -- Major INSANN Projects and Initiatives -- The Mobile Community Cultural Center -- The Case of Kammaneh -- INSANN's Activities in Kammaneh -- Interview with E'id Sawaed -- Media Coverage of INSANN Activities in Kammaneh -- The Creativity Project: An Alternative Model for Empowering Multicultural Education -- Rationale and Main Principles -- Content of the Creativity Project -- Teacher Training -- Mobile Creativity Center -- Pupil Workshops -- The Annual Book of Creativity -- Creativity Festivals -- Evaluation of the Creativity Project -- School Steering Committees -- Impact on Students: A Brief Analysis of the Annual Book of Creativity -- Response of Arab Schools and Community -- Shortcomings of the Creativity Project -- Pedagogical Philosophy of the Project -- Obstacles and Lessons To Be Learned from INSAAN's Experience

***Social Change and Family Processes: Arab Communities in Shefar-a'm***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westfield Press, 1987; Routledge, 176 pages, 2019)

With **Henry Rosenfeld**: ***Arab Local Government in Israel***
(Routledge & Tel Aviv: International Center for Pease in the Middle East, 211 pages, 2019)
Includes the Ottoman and British Mandate eras.

As co-editor ***Cultural Diversity and the Empowerment of Minorities***
(Berghann Books, 304 pages, 2007)
Contents: Chapter 1 Stories of Struggle: Transnational Advocacy and Democracy Education; Chapter 2 What's Going on Between Members of Majorities? Contributions from Social Psychology; Chapter 3 Talking at Cross-purposes: Misunderstanding in Intercultural Communication; Part II: The Israeli Case; Chapter 4 A Curriculum Between Conflict and Peace: The Teaching of History in Jewish and Arab Schools in Israel; Chapter 5 The Evolving Arab Reception of the Holocaust and Palestinian Textbooks: A Contribution to Democracy and Peace Education?Chapter 6 Police-Minority Relations in a Multicultural Society: The Israeli Case; Chapter 7 On the Central Role of ""Threat Perception"" in Mediating the Influence of Socioeconomic Factors on Xenophobic Attitudes; Chapter 8 A Multimedia Lexicon as a Tool for Increasing Societal Tolerance; Chapter 9 When Gender Differences Surpass Cultural Differences in Personal Satisfaction with Body Shape in Israeli College Students; Chapter 10 Postcolonial Feminism, the Politics of Identification, and the Liberal BargainPart III: The German Case; Chapter 11 Acculturation Attitudes and Bilingual Classrooms in Germany: The Portuguese-German Example; Chapter 12: ""Not Always Proud to be American"": The Reconstruction of National Identity by Americans Residing in Germany; Chapter 13 Oral Mistake Corrections in Second-Language Classrooms; Chapter 14 Intercultural Competence in Management Consultancies in Germany: Does It Exist?

***Education, Empowerment, and Control: The Case of the Arabs in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 249 pages, 1995)
Content includes: Education in the Ottoman and the Mandatory Periods -- Arab Education after the Establishment of Israel: Administrative Issues -- Institutions and Pupils -- Physical and Educational Facilities -- Policy, Goals, and Curricula -- Teachers and Social Control -- Higher Education Arab Local Government in Israel.

**Sami Hadawi** (1904-2004, Nakba exile who worked for the United Nations in assessing Palestinian property values up to 1948)

***Palestinian Rights and Losses in 1948, a Comprehensive Study, Part 5***
(Saqi Books, 330 pages, 1988)
Highly recommended by Salman Abu Sitta.

***Crime and No Punishment***
(Toronto: Arab Palestine Association, 1987)
Zionist terrorism 1939-1972; original edition, 1972; revised as *The Realities of Terrorism and Retaliation*

***Bitter Harvest: A Modern History of Palestine*** aka ***Palestine between 1914-1967 / 1914-1979***
(New York City: New World Press, 1967 / Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1969; then revised – Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion Press, 1989 / New York City: Olive Branch Press, 1991)

***The Realities of Terrorism and Retaliation***
(Toronto: Arab Palestine Association, ca. late 1980s)

***Christianity at the Crossroads***
(Ottawa: League of Arab States, 39 pages, 1982)

As editor: ***Palestine Before the United Nations***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 300 pages, 1965)
***The Palestinian: Victim of Conspiracy***
(Toronto: Arab Palestine Association, 58 pages, 1981)

***The Jews, Zionism and the Bible – A Study of 'Biblical' and 'Historical' Claims***
(Toronto: Arab Palestine Association, 26pages, 1981)

***Crime and No Punishment: Zionist Israeli Terrorism, 1939-1972***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 99 pages, 1972)

***Village Statistics, 1945: A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine, with Explanatory Notes***
(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research, Center, 178 pages, 1970)

***Israel and the United States: Story of the Partition***
(Cairo: Egyptian Mail, 1969)

***Palestine Occupied***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 104 pages, 1968)

***Palestine in Focus***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 122 pages, 1968)
Edited by **Yusif A. Sayigh**.

***The Palestine Arab Refugees: 1948-1967***
(Amman: author, 30 pages, 1967)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Cause and Effect***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 58 pages, 1967; 48 pages, 4 or 1961969)

As editor: ***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine, 1947-1966***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 192 pages, 1967; reprint of *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine, 1947-1965*)

***The Palestine Problem before the United Nations 1966***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 915 pages, ca. 1966-1967)
Possibly also as *The Palestine Problem: A Case of Continuing Injustice* (Beirut: Lebnese Central Office of Information, 196-)

***Palestine: Questions and Answers***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 86 pages, 1966)

As editor: ***Palestine Before the United Nations***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 300 pages, 1964 or 1965)

***Palestine: Loss of a Heritage***
(San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Company, 148 pages, ca. 1963)

***Who Benefits from Anti-Semitism?***
New York City: League of Arab States, 13 pages, 1961)

***Palestine: Questions and Answers***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 85 pages, 1961)

***Palestine Partitioned, 1947-1958***
(New York City: League of Arab States – Arab Information Center, 42 pages, 1959)

***Israel and the Arab Minority***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 40 pages, 1959)

***Land Ownership in Palestine***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 46 pages with maps, 1957)

***The Arab World***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 18 volumes, 1955)

**Sami Hadawi** & **Robert John**: ***Palestine Diary – Volume 1: 1914-1945***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 1970 / New York City: New World Press, 1971)

***Sami Hadawi & Robert John: Palestine Diary – Volume 2: 1945-1948***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 1970)

**Stuart Hadaway**

***From Gaza to Jerusalem: The Campaign for Southern Palestine 1917***
(The History Press, 256 pages, 2015)

**Sami Hadawi et al**

***Zionism & Racism*** aka ***Zionism and the Lands of Palestine***
(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 254 pages, 1977, 1982)
A selection of papers arising from the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka in August, 1976 and the International Symposium on Zionism and Racism, convened in Tripoli during 24-28 July, 1976. Contents: Anis Al-Qasem - *Racism and World Peace* / L.H. Walz - *Zionism and Racism* / S. Goranov – *Racism* / Father Joseph L. Ryan - *Zionism, Jews and Judaism* / Alfred M. Lilienthal - *Zionist Manipulations to Induce Immigration to Israel* / Sami Hadawi - *Zionism and the Lands of Palestine* / Walter Lehn - *The Jewish National Fund* / N. Qurah - *The Arabs in Israel since 1948* / A. C. Forrest - *The Palestinian Expulsion* / Naseer H. [Hasan] Aruri - *The Oriental Jews of Israel* / Edward Said - *Intellectual Origins of Imperialism and Zionism* / G. Bajoit - *Zionism and Imperialism* / A.M. Elmessiri aka Abdelwaham M. Elmissiri - *Distinctive Traits of Zionist Settler Colonialism* / Türkkaya Ataöv - *The Role of Israel in the Service of Imperialism* / Richard P. Stevens - *Israel and* Africa / A. Audah - *Israel, South Africa and Iran* / S.G. Ikoku - *Hostility to the Liberation Movements and Support for Reactionary Movements* / G. Neuburger - *The Difference between Judaism and Zionism* / K.J. Herman - *Historical Perspectives on Political Zionism and Antisemitism* / Gary V. Smith - *Political Zionism* / Hatem I. Hussaini - *Jewish Critics of Zionism* / M. Ashley - *Zionism.*

**Hassan S. Haddad** aka **H.S. Haddad**

As co-editor, with **Basheer K. Nijim**
***The Arab World: A Handbook***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press & AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 250 pages, 1978)

***Middle East History and the West***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 28 pages, 1973)

**Simon Haddad**

***The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon: The Politics of Refugee Integration***

(Sussex Academic Press, 2003)
Assesses how integration would effect the balance of Lebanon's confessional politics in light of the Ta'if Accord of 1989.

**Mufid Abdul Hadi**

***The Other Side of the Coin: A Native Palestinian Tells His Story***
(Jerusalem: Passia/Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 166 pages, 1998)
Edited by **Zainab Kurd**; translated from Swedish by **Annika Schabbaurer**.

**Assad Abdul Hady**

***Sabra and Shatila: The Massacre: The New Fascism***
(Beirut [?]: PLO ' Washington DC: Palestine Information Office, 61 oages, ca. 1983-1984)

**Faiha' Abdul Hadi**

***If I Were Given a Choice…***
(Jerusalem: Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling, 91pp, 2007)
Palestinian Women's Stories of Daily Life during the Years 2000 to 2003 of the Second Intifada

**Mahdi Abdul Hadi** aka **Mufid Abdul Hadi** (PASSIA founder and educator; Note: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs)

As editor: ***Palestinian Personalities: A Biographic Dictionary***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2nd edition updated from 2000 edition, 246 pages, 2006)

As editor: ***Palestinian-Israeli Impasse: Exploring Alternative Solutions to the Palestine-Israel Conflict***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 402 pages, 2005)

As editor: ***Dialogue on Palestinian State-Building and Identity: PASSIA Meetings and Lectures, 1995-1998***
(PASSIA, 1999)
Different than *Religious Dialogue: Passia Meetings 1995-1998*.

As editor: ***Foreign Policies Towards the Middle East and Palestine: PASSIA Meetings 1995-1999***
(PASSIA, 1999)

As editor: ***Religious Dialogue: PASSIA Meetings 1995-1998***
(PASSIA, 1999)

***The Other Side of the Coin: A Native Palestinian Tells His Story***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 1998)

As editor: ***Documents on Palestine, Vol 2: From the Negotiations in Madrid to the Post-Hebron Agreement Period***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 1997)

***The Roots of Jordanian-Palestinian Relations (1921-1951): from the Foundation of the Hashimite Emirate in Trans-Jordan by Amir Abdullah Ibn Hussein to His Assassination in 1951***
(as by Mohammad Mahdi Fouad Abdul-Hadi: PhD thesis, University of Bradford, 601 pages, 1984)

**Elaine C. Hagopian** (Simmons College, Boston)

***Civil Rights in Peril: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims***
(Pluto Press, 2004)
Tangential to Palestine, regarding the targeting of Arab-American voices in sympathy, with essays by Samih Farsoun, Naseer Aruri, Susan Akram, Nancy Murray, Robert Morlino and William Youmans.

***Amal and the Palestinians: Understanding the Battle of the Camps***
(Arab World Issues, Occasional Papers No. 9, 33 pages, 1985)

With **Samih Farsoun**
***South Lebanon***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 38 pages, 1978)

**Noah Haiduc-Dale** (History Dept., Centenary College, New Jersey)
***Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2013)
An important book that tracks the history of Palestine's Arab Christians and their Palestinian nationalism, 1917-1948, that both identities were not contradictory. Deep microhistory of the the widening Husayni and Nashashibi factionalism. "Haiduc-Dale offers a chronological history of Palestinian politics that focuses on the particular role in each stage of Christians, whose narratives have often been marginalized or essentialized. In the process, he offers a comprehensive and easy to follow guide to key landmarks in the development of the Palestinian national movement more generally." – Liora Halperin, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*

**Sylvia G. Haim**, editor
with **Elie Kedourie**: ***Zionism and Arabism in Palestine and Israel***
(Routledge, 1982, 2015, 2017) The editors collect ten studies from the journal *Middle Eastern Studies*. Aspects of Arab- Jewish relations during the Mandate are considered, as are political decisions and diplomatic events that led to the end of the Mandate. After 1948, the diplomatic history of Israel and of the Arab-Israeli conflict are examined. See also: **Elie Kedourie**.

***Arab Nationalism: An Anthology***
(University of California Press, 255 pages, 1962, 1964, 1974) A treasure compilation of period writing, including a 1933 interview with Rashid Rida, the founder of modern Arab nationalism ; First Arab Students' Congress' *Arab Pledge, Definitions, Manifesto,* from a Brussels conference in 1938; Abd al-Rahman Azzam's 1946 Cairo address, *The Arab league and World Unity*; several pieces on nationalism through the Islamic lens; and even the 1951 constitution of the then-new Party of the Arab Ba'th ("a national, popular, revolutionary movement fighting for Arab Unity, Freedom, and Socialism").

**Nadia Abu el-Haj** (Columbia University Center for Palestine Studies & Barnard College)
***The Genealogical Science: The Search for Jewish Origins and the Politics of Epistemology***
(University of Chicago Press, 2012)

***Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society***
(University of Chicago Press, 2001)

**Awad Halaby** (Wright State University, Ohio)
***Palestinian Rituals of Identity: The Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1850-1948***
(University of Texas Press, 336 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Members of Palestine's Muslim community have long honored al-Nabi Musa, or the Prophet Moses. Since the thirteenth century, they have celebrated at a shrine near Jericho believed to be the location of Moses's tomb; in the mid-nineteenth century, they organized a civic festival in Jerusalem to honor this prophet. Considered one of the most important occasions for

Muslim pilgrims in Palestine, the Prophet Moses festival yearly attracted thousands of people who assembled to pray, conduct mystical forms of worship, and hold folk celebrations. *Palestinian Rituals of Identity* takes an innovative approach to the study of Palestine's modern history by focusing on the Prophet Moses festival from the late Ottoman period through the era of British rule. Halabi explores how the festival served as an arena of competing discourses, with various social groups attempting to control its symbols. Tackling questions about modernity, colonialism, gender relations, and identity, Halabi recounts how peasants, Bedouins, rural women, and Sufis sought to influence the festival even as Ottoman authorities, British colonists, Muslim clerics, and Palestinian national leaders did the same. Drawing on extensive research in Arabic newspapers and Islamic and colonial archives, Halabi reveals how the festival has encapsulated Palestinians' responses to modernity, colonialism, and the nation's growing national identity."

**Samia Halaby**

with historian **Salman Abu-Sitta**: ***Drawing the Kafr Massacre***
(The Netherlands: Schilt Publishing, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "The 1956 Kafr Qasem massacre was carried out by the Israeli Border Police under cover of the tripartite attack on Egypt by England, France, and Israel. Two other massacres took place during the ensuing days in the cities of Rafah and Khan Younis, where 111 and 275 Palestinian civilians were slaughtered by Israeli troops on their way to Egypt, respectively. In Kafr Qasem, an artifice was created to provide a fig-leaf excuse for the killing of innocent people — a curfew announced less than a half an hour before it was implemented. Workers returning home, tired and hungry, unaware of the curfew, were cold-bloodedly shot dead by members of the Israeli Border Police. Based on interviews with survivors, Samia Halaby created a set of documentary drawings on the subject. The emotions of anger and fear leap from every page of this book, enabling the reader to bear witness to the terrible suffering endured by the inhabitants of this small Palestinian village." See also: **Maymanah Farhat:** *Samia Halaby – Five Decades of Painting and Innovation* (Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2014)

**Zeina G. Halabi**

***The Unmaking of the Arab Intellection: Prophecy, Exile and the Nation***
(Edinburgh University Press, 191 pages, 2017, 2018)
Focus includes Elias Khoury, Edward Said, Mahmoud Darwish, and Elia Suleiman.

**Yossi Klein Halevi** (co-director, with Duke University's Abdullah Antepli, of the Muslim Leadership Initiative at the Shalom Hartman Institute, Jerusalem)

***Letters to My Palestinian Neighbor***
(Harper Collins, 224 pages, 2018)

**Fred Halliday**

***100 Myths about the Middle East***
(Saqi Books, 2005)

**Jeff Halper** (head of the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions / ICAHD)

***War Against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification***
(Pluto Press, 2015)

With **Michael Younan**: ***Obstacles to Peace ; A Reframing of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Palestine Mapping Center, 2005 / CAHD, 2013)

***An Israeli in Palestine: Resisting Dispossession, Redeeming Israel***
(Pluto Press, 2008 / second edition 2010)

***Obstacles to Peace: A Reframing of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Palestine Mapping Center / ICHAD, 2005, 2015)

***Between Redemption and Revival: The Jewish Yishuv of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century***
(Oxford: Westview, 1991)

**Liora Halperin** aka **Liora R. Halperin** (University of Colorado – Boulder & *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*)

***The Oldest Guard: Forging the Zionist Settler Past***
(Stanford University Press, 343 pages, 2021)
Contents: Introduction: mother of the colonies -- Private farmers and the origins of "First Aliyah" claims-making -- Arab labor and the rhetoric of hierarchical coexistence in Mandate Palestine -- The old guard on display -- The colony and the village: constructions of coexistence after the Nakba -- Jewish immigrants and the politics of settler "First Ones," 1948-1967 -- Conclusion: thinking about the First Aliyah after 1967.

***Babel in Zion: Jews, Nationalism, and Language Diversity in Palestine, 1920-1949***
(Yale University Press, 2014, 2016)
History of the Zionist cultural front to make Hebrew a linguistic currency amongst the Jews of Mandate Palestine.

**Samuel Halperin**

*The Poliical World of American Zionism*
(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961)

**Ben Halpern**

***The American Jew: A Zionist Analysis***
(New York City: Theodor Herzl Foundation, 174 pages, 1956 / Schocken Books, 196 pages, 1983)

***Jewish Military Organizations in Palestine***
(New York City: League for Labour Palestine, 31 pages, 1947)
Mandate era outline of the history of the Zionist paramilitary forces in Palestine and a discussion of the tactics of Haganah, the Stern Group and ItzL; calls for a counter to the dangerous tactics of the Revisionist Zionists who the author considers to be inching towards civil war within the Yishuv. Halpern served as national secretary of the He-chalutz Organization of America (1936–37), managing editor of the *Jewish Frontier* magazine (1943–49), and associate director of the departments of culture, education, and publications of the Jewish Agency (1949–56).

**Ben Halpern** and **Jehuda Reinharz**

***Zionism and the Creation of a New Society***
(Oxford University Press, 293 pages, 1998)
Focus on the Yishuv, settlers, and the growth of Zionist parties.

**Grace Halsell** (Christian activist)

***Prophecy and Politics: The Secret Alliance between Israel and the US Christian Right***
(Lawrence Hill, 1986/1989)

***Journey to Jerusalem***
(Macmillan, 1981)

**Jamil Hamad** and **John Stebbing**

***We, The Palestinians: The Mounting Population and Political Pressures in the West Bank***

(London: David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, special issue of *International Relations*, 123 pages, Vol. 7 No.5)

**Tahrir Hamdi** (Arab Open University)

***Imagining Palestine: Cultures of Exile and National Identity***

(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 2022)

Focus includes Edward Said, Ghassan Kanafani, Naji Al Ali, Mahmoud Darwish, Mourid Barghouti, Radwa Ashour, Suheir Hammad, and Susan Abulhawa.

**Eric Hammel**

***Six Days in June: How Israel Won the 1967 Arab-Israeli War***

(Pacifica Military History, 2001)

Battles detailed, but sans maps. One reviewer wrote: "whilst every Arab soldier killed was a statistic, every Israeli death was a tragedy."

**Ilana Hammerman**

***A Small Door Set in Concrete: One Woman's Story of Challenging Borders in Israel/Palestine***

(University of Chicago Press, 206 pages, 2019)

Reportage of Palestinian conditions in the Occupied West Bank.

**Jill Hamilton**

***God, Guns, and Israel: Britain, Jews and the First World War***

(History Press, 2009); aka *God, Guns, and Israel: Britain, Jews, and the First World War in the Holy Land* (Sutton Books, 2004)

**Lesley Hamilton**

***Where Mountains Roar: in Search of the Sinai Desert***

(Victor Gollancz, 1980)

Negev – Sinai in Israel & Egypt.

**Joshua Hammer**

***A Season in Bethlehem: Unholy War in a Sacred Place***

(James Bennett, 2003)

**Juliane Hammer** (Islamic Studies, University of North Carolina at Charlotte)

***Palestinians Born in Exile: Diaspora and the Search for a Homeland***

(University of Texas Press, 2005)

Publisher's blurb: "In the decade following the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords, some 100,000 diasporic Palestinians returned to the West Bank and Gaza. Among them were children and young adults who were born in exile and whose sense of Palestinian identity was shaped not by lived experience but rather through the transmission and re-creation of memories, images, and history. As a result, "returning" to the homeland that had never actually been their home presented challenges and disappointments for these young Palestinians, who found their lifeways and values sometimes at odds with those of their new neighbors in the West Bank and Gaza. This original ethnography records the experiences of Palestinians born in exile who have emigrated to the Palestinian homeland. Juliane Hammer interviews young adults between the ages of 16 and 35 to learn how their Palestinian identity has been affected by living in various Arab countries or the United States

and then moving to the West Bank and Gaza. Their responses underscore how much the experience of living outside of Palestine has become integral to the Palestinian national character, even as Palestinians maintain an overwhelming sense of belonging to one another as a people."

**Jeffrey R. Hammond** (Publisher/Editor of *Foreign Policy Journal*)

***Obstacle to Peace: The US Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Worldview Publications, 2016)
With foreword by **Richard Falk**. Endorsed by Noam Chomsky, Paul Craig Roberts (Former Editor, *Wall Street Journal*), Max Blumenthal, etc.

***The Rejection of Palestinian Self-Determination: The Struggle for Palestine and the Roots of the Israeli-Arab Conflict***
(the author, 82pp, 2009)
An overview of the crucial period from the rise of the Zionist movement until the creation of the state of Israel, examining how the seeds of the continuing conflict in the Middle East between Jews and Arabs were sown during this time. It sets out to show, by examining principle historical documents and placing key events in proper context, that the root of today's conflict is the rejection of the right to self-determination for the Arab Palestinians.

**Tarek Hamoud**

***Socialising Hamas: Evaluating the Structural Political Developments in the Islamic Palestinian Resistance Movement as a Ruling Authority between 2006-2017***
(Exeter University thesis, 2023)
Available via the EThOS system at the British Library.

***Palestinian Refugees in Syria in Light of the Syrian Revolution: A Detailed Political and Field Study on the Violations against Palestinian Refugees in Syria between 2011-2012***
(London: Palestinian Return Centre, 30 pages, 2012)

**Sahar Hamouda** (Alexandria University, Egypt)

***Once Upon a Time in Jerusalem***
(Garnet Publishing, 2009)
Publisher's blurb: "tells the saga of a Palestinian family living in Jerusalem during the British mandate, and its fate in the diaspora following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. The story is told by two voices: a mother, who was a child in Jerusalem in the 1930s, and her daughter, who comments on her mother's narrative. The real hero of the narrative, however, is the family home in Old Jerusalem, which was built in the 15th century and which still stands today. Within its walls lived the various members of the extended family whose stories the narrative reveals: parents, children, stepmothers, stepsisters, aunts and uncles, nieces and cousins. This is no idealized, nostalgic narrative of perfect characters or an idyllic past, but a truthful rendition of family life under occupation, in a holy city that was conservative to the extreme. Against a backdrop of violence, much social history is revealed as an authoritarian father, a submissive mother, brothers who were resistance fighters, and an imaginative child struggled to lead a normal life among enemies. That became impossible in 1948, when the narrator, by then a young girl studying in Beirut, realized she could not go home. She traveled to Cairo, where she had to start a new life under difficult conditions, and reconcile herself to the idea of exile. Narrated in a terse, matter-of-fact tone, "Once Upon a Time in Jerusalem" is a bildungsroman in which the child is initiated into loss and despair, and a life about which little is known. The book shows a city of the 1930s from a new perspective: a cosmopolitan Jerusalem where people from all nations and faiths worshiped, married and lived together, until such co-existence came to an end and a new order was enforced."

**Fuad Said Hamzeh**

**United *National Conciliation Commission for Palestine, 1949-1967***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1968)

**Muna Hamzeh** (University of Texas at Austin; Palestinian-Lebanese-American journalist in Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem)

***Operation Defensive Shield: Witnesses to Israeli Military War Crimes***
(Pluto Press, 2003)

**Refugees *in Our Own Land: Chronicles from a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Bethlehem***
(Pluto Press, 184 pages, 2001)
Focus on Dheisheh camp. Description: "'Muna Hamzeh has given us a unique insight into women's everyday life during the Al Aqsa Intifada - anger, sorrow, frustration fly off every page. This book is a slice of living history which will now never be forgotten.' Victoria Brittain: 'Always compelling, [Hamzeh's writing] movingly conveys these tragedies, and how, in a tight-knit society on a small patch of land, they are all inter-connected.' The Financial Times: The crisis in the Middle East dominates headlines. But what do we know about the people who are suffering? This remarkable book is a gripping eyewitness account of what it is like to live as a Palestinian - as a refugee in your own homeland. Born in Jerusalem, Muna Hamzeh is a journalist who has been writing about Palestinian affairs since 1985. She first worked as a journalist in Washington DC, but moved back to Palestine in 1989 to cover the first Palestine Intifada - the war of stones. She then settled in Dheisheh, near Bethlehem - one of 59 Palestinian refugee camps that are considered the oldest refugee camps in the world.: Immediately accessible and fully up-to-date, the first part of the book consists of a diary which Hamzeh wrote between October 4th and December 4th 2000, telling the story of the second Intifada. Facing the tanks and armed guards of one of the best-equipped armies in the world, the Palestinians have nothing. They fight back with stones. The anguish and terror that Muna and her friends face on daily basis is tangible. Who will be the next to die? Whose house will be the next to burn down? This deeply moving personal account brings to life the harsh realities of the Palestinian struggle.: The second part of the book provides the background to these current events. It describes what life has been like for Dheisheh's refugees since 1990, and explains why the second Intifada was a natural development of the Oslo peace accord. Refugees in Our Own Land is a rare insider's look into the hearts and minds of Palestinian refugees. It is a tribute to the bravery of the Palestinian people, and a wake-up call to the world that has ignored so much of their struggle and their suffering.: Review: 'Always compelling, [Hamzeh's writing] movingly conveys these tragedies, and how, in a tight-knit society on a small patch of land, they are all inter-connected.' The Financial Times 'Muna Hamzeh has given us a unique insight into women's everyday life during the Al Aqsa Intifada - anger, sorrow, frustration fly off every page this book is a slice of living history which will now never be forgotten.' Victoria Brittain: About the Author: Muna Hamzeh is a Palestinian-American journalist whose work on the Palestinian question has appeared in The Economist, Ha'aretz, The Christian Science Monitor, Jerusalem Report, and Middle East International, among others. Hamzeh was born in Jerusalem to a Muslim father and a Christian mother, both of whom were half Palestinian, half Lebanese. She lived in the Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethelehm from 1988 - 2000." NOTE: Published earlier as ***Ordinary Days in Dheisheh: Is the World Watching*** (Paris: Editions 00h00, 111 pages, 2000)

**Sari Hanafi** (American University Beirut), **Leila Hilal** (New American Foundation & UNRWA advisor), & **Lex Takkenburg** (UNRWA officer, since 1989), editors.

***UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development***
(Routledge, 303 pages, 2014)
14 essays, most modern, but including one on the emergence and early management of the camps, 1950-1970.

**Sari Hanafi** (American University Beirut) & **Are Knudsen** (Michelsen Institute, Norway), editors

***Palestinian Refugees: Identity, Space and Place in the Levant***
(Routledge, 248 pages, 2014)

Contents: **Julie Peteet**: *Cartographic Violence, Displacement and Refugee Camps – Palestine and Iraq* / **Sari Hanafi**: *Governing the Palestinian Refugees Camps in Lebanon and Syria – The Cases of Nahr El-Bared and Yarmouk Camps* / **Rosemary Sayigh**: *Palestinian Camp Refugee Identifications – A New Look at the "Local" and the "National"* / **Mohamed Kamel Dorei**: *Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon – Migration, Mobility and the Urbanisation Process* / **Philipp Misselwitz**: *Refugees Plan the Future of Al Fawwar – Piloting Strategic Camp Improvement in Palestine Refugee Camps* / **Are Knudsen** & **Jaber Suleiman**: *Nahr al-Bared – The Political Fall-Out of a Refugee Disaster* [in which Abbas Zaki, the PLO's head of ligation in Lebanon issued the 'Beirut Declaration', in which he apologised to "our dear Lebanon," for all the harm that the Palestinians had done to the country (cited in **Andrew Arsan**: *Lebanon – A Country in Fragments* (Hurst, 2018) / **Abbas Shiblak**: *Passport for What Price? Statelessness among Palestinian Refugees* / **Jalal Al Husseini** & **Riccardo Bocco**: *Dynamics of Humanitarian Aid, Local and Regional Politics – The Palestine Refugees as a Case-Study* / **Shahira Samy**: *Reparations to Palestinian Refugees – The Politics of Saying "Sorry"* / **Sylvain Perdigon**: *"The One Still Surviving and Viable Institution* / **Maria Holt**: *A World of Movement – Memory and Reality for Palestinian Women in the Camps of Lebanon* / **Manal Kortam**: *Politics, Patronage and Popular Committees in the Shatila Refugee Camp, Lebanon*.

As editor: ***Crossing Borders, Shifting Boundaries: Palestinian Dilemmas***
(American University in Cairo Press, 163 pages, 2008)
Contents: return migration and the burden of borders / Sari Hanafi -- Social ties between the people of al-Walaja village at home and abroad / Sheerin al-Araj -- Changing realities and changing identities : case study of the divided village of Barta'a / Mary Totry -- Crossing borders, retaining boundaries : kinnections of Negev Bedouin in Gaza, the West Bank, and Jordan / Cédric Parizot -- Itineraries of Palestinian refugees : kinship as resource in emigration / Mohamed Kamel Doraï -- The negotiation of identity among Palestinian-American returnee youth / Tamara Tamimi -- Virtual and real returns / Sari Hanafi.

As editor: ***Sociology of Palestinian Return***
(Pluto Press, 2005)

As co-editor, with **Monique Hirschhorn**, and **Elena Qleibo**
***Urbanism and Conflict: The Case of Hebron and Bethlehem***
(Paris: Harmattan, 2005)

As co-editor, with **Eyal Benvinisti** and **Chaim Gans**
***Israel and the Palestinian Refugees***
(Heidelberg: Max Planck Institute, 2005)

**Sari Hanafi** with **Linda Taber/Tabar**
***The Emergence of a Palestinian Globalized Elite: Donors, International Organizations and Local NGOs***
(Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 406 pages, 2005)

**Michael I. Handel** (Professor of National Security and Strategy, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; co-founder of the journal, *Intelligence and National Security*)
***Israel's Political-Military History***
(Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 73 pages, July 1973)
An unpacking of the reserve system from 1947-1973, "that if war breaks out it must be *transferred and fought on the enemy's territory as soon as possible* [italics in original]." With regard to the Palestinian resistance movement, the strategy was "preventing the establishment of ANY base or sanctuary withing the operational reach of the IDF (emphasis in the original]." Author pins the start of the June 1967 war on Nasser…

**Sapir Handelman**, editor

***People-to-People Diplomacy in Israel and Palestine: the Minds of Peace Experiment***
(Routledge, 160 pages, 2014/2024)
Contents: 1. Introduction : the minds of peace experiment : a laboratory for people-to-people diplomacy / Sapir Handelman -- 2. Between the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the East-West Pakistan struggle : a challenge to the conventional wisdom / Sapir Handelman -- 3. A Palestinian-Israeli public assembly and the American black church : two grassroots efforts to build the foundations of a decent social order / Sapir Handelman, Ronald E. Brown and Frederic S. Pearson -- 4. The social marketing of peace : grassroots movements, US foreign policy and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Aaron Ahuvia -- 5. Locational factors in citizen peace negotiations / Frederic S. Pearson -- 6. The minds of peace experiment : conflict resolution from the ground up / Arnon Cahen -- 7. Recognition, gender, and the negotiation of a non-violent future / Miri Rozmarin -- 8. The minds of peace and intergroup dialogue : two complementary approaches to peace / Adrienne B. Dessel and Noor Ali -- 9. Political geography and grassroots conflict resolution / Tal Levy.

**L. Hands** aka **Lizzie Hands**

***Some Legal Difficulties Which Beset the Jewess***
(London: Hart & Sons, 16 pages, ca. 1920-1921)
"Paper prepared for the International Conference on Women Zionists which was held in London in July, 1920. Since then, the subject has been much discussed and the writer desires to add a few words."

**Paul Lamont Hanna**

***British Policy in Palestine***
(Washington DC: American Council on Public Affairs, 214 pages, 1942)

**Teresa Hanley**

***Building Resilience in Conflict Settings: Learning from the Occupied Palestinian Territory***
(London: Christian Aid, 20 pages, 2014)
With contributions from **Madeleine McGivern**, **Maeve Bateman** and **Phoebe Rison**. Available as a download from christianaid.org.uk

**David Hapgood**

***Charles R. Crane: The Man Who Bet on People***
(New York City: Xlibris Publications, 2000)
Relevant to the King Crane Commission.

**Al-Haq**

***Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987 – December 1988***
(Ramallah: Al-Haq: Law in the Service of Man, 476pp, 1988)

With the International Commission of Jurists: ***Torture and Intimidation in the West Bank – The Case of al-Fara'a Prison***
(Ramallah/Chicago, 56pp, 1985

**Yehel Harari**

***The Arabs in Israel: 1975-1976***
(Givat Haviva: Center for Arabic and Afro-Asian Studies, 71 pages, 1977)
Statistics.

As editor: ***The Arabs in Israel: Statistics and Facts***
(Givat Haviva: Center for Arabic and Afro-Asian Studies, 83 pages, 1977)

**Anaheed Al-Hardan** (American University of Beirut, 2016)
***Palestinians in Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities***
(Columbia University Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "One hundred thousand Palestinians fled to Syria after being expelled from Palestine upon the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Integrating into Syrian society over time, their experience stands in stark contrast to the plight of Palestinian refugees in other Arab countries, leading to different ways through which to understand the 1948 Nakba, or catastrophe, in their popular memory. Conducting interviews with first-, second-, and third-generation members of Syria's Palestinian community, Anaheed Al-Hardan follows the evolution of the Nakba-the central signifier of the Palestinian refugee past and present-in Arab intellectual discourses, Syria's Palestinian politics, and the community's memorialization. Al-Hardan's sophisticated research sheds light on the enduring relevance of the Nakba among the communities it helped create, while challenging the nationalist and patriotic idea that memories of the Nakba are static and universally shared among Palestinians. Her study also critically tracks the Nakba's changing meaning in light of Syria's twenty-first-century civil war."

**Githa Hariharan**, editor
***From India to Palestine***
(New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 210 pages, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Not only does India have strong historical ties with the Arab world; but also the Indian freedom movement saw the struggle of the Palestinians for a homeland as a genuine struggle against colonialism. Both Gandhi and Nehru expressed this in no uncertain terms; so, later, did the non-aligned movement. Indian policy towards Palestine shifted radically in the 1990s. Israel has now become a major supplier of arms to India; it is also part of the complicated shift in India 's relationship with America, and India 's emerging vision of itself in the world."

**Roger Hardy** (Veteran BBC World Service reporter of the region for 30 years; Research Associate at the Centre for International Studies in Oxford)
***The Bride: An Illustrated History of Palestine, 1850-1948***
(Mount Orleans Press, 320 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "In the course of a century, Palestine underwent a series of transformations—from a backwater of the Ottoman empire into the object of sustained Western rivalries and ambitions; from four centuries of Turkish rule to three decades of British rule; and, in its final metamorphosis, the land of Palestine was transformed into the state of Israel. This book brings the story to life through two forms of testimony. The first is oral history: letters, diaries, and memoirs tell us what was it like to be an Arab doctor in Jerusalem when virtually all doctors were Europeans—or a British schoolteacher living through a countrywide insurgency—or a young Jewish woman from Brooklyn who stumbles on the aftermath of a massacre. The second is photography: the book is illustrated with more than 120 black-and-white photographs, drawn from both local and foreign archives. Photographers were attracted to Palestine by a special quality of light which threw into sharp relief every tree and hill, every building and ruin. Their work captures the play of light and shadow on the cobbled streets of Jerusalem's Old City, the glistening watermelons displayed in open-air markets, the white apartment blocks of the new metropolis of Tel Aviv, the dust and rubble of houses blown up by soldiers during the rebellion of the 1930s. Words and images are seldom innocent; they cry out for context. But, taken together, they add new dimensions to our understanding of the history, the geography, and the human reality of Palestine."
NOTE: see also **Walid Khalidi**: ***Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*** (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984, 1991, 2004, 2010).

***The Poisoned Well: Empire and its Legacy in the Middle East***
(Hurst & Co., 2016-2017)
Much on Palestine and the considered decolonisation of the region.

**Shai Har-El** (Founder/President of the Middle East Peace Network; University of Chicago)

***China and the Palestinian Organizations, 1964-1971***
(Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 170 pages, 2024/2025)

***In Search of Israeli-Palestinian Peace: An Urgent Call for a New Approach to Middle East Peace***
(Palgrave Macmillan, April 2016)

***Where Islam and Judaism Join Together: A Perspective on Reconciliation***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

**Alouph Hareven**, editor

***Every Sixth Israeli: Relations Between the Jewish Majority and the Arab Minority in Israel***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1983)

***Can the Palestinian Problem be Solved? Israeli Positions***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1983)

***A Chance for Peace: Risks and Hopes***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1978)
Papers presented at 1977 conference; possible overlap with *If Peace Comes*.

***If Peace Comes: Risks and Propects***
(Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1978)
Dealing with the 1973 war.

**Yehoshafat Harkabi** (former Head of Israel's military intelligence; "I would say the original source of this conflict lies with Israel, with the Jews, and you can quote me." (1973)

***The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 159 pages, 1979)
Contents include: Analysis of the Palestinian National covenant -- appendices: A. the Palestinian National covenant, 1964. B. the Palestinian National covenant, 1968 (1 and 2). C. the Constitution of the Palestinian liberation organization, 1968. D. the political programme of the PLO, January 1973. E. political programme for the present stage drawn up, 12th PNC, 1974. F. political resolutions of the 13th PNC, 1977.

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict on the Threshold of Negotiations***
(Princeton University Center for International Studies, 1992)

***Israel's Fateful Decisions*** aka ***Israel's Fateful Hour***
(IB Tauris, 220 pages / Harper & Row, 256 pages, 1988)

***A Policy for the Moment of Truth***
(Washington DC: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 23pp, 1988)
Argues that "Reality will force Israel to retreat from her political stance, to withdraw from the territories and to negotiate with the PLO."

***The Bar Kokhba Syndrome: Risk and realism in International Politics***
(Rossel Books, 1982)

***The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 1979)

***Arab Strategies and Israel's Response***
(Free Press / Collier Macmillan, 1977)

***Arab Attitudes to Israel***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 1972 / Jerusalem, Keter Publishing, 1976)
Translated by Misha Louvish

***Palestinians and Israel***
(Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1974)

***The Position of the Palestinians in the Israel-Arab Conflict and Their National Covenant***
(publisher ? – 1969)
Appeared in *Ma'ariv*, 21 November 1969, from a speech given at Tel Aviv University, May 1969.

***Fedayeen Action and Arab Strategy***
(London: Institute for Strategic Studies, 43 pages, 1968)
Argues that One Democratic State is "no more than a recipe for committing genocide against the people of Israel" – Ghada Karmi

**Barbara Harlow**

**Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detention**
(Wesleyan University Press, 1992)
Includes chapter: Narrative in Prison: Stories from the Palestinian Intifada.

**Gregory Harms** & **Todd M. Ferry**

***The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction***
(Pluto Press, 4th edition 2017, etc)
Publisher's blurb: "The Palestine-Israel Conflict provides a balanced, accessible, and annotated introduction that covers the full history of the region, from Biblical times until today. Perfect for the general reader, as well as students, it offers a comprehensive yet lucid rendering of the conflict, setting it in its proper historical context. This fourth edition brings us up to date, and includes recent events such as Israel's Operation Protective Edge, developments between Fatah and Hamas, ongoing Palestinian resistance, and the entirety of the Obama years. This book cuts though the layers of confused and contradictory information on the subject, and will help clarify the ongoing conflict for its readers."

**Eldad Harouvi** (Director of the Palmach Archive, Tel Aviv)

***Palestine Investigated: The Criminal Investigation Department of the Palestine Police Force, 1920-1948***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book tells the story of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the Palestine Police Force (PPF) in the historical context which impacted the CID's missions, methods, and composition. At first, the CID was engaged in providing technical assistance for criminal investigation. Following the PPF's poor performance in the Arab Riots in 1929, a commission of inquiry, headed by Sir Herbert Dowbiggin, recommended adding intelligence gathering and surveillance of political elements to police functions. Teams were set up and a Special Branch established. From 1932 the CID deployed a network of "live sources" among the Arabs and Jews, and issued intelligence summaries evaluating Arab and Jewish political activity. Post-1935 the security situation deteriorated: Arab policemen and officials joined the Arab side, thus drying-up sources of information; the British therefore asked for assistance from the Jewish population. In 1937 Sir Charles Tegart recommended that the CID invest in obtaining raw intelligence by direct contacts in the field. In 1938 Arthur Giles took command and targeted both the Revisionist and Yishuv movements. Although the CID did not succeed in obtaining sufficient tactical information to prevent Yishuv actions, Giles identified the mood of the

Jewish leadership and public – an important intelligence accomplishment regarding Britain's attitude towards the Palestine question. But British impotence in the field was manifested by the failure to prevent the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Towards the end of the Mandate, as civil war broke out following the UN General Assembly resolution of November 1947, the CID was primarily engaged in documenting events and providing evaluations to London whose decision-makers put high value on CID intelligence as they formulated political responses."

**Nathan Harpaz**
***Zionist Architecture and Town Planning: The Building of Tel Aviv, 1919-1929***
(Purdue University Press, 277 pages, 2013)

**David Harris-Gershon** (Pittsburgh journalist for *Tikkun* magazine)
***What Do You Buy the Children of the Terrorist Who Tried to Kill Your Wife?***
(Oneworld Books, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "David Harris-Gershon and his wife, Jamie, moved to Jerusalem full of hope. Then, mere days after Israel thwarted historic cease-fire negotiations among the Palestinians, a bomb ripped open Hebrew University's cafeteria. Jamie's body was sliced with shrapnel; the friends sitting next to her were killed. When a doctor handed David some of the shrapnel removed from Jamie's body, he could not accept that this piece of metal changed everything. But it had. The bombing sent David on a psychological journey that found him digging through shadowy politics and traumatic histories, eventually leading him back to East Jerusalem and the Hamas terrorist and his family. Not out of revenge. Out of desperation. Part memoir, part journalistic investigation, this fearless debut confronts the personal costs of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and our capacity for recovery and reconciliation."

**Olivia C. Harrison** (University of Southern California)
***Transcolonial Maghreb: Imagining Palestine in the Era of Decolonization***
(Stanford University Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Transcolonial Maghreb offers the first thorough analysis of the ways in which Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian writers have engaged with the Palestinian question and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict for the past fifty years. Arguing that Palestine has become the figure par excellence of the colonial in the purportedly postcolonial present, the book reframes the field of Maghrebi studies to account for transversal political and aesthetic exchanges across North Africa and the Middle East. Olivia C. Harrison examines and contextualizes writings by the likes of Abdellatif Laâbi, Kateb Yacine, Ahlam Mosteghanemi, Albert Memmi, Abdelkebir Khatibi, Jacques Derrida, and Edmond El Maleh, covering a wide range of materials that are, for the most part, unavailable in English translation: popular theater, literary magazines, television series, feminist texts, novels, essays, unpublished manuscripts, letters, and pamphlets written in the three main languages of the Maghreb—Arabic, French, and Berber. The result has wide implications for the study of transcolonial relations across the Global South."

**Ross Harrison** (Middle East Institute, Washington DC; University of Pittsburgh) and **Paul Salem**, editors
***Escaping the Conflict Trap: Toward Ending Civil Wars in the Middle East***
(Authors, 226 pages, 2019)
Tangential to Palestine and Israel.

**Yoella Har-Shefi** (Legal Adviser, Ani Israeli)
***Beyond the Gunsights: One Arab family in the Promised Land***
(Houghton Mifflin, 1980) This is a fiction of a novel in that it's all based on fact with the names changed. The author spills cultural nuances from her sleeves in this insightful book, taking in Muslim social mores, political history, contemporary corruption, extended family obligations, and human love

and comradeship for its own sake. And although written at the close of the 1970s, it's still relevant for today.

**Alan Hart**

***Zionism – The Real Enemy of the Jews***

(World Focus Publications, various editions, in two-and-three-volume editions, 2005, 2012)

Zionist political muscle in both Tel Aviv and Washington is unpacked in this fascinating insider's history given that the author knew well both Yasser Arafat and Golda Meir! Fortunately, Hart put these candid observations into print.

**John Harte**

***Contesting the Past in Mandate Palestine: History Teaching for Palestinian Arabs under British Rule***

(PhD theses, School of Oriental and African Studies [SOAS / University of London], 2009)

**Hashomer Hatzair Workers' Party**

***The Road to Bi-National Independence – Memorandum of the Hashomer Hatzair Workers' Party of Palestine***

(Tel Aviv: the Party, August 1947)

***Case for a Bi-National Palestine – Memorandum prepared by Hashomer Hatzair for the Anglo-American Committee***

(Tel Aviv: the Party, March 1946)

**Amira Hass**

***Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land***

(Semiotxt(e), 2003)

Hass is a rare Jewish Israeli correspondent (*Ha'aretz*) on Palestinian affairs living among the people about whom she wrote these dispatches.

***Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land under Siege***

(translated by **Elana Wesley** & **Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta**; Hamish Hamilton Press, 1979)

**Agha Hassan**

*The Role of Mass Communications in Inter-State Conflict: The Arab-Israeli War of 1973* (American University in Cairo Press, 1978)

**Sana Hassan** & **Amos Elon**

*Between Enemies: An Arab-Israeli Dialogue*

(New York City: Random House / London: Andre Deutsch, 1974)

**Zaha Hassan** (human rights lawyer, *Al Jazeera* English, *New York Times*) and **H.A. Hellyer** (Royal United Services Institute), editors

***Suppressing Dissent: Shrinking Civic Space, Transnational Repression and Palestine-Israel***

(Oneworld Publications, 336 pages, 2024)

Contents: **Zaha Hassan**: Palestine, Israel, and the Battle for Hearts and Minds – and the Levers of Policy / **Nathan J. Brown**: Palestinian Civil Society in the Shadow of a One-State Reality: Managing the Terms of Subjugation After the Oslo Accords … Resentfully and Ineffectively / **Dana El Kurd**: The Oslo Framework and Palestinian Authoritarianism / **Zaha Hassan** and **Layla Gantus**: Between a Rock

and a Hard Place: The Impact of Israel's Occupation and Palestinian Authoritarianism on Community Organizing and NGOs / **Dahlia Scheindlin**: The Rise, Weakening, and Resurgence of Civil Society in Israel / **Jessica Buxbaum** and **Katherine Wilkens**: Neo-Kahanism: The Growing Influence of a Violent, Jewish Supremacist Ideology / **Nour Soubani** and **Diala Shamas**: US Counterterrorism Law and Policy: Its Role in Shutting Down Palestinian Activism and Agency / **Yael Berda**: Israeli Mechanisms to Restrict Civic Space: From Surveillance and Repression in the Occupied West Bank to Policing Israelis Writ Large / **Matt Mahmoudi**: Made in Palestine: Repackaging Apartheid as "Smart" Cities / **Marwa Fatafta**: Digital Repression: How Palestinian Voices are Censored, Surveilled, and Threatened Online / **Lara Friedman**: The How-to of Shutting Down Pro-Palestinian Speech and Protest in the US / **Ashleigh Subramanian-Montgomery** and **Paul Carroll**: Restrictions on Financial Services and Banking and their Impacts on Palestinian NGOs / **Yousef Munayyer**: Closing Spaces Beyond Borders: Israel's Transnational Repression Network / **Maya Berry**: From Exclusion to Erasure: The Attempt to Silence Arab Americans on Palestine / **Marwan Muasher** and **Rafiah Al Talei**: Shrinking Civic Space in the Arab World and its Relationship to Palestine/Israel / **H.A. Hellyer**: Rules, Dissent, and National Security. Review from *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*: "The book provides a thorough background analysis on the causes of the demise of the two-state option: an authoritarian Palestinian leadership that uses repression to control society, often in coordination with Israeli authorities; Israeli use of repressive surveillance systems in Palestinian communities; and Israeli attacks on Palestinian civil society – labelling longtime human and civil rights organisations as terrorists and thus causing risk-averse international donors and banks to stop funding their activities."

**Zahas Hassan**

***Breaking the Israel-Palestine Status Quo***
(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, ca. 2022)

***Biden and Correcting the Course of Relations with Palestine***
(Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2021)

**Manuel S. Hassassian** (Palestine Ambassador to the UK)

***Palestine, Factionalism in the National Movement (1919-1939)***
(East Jerusalem: Palestine Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 1990) An overview of the two leading families and their respective support: The al-Husseinis (Majlesiyoun, those who supported the Mufti) and the Nahashibis (Mu'arada, the anti-Husseinis, who were less unified). Despite being done in 1990, which much of this having been excavated by historians since, there are rare sources unlikely to have been used by the latter. Available online:http://www.passia.org/publications/Palestine/Pal-Book-All.pdf

**Frances S. Hasso** aka **Frances Hasso** (Duke University; Oberlin College)

***Buried in the Red Dirt: Race, Reproduction, and Death in Modern Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Bringing together a vivid array of analog and non-traditional sources, including colonial archives, newspaper reports, literature, oral histories, and interviews, Buried in the Red Dirt tells a story of life, death, reproduction and missing bodies and experiences during and since the British colonial period in Palestine. Using transnational feminist reading practices of existing and new archives, the book moves beyond authorized frames of collective pain and heroism. Looking at their day-to-day lives, where Palestinians suffered most from poverty, illness, and high rates of infant and child mortality, Frances Hasso's book shows how ideologically and practically, racism and eugenics shaped British colonialism and Zionist settler-colonialism in Palestine in different ways, especially informing health policies. She examines Palestinian anti-reproductive desires and practices, before and after 1948, critically engaging with demographic scholarship that has seen Zionist commitments to Jewish reproduction projected onto Palestinians. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core."

***Resistance, Repression, and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan***
(Syracuse University Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "This book focuses on the central party apparatus of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP aka DPFLP), the Democratic Front (DF) branches established in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Jordan in the 1970s, and the most influential and innovative of the DF women's organizations: the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees in the occupied territories. Until now, no study of a Palestinian political organization has so thoroughly engaged with internal gender histories. In addition, no other work attempts to systematically compare branches in different regional locations to explain those differences. Students of gender and Middle East studies, especially those with a specialty in Palestinian studies, will find this work to be of critical importance. This book will also be of great interest to those working on political protest movements and factional ties."

**Muhammed Abdel-Kadel Hatem** (Abd al-Qadir; Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt)
***Information and the Arab Cause***
(Longman, 1974)
With foreword by the *Daily Telegraph*'s Middle East correspondent **John Bulloch**
.

**Meir Hatina** (Islamic Studies, Hebrew University)
***Islam and Salvation in Palestine: The Islamic Jihad Movement***
(Moshe Dayan Center/Syracuse University Press, 180 pages, 2001)

**Susan Lee Hattis**
***The Bi-National Idea in Palestine During Mandatory Times***
(Haifa: Shikmona Publishing, 355 pages, 1970)
PhD thesis, University of Geneva.See also **Ahmad Khalidi**, head of the Mandate Government's Arab schooling.

**Sune Haugbolle**
***War and Memory in Lebanon***
(Cambridge University Press, 2010, 2011,
2012)
Publisher's blurb: "From 1975 to 1990, Lebanon endured one of the most protracted and bloody civil wars of the twentieth century. Sune Haugbolle's book chronicles the battle over ideas that emerged from the wreckage of that war. While the Lebanese state encouraged forgetfulness and political parties created sectarian interpretations of the war through cults of dead leaders, intellectuals and activists - inspired by the example of truth and reconciliation movements in different parts of the world - advanced the idea that confronting and remembering the war was necessary for political and cultural renewal. Through an analysis of different cultural productions - media, art, literature, film, posters, and architecture - the author shows how the recollection and reconstruction of political and sectarian violence that took place during the war have helped in Lebanon's healing process. He also shows how a willingness to confront the past influenced the popular uprising in Lebanon after the assassination of Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri."

**Mahmoud Hawari** (Archaeologist-activist, Director of the Palestinian Museum – Ramallah, who has worked at the British Museum, Oxford University;, and Birzeit University)
***Fighting Palestinian Poverty: A Survey of the Economic and Social Impact of the Israeli Occupation on the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(War on Want, 2003)

**James Buchanan Hayes**

***T.V.A. on the Jordan: Proposals for Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Development in Palestine***
(Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 114 pages, 1948)
T.V.A. = Tennessee Valley Authority; presented to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

**Rawia Hayik** (Sakhnin Academic College, Israel)

***The Linguistic Landscape in Israel Through Palestinian Eyes: Observations, Critique, and Demands for Change***
(Routledge, 192 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Adopting a sociolinguistic framework that highlights the political nature of language and its role as a marker of national identity in conflict zones, this book discusses the dystopian representation of Arabic as a minority language in the linguistic landscape in Israel through the eyes of indigenous Israeli Palestinian students. Using a participatory documentary photography research tool named PhotoVoice, minoritized college students from Northern Israel were invited to document and reflect on the signage in their area. Content analysis of students' reflections revealed not only a problematic linguistic reality in which the presence of Arabic was limited and inaccurate, but also the ways the space was experienced by them as local inhabitants. The book chapters shed light on their profound cognitive and affective perceptions and aspirations as passers-by toward the (mis)representation of their native language in the country. The contribution of the book lies in demonstrating the potential of the innovative tool PhotoVoice in developing awareness to the explicit and implicit messages delivered through linguistic landscapes and encouraging action for achieving utopian, more inclusive linguistic realities where minority languages are appropriately represented."

**Massoud Hayoun**

***When We Were Arabs: A Jewish Family's Forgotten History***
(The New Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: **"**There was a time when being "Arab" didn't necessarily mean you were Muslim. It was a time when Oscar Hayoun, a Jewish Arab, strode along the Nile in a fashionable suit, long before he and his father arrived at the port of Haifa to join the Zionist state only to find themselves hosed down with the pesticide DDT and left unemployed. In that time, Arabness was a mark of cosmopolitanism and intellectualism. Today, in the age of the Likud and ISIS, Oscar's son, the Jewish Arab journalist Massoud Hayoun, whom Oscar raised in Los Angeles, finds his voice by telling his family's story."

**Haim Hazan**

***Simulated Dreams: Israeli Youth and Virtual Zionism***
(Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001)
Sociological, anthropological analysis.

**Yaron Hazony**

***The Jewish State: An Idea and its Betrayal***
(Basic Books, 2000)

**Marianne Heiberg** & **Geir Øvensen**

***Palestinian Society in Gaza, West Bank and Arab Jerusalem: A Survey of Living Conditions***
(Oslo: Fafo Report no. 151, 1993)

**Marte Heian-Engdal**

***Palestinian Refugees after 1948: The Failure of International Diplomacy***
(IB Tauris, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "After more than seventy years, the Palestinian refugee problem remains unsolved. But if a deal could have been reached involving the repatriation of Palestinian refugees, it was in the early years of the Arab-Israeli conflict. So why didn't this happen? This book is the first comprehensive study of the international community's earliest efforts to solve the Palestinian refugee problem. Based on a wide range of international primary sources from Israeli, US, UK and UN archives, the book investigates the major proposals between 1948 and 1968 and explains why these failed. It shows that the main actors involved – the Arab states, Israel, the US and the UN – agreed on very little when it came to the Palestinian refugees and therefore never got seriously engaged in finding a solution. This new analysis highlights how the international community gradually moved from viewing the Palestinian refugee problem as a political issue to looking at it as a humanitarian one. It examines the impact of this development and the changes that took place in this formative period of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the limited influence US policy makers had over Israel."

**Mohammad Hasanayn Haykal** aka **Mohammed Hassanien Heikal** (Editor of *Ahram* newspaper, Cairo)
***Secret Channels: The Inside Story of Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations***
(Harper Collins, 572 pages, 1996)
An important Arab journalist's account of a half-century of clandestine meetings.

**Hearst Newspapers**, **Royal S. Copeland, Warren Robinson Austin**, **Daniel Oren Hastings**
***The Crisis in Palestine: Reports of the Heart Unofficial Senatorial Commission***
(New York City: Heart Unofficial Senatorial Commission, 80 pages, 1936)
Reports from visits by members of the US Senate to Palestine; addresses the riots and argues in favor of the Zionist project.

**Gregory Heary** (Catholic Priest trainee and evangelical hip hop musician turned Muslim)
***The History of the Zionist State***
(Author, 66 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This investigative narrative begins in the late 1800s, tracing the developments leading to the establishment of Israel and the pivotal conflicts in Palestine with groups such as Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi. It critically examines the U.N. Partition Plan, the 1948 declaration of Israel, and the resulting tensions with neighboring Arab nations. The book also addresses the global influences, including the roles of the U.S. and the impact of the Holocaust on Zionist expansion. Through an analytical lens, the author challenges conventional wisdom and explores the ongoing peace negotiations and the role of historical narratives in shaping current and future policies."

**Hebrew Educators' Committee for Labor Palestine**
***New Pioneers***
(New York City: HECLP, 6 pages, 1940)
Witten for American Jewish children, urging them to collect coins and donate them to the Histadrut "to help our Palestine pioneers develop aviation and marine work and erect school buildings for your little friends, the pioneers of tomorrow." Details the Histadrut's housing, agricultural, and military building efforts in Palestine, as well as school building projects. "Hebrew is naturally the spoken tongue of the Halutzim. The newspapers, books, and theatre performances, too, are in that language. (To you it may sound awful hard-to live in a Hebrew-speaking world-but it really isn't, as any Palestinian boy or girl will tell you.)"

**Marte Heian-Engdal**
***Palestinian Refugees after 1948: The Failure of International Diplomacy***
(I.B. Tauris, 210 pages, 2020)

1. Introduction2. From Principles to Practicalities: Repatriation versus Resettlement3. A Beautiful Dream: the Rise and Fall of Project Alpha4. The United States and the Palestinian refugee issue5. The Johnson Mission: A Real college try?6. Kennedy and the Arab-Israeli conflict7. The end of the road for the Johnson Mission8. The 1967 War: Changed Parameters of the Arab-Israeli Conflict9. Conclusion.

**Hjalmtyr Heiddal**

***Iceland Street in Jerusalem***

(Independent, 242 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Just three years after becoming an independent republic, Iceland was appointed to the U.N.'s 1947 Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, charged with recommending a solution to the burgeoning Zionist-Arab conflict. Iceland further cemented its place in history when its U.N. representative, Thor Thors, was the first person to address the General Assembly on Nov. 29, 1947 as the body debated the now infamous U.N. Partition Plan for Palestine. Although Thors was heavily lobbied by Zionists, he told Abba Eban, Israel's future foreign minister, that his country's support for a Jewish state was never in doubt. Heiddal offers a thorough examination as to why Iceland and many other Western countries so ardently supported Zionism." Ghada Karmi: "The supreme merit of this book is that it leaves its readers in no doubt as to what Israel really is. It explains that this new state is no ancient biblical fairy tale come to life, but rather a very modern example of a settler colonist state erected on the ruins of another country, the ancient land of Palestine."

**George Heimler**

***Aspects of Israeli Experience at the United Nations Organisation***

(18 pages, 1976)

A summary of events leading up to the UNGA Resolution 3379 on Zionism as Racism.

**Joseph Heller** (b. 1937, not the author of *Catch 22*)

***The Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics and Terror, 1940-1949***

(Frank Cass, 1994 / Routledge, 1995)

Claims that the organisation, Lehi, was not an ideological offshoot of the IZL/Irgun, but one of 'National Bolshevism,' and that both groups' efforts weren't solely responsible for making the British Mandate untenable. Book does not deal with the Stern Gang's legacy, but subsequent books unpack the revival of revisionist extremism. See also: Patrick Bishop

***British Policy Toward the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1914***

(Frank Cass, 1983)

**Joseph Heller** (b. 1888, not the author of *Catch 22*)

***The Zionist Idea***

(Joint Zionist Publications Committee, 1947)

***Correspondence Course in Zionism, Part 1***

(Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 1945)

**Mark A. Heller**

***Continuity and Change in Israeli Security Policy*** #(Oxford University Press / International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2000)

with **Sari Nusseibeh**: ***No Trumpets, No Drums: A Two-State Settlement of the Israel-Palestine Conflict***

(IB Tauris, 1991)

***A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel***
(Harvard University Press, 1983)

**Mark Heller** & **Rosemary Hollis**, editors
***Israel and the Palestinians: Israeli Policy Options***
(Chatham House, 2005)

**Paul C. Helmreich**
***From Paris to Sevres: The Partition of the Ottoman Empire at the Peace Conference of 1919-1920***
(Ohio State University Press, 376 pages, 1974)

**Angelina Helou**
***Interaction of Political, Military and Economic Factors in Israel***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center [PLO Archives], 175 pages, 1969)
Based on American University of Beirut thesis, 1967.

**Angelina Helou** and **Bhim Singh**
***An Examination of Documents on Which the State of Israel is Based***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center [PLO Archives], 117 pages, 1970)
Focus on international law.

**Jehan Helou**
***Making Palestine's History: Women's Testimonies***
(Spokesman Books, 242 pages, 2022)
Concise English version of the original Arabic 2009 edition published by the Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Centre at UNESCO. Testimonies regarding 1969-1984 and includes Palestinians in Lebanon. Interviews conducted by Jehan Helou, with interviewees: Rima Bordcosh, Fadia Foda, Shadia Helou, Hamda Iraqi, Myassar Ismail, Amal Masri, Majida Masri, Wadad Qomri, Masna Rida, Samira Salah, Amneh Kamel Sueiman, Issam Abdul Hadi, Mai Sayegh, Intissar al-Wazir (Umm Jihad), Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hout, Hadla Ayoubi, Kassem Aina.

**Daniel Heradstveit**
***The Media War in the Middle East***
(Oslo: Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt, 190 pages, ca. 1983)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Psychological Obstacles to Peace*** (
Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 233 pages, 1979, 1981)

***Arab and Israeli Elite Perceptions***
(Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 147 pages, 1974)

**Jeffrey Herf** (University of Maryland)
***Israel's Moment: International Support for and Opposition to Establishing the Jewish State, 1945-1949***
(Cambridge University Press, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on new research in government, public and private archives, Jeffrey Herf exposes the political realities that underpinned support for and opposition to Zionist aspirations in Palestine. In an unprecedented international account, he explores the role of the United States, the Arab States, the Palestine Arabs, the Zionists, and key European governments from Britain and France to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland. His findings reveal a spectrum of support and opposition that stood in sharp contrast to the political coordinates that emerged during the Cold War, shedding new light on how and why the state of Israel was established in 1948 and challenging conventional associations of left and right, imperialism and anti-imperialism, and racism and anti-racism."

***Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-1989***
(Cambridge University Press, 2016)

***Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World***
(Yale University Press, 320 pages, 2009)

As editor: ***Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective: Convergence and Divergence***
(Routledge, 296 pages, 2006)

**Tamar S. Hermann**

***The Israeli Democracy Index, 2012***
(Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2012)

***The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream***
(Cambridge University Press, 310 pages, 2009, 2014).
A lament for the post-Oslo decline.

With **Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar**: ***International Intervention in Protracted Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case: Proceedings of a Symposium, 19 April 2002***
(Tel Aviv University, 93 pages, 2003)

With **Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar**: ***The Peace Process and the Secular-Religious Cleavage***
(Tel Aviv University, 8 pages, 1988)

As co-editor with **Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar**: ***Israeli Society and Challenge of Transition to Co-existence: Proceeding of Symposium, November 21-22, 1996***
(Tel Aviv University, 148, 1997)

As co-author with **Asher Arian** & **Ilan Talmud**: ***National Security and Public Opinion in Israel***
(Jerusalem Post, 1988/Routledge, 133 pages, 2018)

**Sami Hermez** (Northwestern University Qatar) with **Sireen Sawalha**

***My Brother, My Land: A Story from Palestine***
(Redwood Press, 328 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In 1967, Sireen Sawalha's mother, with her young children, walked back to Palestine against the traffic of exile. My Brother, My Land is the story of Sireen's family in the decades that followed and their lives in the Palestinian village of Kufr Ra'i. From Sireen's early life growing up in the shadow of the '67 War and her family's work as farmers caring for their land, to the involvement of her brother Iyad in armed resistance in the First and Second Intifada, Sami Hermez, with Sireen Sawalha, crafts a rich story of intertwining voices, mixing genres of oral history, memoir, and creative nonfiction. Through the lives of the Sawalha family, and the story of Iyad's involvement with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Hermez confronts readers with the politics and

complexities of armed resistance and the ethical tensions and contradictions that arise, as well as with the dispossession and suffocation of people living under occupation and their ordinary lives in such times. Whether this story leaves readers discomforted, angry, or empowered, they will certainly emerge with a deeper understanding of the Palestinian predicament."

**Seymour M. (Myron) Hersh** (*New Yorker* magazine writer who first exposed the 1969 My Lai Massacre in Vietnam)
***The Samson Option: Israel, America and the Bomb***
(Faber, 1991, 1993)
An exposé of the unstated policy of American presidents going back to Dwight Eisenhower to look the other way as Israel began the process of building an atomic bomb.

**Taher Herzallah** (University of Minnesota)
***Everybody Freeze! The Art of Public Demonstrations for Palestine on College Campuses***
(Author/American Muslims for Palestine, 29 pages, 2015)
Edited by **Kristin Szremski**.

**Rabbi Arthur Herzenberg**, editor
***The Fate of Zionism: A Secular Future for Israel and Palestine***
(HarperSanFrancisco, 2003)

***The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader***
(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America [sic], 1997)

**Theodor Herzl**
***Complete Diaries***
(New York City: Herzl Press, 1960)

***The Congress Addresses of Theodor Herzl***
(New York City: Federation of American Zionists, 40 pages, 1917)

***A Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question***
(New York City: Maccabaean Publishing, 102 pages, 1904 / New York City: Federation of American Zionists, 44 pages, 1917 / New York City: American Zionist Emergency Council, based on a revised translation by Sylvia d'Avigdor, 99 pages, 1946 / numerous later editions)

***The Tragedy of Jewish Immigration: evidence Given before the British Royal Commission in 1902***
(New York City: Zionist Organisation of America, 47 pages, 1920)

Likely Herzl involvement: ***The Agricultural Possibilities of Palestine***
(New York City: Federation of American Zionists/British Palestine Committee, 18 pages, 1918)

**Moses Hess** (1812-1875)
***The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem, the Last Nationalist Question***
(University of Nebraska Press, 1995)
Translated by **Meyer Waxman**. "Jewish religion is, above all, Jewish patriotism." Note the earlier publication as ***Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism*** (New York City: Bloch Publishing, 1918 and subsequent editions)

**Nadia Hijab** (Director of Al-Shakba, the Palestinian Policy Network)
with **Amina Minns**: ***Citizens Apart – A Portrait of Palestinians in Israel***
(IB Tauris, 1990)

**Saleh Hijazi** (Amnesty International)
With **Bill Van Esveld**: ***No News is Good News: Abuses against Journalists by Palestinian Security Forces***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 35 pages, 2011)
Contents: Reports of Increased Harassment -- The Role of PA Security Forces -- Gaza -- Palestinian Authority Abuse of Journalists in the West Bank -- Muhanad Salahat -- Mustafa Sabri -- Tariq Abu Zeid -- Khalid Amayreh -- Samer Rweeshid -- Watan Television: Assaults on Journalists and Raids on Station -- Gaza -- Nofouz al-Bakri -- Hamza Beheesi -- Legal Standards -- Recommendations -- To the Palestinian Authority -- To the United States and the EU -- To Hamas

***Silent Genocide***
(University of Essex, university thesis, 2007)

**Jamil Hilal** (Durham University)
As editor, with **Ilan Pappe** : ***Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History***
(IB Tauris, 2010)

As editor: ***Where Now for Palestine? The Demise of the Two-State Solution***
(Zed Books, 2007)
Contents: **Jamil Hilal**: *Palestine: The Last Colonial Issue* / **Ilan Pappe**: *Zionism and the Two-State Solution* / **As'ad Ghanem**: *Israel and the 'Danger of Demography'* / **Nils Butenschon**: *The Paradoxz of Palestinian Self-Determination* / **Husam A. Mohamad**: *The Bush Administration and the Two-State Solution* / **Sufyan Alissa**; *The Economics of an Independent Palestine* / **Jad Isaac** & **Owen Powell**: *The Transformation of the Palestinian Environment* / **Ziad Abu-Amr**: *Hamas: From Opposition to Rule* / **Are Knudsen** & **Basem Ezbidi**: *Hamas and Palestinian Statehood* / **Sharif S. Elmusa**: *Searching for a Solution* / **Karma Nabulsi**: *Justice as the Way Forward*

**Robert Hillenbrand** (University of Edinburgh)
***The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem: An Introduction***
(Altajir World of Islam Trust, 128 pages, 2002)

**Joost R. Hilterman**
***Behind the Intifada: Labor and Women's Movements in the Occupied Territories***
(Princeton University Press, 294 pages, 1991)

**Elin B. Hilwig**
***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine***
(Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2006)
Begins from 1946.

***The Barrier in the Occupied Palestinian Territory: Protection of Private Property under International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law***
(Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, 132 pages, 2005)

**Said B. Himadeh** (one of the founders of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut)

As editor: ***Economic Organization of Palestine***
(Beirut: American Press, 602 pages, 1938)
Contents.--Population, by L.G. Hopkins.--Natural resources, by S.B. Himadeh.--Land tenure, by M.J. Doukhan.--Agriculture, by Montague Brown.--Industry, by S.B. Himadeh.--Transportation and communication, by Husni Sawwaf.--Internal trade, by B. Veicmanas.--Foreign trade, by Husni Sawwaf.--Monetary and banking system, by George Hakim and M.Y. El-Hussayni.--Fiscal system, by M.F. Abcarius.--Appendices.--Bibliography (p. 575-585)

**Rita Hinden**
***Palestine: An Experiment in Colonisation***
(University of London thesis, 241 pages, 1939)

**Albert Karl Fredrik Hiorth**
***Palestine Restored: Concerning the Colonisation of Palestine***
(Hodder & Staughton, 7 pages, 1919)

**Dilip Hiro**
***The Middle East***
(Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1996)

***Sharing the Promised Land: A Tale of Israelis and Palestinians*** aka ***Sharing the Promised Land: An Interwoven Tale of Israelis and Palestinians***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books / Hodder & Stoughton-Coronet, 726 pages, 1996)

***Lebanon: Fire and Embers – A History of the Lebanese Civil War***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1993)

***Inside the Middle East***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982)

**Dafna Hirsch** (Open University of Israel)
***Entangled Histories in Palestine/Israel: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives***
(Routledge, 368 pages, 2024)
Contents: **Daniel DeMalach** and **Lef Luis Grinberg**: *The Violent Struggle over Land: The Beginning of the Zionist Armed Settlement Strategy, 1908-1914)* / **Boaz Lev Tov**: *'The Same Sea': Jews and Palestinians on the Beach in the Late Ottoman and Mandate Periods* / **Alon Confino**: *Miracles and Snow in Palestine and Israel: Tantura History of 1948* / **Rana Awaysi**: *Coping with the Present Past: Personal Recollection among Palestinian Internally Displaced Persons* / **Benny Nuriely**: *Accumulation and Surveillance: The Military Rule in Lydda, July 1948 -July 1949* / **Smadar Sharon**: *When 'Human Material' Says No: Noncompliance, Resistance and Protest among the Settlers of the Lakhish Project, 1954-1962* / **Shani Bar-On Maman**: *Reconstructing the Labor Process: The Of-Ar Factory, 1961-1979* / **Naor Ben-Yehoyada**: *The Men Who Knew Too Much: Sardines, Skills and the Labor Process in Jafa, Israel, 1948-1979* / **Manar Hasan**: *Palestine's Absent Cities: Gender, Memoricide, and the Silencing of Urban Palestinianb Memory* / **Regev Nathansohn**: *Discourse of Separation: Taboos and Depoliticization in Haifa's Guided Tours* / **Safa Aburabia**: *Silenced in History? Naqab Bedouin Women and Their Narrative of the Past*

**Moshe Hirsch** (Neturei Karta; Hebrew University Jerusalem; Yassir Arafat's Jewish Affairs Minister)
With **Demorah Housen-Couriel** and **Ruth Lapidoth**: ***Wither Jerusalem? Proposals and Positions Concerning the Future of Jerusalem***
(The Hague/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff; The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1982 pages, 1995)

As co-editor, with **Ruth Lapidoth**: ***The Jerusalem Question and its Resolution: Selected Documents***
(Dordrecht/London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers; The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 542 pages, 1991)

As co-editor, with **Ruth Lapidoth**: ***The Arab-Israel Conflict and its Resolution: Selected Documents***
(Dordrecht/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 387 pages, 1991)

**Yair Hirschfeld** (Oslo team)
***The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: A Personal Insider's Account***
(Springer Cham, 292 pages, 2024)

**Sara Yael Hirschhorn**
***City on a Hilltop: The Participation of Jewish-American Immigrants within the Israeli Settler Movement, 1967-1987***
(Harvard University Press, 350 pages, 2017)
Based on thesis, University of Chicago, 531 pages, 2012; publisher's blurb: "Summary: Since the June 1967 war, over 60,000 Jewish-Americans have settled in the occupied territories. Comprising 15 percent of the [400,000] Israeli settler enterprise today, they have established major settlements, revolutionized the public relations of the movement and its engagement with the international community, and committed shocking acts of settler terrorism. City on a Hilltop unsettles stereotypes about Jewish-American settlers. It shatters the myth that they were messianic zealots, finding instead a group of young, highly-educated American Jews who were politically active in 1960s social movements and the Democratic Party prior to their immigration to Israel. Their generation didn't abandon their heritage when they settled over the Green Line-- rather they saw a historical opportunity to apply their liberal values to a new kind of "city on a hilltop." The story of Jewish-American settlers personifies the clash between liberal values and political realities at the heart of the crisis of liberal Zionism today." Focus includes Garin Yamit, Rabbi Shlomo Riskin and the occupied West Bank settlement of Efrat, and Garin Lev Zion and the origins of Tekoa.

**David Hirst** (former Middle East correspondent for the *Guardian* newspaper)
***Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East***
(Faber/Nation Books, 498 pages, , 2011)

***The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East***
(Faber & Faber, 1977, 2nd ed. 1984, 3rd ed with new foreword, 613 pages, 2003, 2004 / Nation Books, 2003)
Extends up to the massacres at Sabra and Chatila/Shatilla refugee camps in Lebanon, 1982.

***An Interview with Israel Shahak*** (Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights)
(Beirut: Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine, 20 pages, ca. 1975)
Offprint interview, co-conducted with Charles Glass, from the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.4 N.3, 1975.

**Lukasz Hirszowicz**
***The Third Reich and the Arab East***
(Routledge/Toronto University Press, 1966)

**Histadrut (Histadrut General Federation of Labour in Israel)**
***The Histadrut's Arab Members***
(Tel-Aviv: Histadrut, 60 pages, 1987)

***The Histadrut's Arab Members: The Success Story of Jeweish-Arab Coexistence within Israeli Labour's Ranks***
(Tel-Aviv: Histadrut, 47 pages, ca. 1970)

***Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel***
(New York City: American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute, pamphlet, 1967)

**Phillip K. Hitti** aka **Philip Khuri Hitti** (Princeton University)
***Syria: A Short History***
(Macmillan, 270pages, 1959)
A condensation of the author's *History of Syria, Including Lebanon on Palestine.*

***History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine***
(Macmillan, 750 pages, 1951 unconfirmed, 1957; later published in separate volumes, Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2002)

**Walter L. Hixson** (University of Akron)
***Architects of Repression: How Israel and its Lobby Put Racism, Violence and Injustice at the Center of US Middle East Policy***
(Washington DC: Institute for Research, 244 pages, 2021)

***Israel's Armor: The Israel Lobby and the First Generation of the Palestine Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
The foundational history of the Israel lobby.

**Gil Z. Hochberg** (UCLA)
***In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs and the Limits of Separatist Imagination***
(Princeton University Press, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "Partition–the idea of separating Jews and Arabs along ethnic or national lines–is a legacy at least as old as the Zionist-Palestinian conflict. Challenging the widespread "separatist imagination" behind partition, Gil Hochberg demonstrates the ways in which works of contemporary Jewish and Arab literature reject simple notions of separatism and instead display complex configurations of identity that emphasize the presence of alterity within the self–the Jew within the Arab, and the Arab within the Jew. In Spite of Partition examines Hebrew, Arabic, and French works that are largely unknown to English readers to reveal how, far from being independent, the signifiers "Jew" and "Arab" are inseparable. In a series of original close readings, Hochberg analyzes fascinating examples of such inseparability. In the Palestinian writer Anton Shammas's Hebrew novel Arabesques, the Israeli and Palestinian protagonists are a "schizophrenic pair" who "have not yet decided who is the ventriloquist of whom." And in the Moroccan Jewish writer Albert Swissa's Hebrew novel Aqud, the Moroccan-Israeli main character's identity is uneasily located between the "Moroccan Muslim boy he could have been" and the "Jewish Israeli boy he has become." Other examples draw attention to the intricate linguistic proximity of Hebrew and Arabic, the historical link between the traumatic memories of the Jewish Holocaust and the Palestinian Nakbah, and the libidinal ties that bind Jews and Arabs despite, or even because of, their current animosity."

**Thomas Hodgkin**
***Thomas Hodgkin: Letters from Palestine 1932-1936***
(Quartet Books, 1986)
EC Hodgkin, editor

***Antonius and Palestine***

(Ithaca Press, 1982)
EC Hodgkin, editor

**Adina Hoffman**
***House of Windows: Portraits from a Jerusalem Neighbourhood***
(Arcadia Books, 2001)

**Bruce Hoffman**
***Anonymous Soldiers: The Struggle for Israel, 1917-1947***
(Knopf, 2015)
Author details the terrorism of the Irgun and Lehi.

**Charles Hoffman**
***The Smoke Screen: Israel, Philanthropy, and American Jews***
(Silver Spring, Maryland: Eshel Books, 360 pages, 1989)

**Philip Hollander** (University of Wisconsin)
***From Schlemiel to Sabra: Zionist Masculinity and Palestinian Hebrew Literature***
(Indiana University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Hollander examines how masculine ideals and images of the New Hebrew man shaped the Israeli state. In this innovative book, Hollander uncovers the complex relationship that Jews had with masculinity, interrogating narratives depicting masculinity in the new state as a transition from weak, feminized schlemiels to robust, muscular, and rugged Israelis. Turning to key literary texts by S. Y. Agnon, Y. H. Brenner, L. A. Arieli, and Aharon Reuveni, Hollander reveals how gender and sexuality were intertwined to promote a specific Zionist political agenda. A Zionist masculinity grounded in military prowess could not only protect the new state but also ensure its procreative needs and future. Self-awareness, physical power, fierce loyalty to the state and devotion to the land, humility, and nurture of the young were essential qualities that needed to be cultivated in migrants to the state. By turning to the early literature of Zionist Palestine, Hollander shows how Jews strove to construct a better Jewish future."

**William Holliday** aka **William Lee Holliday**
***Zionism – Judaism: Is the Old Testament Zionist?***
(Beirut: University Christian Centre Forum, 23 pages, 1966)

**Clare Hollingworth** (war correspondent for *The Observer* and *The Economist*)
***Front Line***
(Jonathan Cape, 1990)
Disappointingly minimal reference to 1947-1948, especially as she was at the King David Hotel when it was terrorised. Flew bombing missions for the RAF in Cairo during World War Two.

***The Arabs and the West***
(Methuen, 1952 / Routledge, 2015)

**John Haynes Holmes** (Church of the Messiah, New York City)
***Palestine To-Day and Tomorrow: A Gentile's Survey of Zionism***
(New York City: Macmillan, London: Allen & Unwin, 1929 / New York City: Arno Press, 1977 / Routledge, 290 pages, 2024)

**Yifat Holzman-Gazit**

***Land Expropriation in Israel: Law, Culture and Society***
(Ashgate, 2007)
Legal case law used to deprive Arab Palestinians of their land shown to have also, in a much smaller scale, done the same to Jewish Israelis.

**H.M.S.O.**

***Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929***
(HMSO, 197 pages, 1930)
The Shaw Report [ Sir Walter Shaw]; presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Commend of His Majesty; March, 1930. Available online, 202 pages, via: babel.hathitrust.org

**Ted Honderich**

***Right & Wrong & Palestine***
(Seven Stories Press, 272 pages, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: a Philosopher ,Ted Honderich insightfully relates four shattering current events in this articulate, well-reasoned moral and political analysis. Exploring the war in Iraq, the controversy in Palestine, and the tragic events of 9-11 and London's 7-7, Honderich elucidates the great questions of right and wrong in a conflict-ridden era."

**Tikva Honig-Parnass**

***False Prophets of Peace: Liberal Zionism and the Struggle for Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011)
Deeply researched analysis of the Israeli Left's attempts to legitimise Israeli apartheid; a rare, English-language assessment, endorsed by Ilan Pappe, Moshé Machover, and Noam Chomsky. Valuable endnotes, despite occasional misspellings of authors' names and English titles sometimes wantonly given to Hebrew books. A pitch debunking false "peace" of apartheid, the author makes the case for a single state. Deep research in Israeli Liberal Zionism, rather than American, with worthwhile endnotes.

**Tikva Honig-Parnass** & **Toufic Haddad**, editors ~ See also Toufic Haddad's books.
***Between the Lines: Readings on Israel, the Palestinians and the US War on Terror***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 405 pages, 2007)
Contributors: Marwan Bargouti, Dr. Azmi Bishara, Dr. Sami Shalom Chetrit, Dr. Saleh Abdel Jawwad, Husam Khader, Eileen Kuttab, Dr. Yitzhak Laor, Dr. Adi Ophir, Dr. Ilan Pappe, Linda Tabar, Graham Usher and Dr. Jamal Zahalqa.

***Training Youth from new Immigrant Settlements: A Study of in Youth Aliyah Education***
(Jerusalem: Child and Youth Immigration Dept of the Jewish Agency for Israel, 93 pages, 1960)

**S. Hoofien**

***Immigration and Prosperity: The Effects of the Jewish Immigration into Palestine on the Economy in General and on the Prosperity of the Arab Population in Particular***
(Tel Aviv: Mischar W'Ta'asia, 55 pages, 1930)
Features a variety of tables, graphs, and summaries of the exclusive Jewish financial situations in Palestine during this era. This includes the import of Jewish capital, Jewish contributions to the general revenue, government expenditure, and taxation. "Hoofien came to Israel in 1912 after having served as director of the Cologne office of the Zionist Central Office. In Israel he served in a number of economic posts and, at the time of his death, was economic coordinator of the Israel Government. In collaboration with the later Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan, Mr. Hoofien developed fiscal policies which helped shape the young Israeli economy. He was president of Israel's Bank Leumi." (JTA, 1957)

**Derek Hopwood** (Oxford University)

***Syria 1945-1986***
(Taylor & Francis, 329 pages, 2013)
Includes chapters, *War in Palestine* and *The Third Arab Israeli War 1967*.

***Studies in Arab History: The Antonius Lectures, 1978-1987***
(Macmillan/St. Anthony's College, Oxford/World of Islam Festival Trust, 189 pages, 1990)
Includes *George Antonius, Palestine, and the 1930s* (1981); *The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem* (1985). Contributors include **George Makdisi** and **Albert Hourani**.

***Tales of Empire: The British in the Middle East, 1880-1952***
(IB Tauris, 196 pages, 1989)

***The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine, 1843-1914: Church and Politics in the Near East***
(Clarenden Press, 232 pages, 1969)
Contents: Russia & the Ottoman Empire: Russia & the Near East; Orthodox world of Syria & Palestine - Russian missions in Jerusalem: pioneer Porphyri Uspenski; Bishop & Palestine Committee; Slavonic dissensions; Ignatev & Antonin Kapustin - Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society 1882-1917: rise; fall; influence through education - Russia & Orthodox Arab nationalism: 1st real victory, Antioch; quantite negligeable, Orthodox Arabs of Jerusalem - Conclusion.

**EP Horne** aka **Edward Horne**

***A Job Well Done: A History of the Palestine Police Service, 1920-1948***
(Palestine Police Old Comrades Benevolent Association, 1982 / Book Guild Publishing, 616 pages, 2003)

**Dan Horowitz**

With **Moshe Lissak**: ***Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdoned Polity of Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 357 pages, 1989)

With **Edward N. Luttwak**: ***The Israeli Army, 1948-1973***
(Allen Lane, 1975 / Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Books, 398 pages, 1983)

***Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate***
(University of Chicago Press, 292 pages, 1978)
Translated by **Charles Hoffman**.

***Israel's Concept of Defensible Borders***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 30 pages, 1975)

**David Horowitz**

***State in the Making***
(Greenwood Press, 1981)
Jewish Agency perspective.

***Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Jewish Agency for Palestine Institute of Economic Research, 52 pages, 1937)

**Peter Hounam**

***Operation Cyanide: Why the Bombing of the USS Liberty Nearly Caused World War III***

(Vision, 2003)

**Albert Habib Hourani CBE** (American University Beirut; Arab Office, London; Oxford University)

As editor, with **Philip S. Khoury** & **Mary C. Wilson**: ***The Modern Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 691 pages, 1992; 712 pages, 2003, 2004)

As honoured subject, edited by **John Spagnolo**
***Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honour of Albert Hourani***
(Reading: Ithaca Press, 1992)
Contents: Albert Hourani: an appreciation; The establishment and dismantling of the Province of Syria, 1865-1888 / B. Abu-Manneh; From consciousness to activism: feminist politics in early twentieth century Egypt / M. Badran; Continuity in modern Egyptian history / M. Deeb; Women and conflict in Lebanon / L. Fawaz; Nizam Ma Fi / M. Gilsenan; Taha Husayn / Ibrahim Ibrahim; Society and ideology in late Ottoman Syria / R. Khalidi; Abd el-Kader and Arab nationalism / John King; The Jewish-Zionist and Arab-Palestinian national communities / Moshe Ma'oz; Revolutionaries, fundamentalists and women / A. Lufti al-Sayyid Marsot; Water in the international relations of the Middle East / Thomas Naff; Architecture and urban development: Cairo during the Ottoman period / André Raymond; The famine of 1915-1918 in Greater Syria / L. S. Schilcher; Sunnis and Shi'is revisited / P. Sluglett, M. Farouk-Sluglett; The West and the overburdened history of the modern Middle East / J.P. Spagnolo.

***Islam in European Thought***
(Cambridge University Press, 1991)
Chapters: Islam in European thought -- Wednesday afternoons remembered -- Marshall Hodgson and the venture of Islam -- Islamic history, Middle Eastern history, modern history -- T.E. Lawrence and Louis Massignon -- In search of a new Andalusia: Jacques Berque and the Arabs -- Culture and change: the Middle East in the eighteenth century -- Bustani's encyclopaedia -- Sulaiman al-Bustani and the Iliad.

***Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age***
(Cambridge University Press,1983)
Topics include Christian secularism, Arab and Egyptian nationalism, and the wider Ottoman Empire.

***The Emergence of the Modern Middle East***
(Macmillan, 1981)

***The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East***
(Longmans, 1970)

**Frederic C. Hof** (US Army officer, Bard College, Director of the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East)

***Galilee Divided: The Israel-Lebanon Frontier, 1916-1984***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 134 pages; Routledge, 150 pages, 2021, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This monograph looks at the problems on and around the southern boundary of Lebanon from the time it was first established by the French and British after World War I. The author turns to the Zionist thirst for the waters of the Litani River, the impotence and neglect of the southern region and its Shia inhabitants on the part of all Lebanese governments, the coming of the PLO, Israel's policies and actions on grounds of security, and finally the war of 1982 and the unsettled issues left in its wake."

**Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hout** (married to Shafiq al-Hout)

***Sabra and Shatila: September 1982***
(Pluto Press, 2004)

An astoundingly comprehensive history based on all documentation available, including oral testimony and a field study conducted in 1984. Includes a list of massacre victims and those abducted, by age, gender, and nationality, when known. "The definitive oral and victim-sourced history" – Tim Llewellyn, BBC Middle East Correspondent.

**Shafiq Al-Hout** (see: his autobiography and **Jean Said Makdisi**)

**Adam M. Howard**

***Sewing the Fabric of Statehood: Garment Unions, American Labor and the Establishment of the State of Israel***

(University of Illinois Press, 176 pages, 2017)

**Harry Nicholas Howard**

***The King Crane Commission: An American Enquiry in the Middle East***

(Beirut: Khayats; distributed by Constable & Co. in the UK and Canada; 369 pages, 1963)

"Howard's is by far the most extensively researched and detailed published account of the Commission and its recommendations," -Janice Terry: *William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI-WWII* (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015)

An early 1941 draft of Howard's book was proofed by William Yale.

**Russell Warren Howe** (veteran reporter and critic)

***The Power Peddlers: How Lobbyists Mold America's Foreign Policy***

(Doubleday, 1983)

**Michael C. Hudson**, editor

***Alternative Approaches to the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of the Principal Actors***

(Washington DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 1984)

**Matthew Hughes** (Brunel University)

***British Ways of Counter-Insurgency: A Historical Perspective***

(Routledge, 258 pages, 2024)

***Britain's Pacification of Palestine: The British Army, the Colonial State, and the Arab Revolt, 1936-1939***

(Cambridge University Press, 478 pages, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "In this complete military history of Britain's pacification of the Arab revolt in Palestine, Matthew Hughes shows how the British Army was so devastatingly effective against colonial rebellion. The Army had a long tradition of pacification to draw upon to support operations, underpinned by the creation of an emergency colonial state in Palestine. After conquering Palestine in 1917, the British established a civil Government that ruled by proclamation and, without any local legislature, the colonial authorities codified in law norms of collective punishment that the Army used in 1936. The Army used 'lawfare', emergency legislation enabled by the colonial state, to grind out the rebellion. Soldiers with support from the RAF launched kinetic operations to search and destroy rebel bands, alongside which the villagers on whom the rebels depended were subjected to curfews, fines, detention, punitive searches, demolitions and reprisals. Rebels were disorganised and unable to withstand the power of such pacification measures."

As editor: ***Allenby in Palestine: The Middle East Correspondence of Field Marshal Viscount Allenby, June 1917-October 1919***
(Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004)

***Allenby and British Strategy in the Middle East, 1917-1919***
(Frank Cass Publishing, 1999)

**Human Rights Watch**

**Peter Bouckaert**: ***Nowhere to Flee: The Perilous Situation of Palestinians in Iraq***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 42 pages, 2006)

**Peter Bouckaert** and **Nadim Houry**: ***Fatal Strikes: Israel's Indiscriminate Attacks against Civilians in Lebanon***
(New York City: Human Rights Warch, 49 pages, 2006)
Edited by **Sarah Leah Whitson**.

***Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Question of Security – Violence Against Palestinian Women and Girls***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 100 pages, 2006)

**Miranda E. Sissions**, **Joe Stork** & **Lucy Mair**: ***Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Promoting Impunity: the Israeli Military's Failure to Investigate Wrongdoing***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 125 pages, 2005)

**Fred Abrahams**, **Marc Garlasco** and **Daryll Li** (University of Chicago): ***Razing Rafah: Mass Home Demolitions in the Gaza Strip***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 150 pages, 2004
Edited by **Sarah Leah Whitson** and **Widney Brown** (Barnard College, Columbia University)

**Miranda Sissons**: ***In a Dark Hour: The Use of Civilians during IDF Arrest Operations: Israel, the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian Authority Territories***
(Washington DC & London: Human Rights Watch, 23 pages, 2002)

**Joe Stork**: ***Erased in a Moment: Suicide Bombing Attacks against Israeli Civilians***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 160 pages, 2002)

**Peter Bouckaert**: ***Jenin: IDF Military Operations***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 50 pages, 2002)

***Jenin: IDF Military Operations***
(New York City and London: Human Rights Watch, 50 pages, 2002)

**Nicholas Howen**, **Juliette Abu-Lyun** & **Miranda Sissons**: ***Justice Undermined: Balancing Security and Human Rights in the Palestinian Justice System***
(New York City/London: Human Rights Watch, 51 pages, 2001)

**Peter Bouckaert**: ***Center of the Storm: A Case Study of Human Rights Abuses in Hebron District***
(New York City & London: Human Rights Watch, 144 pages, 2001

**Zama Coursen-Neff**: ***Second Class: Discrimination against Palestinian Children in Israel's Schools***
(New York City & London: Human Rights Watch, 18 pages, 2001)

***Israel's Record of Occupation: Violations of Civil and Political Rights***

(New York City & London: Human Rights Watch, 35 pages, 1998)

***Palestinian Self-Rule Areas: Human Rights under the Palestinian Authority***
(New York City & London: Human Rights Watch, 56 pages, 1997)

***Israel: Legislating Impunity: The Draft Law to Halt Palestinian Tort Claims***
(New York City & London: Human Rights Watch, 9 pages, 1997)

***Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel's Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories***
(Human Rights Watch, 316 pages, 1994)

***Prison Conditions in Israel and the Occupied Territories: A Middle East Watch Report***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 118 pages, 1991)

**Eric Goldstein**: ***The Israeli Army and the Intifada: Policies that Contribute to the Killings: A Middle East Watch Report***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 231 pages, 1990)

**Sahar Huneidi**

***A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians***
(IB Tauris, 2001)
Sir Herbert Samuel, the first British High Commissioner in Mandatory Palestine (1920–25) has been generally regarded as an impartial administrator. But most of the measures Samuel took during his time in Palestine were designed to prepare the ground not simply for the "Jewish national home" promised in both the Balfour Declaration and the mandate for Palestine, but also for a Jewish state.

**F. Robert Hunter**

***The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means***
(University of California Press, 1991-1992)

**Jane Hunter**

**No *Simple Proxy: Israel in Central America***
(Washington Middle East Associates, 1987)
Edited by **Jane Power** & **James Zogby**

**Robert Edwards Hunter** & **Seth G. Jones**

***Building a Successful Palestinian State: Security***
(Rand Corporation, 2006)

**J.C. Hurewitz**

***Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982)

***Oil, the Arab-Israeli Dispute and the Industrial World: Horizons of Crisis***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976)

***The Struggle for Palestine***
(New York City: Schocken Books, 1976)

**Deena Hurwitz**, editor

***Walking the Red Line: Israelis in Search of Justice for Palestine***
(Philadelphia, New Society Publishers, 1992)
Preface by Marshall T. Meyer

**Hussein, King of Jordan**
***My "War" with Israel***
(Owen, 1968)
As told to Vick Vance & Pierre Lauer

**Hussein Abu Hussein** (Palestinian Israeli lawyer) & Fiona McKay (British human rights lawyer)
***Access Denied: Palestinian Land Rights in Israel***
(Zed Books, 2003)

**Hassan Jamal Husseini**
***Return to Jerusalem***
(Quartet Emerging Voices, 1998)
Publisher's blurb: "It is one thing to know such things happen; another to experience them at first hand. A Palestinian journalist, working for the Arab Press in Jerusalem, returns home late from work. In the small hours of the following morning, the security forces knock at his door. They remove him from his family, handcuff and blindfold him and take him away for interrogation. Absorbed into the prison system, he is subjected to techniques of humiliation and deprivation in an overcrowded cell and the alternating brutality and subtle reasonableness of the interrogators. The long hours of inaction between times are lightened only by thoughts of the tenderness of his family life and the conversation of fellow prisoners. These debates, reflecting many shades of experience and opinion, unfold against the background of his wife's unwavering support and the continuing history of Israel's occupation of the territories. An Israeli lawyer a man of integrity, takes up his case and introduces a ray of hope — yet seems powerless to divert the authorities' intentions as these finally emerge. Hassan Husseini has written in *Return to Jerusalem* a novel of haunting human interest at one level and at another a timely appeal for the recognition of the rights of Palestinians in their ancestral homeland on a foundation of moderation and natural justice. Hassan Jamal Husseini was born in Jerusalem, Palestine in 1925 and was educated at various schools in the Middle East. He attended the American University, Beirut, and Syracuse University, New York. He studied music as an amateur at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1951 he entered the Saudi Diplomatic Service, serving a five-year posting at the London Embassy. He left to become the Middle East representative of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank, and works today in financial consultancy. He is married and has three children. In undertaking his research for *Return to Jerusalem*, Husseini interviewed former prisoners from Israel's security prisons to ensure the documentary authenticity of the novel's background."

**Hatem I. Hussaini**
***The Arab Israeli Conflict: An Annotated Bibliography***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 81 pages, 1975)

**Fatima Bey Husseini**
***The Palestine Conflict Causes and Remedies***
(Gaza: Arab National Committee, 8 pages, 1936)

**Jamal Husseini**
***Arab Statement on Palestine to the Members of the House of Commons***
(8 pages, 1929)

**Abu Huzayfa**

***History of Masjid Al-Aqsa for Children***
(Leicester: Friends of Al-Aqsa Publications, 64 pages, 2010)

**Albert Montefiore Hyamson**

***Palestine under the Mandate***
(Methuen, 1950 / Routledge, 222 pages, 2002, 2024)

**As editor:** ***The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine, 1838-1914***
(Goldston, ca. 1939-1941)
Extracts from Foreign Office records.

***Palestine Old and New***
(Methuen, 1928 / Routledge, 253 pages, 2022)
Zionist period travel guide.

***Palestine – A Policy***
(Methuen, 1942 / Routledge, 230 pages, 2022)
Dissecting 'spiritual' from 'territorial' Zionism.

***Palestine: The Rebirth of an Ancient People***
(Sidgwick & Jackson, 1917)
Balfour-era Zionist tract.

**Hussein Ibish** (Arab Gulf States Institute, Washington DC)

***What's Wrong with the One-State Agenda? Why Ending the Occupation and Peace with Israel is Still the Palestinian National Goal***
(American Task Force on Palestine, 138 pages, 2009)
Preface by **Ziad J. Asali**.

**Ihud**: See **Judah Leon Magnes**

**Amitzur Ilan**

***The Origin of the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: Arms, Embargo, Military Poweer and Decision in the 1948 Palestine War***
(Macmillan / St Antony's College, Oxford University / New York University Press, 1996)

***Bernadotte in Palestine 1948: A Study in Contemporary Humanitarian Knight-Errantry***
(Palgrave Macmillan / St Antony's College, Oxford University, 1996)
Publisher's blurb: "This book concerns Bernadotte, the Swedish diplomat who was appointed the UN mediator in Palestine in 1948 and initiated the "Bernadotte Plans". It recounts the main events of his life before he was assassinated, including the first and second truces, and describes Palestine since his death."

**Ardi Imseis** (Queens University, Ontario, Canada)

***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine: Rule by Law and the Structure of International Legal Subalternity***
(Cambridge University Press, 303 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Contrary to conventional wisdom, there has been a continuing though vacillating gulf between the requirements of international law and the UN on the question of Palestine. This book explores the UN's management of the longest-running problem on its agenda, critically

assessing tensions between the organization's position and international law. What forms has the UN's failure to respect international law taken, and with what implications? The author critically interrogates the received wisdom regarding the UN's fealty to the international rule of law, in favour of what is described as an international rule by law. This book demonstrates that through the actions of the UN, Palestine and its people have been committed to a state of what the author calls 'international legal subalternity', according to which the promise of justice through international law is repeatedly proffered under a cloak of political legitimacy furnished by the international community, but its realization is interminably withheld." Based on 2018 PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.

***The Palestine Yearbook of International Law***
(Brill/Nijhoff)
Annual editions established 1984, with Imseis' involvement starting ca. 1994.

Chapter: ***Speaking Truth to Power: On Edward Said and the Palestinian Freedom Struggle***
In **Aden Iskandar & Hakem Rustom**, editors
***Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation***
(University of California Press, 2010)

**Martin Indyk**

***Innocent Abroad: An Intimate Account of American Peace Diplomacy in the Middle East***
(Simon & Schuster, 2009)
With some focus on Oslo and the 2nd intifada.

**Henrik F. Infield**

***Cooperative Living in Palestine***
(New York: Dryden Press, 192 pages, 1944)
Co-operative communities analyst's assessment of segregated kibbutzim in Palestine.

**Doreen Ingrams** (1930s Aden region Peace Board founder; senior administrator of the BBC Arabic Service [radio], co-founder of the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, aka CAABU )

***The Palestine Papers: 1917-1922: Seeds of Conflict***
(John Murray 1972 / Eland Publishing, 200 pages, 2009)
Ingrams' forensic detailing of long-restricted records of Government internal discussions, from the Foreign and Colonial Offices to the Cabinets. Included are memos and speeches of Arthur Balfour, Lord Curzon, Winston Churchill, Herbert Samuel, messages from local British Mandate in Palestine officials, military and not. Comments from Arab leader are included but outnumbered by influential Zionist and Westminster voices, who were more familiar with the British political system. Well-indexed. fQuotes Lord Curzon (6 August 1920): "I do not myself recognise that the connection of the Jews with Palestine, which terminated 120 years ago, gives them any claim whatsoever."

**Institute of Arab American Affairs**

***Papers on Palestine: A Collection of Statements, Articles and Letters Dealing with the Palestine Problem***
(New York City: Institute of Arab American Affairs, 53 pages, 1945)
Three volumes were issued under the title Papers on Palestine (1945-1947). "One of the tragic legacies of the last war is the problem of Palestine. That country, revered by Christians, Moslems and Jews alike, has fallen prey to political machinations. " - Preface. Contains 1944 testimony before the House of Representatives by Philip K. Hitti, K. S. Twitchell, Faris S. Malouf; articles by Philip K. Hitti, William Ernest Hocking, Jabir Shibli, Sir John Hope Simpson. Articles cover the Palestine Mandate, Arab Voices, The White Paper, Arab Nationalism and Political Zionism, etc.

**Institute of Arab Research and Studies**

***Zionism and Racism: Zionism as a Form of Racial Discrimination***

(Cairo: Dar Nafeh Press, 111 pages, 1977

Contents: Preface -- Introduction condemning Zionism by the United Nations / Dr. Moufid Shehab -- Zionism, a racist ideology / El Sayed Yassin -- Racial discrimination in Israel scientific agrementation [i.e. argumentation] & implementation / Dr. Younan Risk -- Annexe.

**Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation**

***Sacred Sites in The Holy Land: Historical and Religious Perspectives***

(Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation / Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "explores shared legacies of Jews and Muslims, offering religious and historical accounts on three sacred sites in the Holy Land; Al Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount; Cave of the Patriarchs/Cave of Machpelah: Sanctuary of Ibrahim/ Ibrahimi Mosque and Kever Shmuel/Nabi Samu'il." Note: This monograph is a free download, via historyandreconciliation.org

**Institute for Palestine Studies – Arab Women's Information Committee**

***Who are the Terrorists? Aspects of Zionist and Israeli Terrorism***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies & the Arab Women's Information Committee, 74 pages, 1972)
Chronological unpacking of Zionist terrorism.

**Institute for Palestine Studies**

***Palestinian History in Postage Stamps***

(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 493 pages, 2011)

***Supplement to Survey of Palestine: Notes Compiled for the Information of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine***

(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 153 pages, 1991)
Reprint of the 1947 report.

***Palestine and the Bible***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, ca. 48 pages, 1976)
Includes: Prof. Alfred Guillaume: *Zionists and the Bible*; Dr. Elmer Berger: *Israel: Fulfillment of Biblical Prophecy?* / Dr. Frank Stagg: *2The Israel of God" and the New Testament*; Dr. Ovid R. Sellers: *The Meaning of "Israel" to a Christian* / Rt. Rev. Jonathan G. Sherman: *The Promises of God.*

***The Judaization of Jerusalem, 1967-1972***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Canterbury: World Conference of Christians for Peace, 1970 and 1972)

***The Palestinian Refugees: A Collection of United Nations Documents***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 641 pages, 1970)

***The Desecration of Christian Cemeteries and Church Property in Israel***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, Basic Documents Series no. 5, 1968)
Mainly photographic, with 20 pages of photographs.

***International Documents on Palestine***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967-)
An annual presentation of separate reports.

***The Partition of Palestine***

(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 55 pages, 1967)
No. 9 in Monograph series, including three fold-outs: two maps and one table.

**Walid Abi-Mershed**
***Israeli Withdrawal from Sinai***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, n.d.)
Monograph series no. 1.

**Sami Hadawi**
***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, n.d.)
Monograph series no. 4.

**Sami Hadawi**
***Palestine before the United Nations***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1965, 1965)

**Sami Hadawi**
***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine 1947-1966***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1966)

**International Crisis Group**
***Realigning European Policy toward Palestine with Ground Realities***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2022)

***Beyond Business as Usual in Israel-Palestine***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2021)

**Tahina Safa Mustafa** aka **Tahina Mustafa**: ***Transforming Security Landscapes: Security Sector Reform in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(University thesis, University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, 410 pages, 2017)

***Israel and Hamas: Fire and Ceasefire in the Middle East***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 28 pages, 2012)

***Curb Your Enthusiasm: Israel and Palestine after the UN***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2011)

***Palestine Divided***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2008)

***Ruling Palestine 1: Gaza under Hamas***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2008)

***Ruling Palestine 2: The West Bank Model?***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2008)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: To Reach a Lasting |Peace***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 32 pages, 2006)

***Enter Hamas: The Challenges of Political Integration***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 46 pages, 2006)

***Israel/Palestine/Lebanon: Climbing Out of the Abyss***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 33 pages, 2006)

***Palestinians, Israel and the Quartet: Pulling Back from the Brink***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 49 pages, 2006)

***Palestinian Refugees and the Politics of Peacemaking***
(Brussels: International Crisis Group, 35 pages, 2004)

**International Labour Office**

**Odeh Shihadeh al-Zaghmoury**: ***Promotion of Leading Sectors in the Palestinian Economy***
(Geneva: ILO, 67 pages, 1998)

**International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination**

***Zionism and Racism: International Symposium – Selected Papers***
(Tripoli: International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [EAFORD], 254 pages, 1977; New Brunswick, New Jersey: North American [publishing], 262 pages, 1979)
Contents: Al-Qasem, A. Racism and world peace.--Walz, L. H. Zionism and racism.--Goranov, S. Racism.--Ryan, J. L. Zionism, Jews and Judaism.--Lilienthal, A. M. Zionist manipulations to induce immigration to Israel.--Hadawi, S. Zionism and the lands of Palestine.--Lehn, W. The Jewish National Fund.--Qurah, N. The Arabs in Israel since 1948.--Forrest, A. C. The Palestinian expulsion.--Aruri, N. H. The oriental Jews of Israel.--Said, E. W. Intellectual origins of imperialism and Zionism.--Bajoit, G. Zionism and imperialism.--Elmessiri, A. M. Distinctive traits of Zionist settler colonialism.--Ataöv, T. The role of Israel in the service of imperialism.--Stevens, R. S. Israel and Africa.--Audah, A. Israel, South Africa and Iran.--Ikoku, S. G. Hostility to the liberation movements and support for reactionary movements.--Neuburger, G. The difference between Judaism and Zionism.--Herman, K. J. Historical perspectives on political Zionism and antisemitism.--Smith, G. V. Political Zionism.--Hussaini, H. I. Jewish critics of Zionism.--Ashley, M. Zionism.

**Anis Al-Qasem**: ***Palestinian Rights and Israeli Institutionalised Racism***
(Tripoli: International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [EAFORD], 18 pages, 1984)

***Witness of War Crimes in Lebanon: Testimony Given to the Nordic Commission, Oslo, October 1982***
(1983)

***Zionism and Racism: International Symposium – Selected Papers***
(Tripoli: International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [EAFORD], 254 pages, 1977; New Brunswick, New Jersey: North American [publishing], 262 pages, 1979)
Contents: Al-Qasem, A. Racism and world peace.--Walz, L. H. Zionism and racism.--Goranov, S. Racism.--Ryan, J. L. Zionism, Jews and Judaism.--Lilienthal, A. M. Zionist manipulations to induce immigration to Israel.--Hadawi, S. Zionism and the lands of Palestine.--Lehn, W. The Jewish National Fund.--Qurah, N. The Arabs in Israel since 1948.--Forrest, A. C. The Palestinian expulsion.--Aruri, N. H. The oriental Jews of Israel.--Said, E. W. Intellectual origins of imperialism and Zionism.--Bajoit, G. Zionism and imperialism.--Elmessiri, A. M. Distinctive traits of Zionist settler colonialism.--Ataöv, T. The role of Israel in the service of imperialism.--Stevens, R. S. Israel and Africa.--Audah, A. Israel, South Africa and Iran.--Ikoku, S. G. Hostility to the liberation movements and support for reactionary movements.--Neuburger, G. The difference between Judaism and Zionism.--Herman, K. J. Historical perspectives on political Zionism and antisemitism.--Smith, G. V. Political Zionism.--Hussaini, H. I. Jewish critics of Zionism.--Ashley, M. Zionism.

***Studies on Zionism and Racism***

(Tripoli: Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya: EAFORD, 39 pages, 1976)

***Declaration of the International Forum on Zionism and Racism, Held in Tripoli***
(Tripoli: Bar Association of the Libyan Arab Republic, 7 pages, 1976)

**Anas Iqtait** (Australian National University Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies)
***Funding and the Quest for Sovereignty in Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 154 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book explores the political economy of governance in Palestine. It makes a unique contribution to studies of governance and political economy using the Palestinian Authority (PA) as a case study, introducing and developing the concept of 'dual rentierism'. The author uses primary research to chart the evolution of the fiscal sociology of the PA and explore how it has shaped the PA's economic policies and the state–society relationship in the Palestinian Territories. The book adopts a critical political economy approach, making the case that external sources of PA income represent political rents that need to be disaggregated and studied concurrently. It further focuses on the drivers and constraints that have shaped the PA's policy development and state-building associated with its dependence on external revenues. Ultimately, the book elaborates on how the need for fiscal survivability has thwarted the Palestinian quest for statehood."

**Philip Willard Ireland**, editor
***The Near East: Problems and Prospects***
(University of Chicago Press, 1942)
Papers from a period Chicago conference, 'The Near East: Problems and Prospects'; including: Count Carlo Sforza, then-former Italian High Commissioner, advocating Jewis immigration to Syria and Iraq; H.A.R. Gibb, of Oxford University, supporting Arab unity; and Salo W. Baron, promoting the Jewish Agency. Missing is the paper of the only Arab participant, Philip K. Hitti, of Princeton University.

**Anne Irfan** (University College London)
***A Short History of the Gaza Strip***
(Simon & Schuster, 304 pages, 2025)
With a foreword by **Muhammad Shehada**.

***Refuge and Resistance: Palestinians and the International Refugee System***
(Columbia University Press, 320 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In the decades after World War II, the United Nations established a global refugee regime that became central to the lives of displaced people around the world. This regime has exerted particular authority over Palestinian refugees, who are served by a specialized UN body, the Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Formed shortly after the 1948 war, UNRWA continues to provide quasi-state services such as education and health care to Palestinian refugee communities in the Middle East today. This book is a ground-breaking international history of Palestinian refugee politics. Anne Irfan traces the history and politics of UNRWA's interactions with Palestinian communities, particularly in the refugee camps where it functioned as a surrogate state. She shows how Palestinian refugees invoked internationalist norms to demand their political rights while resisting the UN's categorization of their plight as an apolitical humanitarian issue. *Refuge and Resistance* foregrounds how nonelite activism shaped the Palestinian campaign for international recognition, showing that engagement with world politics was driven as much by the refugee grass roots as by the upper echelons of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It demonstrates that refugee groups are important actors in global politics, not simply aid recipients. Recasting modern Palestinian history through the lens of refugee camps and communities, *Refuge and Resistance* offers vital new perspectives for understanding politics beyond the nation-state."

***Internationalising Palestine: UNRWA and Palestinian Nationalism in the Refugee Camps, 1967-1982***
(PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 2018)
Abstract: This thesis examines the relationship between the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and the Palestinian nationalist movement in the refugee camps from 1967-82. It argues that UNRWA had a quasi-governmental role in the camps, and therefore inadvertently helped shape the development of Palestinian political nationalism in these spaces. Despite its formally apolitical standing as a humanitarian UN body, UNRWA's impact on the ground was politically loaded; it was an international organisation whose work was juxtaposed with the camps' nationalistic environments. This resulted in a symbiotic process, whereby Palestinian nationalist politics came to influence UNRWA's work, and vice versa. Such an outcome was the result of UNRWA's long-standing intimate involvement with the Palestinian refugee camps, ever since it began operations in 1950 in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza. Yet it was also due in part to the agency of the refugees themselves, who were politically active and organised despite their structural disadvantage. When it came to UNRWA, they drew on their limited leverage as beneficiaries and lower-level employees. Just as Israel, the Western donor states and the Arab host states sought to use UNRWA to influence Palestinian politics, so the refugees challenged the Agency whenever they believed it to be acting against their political interests. UNRWA accordingly came to act as an intersection between the international sphere and Palestinian refugee politics. In examining these dynamics, this thesis highlights the distinctiveness of the Palestinian refugee experience, as encapsulated by UNRWA's unique institutional nature. It also provides an important case study of themes relevant beyond Palestinian history, including the politics of humanitarianism; the intersection between nationalism and internationalism; and the relationship of identity to territoriality. This thesis thus speaks to modern international history writ large, while also enriching understandings of Palestinian and Levantine history in relation to the refugee camps, the UN and UNRWA.

**Colin Irwin**
***20 Peace Lessons from Northern Ireland to Israel and Palestine***
(Author, 80 pages, 2012)

**Iraq Ministry of Information**
***Zionism: A Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination***
(Baghdad: Ministry of Information, Republic of Iraq, 26 pages, 1976)

**Irgun Zvai Leumi**
***Backgorund of the Struggle for the Liberation of Eretz Israel: Facts on the Relations between the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Haganah***
(New York City: Diaspora Headquarters of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, 19 pages, 1947)
Publication of the Irgun outlining the ongoing struggle with the British, betrayals of actions and kidnappings by the Haganah, illegal immigration, and outlining the correctness of the Irgun tactics in the 'war' against the British.

**Runo Isaksen**
***Literature and War: Conversations with Israeli and Palestinian Writers***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Tree Press / Interlink Books, 2009)
Contents: What really matters is the quality of what's in our heads / Etgar Keret — In morality's catastrophe zones / David Grossman — We have to act as if there is a chance. Maybe / Yoram Kaniuk — In conflicts, few people are able to understand the suffering of others / Amos Oz — Dissension is an old Jewish tradition / Meir Shalev — Arabophobia! / Orly Castel-Bloom — A perfect bridge / Dorit Rabinyan — Life is so much richer / Mahmoud Shuqair — I want to be free / Ghassan Zaqtan — My aim is to survive / Liana Badr — I write to release the violence inside / Zakariyya Muhammad — We have to be humane in our fight / Yahya Yakhlif — Men dominate society / Sahar Khalifeh — It is our

duty to know about the other side / Mahmoud Darwish and Izzat Ghazzawi — Or should we do something about it? an Israeli-Palestinian contribution / Salman Natour.

**Islamic Council of Europe** (London)

**Ismail R. Al-Faruqi**: ***Islam and the Problem of Israel***
(ICE, 1980)

***Jerusalem: The Key to World Peace***
(ICE, 1980)
Contributors include Peter Mansfield, Afzal Iqbal, John Reddaway, Henry Cattan, Khalid Al-Hassan, and Norton Mezvinsky. 1979 conference papers.

**Israel Democracy Institute**

***Baruch Nevo* : *Israel Defense Forces and the National Economy of Israel***
(Jerusalem: IDI, 61 pages, 2005)

**Joseph E. David**, editor: ***The State of Israel: Between Judaism and Democracy: A Compendium of Inters and Articles***
(Jerusalem: IDI, 402 pages, 2003)

**Baruch Nevo** and **Yael Shur** : ***Morality, Ethics and Law in Wartime***
(Jerusalem: IDI Army and Society Forum, 112 pages, 2003)
A symposium held on 13 January 2003.

***Women in the Israel Defense Forces***
(Jerusalem: IDI, 162 pages, 2003)
A symposium held on 21 November 2002.

**Israel Information Centre** (Jerusalem)

***Facts about Israel***
(IIC, 353 pages, 2008)

***A Letter from Israel***
(IIC, 45 pages, 1984)

***Jordan: A People Without a Land?***
(IIC, 4 pages, 1979)

***The Palestine Liberation Organization: Liberation…or Liquidation?***
(ICC, 8 pages, 1979)

***What is the Arab Boycott against Israel?***
(IIC/Federation of Bi-National Chambers of Commerce with and in Israel, 23 pages, 1975)

***Aspects of the Palestinian Problem***
(IIC Information Briefing no. 29, 40 pages, 1974-1975)
"The solution may be found within the compass of a Jordanian-Palestinian State. Israel does not consider that there is room for a second Palestinian State."

***Defenceless***
(IIC, 1973)

***Menace: The events that Led Up to the Six-Day War and Their Lessons***

(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 28 pages, 1972)

***Jerusalem: Issues and Perspectives***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 28 pages, 1972)

***No Alternative to Peace: Lessons of 1949-1957-1967***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 40 pages, 1969)

***The Persecution of Jews in Arab Lands***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 64 pages, 1969)

***Backward To War…or Forward to Peace***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 60 pages, 1969)

**David M. Zohar**: ***Gamal over Gaza: Egyptian Neocolonialism in Gaza: A Record of Twenty Years of Oppression***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 21 pages, 1968)

***"Hatred is Sacred" Says Syrian Minister of Education, Suleyman Al-Khash (May 1968) Extracts from Arab School Texts***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 32 pages, 1968)
Compiled by **E. Hess**.

***Back to Normal Life: Israel Lays the Hopeful Foundations of an Era of Lasting Peace and Prosperity Throughout the Middle East***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 32 pages, 1967)

***The Arab War Against Israel: Statements and Documents***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 56 pages, 1967)
Reported evidence and battle orders, claiming that Israel was attacked.

***From Words to Guns: Nasser's Blueprint for War***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 38 pages, 1967)

***Egypt's Unlawful Blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 27 pages, 1967)

***Israel's Peace Offers to the Arab States: 1948-1963, the Record***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 97 pages, 1963)

***The Jewish Exodus from the Arab Countries, and the Arab Refugees***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs Information Division, 1 unpaged volume, 1961)

**Misrad ha-huts Israel**

***The Arab View: PLO and National Rights of Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 79 pages, 1974)
"A selection of speeches and interviews by Arab leaders, as well as pertinent comment from press and radio."

**Israeli Socialist Organization**

***The Other Israel: Israeli Critique of Zionist History and Policy***
(Tel Aviv: ISO, 31 pages, 1968)

**Raphael Israeli** (Hebrew University Jerusalem; 12-year officer in the IDF)

***Old Historians, New Historians, No Historians: The Derailed Debate on the Genesis of Israel***
(Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 226 pages, 2016)
Includes focus on Benny Morris, and to a lesser extent, Avi Shlaim and Ilan Pappi.

***Islamic Radicalism and Political Violence: The Templars of Islam and Sheikh Ra'id Salah***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 175 pages, 2008)
Focus on **Ra'id Salah** aka **Raed Salah**, co-founder of the Islamic Movement in Northern Israel and former mayor of Umm al-Gahm.

***Palestinians between Nationalism and Islam***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 320 pages, 2008)

As editor: ***Dangers of a Palestinian State***
(Israel: Gefen Publishing, 2002)
Various Israeli authors essay perceived dangers of dismantling the Zionist State.

***Palestinian Women and Children in the Throes of Islamikazi Terrorism***
(Shaarei Tikva, Israel: Ariel Center for Policy Research, 54 pages, 2002)

***Green Crescent over Nazareth: The Displacement of Christians by Muslims in the Holy Land***
(Frank Cass Publishing, 194 pages, 2002; Routledge 2014)

***Muslim Fundamentalism in Israel***
(Brassey's, 203 pages, 1993)

***Palestinians between Israel and Jordan: Squaring the Triangle***
(Praeger, 206 pages, 1991)

***The PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 316 pages, 1983)
Politically selective arrangement of just 74 stolen items from the extensive PLO's archives (established 1965), over 100 boxes that were looted from Beirut by the Israeli invasion in 1982.
Contents: I: Maps of Lebanon -- II: Foreword -- III: Introduction -- IV: PLO IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE [Documents 1-6] -- 1. PLO poster -- 2. Fatah political platform -- 3. PLO plan to destroy Israeli towns -- 4. List of shellings of Israeli towns 5. Shelling Safed and other towns -- 6. Guidelines for attacking civilian targets in Israel -- V: THE COMMUNIST BLOC CONNECTION [Documents 7-39] -- 7. PLO talks with Kremlin leaders -- 8-15. Graduation diplomas of PLO personnel in Communist countries -- 16. Armour course in Hungary -- 17. Air defence course in Vietnam -- 18. Armour courses in Hungary -- 19. Company commander course in Bulgaria -- 20. Company commander course in China -- 21. Course in Yugoslavia -- 22. Army engineer course in East Germany -- 23. Air defence course in North Korea -- 24. East German military academy course -- 25. Staff college in Yugoslavia -- 26. Courses in Eastern bloc countries -- 27. Report to Arafat by head of PLO mission in USSR -- 28. Report of PLO delegation to East Germany -- 29. Yugoslavian chemical warfare handbook -- 30. Snapshot of PLO personnel training in Soviet tank model -- 31. PLO representative in East Germany -- 32. Visit by Zimbabwe delegation to PLO -- 33. Fatah appoints military attache for Hungary -- 34. Instructions in Chinese for handling explosives -- 35. PLO political activity in Cuba -- 36. PLO representative in Havana on Cuban assistance -- 37. Spanish-language sabotage handbook -- 38. Sandinista booklet -- VI: THE INTERARAB, INTER-ISLAMIC AND THIRD WORLD CONNECTIONS [Documents 40-60] -- 39. Libyan officer in charge of PLO air defence -- 40. Training of PLO members in Arab and Islamic countries -- 41. Promise of military assistance by Syria and Saudi Arabia -- 42. M-16 rifles made in the United States, captured in Lebanon -- 43. United States ammunition sold to Saudi Arabia, captured in Lebanon -- 44. PLO position manned by Egyptians, Syrians and Libyans -- 45. PLO rest and recreation in Cairo -- 46. PLO member sent to Gaza via Cairo -- 47. PLO trainees in Damascus -- 48. PLO members from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh -- 49. Ten PLO members from Bangladesh -- 50. Twenty more

PLO members from Bangladesh -- 51. PLO member from Somalia -- 52. PLO officers train in India -- 53. PLO officers train in Pakistan -- 54. PLO member spies against Iran -- 55. PLO meetings with subversive groups 56. PLO subversion in Niger and Mali -- 57. PLO subversion in Niger and Mali -- 58. PLO collusion with Sahara rebels -- 59. Kurdish poster -- VII: THE PLO'S MODUS OPERANDI [Documents 61-74] -- 60. Guidelines for shelling Israeli population centres -- 61. Target chart of Israeli population centres -- 62. Artillery assignments against Israeli targets -- 63. Target chart for firing in central sector -- 64. Precautions against Israeli counter-attacks -- 65. "RPG kid" -- 66. Palestinian child with full military gear -- 67. Order to mobilize 12-year-olds -- 68. Order to mobilize 16-39-year-olds -- 69. Plans to attack American airbases -- 70. PLO to escalate violence in southern Lebanon -- VIII: EYEWITNESS REPORTS AND COMMENTS [Documents 75-126] -- 71-99. Eyewitness reports on PLO conduct in Lebanon -- 100. Interview with Dr. Khalil Turbiya -- 101. Interview with Dr. Khalil Turbiya -- 102. UN General Assembly speech by Lebanese Ambassador Edouard Ghorra -- 103. Speech by Syrian President Assad -- 104. Interview with a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon -- 105.Christian journalist reports from Lebanon -- 106. PLO production of booby-traps -- 107. PLO arms depots in cellars, mosques and schools -- 108. PLO attacks on Jewish targets -- 109. PLO attacks on diplomatic personnel in West Beirut -- 110. Interview with Congressman Charles Wilson -- 111. PLO takeover of the Lebanese media -- 112. Statement by Dory Chamoun -- 113. *The New York Times*, 21 June 1982 [For Christian villagers, happiness amid rubble] -- 114. *The Jerusalem Post*, 28 June 1982 [Arms booty in Lebanon could equip 5 brigades] -- 115. *The New York Times*, 30 June 1982 [Israel to protest P.L.O.'s use of U.N. refugee installations] -- 116. *The Times*, London, 19 June 1982 -- [PLO tactics drew Israeli raids] 117. *The Jerusalem Post*, 24 June 1982 [UN school housed Arafat's school for terrorists] -- 118. *Ha'aretz*, 29 July 1982 [Trading on Palestine (translated from Hebrew) -- 119. *Newsweek*, 2 August 1982 [Mideast truth and falsehood] 120. *The Chicago Defender* [African-American daily newspaper], 23 June 1982 [Lebanon Christians are freed] -- 121. F. Behrendt cartoons -- 122. "Dry Bones"

**Mashhur Sirhan Ittayem**

***The Palestine National Struggle: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Transformation of Ideology***

(Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1979)
PhD thesis, American University, Washington DC, 1977.

**Hassan Jabareen** (founder/Director of Adalah [Sharam, Israel]: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel) and **Suhad Bishara** (Director, Adalah Legal Centre)

***The Jewish Nation-State Law: Antecedents and Constitutional Implications***

(Beirut/Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2019)
Available as free download: https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1650473#toc-first. Contents: *From Security Paradigm to Jewish Nation-State / The Constitutional Implications of Embedding Jewish Supremacy in a Basic Law / Enshrining Israeli Colonialism and Apartheid.*

**Hassan Jabareen**, **Marwan Dalal**, and **Rina Rosenberg**

***Legal Violations of Arab Minority Rights in Israel: A Report on Israel's Implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of racial Discrimination***

(Shraram, Israel: Adalah, The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, 127 pages, ca. 1998)

**Vladimir Jabotinsky** (militant 'Revisionist' Zionist leader)

***The History of the Jewish Legion***

(New York City: B. Ackerman, 191 pages, ca. 1945)
Translated from Hebrew by **Samuel Katz**, with foreword by **Colonel John Henry Patterson** (Royal Fusiliers, City of London Regiment).

**S. Klinger**: ***The Ten Year Plan for Palestine: A Brief Outline***

(London: New Zionist Press, 36 pages, 1938)
With foreword by **Vladimir Jabotinsky**.

***Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission – House of Lords, February 11th, 1937, on Behalf of the New Zionist Organization***
(London: New Zionist Press, 48 pages, 1937; also a shorter edition, Tel Aviv: New Zionist Organisation in Palestine, 1937)

***Partition Means the End of Zionism***
(Jerusalem: United Zionists Revisionists, 6 pages, 1937)

***The Threatened Partition of Palestine: Address to Members of Parliament***
(London, pamphlet, 13 pages,1937)

***Atlas***
(London, 54 pages, 1925)
A world atlas for use in schools, including historical maps of Palestine and the region; text at least in Hebrew.

**Abdeen Jabara**

***Israel's Violation of Human Rights in Arab Territories Occupied in June 1967***
(Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 40 pages, 1976)

***Zionism and Racism***
(Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 14 pages, 1976)

***The Legal Status of Israeli-Zionist Fundraising in the USA – A Lawsuit***
(Beirut: Near East Ecumenical Bureau for Information and Interpretation – World Conference of Christians for Palestine, 146 pages, 1973)

As co-editor, with **Janice Terry**:
***The Arab World from Nationalism to Revolution***
(Wilmette, Illinois, 208 pages, 1971)
Essays presented at the third annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 29 October – 1 November 1970.

***The Armistice in International Law and the Egyptian Search of Israel-Bound Cargo and Seizure of Contraband under the Egyptian Israeli General Armistice Agreement***
(Beirut: Research Centre, Palestine Liberation Organisation, 95 pages, 1966)

**Afaf Jabiri** (University of East London; SOAS; LSE)

***Palestinian Refugee Women from Syria to Jordan: Decolonizing the Geopolitics of Displacement***
(IB Tauris, 208 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Based on four years of field research in Palestinian camps in Jordan - including unique interviews with Palestinian refugee women, aid workers, and representatives of international organisations and NGOs in Jordan - the book reveals the extraordinary layers of discrimination suffered by Palestinian women from Syria displaced to Jordan. The women's experiences show them caught between settler colonialism, militarism, nationalism, refugees' global governance and gender regimes that subjected them to multiple forms of structural gender-based violence. The book argues for a feminist analysis of settler colonialism's epistemic violence of anti-Palestinianism to expose the history and geopolitics of intersecting oppressive systems that work through and upon

gendered bodies of Palestinian refugee women in humanitarian settings. The book also highlights how local women's groups and frontline workers attempt to fill service gaps. Using a rich theoretical lens to understand the experiences of women in refugee camps, this book attempts to decolonise issues around migration, displacement, refugees and women. Previous work on the Syrian refugee crisis has overlooked the very particular experiences of Palestinian refugee women, which has weakened feminist analysis of gendered processes of humanitarianism, and feminist transnational and intersectional solidarity. This book offers a vital critique of how feminists' adoption of a universality-based analysis of the Syrian refugee crisis has contributed to the further marginalisation of Palestinian refugee women from Syria."

**Ze'ev Jabotinsky** aka **Vladimir Jabotinsky** (1880-1940; paramilitary 'Revisionist Zionist" who went from found the Jewish Self-Defense Organisation in Odessa to leading the Irgun in Mandate Palestine).

**The Political and Social Philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky: Selected Writings**
(London: Vallentine Mitchell, 162 pages, 1998)
Edited by **Mordechai Sarig**; translated by **Shimshon Feder**; foreword by **Daniel Carpi**; preface by **Ze'ev Binyamin Begin**. Contents: 1. Zionism -- 2. The Hebrew language -- 3. Militarism, civil disobedience and revolt -- 4. Resistance and revolt -- 5. The individual and the regime -- 6. Society and economics -- 7. Eretz-Israel and the Jewish-Arab conflict -- 8. Youth -- 9. Diaspora and assimilation.

***The Selected Writing of Ze'ev Jabotinsky***
(Betar, 1962)
Edited by Zelec Goldsmith.

***The War and the Jew***
(New York City: Dial Press, 252 pages, 1942; Altalena Press, 1987)
US edition of *The Jewish War Front*.

***From the Pen of Jabotinsky: Being a Selection from the Written Works of Vladimir Jabotinsky with a Biographical Note***
(Cape Town: Unie-Volkspers BPK, 104 pages, 1941)

With **Pierre Van Paassen**, **John Henry Patterson, Josiah Wedgwood**: ***The Battle for Jerusalem***
(New York City: American Friends of a Jewish Palestine, 24 pages, 1941)

***The Jewish War Front***
(T.F. Unwin, 1940)

***The Iron Wall***
(1923)
7-page essay laying out 'Revisionist Zionism' and strongly advocating colonisation under the protection of the British Mandate Government; translated from Russian:
https://en.jabotinsky.org/media/9747/the-iron-wall.pdf

**Dr. Samah Jabr** (psychiatrist, former head of the Mental Health Unit within the Palestinian (Authority) Ministry of Health; George Washington University)

***Radiance in Pain and Resilience: The Global Reverberation of Palestinian Historical Trauma***
(Wakefield Press, 304 pages, 2025)
Foreword by **Gabor Mate**. Collection of essays.

**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**

***Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories***

(University of Arkansas Press, 2005)
Translated by Issa J. Boullata

***The First Well – A Bethlehem Boyhood***
(University of Arkansas Press, 1995 / Hesperus, 2012)
A gentle cultural view of the diversity of the Palestinian Arab community in Bethlehem and his upbringing amongst the "shouts of books" in the cosmopolitan city. See also autobiographical works: Edward Said: *Out of Place* and Rega-e Busailah's *In the Land of My Birth – A Palestinian Boyhood*; see also fiction.

**Joseph Jacobs**
***The Jewish National Fund***
(London: The Zionist, 12 pages, 1916)
Offprint from *The Zionist*.

**Abigail Jacobson** (Interdisciplinary Centre, Herzlia, Israel) and **Moshe Naor** (University of Haifa)
***Oriental Neighbours – Middle Eastern Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine***
(Brandeis University Press, 269 pages, 2016)
Palestine's *Mizrahi* and *Sephardic* Jews, cleaved from their communities by Ashkenazis. Connections between Jewish and Palestinian Arabs are shown to be used by the Jewish Agency and the *Haganah* military, with younger 'Oriental' Jews being co-opted for the Zionist cause. Potential mediation by the Jewish Arabs is seen to have collapsed after the 1929 riots.

**Abigail Jacobson** (Interdisciplinary Centre, Herzlia, Israel)
***From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "The history of Jerusalem as traditionally depicted is the quintessential history of conflict and strife, of ethnic tension, and of incompatible national narratives and visions. It is also a history of dramatic changes and moments, one of the most radical ones being the replacement of the Ottoman regime with British rule in December 1917. *From Empire to Empire* challenges these two major dichotomies, ethnic and temporal, which shaped the history of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. It links the experiences of two ethnic communities living in Palestine, Jews and Arabs, as well as bridging two historical periods, the Ottoman and British administrations. Drawing upon a variety of sources, Jacobson demonstrates how political and social alliances are dynamic, context-dependent, and purpose-driven. She also highlights the critical role of foreign intervention, governmental and nongovernmental, in forming local political alliances and in shaping the political reality of Palestine during the crisis of World War I and the transition between regimes. *From Empire to Empire* offers a vital new perspective on the way World War I has been traditionally studied in the Palestinian context. It also examines the effects of war on the socioeconomic sphere of a mixed city in crisis and looks into the ways the war, as well as Ottoman policies and administrators, affected the ways people perceived the Ottoman Empire and their location within it. *From Empire to Empire* illuminates the complex and delicate relations between ethnic and national groups and offers a different lens through which the history of Jerusalem can be seen: it proposes not only a story of conflict but also of intercommunal contacts and cooperation."

**Eliezer David Jaffe** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
***Giving Wisely: The Israel Guide to non-Profit and Volunteer Services***
(Koren Publishers, 1982 / expanded ed. Gefen Books, 2000)
Publisher's blurb: "A unique directory of Israel's non-profit and voluntary organizations. It is an essential guide for individual donors, volunteers, foundations and charitable trusts who would link up with and support Israeli non-profit organizations."

**Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** (Tel Aviv University)
***The West Bank and Gaza: Israel's Options for Peace***
(Tel-Aviv: Jaffee Center, 1989)

**Eliot Jager** (editor of *Jerusalem Report* and part of the Jewish Leadership Council)
***The Balfour Declaration: 67 Words ~ 100 Years of Conflict***
(Gefen Books, 2018) Zionist defence of the Balfour Declaration

**Amal Jamal** (Walter Lebach Institute for the Study of Jewish-Arab Coexistence, Tel Aviv University)
***Polarization, Populism, and Brinkmanship: The Rise and Fall of Israel's National Emergency Government***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, 46 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Netanyahu's centrality to the Israeli political landscape is a testament to his political cunning and agility, as well as to his ability to ride and shape the populist-nationalist current that has come to dominate that landscape. Amal Jamal argues here that the nationalist theses propounded for so long by Netanyahu have become mainstream, part of a process whereby a "peace camp"—a politically weighty current that advocates as a vital priority a compromise settlement with the Palestinians—no longer exists a in Israel. In addition to examining how these largely internal factors affect the Israeli political system and shape its current crisis, this essay examines the ways that Netanyahu has manipulated the issue of the annexation of more Palestinian territory to both maintain his supremacy within the system and normalize the idea politically. Similarly, it shows how Netanyahu was able shape the Trump administration's [so-called] peace plan, and to benefit from its engineering of the normalization of relations between Israel and several Arab governments.
This monograph also illustrates the almost seamless strategic consensus between all major Israeli political leaders and factions regarding the maintenance of Israel's overall control of the entire territory from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, the strengthening of Israel regionally via normalizing relations with Arab states, and the simultaneous sidelining of the Palestine issue. Finally, Jamal offers an insight into the existence of what he calls a "red line," a wall-to-wall consensus among Zionist parties to exclude Arab political parties from access to governing power within the Israeli political system. At the same time, he suggests ways in which that situation may change in the future. By delving into the roots of the recent near-paralysis of the Israeli electoral system, which has paradoxically been combined with the unchallenged domination of Israeli politics by Benjamin Netanyahu, this essay offers indispensable background for understanding not only Israel's political evolution over the past few years, but also possible developments after the Knesset election scheduled to take place in March 2021."

***Reconstructing the Civic: Palestinian Civil Activism in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 316 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Explores the civic activism of the Palestinian minority in Israel for a better understanding of the relationship between civic activism and democratization in ethnic states. *Reconstructing the Civic* examines the civic activism of the homeland Palestinian minority in Israel. Employing a multi-methodological and empirically rich approach, Amal Jamal blends historical description with interviews of Palestinian elites drawn from a diverse range of civil society groups such as NGOs, youth movements, and religious organizations. He also critiques the failure of Western/liberal scholarship to account for the experience of minority civil society organizations in illiberal social and political contexts, largely because this literature assumes there is an inherent relationship between civil society and democracy. Jamal places an important spotlight on the complex interplay between liberal and illiberal trends in the emergence, organization, and transformation of Palestinian civil society in Israel as well as the need to introduce an alternative ethical model that aims to reconstruct ethnic states in universal civic terms."

***Media Politics and Democracy in Palestine***

(Sussex Academic Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "In opposition to the PA, liberal as well as Islamic social forces promote policies of protest and resistance, through media tools, against the authoritarian policies of the PA. The media is viewed as a public sphere in which these forces compete. Media institutions play an important role in setting the parameters of communication in processes of state building: promoting public debate and forming public spheres influence the modes of state–civil society relations. Combining concepts of political communication with social movement theory, the author examines the extent to which public opinion plays a role in determining the character of the political regime. The rising tension between the Palestinian Authority's attempts to deepen its control over society and the reaction to this development by opposition groups informs the analysis of each civil institution: the role of NGOs, the Islamic movement, the women's movement and Palestinian feminism, and the liberal-democratic intellectual elite, are all assessed through their media institutions and communication policies, to reveal the character of the emerging Palestinian public sphere. The book also develops the concept of a "media regime" in Palestinian areas, and includes models of communication and media theory, along with Palestinian case studies, that will prove invaluable to both students of the Middle East and media studies scholars."

***Arab Minority Nationalism in Israel: The Politics of Indigeneity***
(Routledge, 2011)

***The Arab Public Sphere in Israel: Media Space and Cultural Resistance***
(Indiana University Press, 2009)

***The Palestinian National Movement: The Politics of Contention, 1967-2005***
(Indiana University Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "This innovative study examines the internal dynamics of the Palestinian political elite and their impact on the struggle to establish a Palestinian state. The PLO leadership has sought to prevent the rise of any alternative in the West Bank and Gaza Strip that can challenge its authority to represent Palestinian aspirations for self-determination. Drawing on Palestinian sources and interviews with Palestinian political leaders, Jamal argues that the Fatah leadership has attempted to mobilize new social forces-local secular-nationalist and Islamist movements-while undermining their ability to develop independent power structures. This policy has served to radicalize the younger local elites, contributing to the tensions that precipitated the first and second intifadas. Israel's policies have undermined the legitimacy of the national elite, while enhancing the Islamist opposition's ideological legitimacy. In this way, internal elite disunity and growing political differentiation have worked against development of a common Palestinian strategy of state-building."

***Media, Politics, and Democracy in Palestine: Political Culture, Pluralism, and the Palestinian Authority***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2005)

***State Formation and Media Regime in Palestine***
(Tel Aviv University, Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, 156 pages, 2003)

**Amaney A. Jamal** (Princeton University)
***Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World***
(Princeton University Press, 2007)

**Laila Jammal**
***Contributions by Palestinian Women to the National Struggle for Liberation***
(Washington DC: Middle East Public Relations, 1985)
Well-illustrated in both colour and greyscale.

**Frank George Jannaway** (Zionist, Christadelphian writer, and conscientious objector during WWI)

***Palestine and the World***
(London: The Maran-atha Press / S. Low, Marston & Company, 268 pages, 1922)

***Palestine and the Powers, or, The Intentions and Aims of Russia, Germany and Turkey Regarding the Zionist Movement in the Light of Prophecy***
(Birmingham, CC Walker, 232 pages, ca. 1916)
An enlarged edition of the 1914 work.

***Palestine and the Jews, or, The Zionist Movement, an Evidence that the Messiah Will Soon Appear in Jerusalem to Rule the Whole World Therefrom***
(Birmingham: CC Walker, 112 pages, 1914)

**GH Jansen** aka **Godfrey H. Jansen**
***Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 368 pages, 1971)

***Why Robert Kennedy was Killed: The Story of Two Victims***
(Third Press, Viking, 280 pages, 1970)
With a foreword by **Abdeen Jabara**. Background of convicted assassin Sirhan Sirhan, Jerusalem born survivor of a 1947 bombing and 1948 exile.

**Michael E. Jansen** aka **Michael Jansen** (long-time Middle East 'war correspondent')
***Windows on Interesting Times***
(Cyprus: Rimal Books, 2018)
Non-chronological short and shorter accounts adapted from reporting in the *Irish Times, Jordan Times,* and others. Fragmented and with tangential relevance to the Palestinian struggle, but rich with regional insights and surprising historical minutiae, and includes a brief description of the Hajj, 1973-74.

***Dissonance in Zion***
(Zed Books, 1987)

***The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon***
(Zed Books, 142 pages,1982)
Contains rare photographs from various agencies and photographers, including *Al-Safir*, UNRWA, Gamma, AP, etc.

***The Three Basic American Decisions on Palestine***
(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Center, 46pp, 1971)

***The United States and the Palestinian People***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)

**Japanese Red Army** (co-conducted the 1971 massacre at Lod/Ben Gurion Airport)
**Aileen Gallagher**: ***The Japanese Red Army***
(Rosen Publishing, 64 pages, 2002)

**William Regis Farrell**: ***Blood and Rage: The Story of the Japanese Red Army***
(Free Press, 288 pages, 1990)

**Carmen Taha Jarrah**
***Smuggled Stories from the Holy Land***

(Mosaic Design Book Publishers, 238 pages, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Carmen Jarrah's travel involves trying to unravel the conundrums of Arab life in Palestine/ Israel. She has compressed three extensive trips into her Smuggled Stories, exploring aspects of Israeli and Palestinian peace groups and their often agonizing confrontations with the military. A grim reality. Yet the dauntless Palestinian story shines through - a love of the land, an ancestral home imprinted on the Arab consciousness, a relentless connection to the soil and its old olive trees - and a story resting firmly in an ancient sense of belonging that no amount of checkpoint violence and failed peace plans can remove. It was a journey of awareness for Carmen, a critical feature of Muslim rihla writing. For those mystified by the region's conflicts, the book will awaken a new appreciation of a culture that grows more resilient and enduring with each battle. It is not a happy book but one of profound insight: The human spirit will not be denied, hence inspiring."

**Zahira Jaser**

***An Introductory Review to Anti-Palestinian Racism in Society and Organizations***
(University of Sussex, 13 pages, 2024)
Available as download: sussex.figshare.com

**Wasif Jawhariyyeh**

***The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2014)
Edited by **Salim Tamari** & **Issam Nassar**; translated by Nada Elzeer; foreword by **Rachel Beckles Willson**. A marvellous memoir of a young, talented urbanite of modest means but richly connected to top Palestinian families, Mandate Government Sirs, and endless party-goers. After navigating the Ottoman structure, he settles down to a working life of practical civil service as his (and the Palestinians') national consciousness elevates over events, benefiting from working relationships with both the Husseini and Nashashibi centres of power, and the Arabist Ronald Storrs, Governor and Military Governor of Jerusalem, who declined to mention Jawhariyyeh in his *Orientations*. Besides much alcohol, this memoir includes a great deal of Arab culture in Jerusalem, especially the music scene, which welcomes his at-the-ready oud expertise and passionate singing. The foreword by Beckles Willson is especially rewarding.

**Lena Jayyusi**, editor

***Jerusalem Interrupted: Modernity and Colonial Transformation, 1917-Present***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 2015)
This ground-breaking collection of essays brings together distinguished scholars and writers and follows the history of Jerusalem from the culturally diverse Mandate period through its transformation into a predominantly Jewish city. Essays detail often unexplored dimensions of the social and political fabric of a city that was rendered increasingly taut and fragile, even as areas of mutual interaction and shared institutions and neighborhoods between Arabs and Jews continued to develop. Contributors include: Lena Jayyusi, Issam Nassar, Samia A. Halaby, Elias Sahhab, Andrea Stanton, Makram Khoury-Machool, Sandy Sufian, Awad Halabi, Ellen L. Fleischmann, Widad Kawar, Rochelle Davis, Subhi Ghosheh, Mohammad Ghosheh, Tom Abowd, Nadia Abu El-Haj, Michael Dumper, Nahed Awwad, Ahmad J. Azem, Nasser Abourahme.

**Na'eem Jennah** (Johannesburg: Afro-Middle East Centre)

***Pretending Democracy: Israel, an Ethnocratic State***
(Johannesburg: Afro-Middle East Centre, 2014)

***The PLO: Critical Appraisals from Within***
(Johannesburg: Afro-Middle East Centre, 2014)

**Mona A.S. Jebril**

***Reflections on Higher Education in Palestine: Barriers to Academic and Intellectual Dialogue in the Palestinian-Israeli Context***

(Oxford University, 122 pages, 2006)

University thesis.

**Sir Charles Joseph Jeffries**

***The Colonial Police***

(Max Parrish, 232 pages, 1952)

One chapter about Mandate Palestine, mainly quoting official British sources.

**JMN Jeffries [Joseph Mary Nagle]**

***Palestine: The Reality***

(Longmans, 1939 / Olive Branch Press - Skyscraper, 2017)

The definitive and most revelatory analysis of the machinations behind the Balfour Declaration. Author was the *Daily Mail's* Middle East Correspondent in the 1920s and co-founder of the Palestine Information Centre in London, 1936. Original book, 728 pages with 21 possible copies held in UK libraries. (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976) Held in the UK by the British Library, Exeter and Sheffield Universities. Chapter 11, republished as an off-print by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1969. Reprint edition: Interlink Publishing & Skyscraper Books, 2017, with introduction by **Ghada Karmi** and preface by **Andy Simons**.

***The Palestine Deception, 1915-1923: The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence, the Balfour Declaration, and the Jewish National Home***

(Beirut: 168 pages, Institute for Palestine Studies, 2014)

edited by **William M. Mathew**. J. M. N. Jeffries, formerly a war correspondent in Europe and the Middle East, working for Britain's largest-selling newspaper, the Daily Mail, was sent to Palestine in 1922 by its owner, Lord Northcliffe, to report on its developing political and economic affairs—just five years on from the Balfour Declaration and its promise of British support for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national home. A Zionist Commission had arrived there in April 1918 and working, often tensely, alongside British military and civilian authorities, had succeeded in setting up a nascent Jewish polity—the nature and implications of which Jeffries sets out to appraise. Jeffries' articles, reproduced in full here for the first time, highlight Britain's duplicity in its dealings with the Arab population of Palestine—arguing that clear, written pledges of Arab political independence, offered in 1915–16 as a means of gaining Arab military support in the war against Germany and her Ottoman ally, had been decisively contradicted by the terms of the Balfour Declaration in 1917: thus "The Palestine Deception." Providing, for the first time, a public translation from the Arabic of pertinent extracts from the diplomatic correspondence—something that the British government itself would not allow until 1939—Jeffries caused a considerable stir in political circles in London, prompting senior members of the House of Lords to ask that the government revise the terms of its commitment to the Zionist project in advance of the forthcoming final settlement by the League of Nations of the Mandate for the territory. Writing with lively wit and telling irony, Jeffries offers a vivid contemporary snapshot of Palestine in the early 1920s. The circumstances of Jewish life there, both indigenous and immigrant, are set out in fine detail, although it seemed to him highly improbable that Britain could contrive any long-term alliance with the Zionist movement that would advance its own imperial interests in the Middle East and beyond.

***The Palestine Deception: A Daily Mail Enquiry on the Spot***

(Carmelite House: *The Daily Mail,* 72pp, 1923)

Note: See also Colin Andersen

**Jørgen Jensehaugen** (Peace Research Institute Oslo / PRIO & Norway University)

***Arab-Israeli Diplomacy under Carter: The US, Israel and the Palestinians***

(IB Tauris, 312 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "The history of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East is marked by numerous stark failures and a few ephemeral successes. Jimmy Carter's short-lived Middle East diplomatic strategy constitutes an exception in vision and approach. In this extensive and long-overdue analysis of Carter's Middle East policy, Jorgen Jensehaugen sheds light on this important and unprecedented chapter in U.S. regional diplomacy. Against all odds, including the rise of Menachem Begin's right-wing government in Israel, Carter broke new ground by demanding the involvement of the Palestinians in Arab-Israeli diplomatic negotiations. This book assesses the president's `comprehensive peace' doctrine, which aimed to encompass all parties of the conflict, and reveals the reasons why his vision ultimately failed. Largely based on analysis of newly-declassified diplomatic files and American, British, Palestinian and Israeli archival sources, this book is the first comprehensive examination of Jimmy Carter's engagement with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. At a time when U.S. involvement in the region threatens to exacerbate tensions further, Arab-Israeli Diplomacy under Carter provides important new insights into the historical roots of the ongoing unrest. The book will be of value to Middle East and International Relations scholars, and those researching U.S diplomacy and the Carter Administration."

**Michael Irving Jensen** (MENO Regional Director at International Media Support (IMS); University of Copenhagen)

***The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective***
(IB Tauris, 204 pages, 2014)
Translated by **Sally Laird**.

***Peace, Aid & Renewed Anti-Colonial Resistance: The Development of Secular Palestinian NGOs in the Post-Oslo Period***
(JSTOR open-access content, 28 pages, 2005)

***Palestine Question in the Wake of the War in Iraq: The Re-emer4gence of the One State Solution?***
(Danish Institute for International Studies, 2004)

**Fred Jerome**

***Einstein on Israel and Zionism: His Provocative Ideas about the Middle East***
(New York City: St. Martin's Press, 334 pages)

**Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre** (East Jerusalem/Al Quds; see also *This Week in Palestine: Weekly News, Analysis and Culture*, December 1989-February 2005; varied volume numbering sequences, with early issues having no volume numbers)

**Salah Abdel-Jawad**: ***The Israeli Assassination Policy in the Aqsa Intifada***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 61 pages, 2001)

**Jamil Rabah**: ***Palestinian Employment: Challenges and Prospects***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 130 pages, 2000)

**Walid Mustafa**: ***Jerusalem: Population & Urbanization from 1850-2000***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 2000)

**Gil Friedman**: ***Political Beliefs and Preferences of People Who Trust Fatah and People Who Trust Leftist Factions***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 103 pages, 2000)
Public opinion survey.

**Adel Zagha**: ***Foreign Aid and Development in Palestine: Phase III***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 94 pages, 1999)

Edited by **Rose-Marie Barbeau** and **Nina Sovich**.

**Rose-Marie Barbeau**: ***Palestinian Support for the Peace Process***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre,49 pages, 1999)

***The Palestinian Council***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 229 pages, 1998)

**Isabelle Daneels**: ***Palestine's Interim Agreement with Democracy***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 173 pages, 1998)
Edited by **Rose-Marie Barbeau**.

***The Wye River Memorandum: Washington, D.C., October 23, 1998***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 19 pages, 1998)

**Khader Abusway**, **Rose-Maria Barbeau** and **Muhammed el-Hasan**: ***Signed, Sealed, Delivered: Israeli Settlement and the Peace Process***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre,55 pages, 1997)

***Foreign Aid and Development in Palestine: Phase 2 Report: Mortgaging Self-Reliance***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 1997)

***The Palestinian Authority Basic Law: Fourth Draft***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 10 pages, 1996)
Off-print from *Palestine Report*, February 1996)

***Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Washington DC, September 28, 1995: Declaration of Principles on the Interim Self-Government Arrangements, Washington DC, 13 September 1993***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 261 pages, 1996)

***The Palestinian National Covenant: al-Mithaq al-watani al-Filastini: Adopted at the First Meeting of the Palestinian National Council, Jerusalem, 28 May 1964***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 8 pages, 1996)
Off-print from *Palestine Report*, 1996.

***Requirements for Gender Development in Palestinian Society***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 67 pages, ca. 1995)

***Draft Palestinian Constitution***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 11 pages, 1994)
Off-print from *Palestine Report*, January 1994.

***Draft Basic Law for the National Authority in the Transitional Period***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 53 pages, 1994)
"This is the third draft… It has notyet been presented to the Central Council for consideration and approval, 1 May 1994."

***Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements: Washington DC, 13 September 1993***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 29pages, 1994)
Treaties, in Arabic and English.

***Public Opinion Poll no. 4 on Palestinian Attitudes to PLO-Israeli Agreement***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 11 pages, 1994)
Survey conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, with CNN and MBC.

***Challenges Facing Palestinian Society in the Interim Period***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 194 pages, 1994)

**Aisling Byrne**: ***Water: The Red Line***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 78 pages, 1994)

**Jamil Rabah** and **Natasha Fairweather**: ***Israeli Military Orders in the Occupied Palestinian West Bank, 1967-1992***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 241 pages, 1993; second edition, 1995)

***Israeli Obstacles to Economic Development in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 180 pages, 1992)

***The Price of Peace: The Toll of the Peace Process on Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, 1 November 1991-15 February 1992***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 38 pages, 1992)

***No Exit: Israel's Curfew Policy in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 124 pages, 1991)

***Beg, Borrow or Steal: Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 30 pages, 1991)

***The Stone and the Olive Branch: Four Years of the Intifada, from Jabalia to Madrid***
(Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre, 94 pages, 1991)
Includes chronology of key dates of the first Intifada.

***Since Madrid: Israeli Confidence-Destroying Measures in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 24 pages, 1991)

***Soviet Jewish Immigration and the Israeli Settlement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 68pages, 1990)

***Lessons of Occupation: Palestinian Higher Education During the Uprising***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 36 pages, 1990)

***Biter Harvest: Israeli Sanctions against Palestinian Agriculture during the Uprising, December 1997-March 1989***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 32 pages, 1989)

***Reporting Harassment: Israeli Restrictions of Press Freedom in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 85 pages)
Focus on the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

***The Intifada: An Overview: The First Two Years***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 52 pages, 1989)

***Palestinian Education: A Threat to Israel's Security?***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 2 editions, 47 and 53 pages, ca. 1989)

***The Siege of Agriculture: Examples of Israeli Sanctions against Agriculture in the Occupied Territories during the Palestinian Uprising***
(Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, 15 pages, 1988)

**Naseem Jeryis**

***Small-scale Enterprises in Arab Villages: A Case Study from the Galilee Region in Israel***
(Uppsala Universitet, 145 pages, 1990)

**Jewish Agency** aka **Jewish Agency for Palestine** – Note: See also **Israel Cohen** (1879-1961, Secretary of the World Zionist Organisation).

***The Story of the Jewish Agency for Israel***
(Jewish Agency Executive, American Section, 1964)

**Yehoshua Freunlich** and **Zvi Ganin**, editors: ***Political Documents of the Jewish Agency***
(Jerusalem: House of the World Zionist Organisation, 2 volumes, 1996, 1998)
Volume 1: May 1945-December 1946; Volume 2: January-November 1947.

**Ian Mikardo** [Labour MP]: ***The Immigration Story***
(London: JAP, 8 pages, 1953)

**Norman Bentwich**: ***German Reparations the JPA***
(London: JAP, 8 pages, 1953)

**Barnet Litvinoff**: ***The Master-Plan for 1953***
(Joint Palestine Appeal of Great Britain and Ireland, 8 pages, 1953)

**Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt** aka **S.N. Eisenstadt**: ***Absorption of Immigrants in Israel, with Special Reference to Oriental Jews, 1st Report*** aka ***The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comprehensive Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestin and the State of Israel***
(Jerusalem: JAP Department of Oriental Jews, 56 pages, 1951 / Routledge & Kegan Paul, 275 pages, 1954; Routledge, 290 pages, 2024)

***Memorandum on Acts of Arab Aggression to alter by force the settlement on the future government of Palestine approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, submitted to the United Nations Palestine Commission by the Jewish Agency for Palestine***
(Assumed Jerusalem: JAP, 21 pages, 1948)
In two parts, with a letter of transmittal addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations at Lake Success.

***Memorandum on the Position of the Jewish Communities in the Oriental Countries, submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine by the Jewish Agency for Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP 27 pages, 1947)
Focus includes Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, French North Africa, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

***Memorandum on the Problem of the Displaced and Insecure Jews of Europe: Submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 11 pages, 1947)

***The Palestine Issue: a Factual Analysis***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 45 pages, 1947)

***Some Legal Aspects of the Jewish Case: Memorandum Submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 36 pages, 1947)

***The Jewish Plan for Palestine: Memoranda and Statements Presented by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 559 pages, 1947)

***The Jewish Case before the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine – Statements and Memoranda***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 686 pages, 1947)

***The Jewish Evidence before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine – Excerpts from the Official Minutes***
(London: JAP, 45 pages, 1947)

***The Influence of Jewish Colonisation on Arab Development in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 13 pages, 1947)
Memorandum submitted in March 1946 to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

**Aron Gertz**, editor; **David Gurevitch**, supervisor; and **A. Zanker**: ***Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine – 1947***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 438 pages, ca. 1947)

***Land Transfers Regulations***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 6 pages, 1947)
"Submitted in March 1946 to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Jerusalem."

**David Ben-Gurion**: ***Reply to Bevin – Analysis of the Foreign Secretary's Statements on Palestine***
(London: JAP, 1946)
"From an address delivered at an extraordinary session of the Jewish Elected Assembly, Jerusalem, November 28th, 1945."

**Chaim Weizmann**: ***The Right to Survive – Testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine – Jerusalem Hearings No. 1***
(London: JAP, 19 pages, 1946)

**Chaim Weizmann**: ***We Warned You, Gentlemen***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 1946)
Testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.

**Ludwig Gruenbaum**: ***Outlines of a Development Plan for Jewish Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 171 pages, 1946)

***The Economic War Effort of Jewish Palestine: Facts and Figures***
(Jerusalem: JAP Department for Trade and Industry, 22 pages, 1946)

***Report of Child and Youth Aliyah to the 22nd Zionist Congress at Basle***
(Jerusalem: JAP Child and Youth Immigration Bureau, 54 pages, 1946)
Other years published by the Bureau.

***Political Report of the London Office of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Submitted to the 22nd Zionist Congress, at Basle, December 1946***
(London: Jewish Agency for Palestine, 87 pages, 1946)

**Ludwig Samuel**: ***Jewish Agriculture in Palestine – A Progressive Factor in Middle East Economy***
(Jerusalem: Jewish Agency for Palestine, 143 pages, 1946)

***Zionism and the Arab World: Memorandum Presented in March, 1946, to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine in Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 18 pages,1946)

**L.B. Namier [Louis Bernstein Namier]**: ***The Jewish Question***
(London: JAP, 1946)
Reprinted from *The Manchester Guardian*, Thursday, March 7th, 1946

**Dr. I. Zollschan**: ***The Arabian Race of Palestine: The Facts***
(London: JAP, 1946)
Reprinted from *The Jewish Forum*, August 1946.

***Jews of Cyprus***
(London: JAP, 1946)

***Documents Relating to the Palestine Problem***
(London: JAP, 96 pages, 1945)
Colonial Office statements of policy.

***Jewish Palestine Fights Back***
(London: JAP, 31 pages, 1945-1946)

**James G. McDonald**: ***Where Can the Refugees Go?***
(London: JAP, 12 pages, 1945)

**Chaim Weizmann**: ***Jewish Fighting Force – Statement***
(London: JAP, 7 pages, ca. 1944-1945)

***Palestine Can Take Millions***
(London: JAP, 22 pages, 1944)
Contents: **Abraham Revusky**: *The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine* / **Walter C. Lowdermilk**: *Palestine Prospects and the Jordan Valley Plan*.

**James G. McDonald**: ***Palestine to the Rescue – Life or Death for a People***
(London: JAP, 1941-1944)
Held by Leo Baeck College.

**Abraham Revusky**: ***The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine***
(London: JAP, 15 pages, 1944)
"Toward a Jewish Commonwealth" series.

**Abraham Revusky** and **Dr. Walter C. Lowermilk**: ***Palestine Can Take Millions***
(London: JAP, November 1944)

**Albert Einstein**: ***Test Case for Humanity***
(London: JAP, 7 pages, 1944)
Offprint from the *Princeton Herald*, in reply to an article by Dr. Philip K. Hitti (of Princeton University).

**Dorothy Thompson**: ***To Whom Does the Earth Belong?***
(London: JAP, 11 pages, 1944)
America's most famous woman news reporter of the 1930s and 1940s, put out of business by the Zionist lobby by the end of the decade. Address delivered at the celebration of the 26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

**Leon I. Feuer**: ***Why a Jewish State***
(London: JAP, 1944)

**Seleg Brodetsky**: ***The Jewish Problem***
(London: JAP, 15 pages, 1944)
Offprint from the *New Commonwealth* aka *London Quarterly of World Affairs*, April 1943.

**Gerhard Muntsner** aka **Gerhard Meunzner** and **Ernst Kahn**: ***Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine***
(Jerusalem/Tel-Aviv: JAP Economic Research Institute, 191 pages, ca. 1943)

**David Ben-Gurion**: ***Palestine in the Post-War World***
(London: JAP, 23 pages, 1943)
"An address delivered…at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference, held in New York, May 9, 1942."

***Palestine on the Home Front***
(London: JAP, 1943)

***The Jewish Agency for Palestine – Its Structure and Functions***
(London: JAP, 1943)

**James G. McDonald**: ***Palestine to the Rescue – Life or Death for a People***
(London: JAP, 7 pages, 1943)

**Dorothy Thompson**: ***Jews in the Family of Nations***
(London: JAP, 11 pages, 1943)
"This is the text of an address delivered by Dorothy Thompson, the distinguished American journalist at the 1943 National conference for Palestine, at Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A."

**J.K. Fowler**: ***An Australian Looks at Palestine***
(London: JAP, 11 pages, 1943)
Author from the New South Wales Teachers' and Lecturers' Foundation.

**Alfred Bonne**: ***The Economic Development of the Middle East – An Outline of Planned Reconstruction after the War***
(Jerusalem: JAP Economic Research Institute, 124 pages, 1943)

**Sir Wyndham Deedes**: ***Palestine Shapes its Future***
(London: JAP, 15 pages, ca. 1942)

**Field Marshal Smuts**: ***Justice for the People of the Book – South African Premier's Appeal***
(London: JAP, 1942)

**Dr. Chaim Weizmann**: ***Jewish Fighting Force***
(London: JAP, 1942)

***America Speaks – A Free Jewish Palestine***
(London: JAP, 16 pages, 1942)
A digest of the proceedings of the Annual Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, Cleveland, Ohio, 1942.

**Dr. Chaim Weizmann**: ***Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem***
(London: JAP, 14 or 16 pages, March 1942)
Offprint from the American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, January 1942)

***Palestine in Wartime***
(London: JAP, 8 pages, 1942)

**L.B. Namier [Louis Bernstein Namier]**: ***Refugee Boats***
(London: JAP, 1942)

**David Ben-Gurion**: ***Palestine in the Post-War World***
(London: JAP, 1942)

**Ludwig Gruenbaum**: ***National Income and Outlay in Palestine, 1936***
(Jerusalem: JAP Economic Research Institute, 112 pages, 1941; 2nd edition, Bank of Israel, 429 pages, 1978)

***Documents and Correspondence Relating to Palestine: August 1939 to March 1940***
(London: JAP, 28 pages, March 1940)
With fold-out map of Palestine depicting Jewish-Arab residential zones.

**Mrs. Edgar [Blanche] Dugdale**: ***The Balfour Declaration – Origins and Background***
(London: JAP, 32 pages, 1940)

**Dr. David Gurevich**: ***The Jewish Population of Jerusalem: A Demographic and Sociological Study of theJewish Population and its Component Communities, based on the Jerusalem Jewish Census, September 1939***
(Jerusalem: JAP Department of Statistics, 95 pages, 1940)

***The Jewish Case against the Palestine White Paper***
(London: JAP, 35 pages, 1939)

***Palestine Immigration, Dependents, and 'Illegals'***
(London: JAP, 1939)
Offprint from the weekly *New Statesman and Nation*, 13 May 1939. See also **Khalid Kishtainy**: ***The New Statesman and the Middle East*** (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1972); a thorough unpacking of the Labour Party-leaning magazine's consistent Zionist bias.

***Documents Relating to the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate***
(London: JAP, May 1939)

***Documents Relating to the McMahon Letters***
(London: JAP, 20 pages, 1939)

**L.B. Namier [Louis Bernstein Namier]**: ***Palestine and the British Empire***
(London: JAP/Macmillan, 14 pages, ca. 1939)

***Jewish Manufacture, Transportation and Commerce: Report and General Abstracts of the Censuses Taken in 1937***
(Jerusalem: JAP Department of Trade and Industry, 95 pages, 1939)

***The Jewish Case Against the Palestine White Paper: Documents Submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations***
(London: JAP, 35 pages, June 1939)

***Political Report of the Executive of the Jewish Agency: Submitted to the 21st Zionist |Congress and the 6th Session of the Council of the Jewish Agency at Geneva, August, 1969***
(Jerusalem: Executive of the Jewish Agency, 113 pages, 1939)

***An Appeal to the British People***
(London: JAP, 1939)

***Palestine for the Refugees***
(London: JAP, 7 pages, 1939)

**Mrs. Edgar [Blanche] Dugdale**: ***Palestine to-Day – "Illegal Immigration"***
(London: JAP, 32 pages, 1939, 1940)

Likely taken from the *Manchester Guardian*; 4 page edition as well.

**Leonard Stein**: ***Promises and Afterthoughts – Notes on Certain White Papers Relating to the Palestine Conferences***
(London: JAP, 34 pages, 1939)

***The Establishment in Palestine of the Jewish National Home: Memorandum on the Development of the Jewish National Home, 1937, submitted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for the information of the Permanent Mandates Commission, June 1938***
(London: JAP, 26 pages, 1938)

**Isaac I. Elazari-Volcani**: ***Planned Mixed Farming***
(Rehovot, Palestine: JAP, 154 pages, 1938)
Translated from Hebrew by **Maurice Simon** and **S. Hestrin**. Relevant to the 1936-1939 Palestinian peasant revolt.

**David Horowitz** and **Rita Hinden**: ***Economic Survey of Palestine, with Special Reference to the Years 1936 and 1937***
(Tel-Aviv, Economic Research Institute of the JAP, 214 pages, 1938)

**David Horowitz**: ***Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: JAP Economic Research Institute, 52 pages, 1937)

***Financial Report of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, for the Years 5695, 5696, and the First Half of 5697 (October 1934-March 1937)***
(Jerusalem: Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 103 pages, 1937)

***Memorandum Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on Behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine***
(London: JAP, 323 pages, ca. 1937)
Peel Commission; held by the Weiner Holocaust Library, London & the University of Manchester.

***Political Report of the Executive of the Jewish Agency submitted to the 20th Zionist Congress, Zurich, August 1937***
(Jerusalem: Executive for the Jewish Agency, 148 pages, 1937)

***Jews and Arabs in Palestine: Some Current Questions***
(London: JAP, 32 pages, 1936)

***Memorandum Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on Behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine***
(London: JAP, 323 pages, 1936)
Contents: Introductory note -- The Balfour Declaration -- The mandate -- Articles 20 and 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations -- The McMahon letters -- The Anglo-French declaration of November 7th, 1918 -- The war services of the Palestine Arabs -- Zionist policy -- The holy places -- Immigration -- Land policy -- Trade and industry: fiscal policy -- Public services and public employment -- Jewish work in Palestine and its effect on the non-Jewish population -- Self-governing institutions.

***Memorandum Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on Behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine - Appendices***
(London: JAP, 323 pages, 1936)
Contents: I. Letter to the Times from Lord Hailsham and Sir John Simon. Letter to the Times from Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Amery -- II. Opinion of Sir William Finlay, K.C. --

III. The Feisal-Weizmann agreement -- IV. Extract from the Zionist proposals to the peace conference -- V. Illustrations of the operation of the protection of cultivators' ordinances.

***Palestine – The Disturbances of 1936***
(London: JAP, single sheet, 1936)
Statistical tables.

***A Legislative Council in Palestine: The Jewish Case***
(London: JAP, 14 pages, 1936)

**Israel Cohen**: ***Palestine Strides Forward***
(London: JAP, 10 pages, 1935)
Offprint from *The Fortnightly*, January 1935.

***Report of the Agricultural Settlement Department for the Years 5693-5695*** [1933-1935] ***to the Sixth Zionist Congress and the Fourth Meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency at Lucerne***
(Jerusalem: JAP, 66 pages, 1935)
Relevant to the 1936-1939 Palestinian peasant revolt.

**Israel Cohen**: ***The Situation in Palestine***
(London: JAP, 10 pages, 1933)
Offprint from *The Contemporary Review*, December 1933.

***Memorandum Submitted by the Executive of the Jewish Agency on the Reports of Mr Lewis French on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine***
(London: JAP, 86 pages, 1933)

***Palestine: A Few Facts and Figures***
(London: JAP, 4 pages, 1933)

***The Statistical Bases of Sir John Hope Simpson's Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development in Palestine***
(London: JAP, 31 or 40 pages, 1931)

***The Palestinian Arabs under the British Mandate***
(London: JAP, 16 pages, 1930)

**Leonard Stein:** ***The Palestine White Paper of October, 1930 – Memorandum***
(London: JAP, 89 pages, 1930)

**Leonard Stein**: ***Memorandum on the 'Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929'***
(London: JAP, 110pages, 1930)
As presented to the British Parliament and the League of Nations.

***Immigration into Palestine*** - ***Urban Development in Palestine***
(London: JAP, sections in bound volume, 1930)

***Land and Agriculture Development in Palestine*** aka ***Palestine Land Settlement, Urban Development and Immigration***
(London: JAP, 56 pages, 1930)

***The Development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine: Memorandum Submitted to His Majesty's Government by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, May 1930***
(London: JAP, 99 pages, 1930)

***Financial Aspects of Jewish Reconstruction in Palestine: How the Arabs have Benefited through Jewish Immigration***
(JAP, 14 pages, 1930)
Sections include 'Economic Grievances of the Arabs' and 'How Jews Have Enriched Arabs.'

***Jewish Achievements in Palestine***
(JAP, 23 pages, 1930) Sections include 'Agricultural Colonisation' and 'Afforestation.'

**Jan Christiaan Smuts**: ***A Great Historic Vow: An Address on British and Jewish Responsibilities in Palestine***
(London: JAP, 8 pages, 1930)

**Isaac I. Elazari-Volcani**: ***The Fella's Farm***
(Tel-Aviv: JAP Institute of Agriculture and Natural History, 128 pages, 1930)
Translated from Hebrew.

***Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine***
(London: JAP, 16 pages, 1929)

***Key for the Settlement of Various Zones in Palestine: Reports of the Preparatory Commissions, submitted to the Department of Colonisation of the Palestine Zionist Executive, Jerusalem***
(Tel-Aviv: JAP, 112 pages, 1929)
"Translated from Hebrew."

***"The Pact of Glory" – The Jewish Agency for Palestine Discussed by Louis Marshall, Dr. Chaim Weizmann and other Distinguished Jewish Personalities***
(New York City: JAP/Allied Jewish Campaign, 36 pages, 1929)

**Israel Cohen**: ***Palestine and the British Tax Payer***
(London: JAP, 12 pages, 1929)

**'Palestine Papers'** - miscellaneous collection of publications held by the British Library, catalogued under shelfmark: 4035.d.21
(London: JAP, 1929)
Contents: No. 1 - **Israel Cohen**: *Palestine and the British Taxpayer* (16pp, 1929) / No. 2 – **Chaim Weizmann**: *The Position in Palestine* [speeches]: *The Atrocities in Palestine* – speech at the Royal Albert Hall; *The Zionist Movement under the Palestine Mandate* – address to the Central Asian Society; *The significance of the Jewish National Home* – speech at the Anglo-Palestinian Club; *The Jewish People's Right to its National Home* – speech at the conference of the German Zionist Federation (40pp, 1930).

**Jewish Colonization Association**

**Simon Belkin**: ***Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada, 1840-1940***
(Assumed Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress/JCA, 235 pages, ca. 1966)
Contents: I. Immigration and settlement in Canada before the First World War -- II. Jewish migration in modern era: from a trickle to a torrent -- III. Receiving the first Jewish arrivals in Canada -- IV. Widening scope of immigrant aid with Baron de Hirsch Funds -- V. First attempts of Jewish land settlement in the U.S.A. and Canada -- Vi. Beginning of ICA colonization in Argentina and Canada -- VII. Colonization and land settlement: 1901-1920 -- VIII. Community organized gradually to take over immigration work -- IX. Beginning of post war immigration: a year of restrictions and detentions -- X. Opening of negotiations on emigration of Jews from Soviety Russia -- XI. Narrowing of gates and the permit system -- XII. Admission of Russo_Roumanian refugees -- XIII. Concessions, numerical allotments and "quotas" -- XIV. Jewish colonization in the 1920's -- XV. The tragic decade -- XVI. A mission to Newfoundland -- XVII. Land settlement in the 1930's -- XVIII. In conclusion.

**Jewish Labour Movement**

**Derek Taylor**: ***Solidarity and Discord: A Brief History of 99 Years of Affiliation to the Labour Party***
(London: JLM, 24 pages, 2019)
Foreword by **Tom Watson MP**; introduction by **Peter Mason**.

**Jewish National Fund** (Zionist organisation with varying publication locations); see also **Abraham Granovsky** and **Bernard A. Rosenblatt** etc; examples of the multi-pronged approach of the organisation.

***Forests for Israel***
(Tel Aviv: JNF, 16 pages, 1950)
Glossy publication promoting the hiding of Palestinian villages.

***What is American Jewry's Responsibility in 1948 Through United Jewish Appeal: A Work Book for Annual National Conference, Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, 12-15 December 1947***
(New York City: JNF, 203 pages, 1948)
Emphasis on Jewish refugees from Europe and beyond, with United Jewish Appeal founders Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Jonah Wise, and William Rosenwald.

***Projector: For the Use of Teachers and You Instructors***
(Jerusalem: Hamadpis Liphshitz Press/JFN, 22 pages, 1947)
Manual to introduce Zionist themes in schools and youth programmes. It includes summer camp songs transliterated from Hebrew, and English-Hebrew "Palestine Nature Dictionary," camp games such as "Establishing a New Settlement," and passages from the Old Testament.

***May We Have a Minute, Please***
(New York City: JNF, 4 pages, ca. 1945)
One of many doorstep pamphlets used to distribute the JNF's 'tzedakah' donation boxes.

***Nachlath Massachusetts: A Colony in Palestine***
(Boston: Nachlath Massachusetts Committee of the JNF, 2 pages, 1944)
Programme from a fundraising dinner at the Hotel Statler, 23 April 1944, including a statement from State Governor Leverett Saltonstall on the "linking of historic Massachusetts with Palestine" and celebrating the "decision to establish a colony in Palestine that will bear the name of Massachusetts."

**Rabbi Meyer Berlin: *Palestine Needs Trees***
(New York City: JNF, 6 pages, 1941)
Includes a table that shows potential donors how many trees they can buy for how much money. Planting one tree costs $1.50; a grove of 1,000 trees costs $1,500; a forest of 10, 000 trees costs $15,000. The solicitation includes of a description of a current forest that is currently being planted in honor of Rabbi Bar-Ilan: "(The) forest (is) dedicated to Rabbi Meyer Berlin on the occasion of his 60th birthday." Includes several photographs and illustrations of trees and tree-planting. Concludes: "2,900,000 trees have been planted millions more are needed."

**Sulamith Ish-Kishor**: ***Land JNF, The People's Fund to Buy Land in Palestine…***
(New York City, Jewish National Fund of America, 21 pages, 1941)
With period photographs; London-born author was well-published in *The New Yorker, The Saturday Review* and *Reader's Digest*.

***What I Saw in Eretz Israel: Excerpts from a Boy's Diary***
(New York City: Youth Department of the Jewish National Fund of America, 7 pages, 1939)
"I feel like Columbus now, for I have just been the first one to discover the coast of Palestine on the horizon. Soon we shall be landing in the port of Tel Aviv, the only Jewish port in the world, the gateway

to Zion, and perhaps to the who Near East." Boasts of having collected over $26 million to buy almost 500,000 dunams of land.

***The Epic of Hanita***
(New York City: Youth Department of the Jewish National Fund of America, 12 pages, 1938)
Details the "reclaiming" of this Upper Galilee region, with photographs.

***The Plain of Bethshan: Ancient and Modern***
(Jerusalem, Jerusalem Press/JNF: Joint Committee for Youth Affairs, 46 pages, 1938)
History of the plain, by then owned by the Jewish National Fund, highlighting the Jewish settlements. With photographs by **Lotta Levensohn**.

***Huleh: The New Frontier***
(New York City: JNF, 15 pages, 1937)
Promotes the Zionist activity in this Galilee area, with illustrations.

***New as Always Land!***
(New York City: JNF, 6 pages, 1937)
35th anniversary solicitation from the JNF, with photographs of settlements.

***$24,000,000 for JNF: Why and How Jews Contribute for Palestine Land Redemption***
(New York City: JNF, 31 pages, 1937)
Illustrated presentation of JNF efforts, centred around the blue-and-white 'tzedakah' boxes. "Among the mementoes carefully preserved at the Jewish National Fund headquarters in Jerusalem, is a tarnished little old tin box. It was bequeathed to the Keren Kayemeth by a woman Zionist in Germany. This little box -odd as it may seem- has been the means for raising, during the past thirty-five years, the rather astounding sum of approximately $4,00,000 or about 18% of the Fund's total income since its inception."

***The Gate to the Land of Promise***
(New York City: Jewish National Fund of America, 10 pages, 1936)
Illustrated pamphlet providing 26 reasons to support ongoing Zionist activitie

s. *Land of Promise* was a 57-minute Zionist organisation (Keren Hayesod/Jewish Agency) film short produced in the US, started in 1920 but released in 1935.

***The History of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine, 1860-1935***
(London: JNF, 35 pages, 1930s)

Possible JNF involvement: ***Memorandum submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations by the National Council of the Jews of Palestine***
(Jerusalem, 28 or 31 pages, 1926 or 1930)

**Akiba Ettinger**: ***The Village of Nahalal: How the Keren Heyesod Builds New Villages in Palestine on the Land of the Jewish National Fund***
(London: Jewish National Fund/Keren Hayesod, 28 pages, 1924)

***Souvenir and Handbook of the Jewish National Fund bazaar, entitled "Palestine Old and New"***
(Manchester Jewish National Fund/Manchester Zionist Central Council, 48 pages, 1921)

**Jacob Ettinger:** ***The Tasks of the Jewish National Fund***
(56 pages, 1918)
Digitised from the University of California Libraries.

**Frans Oppenheimer** and **Jacob Oettinger**: ***Land Tenure in Palestine***
(New York City: The Hague/Head office of the JNF/Lipshitz Press, 31 pages, ca. 1917)

Contents: Collective and private ownership of land, by Franz Oppenheimer.--The practical advantages of hereditary lease, by Jacob Oettinger.--Appendix: Specimen agreements.

**Jewish National Fund** (RELATED)

***JNF: Colonising Palestine since 1901***
(Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 81 pages as e-book only, 2010)
Edited by **Mortaza Sahibzada**. Contributors: Ghada Karmi, Ilan Pappe, Abe Hayeem, Uri Davis, Susannah Tarbush, Sonja Karkar, Ben White, Rahela Mizrahi, Bob Williamson, and John Goss.

***JNF: Colonising Palestine since 1901 Vol. 2: Preparing for Legal Action – Focus – Canada Park***
(Human Rights Legal Aid Fund / Palestine Land Society / Campaign to Stop the JNF), 111 pages as e-book only, 2010)
Edited by **Uri Davis** with **Mortaza Sahibzada**. Contributors: Walter Lehn, Ismail Zayid, Uri Davis, Trish Wood; with foreword by Salman Abu Sitta.

**Eric Engel Tuten** (University of Utah): ***Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Tuten shows how the Jewish National Fund (JNF) proved to be flexible in its fundraising to obtain its land-purchase objectives during the Second World War. He provides a detailed examination of the Jewish National Fund's internal development and analyses the relationship between JNF's finances and land purchase priorities. A valuable addition to recent re-evaluations of Israeli history and institutions, this book will be of interest to those researching Palestinian history, Jewish and Israeli history and the history of the modern Middle East."

**Jewish Territorial Organisation** (1905-1925 and revived, founded by Israel Zangwill, which sought an alternative settler territory than Palestine)

**Gur Alroey**: ***Zionism without Zion: the Jewish Territorial Organization and its Conflict with the Zionist Organization***
(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 359 pages, 2016)
On the Jewish Territorial Organisation.

**Laura Almagor**: ***Beyond Zion – The Jewish Territorialist Movement***
(Oxford University Press, 304 pages / Liverpool University Press, 286 pages, 2022)

**T.B. Herwald**: ***Solution of the Jewish Problem***
(London: ITO, 4 pages, 1943)

**J.W. Gregory**: ***Report on the Work of the Commission Sent Out by the Jewish Territorial Organisation under the Auspices of the Poruguese Government to Exame the Territory Proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Angola***
(London: ITO, 50 pages, 1913)
With introduction by **Israel Zangwill**

**J.W. Gregory**: ***Report on the Work of the Commission Sent Out by the Jewish Territorial Organisation…to Examine the Territory Proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Cyrenaica***
(London: ITO, 52 pages, 1909)

**Israel Zangwill**: ***"Be Fruitful and Multiply"***
(London: JTO, 2 pages, 1905)

**Erika Jimenez** (Queen's University Belfast)

***Rethinking Human Rights: Critical Insights from Palestinian Youth***
(Hart/Bloomsbury, 272 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on research in the occupied West Bank, this book explores the three layers of marginalisation faced by Palestinian young people-the occupation; the Palestinian pseudo-state; and patriarchal structures-to show how these barriers influence their understanding of, and scepticism towards, human rights. Influenced by decolonialist theories, this book illuminates how space needs to be created for the counter-narratives of the oppressed in human rights discourse which may not align with more orthodox representations of human rights. It contends that human rights in the Palestinian context (and beyond) needs to be critiqued, decolonised and ultimately transformed."

**Fida Jiryis**
***Stranger in My Own Land: Palestine, Israel and One Family's Story of Home***
(Hurst, 447 pages, no index, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This beautifully written memoir tells the story of their journey, which is also the story of Palestine, from the Nakba to the present—a seventy-five-year tale of conflict, exodus, occupation, return and search for belonging, seen through the eyes of one writer and her family. Jiryis reveals how her father, Sabri, a PLO leader and advisor to Yasser Arafat, chose exile in 1970 because of his work. Her own childhood in Beirut was shaped by regional tensions, the Lebanese Civil War and the 1982 Israeli invasion, which led to her mother's death. Thirteen years later, the family made an unexpected return to Fassouta, their village of origin in the Galilee. But Fida, twenty-two years old and full of love for her country, had no idea what she was getting into." See also Michael Chabon & Ayelet Waldman, editor: *Kingdom of Olives and Ash – Writers Confront the Occupation.*

**Sabri Jiryis** (lawyer, PLO Public Relations Director, Palestine Research Centre)
***The Foundations of Zionism***
(Ebb Books, 614 pages, 2025)
Translated by **Fida Jiryis**. Publisher's blurb: "Translated into English for the first time since its original publication by the PLO's Palestine Research Center, this book extensively details the origins of Zionism and its development as an ideology and political project that has wrought havoc in the Middle East and beyond over the last century. *The Foundations of Zionism* chronicles this development from Zionism's early origins up to the establishment of the British mandate over Palestine in 1923, refuting many of the movement's own foundational myths – from its early relationship to the Palestinians to its exclusively religious character. Sabri Jiryis delves into Zionism's successive congresses and factional struggles, its early failures to settle in Palestine and the formation of armed militias, and its temporary alliances with the Ottoman Empire before the movement eventually secured support from Western colonial powers such as Britain. In a newly written conclusion, Jiryis reconsiders the Zionist project 100 years on from the Balfour Declaration and amid the ongoing genocide in Gaza." Contents: *Pioneers of Zionism: Early Thinkers (1862-1884) / Lovers of Zion: Early Practitioners (1882-1904) / Herzl and the Zionist Organization: The Jewish State Project and its Agencies (1897-1904) / The Second Aliyah: Foundations of the Zionist Entity (1904-1914) / The First World War and the Balfour Declaration: The Alliance of Colonialism and Zionism (1914-1917) / British Mandate over Palestine, Part 1: The Mandate System and its Frameworks (1918-1923) / British Mandate over Palestine, Part II: Foundations of the "Jewish National Home" (1918-1923)* / Conclusion: *Zionism in the Service of Colonialism.*

With **Abu Mazen / Mahmoud Abbas** and **Haled al-Azm**: ***Who Really Created the Middle East Refugee Problems? Arabs Who Should Know Speak Out***
(Jerusalem: Jerusalem Information Centre, 5 pages, ca. 1977)

***The Arabs in Israel, 1948-1966***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 180 pages, 1968, 1969, translated from Hebrew by **Meric Dobson** / 2nd edition, translated from Arabic by **Inea Bushnaq**; Monthly Review Press, 314 pages including 25 pages of tables, 1976 and with a foreword by **Noam Chomsky**)

With **Sayeh Jurays**: ***The Land Question in Israel***
(Washington DC: Middle East Research & Information Project, 26 pages,1976)

***Democratic Freedoms in Israel***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Benghazi: University of Libya, 109 pages, 1971, 1972)
Young Palestinian lawyer's account. Translated by **Meric Dobson**.

***A Digest of Sabri Jiryis' "The Arabs in Israel"***
(Beirut: The Fifth of June Society, 32 pages, ca. 1969)
Summary selections from the full book.

**Lawrence Joffe**

***Keesing's Guide to the Mid-East Peace Process*** **aka** ***Keesing's Guide to the Middle-East Peace Process***
(Cartermill, 1996)

**Adam H. Johnson** (*In These Times, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle,* Citations Needed podcast)

***How to Sell a Genocide: The Media's Complicity in the Destruction of Gaza***
(Pluto Press, 256 pages, 2026)
Foreword by **Noura Erakat**. Contents: 1. '40 beheaded babies', the ISIS-ification of Hamas, and how to prime the American public for revenge / 2. Who is allowed to be human? / 3. How U.S. media helped the Biden administration distance itself from the Horrors of Gaza / 4. Covering war crimes like earthquakes / 5. How the New York Times helped Israel militarize civilians and humanitarian workers in Gaza / 6. Sunday Morning news shows, editorial boards, Morning Joe, and how 'Agenda Setting' news limited the debate to 'how many Palestinian should die' / 7. Selective empathy and liberalism's crisis of legitimacy / 8. 'Anti-semitism' show trials and the smearing of campus protests / 9. The Atlantic, 'Day After' wish-cashing, and soft-pedalling mass killing for the tote bag set

**Nels Johnson**

***Islam and the Politics of Meaning in Palestinian Nationalism***
(Kegan Paul International, 1982 / e-version: Routledge, 2013)

**Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London)

With **Raja Shehadeh** (Ramallah-based human rights lawyer and author): ***Forgotten: Searching for Palestine's Hidden Places and Lost Memorials***
(Profile Books, 240 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Forgotten is a search for hidden or neglected memorials and places in historic Palestine - now Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories - and what they might tell us about the land and the people who live on our small slip of earth between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. From ancient city ruins to the Nabi 'Ukkasha mosque and tomb, acclaimed writers and researchers Raja Shehadeh and Penny Johnson ask: what has been memorialised, and what lies unseen, abandoned or erased - and why? Whether standing on a high cliff overlooking Lebanon or at the lowest land-based elevation on earth at the Dead Sea, they explore lost connections in a fragmented land. In elegiac, elegant prose, Shehadeh and Johnson grapple not only with questions of Israeli resistance to acknowledging the Nakba - the 1948 catastrophe for Palestinians - but also with the complicated history of Palestinian commemoration today."

***Companions in Conflict: Animals in Occupied Palestine***
(New York: Melville House, 2019, 256 pages, 2019)

As co-editor, with **Raja Shehadeh** (Ramallah human rights lawyer/writer): ***Shifting Sands: The Unravelling of the Old Order in the Middle East***
(Profile Books, 248 pages, 2015)
Contains chapters on the Sykes-Picot Agreement and fiction writing set in Gaza.

As co-editor, with **Raja Shehadeh** (Ramallah human rights lawyer/writer): ***Seeking Palestine: New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 202 pages, 2013)
Contents: **Penny Johnson**: Introduction: Neither homeland nor exile are words / **Susan Abulhawa**: Exile/home: my country: distant as my heart from me: Memories of an un-Palestinian story, in a can of tuna / **Beshara Doumani**: A song from Haifa / **Sharif S. Elmusa**: Portable absence: my camp re-membered / **Lila Abu-Lughod**: Pushing at the door: my father's political education, and mine / **Adania Shibli**: Of place, time and language / **Suad Amiry**: Home/exile: my country: close to me as my prison: The obsession / **Raja Shehadeh**: Diary of an internal exile: three entries / **Mourid Barghouti**: The driver Mahmoud / **Rema Hammami**: Home and exile in East Jerusalem / **Rana Barakat**: Right to wait: exile, home and return / **Fady Joudah**: At home In what world?: a place to live and curse in: Palestine that never was: five poems and an introduction / **Jean Said Makdisi**: Becoming Palestinian / **Mischa Hiller**: Onions and diamonds / **Karma Nabulsi**: Exiled from revolution.

**R. Park Johnson**
***Arab Refugees and the Palestine Problem***
(offprint from *Christianity and Crisis*, February 20, 1956)

**Chris Jones** & **Michael Lavalette**
***Voices from the West Bank***
(Bookmarks Bookshop, 2011)

**Christina H. Jones**
***The Untempered Wind: Forty Years in Palestine***
(Longmans, 226 pages, 1975)

***Friends in Palestine***
(Richmond, Indiana: American Friends Board of Missions, 202 pages, 1944)

**Martin Jones**
***Failure in Palestine: British and United States Policy after the Second World War***
(Bloomsbury, 2016)

**Jordan is Palestine Committee**
**Paul S. Riebenfeld**: ***Did You Know? Palestine is Two States***
(London: Jordan is Palestine Committee, 1991)

***The Truth about Palestine***
(London: Jordan is Palestine Committee, 10 pages, ca. 1979-1989)

**Emma Lundgren Jorum**
***Beyond Syria's Borders: A History of Territorial Disputes in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 232 pages, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Lebanon, together with the province of Hatay in Turkey (containing Antakya) and the Golan Heights were all part of French mandate Syria, but are now all outside the boundaries of the modern Syrian state. The policies and reactions of Syria both to the loss of these territories and to the states that have either absorbed, annexed or emerged from them (Lebanon, Turkey and Israel) are the focus of Emma Jorum's book. Jorum uses the differences in policy and discourse when it comes to each of these three cases to highlight the nature of territorial dispute in the region, and the processes of state-building and nationalism more generally. Through the examination of Syria's policies concerning these lost territories, Jorum plots and analyses Syrian-Turkish, Syrian-Lebanese and Syrian-Israeli relations, explaining why some losses have been pushed to one side and others remain at the forefront in Syria's international relations and diplomacy efforts.

**Dov Joseph**
***The Faithful City: The Siege of Jerusalem***
(Hogarth Press, 344 pages, 1948, 1962; Simon & Schuster, 355 pages, 1960)

**Kamal Joumblatt**
***I Speak for Lebanon***
(Zed Books, 122 pages, 1982)
Recorded by **Philippe Lapousterle**; translated from French [*Pour le Liban*, 1978] by **Michael Pallis**.

**Nazmi al-Jubeh**, editor
***Old Hebron: The Charm of a Historical City and Architecture***
(Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, 2009)
With many photographs; contributors: Abdulhafez Abu Siriyya, Emad Hamdan, Ghassan al-Dweik, Hilme Marqa, Mohammad Sabarneh, Nazmi al-Jubeh, Nuha Dandis and Youssef al-Tartury.

**John B. Judis**
***Genesis: Truman, American Jews and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict***
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2014)

**Lyn Julius**
***Uprooted: How 3,000 Years of Jewish Civilisation in the Arab World Vanished Overnight***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 340 pages, 2018)

**Laura Junka** (University of Oulu, dleyand)
***Late Modern Palestine: The Subject and Representation of the Second Intifada***
(Routledge, 180 pages, 2015/2024)
Publisher's blurb: "…looks at the ways in which the relationship between the subject and representation and the political problematic of postcolonial late modernity is articulated in the context of the Palestinians' struggle for liberation. Junko-Aikio provides a rich, theoretically and empirically, and in part also visually grounded study of the complex ways in which ordinary Palestinians face, negotiate and resist multiple regimes of power and desire in the context of everyday life in the West Bank and Gaza. The volume examines the early years of the second Palestinian uprising, an intifada, whose political status remains highly disputed. The book examines the ways in which Palestinian politics during the second intifada has been entangled with the broader social and political changes that are associated with postcolonial late modernity. It is argued that the dislocation between modern colonial and late modern/postcolonial regimes of power and subjectivity greatly complicates the map of power and resistance in contemporary Palestine, and also renders articulation of national unity and hegemonic political strategy increasingly unlikely. This work will be of great interest to students and scholars of

Middle East Studies, Postcolonial Studies, International Relations, Political Sociology, Critical Security Studies, and Political Theory."

**Paul A. Jureidini**
***Beyond Camp David: Emerging Alignments and Leaders in the Middle East***
(Syracuse University Press, 1981)

**Paul A. Jureidini** & **William E. Hazen**
***The Palestinian Movement in Politics***
(Lexington, Massachusetts: DC Heath, 1976)

**Ahmad Kabaha**
***A Critical Assessment of Palestinian Higher Education: Current Status and Future Prospect***
(Nottingham University, 295pages, 2005)
University thesis.

**Mustafa Kabha** (Open University of Israel)
With **Nahum Karlinsky** (University of the Negev): ***The Lost Orchard: The Palestinian-Arab Citrus Industry, 1850-1950***
(Syracuse University Press, 232 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "The Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe) of 1948, devastated Palestinian lives and shattered Palestinian society, culture, and economy. It also nipped in the bud a nascent grassroots, binational alliance between Arab and Jewish citrus growers. This significant and unprecedented partnership was virtually erased from the collective memory of both Israelis and Palestinians when the Nakba decimated villages and populations in a matter of months. In *The Lost Orchard*, Kabha and Karlinsky tell the story of the Palestinian citrus industry from its inception until 1950, tracing the shifting relationship between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews. Using rich archival and primary sources, as well as on a variety of theoretical approaches, Kabha and Karlinsky portray the industry's social fabric and stratification, detail its economic history, and analyze the conditions that enabled the formation of the unique binational organization that managed the country's industry from late 1940 until April 1948."

as editor: ***The Palestinian Minority in Israel: Military Rule and its Legacy***
(Mada al-Carmel, 2014)
Examines 1948-1966. Publisher's blurb: "The first chapter, by Dr. Yair Bauml of Oranim Academic College of Education, covers the role of military rule in Israel's state-building project. The subsequent two chapters, written by Professor Asad Ghanim and Dr. Muhannad Mustafa of Haifa University, and Professor Mahmoud Ghanayim of Tel-Aviv University, respectively, address Arab political organizations and Palestinian short stories in Israel. The fourth chapter, by Professor Mustafa Kabha of Open University, examines Arab media coverage during this time; in the following chapter Professor Rassem Khamaisi of Haifa University focuses on the links between military rule and spatial control of Palestinian life. In the final chapter, Professor Ismael Abu Saad of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev reflects on the state-imposed education curriculum taught in Arab schools during the military rule era."

***The Palestinian People: Seeking Sovereignty and State***
(Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2013)

***The Palestinian Arab – In/Outsiders: Media and Conflict in Israel***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 2011)

with **Guy Raz**: ***Memories of a Place: The Photographic History of Wadi 'Ara, 1903-2008***
(UMM el-Fahem Art Gallery, 2008)

***The Palestinian Press as a Shaper of Public Opinion: Writing Up a Storm***
(Vallentine Mitchell & Co, 2006)
A rewarding analysis of the press during the crucial 1929-1939 period.

**Alon Kadish** (ex-IDF Engineer Corps; Hebrew University; IDF Command and Tactical Command College)
***The British Army in Palestine and the 1948 War: Containment, Withdrawal and Evacuation***
(Routledge 2020)
Focus on Jaffa and Jerusalem Roads. No mention of Barbara Board or Richard Stubbs (listed elsewhere here). Publisher's blurb: "Following the end of the Second World War, the main mission of the British Army in Palestine was to contain Jewish attacks and illegal immigration while the fate of the Mandate was being decided. This book is a record of the British Army during the final year of the Mandate and its impact on the course and outcome of the 1948 War. With the decision of the UN General Assembly on 29th November 1947 to partition Palestine and the anticipated eruption of inter-communal violence, the Army was made responsible for the maintenance of law and order throughout Palestine until the termination of the Mandate on 15th May 1948. These crucial months are considered from the point of view of the ranks of the British Army, soldiers and field commanders rather than that of generals and statesmen. It makes extensive use of memoirs, contemporary writing and private diaries, as well as archival material and regimental journals. Subjects such as regimental culture and leisure activities are explored in addition to operations and peace-keeping. The book offers an important contribution to the history of the Middle East, and readers interested in political science, the history of the British Army, military history, Palestine and Israel will find in this book a new and innovative view of the 1948 War."

**Noga Kadman** (Israeli tour guide and activist researcher for B'Tselem)
***Erased from Space and Consciousness: Israel and the Depopulated Villages of 1948***
(Indiana University Press, 2015)
An examination of Israeli attitudes to the land captured during the Nakba, with former Palestinian villages seen by successive Zionist settlers as having been bases for "Arab gangs" in 1948. Translated by **Ofer Neiman** from the 2008 Hebrew original edition by **Dimi Reider** [of +972 news website]

with **Beth Pearson**: ***Families Torn Apart: Separation of Palestinian Families in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1999)

**Ali Kadri**
***A Theory of Forced Labour Migration: The Proletarianisation of the West Bank under Occupation (1967-1992)***
(Singpore: Springer, 230 pages, 2020)

**Rabbi Meir Kahane** [1932-1990; godfather of Israel's messianic settler movement]
***Or Hara'ayon: The Jewish Idea – Volumes 1 & 2***
(Jerusalem: Institute for Publication of the Writings of Rabbi Meir Kahane / CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2012, 2013)

**Libby Kahane** (Rabbi Meir Kahane's wife: ***Rabbi Meir Kahane: His Life and Thought, Vol. One 1932-1975***
(author, 761 pages, 2008)
Diaries-based biography by librarian widow, with quotes from his writings and declassified FBI files.

**Libby Kahane** (Rabbi Meir Kahane's wife: ***Rabbi Meir Kahane: His Life and Thought, Vol. Two 1976-1983***
(author, 684 pages, 2008)
Diaries-based biography by librarian widow, with quotes from his writings and declassified FBI files.

***Listen World, Listen Jew***
(Jerusalem: Institute for Publication of the Writings of Rabbi Meir Kahane, 1995)

***The Ideology of Kach: The Authentic Jewish Idea***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2012 / written 1990)

With **David Eells**: ***Uncomfortable Questions for Comfortable Jews***
(Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, 1987)

***Why Be Jewish? Intermarriage, Assimilation, and Alienation***
(New York City: Stein & Day, 1979, 1983)

***The Story of the Jewish Defense League***
(Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Company, 1975 / Jerusalem: Institute for Publication of the Writings of Rabbi Meir Kahane, 2000)

***They Must Go: How Long Can Israel Survive its Malignant and Growing Arab Population?***
(New York City: Grosset & Dunlap, and subsequently, The Jewish Idea; CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform; 1981, 1985, 1987, 2003, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "In this manifesto, Rabbi Meir Kahane sets forth the only plan for Israel's salvation."

***Our Challenge – The Chosen Land: The Battle Plan for the Creation of a New Jewry***
(Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Company, 181 pages, 1974)

***Time to Go Home***
(Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 287 pages, 1972)

***Never Again! A Program for Survival***
(Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 1971)

Rabbi Meir Kahane related:
**Shaul Magid**: ***Meir Kahane: The Public Life and Political Thought of an American Jewish Radical***
(Princeton University Press, 296 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Meir Kahane came of age amid the radical politics of the counterculture, becoming a militant voice of protest against Jewish liberalism. Kahane founded the Jewish Defense League in 1968, declaring that Jews must protect themselves by any means necessary. He immigrated to Israel in 1971, where he founded KACH, an ultranationalist and racist political party. He would die by assassination in 1990. Shaul Magid provides an in-depth look at this controversial figure, showing how the postwar American experience shaped his life and political thought. Magid sheds new light on Kahane's radical political views, his critique of liberalism, and his use of the 'grammar of race' as a tool to promote Jewish pride. He discusses Kahane's theory of violence as a mechanism to assure Jewish safety, and traces how his Zionism evolved from a fervent support of Israel to a belief that the Zionist project had failed."

**S. Daniel Breslauer**: ***Meir Kahane: Idealogue, Hero, Thinker***
(Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press, 157 pages, 1986)

**Raphael Cohen-Almagor**: ***The Boundaries of Liberty and Tolerance: The Struggle against Kahanism in Israel***
(University of Florida Press, 1994)

**Aviezer Ravitsky**: ***Messianism, Zionism, and the Jewish Religious Radicalism***
(University of Chicago Press, 303 pages, 1996)
Translated by **Michael Swirsky** & **Jonathan Chipman**.

**Aviezer Ravitsky**: ***The Roots of Kahanism: Consciousness and Political Reality***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 73 pages, 1986)
Translated by **Moshe Auman**.

**Robert I. Friedman**: ***The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane – from FBI Informant to Knesset Member***
(Brooklyn, New York City: Lawrence Hill Books, 1990)

**Libby Kahane**: ***Rabbi Meir Kahane: His Life and Thought, Volume One, 1932-1975***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013)

**Raphael Mergui** & **Phillippe Simonnot**: ***Israel's Ayatollahs: Meir Kahane and the Far Right in Israel***
(Saqi Books, 1987)
Contains a lengthy interview with Kahane.

***Jewish Settlement in the West Bank: The Role of Gush Emunim***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1982)
Based on 1981 PhD thesis, University of Durham: ***The Rose of Gush Emunim and the Yishuv Kehillati in the West Bank, 1974-1980***.

**Ami Pedahzur** & **Arie Perliger**: ***Jewish Terrorism in Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 2009)
Conducting interviews with former Jewish terrorists, political and spiritual leaders, and law-enforcement officials, and culling information from rare documents and surveys of terrorist networks, Pedahzur and Perliger construct an extensive portrait of terrorist aggression, while also describing the conditions behind the modern rise of zealotry.

**Michel Shamir**: ***Kach and the Limits to Political Tolerance in Israel***
(Tel Aviv: Golda Meir Institute for Social & Labour Research, 1987)

**Ze'ev Shemer** : ***Israel Redeemed: Rabbi Meir Kahane's Last Speech***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013)

**David Weisburd** (criminologist)
***Jewish Settler Violence: Deviance as Social Reaction***
(Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989)
Gush Emunim focus.

**Subhi Kahhaleh**
***The Water Problem in Israel and its Repercussions on the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981)

**Erich Kahler**
***The Jews Among the Nations: A Disputation***
(New York City: Ungar, 149 pages, 1967)
"A disputation with **Philip K. Hitti"** (Princeton University); with contribution from **Albert Einstein**.

**Susan Martha Kahn** (Harvard University)

***Reproducing Jews: A Cultural Account of Assisted Conception in Israel***
(Duke University Press, 2000)
Israel has the highest per-capita rate of fertility clinics, due to the country's demographic goal of a Jewish majority.

**Keith Kahn-Harris**

***Uncivil War: The Israel Conflict in the Jewish Community***
(assumed London: David Paul Publishing, 223 pages, 2014)
With forewords by **Clive Lawton** & **Gabrielle Rifkind**. Shows that anti-Zionism was once the norm in the UK Jewish community.

***Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today***
(Continuum, 246 pages, 2010)
Cites the "new antisemitism" as dating from 1967.

**Mousa J. Kaleel** (b. ca. 1982, Ram Allah)

***When I Was a Boy in Palestine***
(Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 192 pages, 1914; Harrap & Co., 1920, 1926)
Contains photographs. Chapters: Ram Allah / Cousins on the Way to School / Syrian Blindman's Buff / A Village Oven / The Boy's Day for a Bath / Chums in the American School / A Palestinian Woman's Morning Work / From Ram Allah to Jerusalem / A Typical Christian Family of Palestine / At an American School in Palestine / Harvesters.

**Lorenzo Kamel** (Bologna & Harvard Universities)

***Imperial Perceptions of Palestine: British Influence and Power in Late Ottoman Times***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "The Palestine Exploration Fund, established in 1865, is the oldest organization created specifically for the study of the Levant. It helped to spur evangelical tourism to the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries which in turn generated a huge array of literature which presented Palestine as a 'Holy Land', in which the Arab population and the Jewish minority were often portrayed as a simple appendix to well-known Biblical scenarios. In the first book focused on modern and contemporary Palestine to provide a top-down and a bottom-up perspective on the process of simplification of the region and its inhabitants under British influence, Lorenzo Kamel offers a comprehensive outlook that spans a variety of cultural and social boundaries, including local identities, land tenure, toponymy, religious charges, institutions and borders. By observing the process through which a region of different races, cultures and societies has historically been simplified, the author explores how perceptions of Palestine have been affected today."

**Labib Walid Kamhawi**

***Palestinian-Arab Relations: A Study of the Political Attitudes and Activities of the Palestinians in the Arab Host-States, 1949-1967***
(University of London thesis, 1978)
Sources include interviews with Ghassan Kanafani and Yasser Arafat.

***Matan Kaminer (Queen Mary University London) Capitalist Colonial: Thai Migrant Workers in Israeli Agriculture***
(Stanford University Press, 298 pages, 2024)

**Reuven Kaminer**

***Politics of Protest: Israeli Peace Movement and the Palestinian Intifada***
(Sussex Academic Press, 1995-1996)

**Taysir Kamlah**

***What Al-Quds Means to Muslims***
(London: Al-Rafid, 1997) in Arabic and English.

**Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh**

As co-editor, with **Isis Nusair**: ***Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender among Palestinians in Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 2010)
Studies written by Palestinian women scholars; Sections: State & Ethnicity, Memory & Oral History, Gendering Bodies & Space, and Migrations.

***Surrounded: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military***
(Stanford University Press, 2008)

***Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel***
(University of California Press, 2002)
With foreword by Hanan Ashrawi. Galilee focus, with attention to motherhood and modernity.

***Embattled Identities: Loyalty and Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Army***
(Badia Fiesolana, Italy: European University Institute, 2002)

**Ghassan Kanafani** (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/PFLP)

***Selected Political Writings***
(Pluto Press, 2024)
Edited by **Louis Brehony** and **Tahrir Hamdi**. Contents: Introduction: The Revolutionary Journey of Ghassan Kanafani - Louis Brehony and Tahrir Hamdi / **Part I. Revolutionary Routes: Arab Nationalism and Socialism**: 1. On Childhood, Literature, Marxism, the Front and al-Hadaf (1972) - Introduction by Hania M. Nashef / 2. Yemen and Iraq: One Story or Two? (1964) - Introduction by Patrick Higgins / 3. Fares Fares: This is the Famous Professor (1965) - Introduction by As'ad AbuKhalil / **Part II. War, Defeat and Revolutionary Critique:** 4. Resistance is the Essence (1967) - Introduction by Louis Brehony / 5. Thoughts on Change and the 'Blind Language' (1968) - Introduction by Rabab Abdulhadi / 6. Will the September Settlement Surprise Us? (1969) - Introduction by Louis Brehony / **Part III. 'The Target.' Building the Marxist-Leninist Front:** 7. Excerpts from Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine (1969) - Introduction by Khaled Barakat / 8. The Resistance and its Challenges: View of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (1970) - Introduction by Max Ajl / 9. The Underlying Synthesis of the Revolution: Document on the Organisational Weapon (1971) - Introduction by Wissam Rafeedie / 10. On the PFLP and the September Crisis (1971) - Introduction by Thomas Hofland / **Part IV. Kanafani and the Media**: 11. "A conversation between the sword and the neck" (1970) - Introduction by Romana Rubeo / 12. Denmark: A Study in Media Experience (1972) - Introduction by Ibrahim Aoude / 13. Concerning the Case of Abu Hamidu: Issues of Media 'Exchange' with the Enemy (1972) - Introduction by Asma Hussain / **Part V. Intifadas of Thought: Looking to the Future**: 14. The Secret Alliance Between Saudi Arabia and Israel (1970) - Introduction by Nafez Ghneim / 15. Towards a Constructive Dialogue on Palestinian National Unity (1969) - Introduction by Tahrir Hamdi / 16. The Armed Action Unit: In Light of Recent Developments (1969) - Introduction by Tahrir Hamdi / Appendix: Reflections on the Early Works of Ghassan Kanafani - Amira Silmi, Romana Rubeo, Ramzy Baroud and Malek Abisaab, Introduction by Louis Brehony

***The Revolution of 1936-1939 in Palestine: Background, Details, and Analysis***
(New York City: 1804 Books, 101 pages, 2023)

Translated by **Hazem Jamjoum**; introduction by **Layan Sima Fuleihan**; afterward by **Maher Charif**. From Washing Report on Middle East Affairs: "With a methodical yet illustrative approach, Kanafani examines the economic, political, social and cultural conditions that contributed to, and limited, the anti-colonial struggle in this period."

***On Zionist Literature***
(Ebb Books, 2022)
Translated by **Mahmoud Najib**, introduction by **Steven Salaita**, preface to the 1967 original edition (Arabic) by **Anis Sayegh**, and a new preface by **Anni Kanafani**. Published Contents: *Zionism Fights on the Linguistic Front / The Birth of Zionist Literature, Race and Religion in Zionist Literature Beget Political Zionism / The Birth and Development of the Character of the Wandering Jew / Zionist Literature Marches in Lockstep with Politics / Jewish Infallibility and the Unworthiness of Other Peoples / Zionist Rationalisations for the Usurpation of Palestine / From the Nobel Prize to the 1967 Aggression.*

***Resistance Literature in Occupied Palestine, 1948-1966***
(Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2013)

***The 1936-1939 Revolt in Palestine***
(New York City: Committee for Democratic Palestine, 45 pages, 1972 / London: Tricontinental Society, 36 pages, ca. 1982)
The latter edition includes chapters reprinted from PFLP publications: The Political Writings of Ghassan Kanafani / Letter from Gaza / Tribute to Ghassan Kanafani. See also fiction.

**Hassan Kanafani** (Gazan engineer) with **Yasuko Thanh** (novelist, lecturer at University of Victoria BC)
***Pizza Before We Die: An Eyewitness Account in Gaza***
(Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 144 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "In the midst of the chaos, Hassan began posting about his daily experiences on Reddit. Three activists, moved by his words, started collecting his posts without a clear plan - only the conviction that his story needed to be seen and the hope that somehow, it might help raise funds for him. By chance, those posts found their way to award-winning author Yasuko Thanh, who helped Hassan frame them for a book."

**Jeffrey Kaplan** (Danube Institute in Budapest)
***The Early Israeli Settler Movement: The Birth Pangs of Gush Emunim***
(Routledge, 214 pages, 2024/2025)

**Jamal Krayem Kanj**
***Children of Catastrophe: Journey from a Palestinian Refugee Camp to America***
(Garnet Publishing, 241 pages, 2010)
Autobiography, from Nahr El-Bared camp in Lebanon, to becoming a member of the PLO, through to eventual emigration and a new life as an engineer in the United States.

**Kapap** and **Krav Maga** (Israeli military martial arts; also marketed are DVDs)
**Eyal Yanilov** and **Ole Boe**
***Krav Maga – Combat Mindset & Fighting Stress***
(Meyer & Meyer Sport, 288 pages, 2020)

**Darren Levine** and **John Whitman**
***Complete Krav Maga: The Ultimate Guide to over 250 Self-Defence and Combative Techniques***
(Ulysses Press, second edition, 304 pages, 2016)

**Darren Levine**, **John Whitman**, and **Ryan Hoover**
***Krav Maga for Beginners: A Step-by-Step Guide to the World's Easiest-to-Learn, Most-Effective Fitness and Fighting Program***
(Ulysses Press, 144 pages, 2009)

**Major Avi Nardia** & **Albert Timen** (undercover IDF unit)
***Kapap Combat Concepts: Martial Arts of the Israeli Special Forces***
(Ohara Publications, 180 pages, 2007)

**Amnon Kapeliouk**
***Not by Omission: The Case of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War***
(Verso Books, 294 pages, 2022)
With an introduction by **Noam Chomsky** & **Irene Gendzier**.

***Sabra & Shatila, Inquiry into a Massacre***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 89pages, 1984)
Translated from Hebrew by **Khalil Jahshan** (Arab Center, Washington DC).

**Tomis Kapitan**, editor (Birzeit University, Northern Illinois University)
***Philosophical Perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(ME Sharpe, 1997)

**Amy Kaplan**
***Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance***
(Harvard University Press, 368 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "An essential account of America's most controversial alliance that reveals how the United States came to see Israel as an extension of itself, and how that strong and divisive partnership plays out in our own time. Our American Israel tells the story of how a Jewish state in the Middle East came to resonate profoundly with a broad range of Americans in the twentieth century. Beginning with debates about Zionism after World War II, Israel's identity has been entangled with America's belief in its own exceptional nature. Now, in the twenty-first century, Amy Kaplan challenges the associations underlying this special alliance. Through popular narratives expressed in news media, fiction, and film, a shared sense of identity emerged from the two nations' histories as settler societies. Americans projected their own origin myths onto Israel: the biblical promised land, the open frontier, the refuge for immigrants, the revolt against colonialism. Israel assumed a mantle of moral authority, based on its image as an "invincible victim," a nation of intrepid warriors and concentration camp survivors. This paradox persisted long after the Six-Day War, when the United States rallied behind a story of the Israeli David subduing the Arab Goliath. The image of the underdog shattered when Israel invaded Lebanon and Palestinians rose up against the occupation. Israel's military was strongly censured around the world, including notes of dissent in the United States. Rather than a symbol of justice, Israel became a model of military strength and technological ingenuity. In America today, Israel's political realities pose difficult challenges. Turning a critical eye on the turbulent history that bound the two nations together, Kaplan unearths the roots of present controversies that may well divide them in the future." Praised by Rashid Khalidi, along with Peter Novick's *The Holocaust and Collective Memory* (Houghton Mifflin/Bloomsbury, 1999)

**Eran Kaplan** (San Francisco State University)
***Beyond Post Zionism***
(State University of New York Press, 2015)
Was post-Zionism a brief window in Israeli discourse, now no longer critical of past Zionist violence?

***The Jewish Radical Right: Revisionist Zionism and its Ideological Legacy***

(University of Wisconsin Press, 2005)

**Ammon Kapeliouk**

***Sabra & Shatila: Inquiry into a Massacre***

(Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 89 pages, 1984)
Translated by **Khalil Jahshan** (Director, Arab Center, Washington DC); with foreword by **Abdeen Jabara**.

**Jay Kaplov**

***Stamps Cataloguer of the JNF***

(New York City: Jewish National Fund & Society of Israel Philatelists, 1973)
Stamps, even these non-postal ones, were avidly collected back in the era of postage stamps and the JNF printed many fanciful, 'Eretz Yisrael' ones to maintain their propaganda campaigns. JNF *Yearbooks* would further prove relevant. See also: **Yoram Bar-Gal**: *Propaganda and Zionist Education ~ The Jewish National Fund, 1924-1947* (University of Rochester Press, 2003)

**R.J. Karanjia** aka **Rustom Khurshedji Karanjia**

***The Dagger of Israel***

(Bombay: Blitz Publications, 78 pages, 1957)
Translated from Hebrew. Contents: *Strategic Plan of Israeli Army / The Menace of Israeli Imperialism / President Nasser on Israel's Role in U.S. Strategy.* With introduction by Haj Amin El Husseini, Grand Mufti of Palestine and Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine: *The Conspiracy of Israel.*

**Aida Karaoglan**

***The Struggle Goes On***

(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre / PLO, 1968, 1969)
Photographic essay, including artist Joumana El-Husseini Bayazid, historian Nabih Amin Faris, and contemporary Al-Fatah guerrilla training.

As editor: ***Violations of the Geneva Conventions of 1949***

(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 79 pages, 1969)
In English, French and Spanish.

**Michael Karayanni** aka **Michael Mousa Karayanni** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

***A Multicultural Entrapment: Religion and State among the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel***

(Cambridge University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "The religion and state debate in Israel has overlooked the Palestinian-Arab religious communities and their members, focusing almost exclusively on Jewish religious institutions and norms and Jewish majority members. Because religion and state debates in many other countries are defined largely by minority religions' issues, the debate in Israel is anomalous. Michael Karayanni advances a legal matrix that explains this anomaly by referencing specific constitutional values. At the same time, he also takes a critical look at these values and presents the argument that what might be seen as liberal and multicultural is at its core just as illiberal and coercive. In making this argument, A Multicultural Entrapment suggests a set of multicultural qualifications by which one should judge whether a group based accommodation is of a multicultural nature."

***Conflicts in a Conflict: A Conflict of Laws Case Study on Israel and the Palestinian Territories***

(Center for International Legal Education, 2014)

**Stephen Karetzky** (American Zionist critic of American news coverage)
With **Norman Fankel**: **The *Media's Coverage of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(New York City: Shapolsky Publishers, 1989)

***The Cannons of Journalism: The New York Times Propaganda War against Israel***
(Stanford, California: O'Keefe Press, 1984)

**Abraham J. Karp**
***To Give Life: The UJA in the Shaping of the American Jewish Community***
(Schocken Books, 1981, 1988)

***The Karp Report: An Israeli Government Inquiry into Settler Violence against Palestinians on the West Bank***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984)

**Anne Karph, Brian Klug, Jacqueline Rose** & **Barbara Rosenbaum**, editors
***A Time to Speak Out: Independent Jewish Voices on Israel, Zionism, and Jewish Identity***
(Verso Books, 2008)
Contributors: Julia Bard, Geoffrey Bindman, Emma Clyne, Stan Cohen, Howard Cooper, D. D. Guttenplan, Abe Hayeem, Anthony Isaacs, Gabriel Josipovici, Tony Klug, Francesca Klug, Richard Kuper, Michael Kustow, Antony Lerman, Antony Loewenstein, Mike Marqusee, Jeremy Montagu, Anthony Rudolf, Donald Sassoon, Lynne Segal, Richard Silverstein (Tikun Olam), Gillian Slovo, Eyal Weizman, and Sami Zubaida

**Efraim Karsh** (Kings College London) and **Dana Barnett**, co-editors
With **Efrat Aviv**: ***Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism, and the Challenge for Israel***
(Routledge 232 pages, 2025)

***Soft Threats to National Security: Antisemitism, BDS and the Deligitimization of Israel***
(Routledge, 2021)
Largely Zionists' late academic responses to BDS, with Palestinian arguments as "fabricated history". Book chapters originally published as a special issue of *The Journal of Israel Affairs*. Contents: **Yoav Gelber**: *From Underdog to Occupier: Israel's Tarnished Image* / **Martin Kramer**: *The Unspoken Purpose of the Academic Boycott* / **Gerald M. Steinberg**: *Human Rights Watch's Anti-Israel Agenda* / **Evyatar Friesel**: *Israel in Modern Jewish Identiry – An Internal Debate* / **Eytan Gilboa**: *The Palestinian Campaign against Israel at the United Nations Human Rights Council* / **Leah Mandler** & **Carmela Lutmar**: *Birds of a Feather Vote Together? EU and Arab League UNGA Israel Voting* / **Assaf Derri**: *The ICC's Prosecuter in the Service of Palestine Lawfare* / **Havatzelet Yahel**: *The Negev Bedouin as a De-legitimization Tool* / **Henri Stellman**: *The Coalescence of Anti-Zionist Ideologies* / **Lev Topor**: *The Covcert War: From BDS to Delegitimazion to Antisemitiem* / **Nelly Atlan**: *The BDS asn an Example of Soviet Political Warfare.* See also: **Dana Barnett**.

***Arafat's War: The Man and His Battle for Israeli Conquest*** (sic)
(Grove Press, 304 pages, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "Karsh details Arafat's efforts since the historic Oslo peace accords in building an extensive terrorist infrastructure, his failure to disarm the extremist groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and the Palestinian Authority's systematic efforts to indoctrinate hate and contempt for the Israeli people through rumor and religious zealotry. The result is a level of violence unmatched in scope and intensity since 1948, a Palestinian campaign of terror that has included suicide bombings, drive-by shootings, stabbings, lynchings, and stonings and has resulted in thousands of casualties." (sic).a

**Efraim Karsh** aka **Ephraim Karsh**

***Palestine Betrayed***
(Yale University Press, 352 pages, 2010/2011)

As **Ephfraim Karsh**, co-editor, with **P.R. Kumaraswamy**: ***Islamic Attitudes to Israel***
(Routledge, 2008)
Contents: The long trail of Islamic anti-semitism / Efraim Karsh -- Fundamentals of the modern Muslim-Jewish polemic / Livnat Holtzman and Eliezer Schlossberg -- The 'Ulama' and the cult of death in Palestine / meir Hatina -- Inter-faith strife: the al-Azhar discourse on Israel / Rivka Yadlin -- Political Islam and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict / Beverley Milton-Edwards -- Hizballah and Israel: strategic threat on the northern border / Eyal Zisser -- Iran, Israel and the Middle East conflict / David Menashri -- Israel and Pakistan: public rhetoric versus political pragmatism / P.R. Kumaraswamy -- The Republic of Indonesia and Israel / Moshe Yegar -- Egypt's policy towards Israel: the impact of foreign and domestic constraints / Jacob Abadi -- How has Turkey viewed Israel? / Michael B. Bishku.

***Fabricating Israeli History: The 'New Historians'***
(Frank Cass, 210 pages, 1997; 236 pages, 2000)

As editor, ***Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israeli Security***
(Frank Cass, 298 pages, 1996)
Originally published as a special issue of *Israel Affairs*, vol.2 no.1 Autumn 1995 Contents: Between war and peace / Efraim Karsh -- Economic security after a settlement: the prospects for Israel / Dov S. Zakheim -- Is a Palestinian State politically possible? / Hussein Sirriyeh -- Land for peace: Israel's choices / Andrew Duncan -- Israeli nuclear weapons and Middle East peace / Efraim Karsh and Martin Navias -- Capping Israel's nuclear volcano -- Frank Barnaby -- Israel's bomb in the basement: a second look / Louis Rene Beres -- Non-conventional weapons and the future of Arab-Israeli deterrence / Avner Yaniv -- Regime-targeting: a strategy for Israel / David Rodman -- The cult of the offensive preemption and the future challenges for Israeli operational thought / Shimon Naveh -- A paradigm in crisis? Israel's doctrine of military decision / Avi Kober -- Towards resolving conflicts over water: the case of the mountain aquifer / Hillel I. Shuval -- Managing scarce water: recent Israeli experience / Shaul Arlosoroff -- Israel-PLO interim agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, signed in Washington, DC, on 28 September 1995 -- The covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS).

**Elke Kaschl**

***Dance and Authenticity in Israel and Palestine: Performing the Nation***
(Leiden: Brill, 2003)
Unpacks the Mandate era appropriation of Arab culture by Zionist settlers seeking to establish tradition.

**Fatma Kassem**

***Palestinian Women: Narrative Histories and Gendered Memory***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 274 pages, 1993; Zed Books, 264 pages, 2011)
Adds to pioneering Nakba remembrance research done by Rosemary Sayigh and Julie Peteet.

**Ronnie Kasrils** (South African ANC activist and Communist)

***International Brigade against Apartheid: Secrets of the War that Liberated South Africa***
(Jacana Media, 386 pages, 2021)
Tangential to Palestine; contains a chapter by **Ramby Baroud**: *Palestinian and South African Solidarity*'; seemingly not held in major UK libraries.

**H.I. Katibah** aka **Habib Ibrahim Katibah**

***The Case against Zionism***
(New York City: Palestine National League, 44 pages, ca. 1921)

**Yossi Katz** aka **Yosef Kats**
***The Land Shall not be Sold in Perpetuity: The Jewish National Fund and the History of State Ownership of Land in Israel***
(Berlin: De Gruyter, 237 pages, 2016)

As co-editor, with **Liora Bigon**
***Garden Cities and Colonial Planning: Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine***
(Manchester University Press, 199 pages, 2014)

***The Battle for the Land: The History of the Jewish National Fund before the Establishment of the State of Israel***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 412 pages, 2005)

***The Religious Kibbutz Movement in the Land of Israel, 1940-1948***
(Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press, 358 pages, 1999)

***Partner to Partition: The Jewish Agency's Partition Plan in the Mandate Era***
(Frank Cass, 209 pages, 1998)

***Between Jerusalem and Hebron: Jewish Settlements in the Pre-State Period***
(Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 295 pages, 1998, 2003)

***The "Business" of Settlement: Private Entrepreneurship in the Jewish Settlement of Palestine, 1900-1914***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 367 pages, 1994)

**Hanan Kattan** (Film producer from Bethlehem and Jerusalem, founder of 'The Enlightenment' podcast)
***Palestine Revealed***
(Author/Enlightenment Productions, 402 pages, 2026)
Illustration by **Sandra Wafta**. Publisher's blurb: "Beginning with her grandmother's key to their stolen Jerusalem home, Hanan Kattan traces the systematic dispossession of Palestinians, from the 1897 Jewish Zionist Congress to today's ongoing genocide. ***Palestine Revealed*** exposes how a con man's Bible helped create 70 million Christian Evangelicals; how a three-day bribery operation corrupted the UN partition vote; and how the financial, political, and media architecture of the West has been captured to enable the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. Over 112,000 Palestinians, have been killed since October 2023. This book explains why no-one is stopping it – and why the walls are finally crumbling. It's not complicated. It's theft."

**Victor Kattan** (National University of Singapore & Middle East Institute)
As co-editor, with **Amir Ranjan**: ***The Breakup of India and Palestine: The Causes and Legacies of Partition***
(Manchester University Press, 312 pages, 2023)
Relevant chapters: **Laura Robson**: *Partition and the Question of International Governance: The 1947 United Nations Special Committee on Palestine* / **Mohamed-Ali Adraoui**: *Fighting for Palestine as a Holy Duty? The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and the Partition of Palestine in 1947* / **Amrita Shodhan**: *The Communal Question and Partition in British India and Mandate Palestine* / **P.R. Kumaraswamy**: *India's Dilemmas of Pragmatism v. Principles: Nehru's Preference for a Partitioned India but a Federal Palestine* / **Victor Kattan**: *The Partitions of India and Palestine and the Dawn of Majority Rule in Africa and Asia* / **Arie M. Dubnov**: *Civil War, Total War or a War of Partition? Reassessing the 1948 War in Palestine from a Global Perspective*

As co-editor, with **Brian Cuddy**: ***Making Endless War: The Vietnam and Arab-Israeli Conflicts in the History of International Law***
(University of Michigan Press, 2023)
Contents – Foreword by **Richard Falk**: *How International Law Evolves: Norms, Precedents, and Geopolitics* - 1: **Brian Cuddy** and **Victor Kattan**: *The Transformation of International Law and War between the Middle East and Vietnam* / 2: **Brian Cuddy**: *From Retaliation to Anticipation: Reconciling Reprisals and Self-Defense in the Middle East and Vietnam, 1949–1965* / 3: **Madelaine Chiam** and **Brian Cuddy:** *Public Discourses of International Law: US Debates on Military Intervention in Vietnam, 1965–1967* / 4: **John Quigley**: *Legality of Military Action by Egypt and Syria in October 1973* / 5: **Amanda Alexander**: *Revolutionary War and the Development of International Humanitarian Law* / 6: **Ihab Shalbak** and **Jessica Whyte**: *The War Against the People and the People's War: Palestine and the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions* / 7: **Victor Kattan**: *"The Third World is a Problem": Arguments about the Laws of War in the United States after the Fall of Saigon* / 8: **Craig Jones**: *Operationalizing International Law: From Vietnam to Gaza* / 9: **Tor Krever**: *From Vietnam to Palestine: Peoples' Tribunals and the Juridification of Resistance* / 10: **Brian Cuddy** and **Victor Kattan**: *War and the Shaping of International Law: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*

With **Amit Ranjan**: ***The Breakup of India and Palestine: The Causes and Legacies of Partition***
(Manchester University Press, 312 pages, 2023)

***The UN Partition Plan for Palestine and International Law***
(Oxford University Press, 2021)

***From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1891-1949***
(Pluto Press, 416 pages, 2009)
With a foreword by **Richard Falk**. Includes focus on Arab opposition to political Zionism and the Hussein-McMahon correspondence. Publisher's blurb: "This book shows how the Arab-Israeli conflict developed by looking beyond the legality argument to the men behind the policies. It argues that Zionism was adopted by the British Government in its 1917 Balfour Declaration, primarily as a way to control immigration. The book places the violent reaction of the Palestinians to mass Jewish immigration in the context of Zionism, and revisits the controversies over the question of self-determination, and the partition of Palestine. Arguing that Israel was created through an act of conquest and subjugation, the book concludes with a sobering analysis of the conflict arguing that neither Jews nor Arabs were to blame for starting it."

As editor: ***The Palestine Question in International Law***
(British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 2008)

See also **Yasir Suleiman** (editor): ***Being Palestinian: Personal Reflections on Palestinian Identity in the Diaspora***
(Edinburgh University Press, 384 pages, 2016)

**Kimberly Katz**

***Jordanian Jerusalem: Holy Places and National Spaces***
(University of Florida Press, 214 pages, 2005)
Contents: 1. Transjordan-in-the-Making 16; 2. State and Nation-Building in Transition: King Abdullah, 1945-1951 41; 3. Administration of Jordanian Jerusalem 67; 4. Governmental Involvement in Religious Affairs: The Search for Legitimacy 90; 5. Displaying Jerusalem, Representing Jordan as the Holy Land 118; 6. The Establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Its Relationship to Jordan 137; 7. The June 1967 War and Its Effect on Jordan's Role in Jerusalem

**Moshe Katz**

***Israel, A Nation of Warriors***

(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Much has been written about Jewish history, but rarely has the "fighting history" of the Jewish people been told. [the author] examines the modern Israeli close quarter combat system, Krav Maga, analyzes its components and attributes, and the reasons it is sought after by security forces worldwide."

**Ruth Katz**

***"The Lachmann Problem": An Unsung Chapter in Comparative Musicology***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University / Judah Magnes Press, 2003)
Robert Lachmann (1892-1939) was German-Jewish emigre who championed Arab music in an Orientalist fashion on the Palestine Broadcasting Service.

**Samuel Katz** (writer with *Ma'ariv* and the *Jerusalem Post* newspapers, and advisor to Menachem Begin)

***Israeli Elite Units***
(London: Arms and Armour, 68 pages, 1987 / Osprey, 1988)
Glorification of military uniforms, with illustrations by **Ron Volstad**.

***Battle-Ground: Fact and Fantasy in Palestine***
(WH Allen, 1973 / Steimatzky Shapolsky, revised 1985 / Bantam Books)
Classic Zionist 'revisionist' polemic; not as widely known as Joan Peters' *From Time Immemorial*. With an introduction by **Menachem Begin**.

**Sheila H. Katz** (Berklee College of Music)

***Connecting with the Enemy: A Century of Palestinian-Israeli Joint Nonviolence***
(University of Texas Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Surveying the initiatives of more than five hundred groups across the past century, this timely book reveals how thousands of ordinary Israelis and Palestinians have worked together to end violence and forge connections between their peoples."

***Women and Gender in Early Jewish and Palestinian Nationalism***
(University of Florida Press, 2003)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on a variety of source materials, ranging from popular print media to poetry, film, political treatises, and biographies and autobiographies, Sheila Katz examines the ways in which gender operated in forming the political identities of Palestinian Arabs and Jewish Zionists. By exploring both gender definitions and their expressions in the everyday lives of two contesting peoples, she provides a highly nuanced understanding of how gender affects the discourse of conflict between two competing national movements. Through this balanced discussion of the histories of Jewish and Palestinian women during Palestine's formative years, Katz makes a significant contribution to scholarship in Middle Eastern and women's history. Working at the intersection of several disciplines, Katz provides a wide-ranging examination of the formation and expression of national identity and the changing gender roles that help shape it. She uses gender as a tool to examine the creation of boundaries and power relations among nations. Through a discussion employing the materials and methods of history, sociology, literary criticism, and anthropology, this study offers a unique examination of identity formation in Palestine during the first half of the 20th century and an analysis of both Palestinian and Jewish women in their respective national movements, illuminating gender as a linchpin of international conflict."

**Ernesto Katzenstein**

***October 7, Hamas against Israel: The Myths, The Propaganda, The Truth***
(Vaktel Forlag, 173 pages, 2024)

**Asher Kaufman** (Hebrew University)

***Contested Frontiers in the Syria-Lebanon-Israel Region***

(Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014)

Political cartography since the Great War. See also: Elie Podeh

**Ilana Kaufman**

*Arab National Communism in the Jewish State*

(University of Florida Press, 1997)

**Menahem Kaufman**

***An Ambiguous Partnership: Non-Zionists and Zionists in America, 1939-1948***

(Magnes Press, Hebrew University Jerusalem & Wayne State University Press, 418 pages, 1991)

Translated from Hebrew by **Ira Robinson**. Despite the title, the book commences from the Balfour Declaration period, showing how non-Zionists (Maurice Hexter, Maurice Karpf, etc) were manoeuvred, especially the UJA, from their establishment in 1939.

**Karl Kautsky** (Czech-Austrian Marxist, critical of the Soviet Union)

***Are Jews a Race?***

(Jonathan Cape, 1926 / New York City: International Publishers, 1926 / Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 255 pages, 1972)

Translated from the 2nd German edition.

***Socialism and Colonial Policy: An Analysis***

(Belfast: Athol Books, 60 pages, 1975)

Originally published in German as *Rasse und Judentum*, 1907.

**Amal Kawar** (Utah State University)

***Daughters of Palestine: Leading Women of the Palestinian National Movement***

(State University of New York Press, 1996)

Publisher's blurb: "Based on interviews of the PLO's top women leaders in the Palestinian diaspora and the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Daughters of Palestine provides the first examination of the full history of women's involvement in the Palestinian National Movement from the revolution in the mid-1960s to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the early 1990s. Going beyond media imagery, Amal Kawar reviews the women's social and political backgrounds to explain how they overcame the traditional gender roles pervasive in Arab societies and became involved in politics. She then focuses on particular periods in the history of the Palestinian movement, as it moved from Jordan to Lebanon, Tunisia, and the Occupied Territories. Issues covered include women's nationalist activities, their relationship to the male leadership, the impact of crises, and the upsurge of the Islamist movement. A consistent theme of this investigation is how conflicts and crises, inside and outside the Palestinian arena, challenge and frame the success of women's nationalist work. Daughters of Palestine highlights the dilemma of national liberation struggles that both promote and co-opt women's liberation aspirations."

**Widad Kamel Kawar**

***Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage***

(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2010-2011)

Illustrated by **Falak Shawwa**. This book is a record of the 50 years Widad Kawar spent researching, collecting and preserving part of the heritage of Palestine. This endeavor evolved into the Widad Kawar Collection, the largest to date of Palestinian, Jordanian and other Arab traditional dress and accessories, comprising more than 2,000 items. In the following chapters she presents the story of how the collection evolved and she introduces the life stories of the women who produced the beautiful costumes it contains. For her, each item calls to mind an individual or a place: a wife, a mother, a daughter, a family,

a house, a village, a town, a field, a market. Each item was worn on special occasions, happy and sad, that marked the owner 's life. Much of Widad 's knowledge stems from the personal narratives of these women whose embroidery and dress-making skills she so admires. With this book she pays homage to Palestinian women. Threads of Identity is a history of Palestinian women of the 20th century told through aspects of popular heritage, focusing on traditional dresses but also including textiles and rug weaving, rural and urban customs, cuisine, and festivities. The interviews with women who lived through the traumas and changes of the 20th century are a contribution to oral history, augmenting standard historical accounts. While most writing about the Middle East concentrates on politics, her book focuses on the dignity of ordinary people, and women in particular, bridging the gap between the major events of history and everyday life.

**Abdul-Wahhab Said Kayyali**

As editor: ***Zionism, Imperialism and Racism***
(Croom Helm, 304 pages, 1979)
Contents: Abdul Wahhab al-Kayyali – *The Historical Roots of the Imperialist-Zionist Alliance* / Abdul Wahab al-Massiri – *The Racial Myths of Zionism* / Fayez Zayegh – *Zionism: A Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination* / Regina Sharif – *Non-Jewish Zionism ; Its Roots and Origins in England in Relation to British Imperialism, 1600-1919* / Abdeen Jabara – *Zionism: Racism or Liberation?* / Sayed Yassin – *Zionism as a Racist Ideology* / Anis F. Kassim – *The Right to Nationality in the State of Israel* / Michael Adams – *Israel's Treatment of the Arabs in the Occupied Areas* / Elia T. Zureik – *Consequences of Zionism for Palestinian Class Structure* / Sheila Ryan – *The Colonial exploitation of Occupied Palestine: A Study of the Transformation of the Economics of the West Bank and Gaza* / Walid Khadduri: *The Jews of Iraq in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Social Harmony* / Joe Stork: *Economic Dimensions of Arab Resistance to Zionism: A Political Interpretation* / Michael C. Hudson: *The Efficacy of Zionist Ideology and its Implications for the Arab-Israeli Conflict* / Halim Barakat – *Sectarianism and Zionism: Two Elementary Forms of Consciousness* / Richard P. Stevens – *Israel and South Africa: A Comparative Study in Racism and Settler Colonialism* / Peter Hellyer – *Israel and South Africa: The Racists Allied*

***Palestine: A Modern History***
(Routledge, 244 pages, 2024 / unknown publisher, 1978)
Publisher's blurb: "First published in 1978, *Palestine: A Modern History* traces the history of Palestine from the late nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War II. It examines the Palestinian Arab response to Jewish immigration and Zionist expansion in Palestine. From the outset the Palestinian Arabs viewed all Zionist activity in the country as foreign invasion and strongly resisted it. However, in 1917 the British occupation of Palestine entirely altered the political environment and the Palestinian response had to change accordingly. Based on both British and Arab primary sources this book develops a number of interesting arguments about the history of Mandate Palestine. It demonstrates the high level of political consciousness amongst the Palestinian Arabs and it shows the importance of social stratification in the nationalist movement. It also makes clear the incompatibility of the declared aims of British Policy with its implementation in Palestine. In this regard the book explores the important conflicts between the local mandatory authorities and the imperial policies adopted by the British government in London. This is an important historical reference work for scholars and researchers of Palestine studies, Middle East politics, peace and conflict resolution, and international relations."

***Palestinian Arab Reactions to Zionism and the British Mandate, 1917-1939***
(PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1970 – PDF freely available via the British Library EThOS Service)
Sources include Arabic newspapers and a 1966 interview with Haj Amin al-Husseini.

***Documents on the Palestinian Arab Resistance to the British Mandate and Zionism (1918-1939)***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 677 pages, 1968)

**Hasan Kayali**

***Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918***
(University of California Press, 1997)

**Liyana Kayali** (Australian National University & University of Sussex)
***Palestinian Women and Popular Resistance: Perceptions, Attitudes and Strategies***
(Routledge, 260 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This book explores Palestinian women's views of popular resistance in the West Bank and examines factors shaping the nature and extent of their involvement. Despite the signing of the Oslo peace accords in 1993 *and 1995,* the Occupied Palestinian Territories in the contemporary period have experienced tightened Israeli occupational control and worsening political, humanitarian, security, and economic conditions. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted with women in the West Bank, this book looks at how Palestinian women in the post-Oslo period perceive, negotiate, and enact resistance. It demonstrates that, far from being 'apathetic', as some observers have charged, Palestinian women remain deeply committed to the goals of national liberation and wish to contribute to an effective popular resistance movement. Yet many Palestinian women feel alienated from prevailing forms of collective popular resistance in the OPT due to the low levels of legitimacy they accord them. This alienation has been made stark by the gendered and intersecting impacts of expanding settler-colonialism, tightening spatial control, a professionalised and depoliticised civil society, reinforced patriarchal constraints, Israeli and Palestinian Authority (PA) repression and violence, and a deteriorating economy - all of which have raised the barriers Palestinian women face to active participation. Undertaking a gendered analysis of conflict and resistance, this volume highlights significant changes over the course of a long-running resistance movement. Readers interested in gender and women's studies, the Arab-Israel conflict and Middle East politics will find the study beneficial."

**Abd al-Wahhab Kayyali**
***Palestine: A Modern History***
(Croom Helm, 243 pages, 1978; Third World Centre for Research and Pub., 1981)

***Zionism, Imperialism, and Racism***
(Croom Helm, 304 pages, 1979)
Contents: Zionism: Its Philosophic and Historical Foundations. The historical roots of the Imperialist-Zionist alliance / Abdul Wahhab Al Kayyali -- The racial myths of Zionism / Abdul Wahhab Al-Massiri -- Zionism: a form of racism and racial discrimination / Fayez Sayegh -- Non-Jewish Zionism: its roots and origins in England in relation to British Imperialism, 1600-1919 / Regina Sharif -- Zionism: racism or liberation? / Abdeen Jabara -- The Application and Effects of Zionism in Palestine. The right to nationality in the state of Israel / Anis F. Kassim -- Israel's treatment of the Arabs in the Occupied Areas / Michael Adams -- Consequences of Zionism for Palestinian class structure / Elia T. Zureik -- The colonial exploitation of Occupied Palestine: a study of the transformation of the economies of the West Bank and Gaza / Sheila Ryan -- Zionism and the Arab world. The Jews of Iraq in the nineteenth century: a case study of social harmony / Walid Khadduri -- Economic dimensions of Arab resistance to Zionism: a political interpretation / Joe Stork -- The efficacy of Zionist ideology and its implications for the Arab-Israeli conflict / Michael C. Hudson -- Sectarianism and Zionism: two elementary forms of consciousness / Halim Barakat -- Zionism and the International Community. Israel and South Africa: a comparative study in racism and settler colonialism / Richard P. Stevens -- Israel and South Africa: the racists allied / Peter Hellyer.

**Walid Kazziha**
***Palestine in the Arab Dilemma***
(Routledge, 1979, 2015)

The central theme of the four essays in this study pertains to the fluctuating relationship between the Arab regimes and the Palestinian Resistance Movement. It is within this context that the first essay examines the various factors which shaped the relationship at different intervals. The second then goes on to present a case study of how the contradictions between the Arab regimes and the Resistance Movement operate in a crisis situation and reach the level of an armed confrontation. The third essay examines the prospects for peace and war in the region in the light of the political conditions given before Sadat's visit to Israel. And finally the fourth essay is concerned with Sadat's peace initiative and its consequences on the relations between Egypt and the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

***Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World: Habash and His Comrades from Nationalism to Marxism***
(London: Charles Knight Publishing, 1975)
On George Habash. "The best study of MAN [Movement of Arab Nationalists]" – Rashid Khalidi

**Alexander Kearsey**
***The Events, Strategy, and Tactics of the Palestine Campaign***
(London: Hugh Rees, 73 pages, 1928)

**Rex Keating**
***Trumpets of Tutankhamun: Adventures of a Radio Pioneer in the Middle East***
(Basingstoke: Fisher Miller, 1999)
Two chapters about his 1945-1947 stint as head of the Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS), but little therein regarding actual on-air programmes or presentation.

**John Keay**
***Sowing the Wind: The Seeds of Conflict in the Middle East***
(WW Norton, 1980, 2003)

**Michael Kearney** (University of Sussex)
***The Prohibition of Propaganda for War in International Law***
(Oxford University Press, 2007)
See also with **John Reynolds**: *Palestine and the Politics of International Criminal Law,* in William A. Schabas, A. William, Yvonne McDermott & Niamh Hayes, eds: *The Ashgate Companion to International Criminal Law* (Ashgate, 2013)

**Mordechai Kedar** (retired IDF Lieutenant Colonel; Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies)
***The Role of Radical Islamic Groups in Israel: Implications for Israeli-Arab Coexistence***
(Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2009)

**Anthony Keddie** (University of British Columbia)
***Class and Power in Roman Palestine: The Socioeconomic Setting of Judaism and Christian Origins***
(University of Cambridge Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Anthony Keddie investigates the changing dynamics of class and power at a critical place and time in the history of Judaism and Christianity - Palestine during its earliest phases of incorporation into the Roman Empire (63 BCE–70 CE). He identifies institutions pertaining to civic administration, taxation, agricultural tenancy, and the Jerusalem Temple as sources of an unequal distribution of economic, political, and ideological power. Through careful analysis of a wide range of literary, documentary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, including the most recent discoveries, Keddie complicates conventional understandings of class relations as either antagonistic or harmonious.

He demonstrates how elites facilitated institutional changes that repositioned non-elites within new, and sometimes more precarious, relations with privileged classes, but did not typically worsen their economic conditions. These socioeconomic shifts did, however, instigate changing class dispositions. Judaean elites and non-elites increasingly distinguished themselves from the other, through material culture such as tableware, clothing, and tombs."

**Elie Kedourie**

***In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinthe: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations***
(Cambridge University Press, 330 pages, 1976)
"Details of departmental rivalry, and the influence of personality, disingenuousness, and the incompetence on policy formation." (William J. Olson, 1982) See also: work with **Sylvia G Haim**.

**Paul Kelemen** (University of Manchester)

***The British Left and Zionism: History of a Divorce***
(Manchester University Press, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "How did the various currents of the British left respond to two competing nationalisms seeking to found a state in Palestine? The Labour Party from 1917 onwards helped to popularise the Zionist project as a social democratic experiment that would bring progress to the Middle East. The party's colonial experts largely ignored the sectarian practices of the Labour Zionist movement, which through its trade union and kibbutzim, sought to build an exclusively Jewish economy. The British Communist party alone provided a critique of Labour Zionism but in 1947 in line with the Soviet Union's Middle East policy it reversed its position. Over the following two decades the left was overwhelmingly supportive of the Israeli state considering its establishment as a recompense to the Jewish people for the Holocaust. The left-wing Zionist party, Poale Zion played an important role as intermediary between, on the one hand, the British labour movement and, on the other, Anglo-Jewry and the Israeli Labour Party. By contrast, there was no significant political force in Britain to represent the Arab nationalist viewpoint. The destruction of Palestinian society in the 1948 war and the refugee crisis resulting from it barely registered in Western public consciousness. It was not until the rise of the new left in the late 1960s, that Palestinian nationalist aspirations found a voice on the British left and began to command mainstream attention. After highlighting the major shifts in the left's appraisal of Israel and Zionism, this study examines the argument that its pro-Palestinian sympathy stems from antisemitism."

**Matthew Kraig Kelly**

***The Crime of Nationalism: Britain, Palestine, and Nation-Building on Fringe of Empire***
(University of California Press, 250 pages, 2017)
Palestinian resistance during the 1936-1939 uprising seen as a disorganised, partly criminal response to British brutality.

**Tobias Kelly**

***Law, Violence and Sovereignty among West Bank Palestinians***
(Cambridge University Press, 2006).
This post-Oslo study deals much with workers' rights in a village and as temporary workers within Israel (across the Green Line). Possibly the first English-language book to take analyse the Palestinian Authority's legal system. Includes industrial action *against* the PA itself.

***Access to Justice: The Palestinian Legal System and the Fragmentation of Coercive Power***
(Development Studies Centre, London School of Economics, 22pp, 2004)

**Herbert C. Kelman**

***Transforming the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Mutual Negation to Reconciliation***

(Routledge, 248 pages, 2018)
Kelman's writings 1978-2018, edited by **Philip Mattar** and **Neil Caplan**.

**Isaiah L. Kenen**
***Israel's Defense Line: Her Friends and Foes in Washington***
(Prometheus Books, 1981)
"Fascinating and informative" – Henry Kissinger [!]

**Kathy Saade Kenny**
***Katrina in Five Worlds: A Palestinian Women's Story / Katrina en Cinco Mundos: Historia de una Mujer Palestina***
(Oakland: Five Worlds Press, bilingual, 113pp, 2010)
Palestinian-American author's exploration of her grandmother's life in Ramallah, Bethlehem, Kiev, San Pedro de Las Colonias, and finally Long Beach, California, where she lived after a difficult split with her conservative husband, who returned to Palestine.

**Keren Hayesod**
***The Keren Ha-Yesod Book: Colonisation Problems of the Eretz-Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund***
(London: L. Parsons, 187 pages, 1921)

**Yehudit Kirstein Keshet**, with foreword by **Amira Hass**
***Checkpoint Watch: Testimonies from Occupied Palestine***
(Zed Books, 2006)
Combines observers' daily reports from the checkpoints, and along the Separation Wall, with analysis of the bureaucracy that supports the ongoing occupation.

**Kathleen Kern**
***As Resident Aliens: Christian Peacemaker Teams in the West Bank, 1995-2005***
(Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2010)

**Sim Kern**
***Genocide Bad:Notes on Palestine, Jewish, History, and Collective Liberation***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 2025)
Essays unpacking the most common types of Israeli hasbara (propaganda).

**Zekeriya Kurşun** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University) and **Ali Ihsan Aydin** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University)
***Jerusalem in 101 Questions***
(Ankara: Anadolu Agency Kitap Press, 163 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "01 questions about the city's journey from its earliest days to the present with a particular emphasis on its significance to the Abrahamic religions."

With **Ali Ihsan Aydin** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University) and **Abdalqader Steih** (Rammal Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center): ***A Handbook of the Ottoman Palestine Place Names and Atlas***
(Vadi Kültür Sanat Ve Yayıncılık / Vadi Publications, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This atlas aims at revealing Palestine in the minds of the Ottomans, regardless of whether it is within the borders of contemporary Palestine. Two methods were followed for this purpose. Place names such as the sanjak (prefectur), Kaza (district), nahiye (sub-district) and so on have

been identified by examining Tahrir Notebooks (16th century) which were written in the first years of Palestinian geography came under the rule of Ottoman Empire. Then, 19th-century sources were referenced. Among these, in particular, the places in the Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Suriye (Annual of the Vilayet of Syria) of 1872, which indicates the Ottoman administrative division in Syria, were identified. Thus, the reader was provided with a comparison between the 16th and 19th centuries. The above records were confirmed by applying to the Ottoman documents and various maps. The new settlements identified from the last sources are included in the related tables or given independently. There are various maps in the atlas that have been drawn up starting from the first years of Ottoman rule until 1917. Indeed, the first and the last one of these maps are the Ottoman maps, but Ottomans drew not all of them. However, the characteristic feature of all is that they are showing the Palestinian geography of the Ottoman period. The aim of this study is not a borderline delimitation. It is only to guide those who wonder about the subject and history researchers to contribute to new studies on this subject."

**Jonathan S. Kessler** & **Jeff Schwaber**

***The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus***

(Washington DC: AIPAC, 1984)

Authors deny that Israel refuses to respect Palestinian rights.

**Leopold Kessler**

***History and Development of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***

(London: English Zionist Federation, 20 pages, 1918)

Lecture delivered before the West London Zionist Association.

**Oren Kessler**

***Palestine 1936: The Great Revolt and the Roots of the Middle East Conflict***

(Rowman & Littlefield, 336 pages, 2023)

**Yusri Hazran Khaizran** (Islamic Studies, Shalem College, Israel) and **Muhammad Khalaily** (Haifa & SOAS Universities)

***Palestinians in Israel after the Arab Spring: The Political Impact of Regional Protest and Fragmentation***

(IB Tauris, 270 pages, 2025)

**Amjad Abu Khalaf**

***Palestinian Refugees and International Law: The International Legal Framework Governing Assistance, Protection and Durable Solutions***

(Teller Books, 2016)

**Issa Khalaf**

***Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948***

(State University of New York Press, 1991)

**Karim Khalaf** & **Mohammed Milhem** (mayors of Ramallah and Halhoul)

***Palestinians and Human Rights: a Study of Conditions in the Occupied Arab Territories***

(Helsinki: World Peace Council, 38pp, 1979)

**Salah Khalaf** aka **Abu Iyad** (Palestinian organiser in Cairo, 1950s; early Fateh leader; to Kuwait 1960)

***A Palestinian without Identity***
(Dar El-Jaleel, 1996)

***Lowering the Sword***
(Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1990)
Possible offprint from *Foreign Policy*, no. 78.

***My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle***
(New York City: Times Books, 235 pages, 1981)
Autobiography. Translated by **Linda Butler Koseoglu**, edited by **Eric Rouleau**.

**Salman Khalid** (Canadian emergency room physician who volunteered at al-Aqsa Hospital in Gaza in September 2024)

***Gaza – A Doctor's Diary***
(Pluto Press, 2025)
A one-month daily account of trauma surgery, with a foreword by **Fozia Alva** (founder of Humanity Auxilium, Calgary) and an afterword by **Diana Buttu** (international human rights lawyer, formerly with the PLO).

**Ahmad Khalidi** aka **Ahmed Samih El-Khalidi** (head of the Mandate Government's Arab schools and period advocate of a single state comprised of two cantons, Jewish and Arab, with Jerusalem, Hebron and Safad separate as 'free cities.')

With **Hussein Agha**: ***A Framework for a Palestinian National Security Doctrine***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 139 pages, 2006)

***After Arafat***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 20 pages, 2004)

***Common Ground on Jordan-Israel-Palestine Trilateral Relations***
(Washington DC: Search for Common Ground, 38 pages, 1999)
Edited by **Aliza Kaplan** and **Tim Werner**.

***The Palestinian Elections: Some Preliminary Reflections and Remarks***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House, 6 pages, 1996)

With **Ze'ev Schiff** and **Hussein J. Agha**: ***Common Ground on Redeployment of Israeli Forces in the West Bank: A Regional Dialogue***
(Washington DC: Search for Common Ground, 25 pages, 1994)

***Middle East Security: Arab Threat Perceptions, Peace, and Stability: Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Security Relations – The Idea of a "Security Zone"***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: International Security Studies Program 50 pages, 1990)

With **Yair Evron**: ***Middle East Security: Two Views***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 50 pages, 1990)

***A Perspective on the Strategy of Attrition: The Egyptian-Israeli War of Attrition, 1969-1970***
(University thesis, Kings College London, 378 pages, 1982)

With **Riad Ashkar**: ***Weapons and Equipment of the Israeli Armed Forces***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 86 pages, 1971)

***The Arab-Israeli War 1967***

(Assumed author as publisher, 36 pages, ca. 1968)

**Anbara Salam Khalidi**

***Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi***
(Pluto Press, 2014)
Translated by **Tarif Khalidi**

**Raja Khalidi** (Ramallah-based economist, Palestinian Econmic Policy Research Institute)

***Prospect for Palestinian Economic Boycott of Israel: Forms and Difficulties***
(Palestinian Center for Policy & Survey Research, 2016)

***Palestine's Efforts to Accede to the World Trace Organization Review and Assessment***
(Ram Allah: Ma'had Abbath al-Siyasat al-Istisadiyah alFalastine (Mas), 109 pages, 2015)
Main text in Arabic but with foreword and summary in English.

With **Sahar Taghdisi-Rad**: ***The Economic Dimensions of Prolonged Occupation: Continuity and Change in Israeli Policy Towards the Palestinian Economy : A Special Report Commemorating Twenty-Five Year of UNCTAD's Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People***
(New York City & Geneva: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 31 pages, 2009)

***The Arab Economy in Israel: The Dynamics of a Region's Development***
(Croom Helm, 248 pages, 1988)

**Rashid Khalidi** (Edward Said Chair, Columbia University)

***Brokers of Deceit: How the US has Undermined Peace in the Middle East***
(Beacon Press, 2013)

***Under Siege: PLO Decisionmaking During the 1982 War***
(Columbia University Press, 1985, 2012, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "Rashid Khalidi's firsthand account of the 1982 Lebanon War and the complex negotiations for the evacuation of the P.L.O. from Beirut. Utilizing unconventional sources and interviews with key officials and diplomats, Khalidi paints a detailed portrait of the siege and ensuing massacres, providing insight into the military pressure experienced by the P.L.O., the war's impact on Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, and diplomatic efforts by the United States. A new preface by Khalidi considers developments across the Middle East in the thirty years since the conflict. The preface also cites recently declassified Israeli documents to offer surprising new revelations about the roles and responsibilities of both Israeli leaders and American diplomats in the tragic coda to the war, the Sabra and Shatila massacres."

***Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 2009)

***The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood***
(Oneworld, 2006 / Boston: Beacon Press, 2006, 2007)

As editor: ***Forty Years On: Security Council Resolution 242***
(Institute for Palestine Studies/University of California Press, 258 pages, 2007)
Special issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 37 No.1. Contents: Conceived in Law: The Legal Foundations of Resolution 242 / Michael Lynk -- Forty Years without Resolve: Tracing the Influence of Security Council Resolution 242 on the Middle East Peace Process / Omar M. Dajani -- Forty Years after 242: A ?Canonical? Text in Disrepute? / Richard Falk -- Security Council

Resolution 242 and the Right of Repatriation / John Quigley -- People without Borders for Borders without People: Land, Demography, and Peacemaking under Security Council Resolution 242 / Jamil Dakwar.

***Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 2004 / IB Tauris, 2004)

***Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness***
(Columbia University Press, 1997)

***Refugees –*** in ***Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture,*** V.2 N.4
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 1995)

***The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism***
(Columbia University Press, 1991)
See also Muhammad Muslih

With **Itamar Rabinovich**: ***The Palestinian Right of Return: Two Views***
(Pamphlet – Cambridge, Massachusetts: International Security Studies Program, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1990)

As editor: ***Liban Remises en Cause – The Press in the Early Arab Reaction to Zionism***
(Paris: Peuples Mediterraneen / Mediterranean Peoples, 190 pages, 1982)
Bi-lingual, with contributions by **Jean-Pierre Filiu**, **Marion Farouk-Sluglet**, **Peter Sluglet**, **Souheil Al Kache** and others,

As co-editor, with **Camille Mansour**: ***Palestine and the Gulf: Proceedings of an International Seminar***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981)

As **Khalid Ismail Khalidi**: ***British Policy Towards Syria and Palestine, 1906-1914: a study of the antecedents of the Hussein-the*** [sic] ***McMahon correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration***
(Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford University/Ithica Press, 412 pages, 1980)
Revision of the author's doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1974)

**Usama Khalidi**

***Memorandum on the United Nations and the Human Rights of the Palestinian Arabs***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, in 2 parts, 1968)
Arab Regional Conference on Human Rights. Includes contributions by **Dr Usama Khalidi**: *The Diet of a Palestine Arab refugee receiving UNRWA Rations up to 31st May 1967* / **Dr George Dib**: *The attitude of Israel to the dispatch of a UN humanitarian mission to look into the treatment of Arabs in the occupied territories pursuant to Security Council Resolution 237* (1967)

**Walid Khalidi** (son of Ahmad Samih Effendi Al Khalidi, Principal of the Arab College, in the al-Mukhber Hills of southern Jerusalem, established 1918 and closing 1948, at the end of the British Mandate; brother of Islamic scholar Tarif Khalidi; founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, later in Washington DC, and then Boston, Massachusetts)

***From 1897 to 1947: From Partition to Basle***
(SOAS, 2009)
From conference: The Nakba: Sixty Years of Dispossession, Sixty Years of Resistance.

***Islam, the West, and Jerusalem***

(Washington DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, 1996)

***Palestine Reborn***
(IB Tauris, 1992)

As co-editor, with **Albert Glock** (1992 assassinated head of Archaeology, Birzeit University), **Sharif S. Elmusa** and **Muhammed Ali Khalidi**: ***All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*** (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992 / Baltimore: Port City Press, 2006)

***Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984, 1991, 2004, 2010)
Outstanding photographic folio, from the Library of Congress' Matson Photographic Collection, giving evidence to the Arab presence in Palestine prior to the Nakba, when Zionists were claiming there was none. The many images in the hardback original are markedly better than the grey reproductions found in the paperback reissue.

***Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East***
(Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1979/1983)

As editor: ***From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestinian Problem until 1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971, 1976 / Washington DC: IPS, 1986)
Anthology Series no. 2; includes **JMN Jeffries**: ***Analysis of the Balfour Declaration***; **John Chapple**: ***Jewish Land Settlement in Palestine***

As co-editor with **Jill Khaddini**: ***Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(London: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1974)

As assumed co-editor, with Richard Paul Stevens: ***Zionism and Palestine before the Mandate: A Phase of Western Imperialism***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Benghazi: University of Libya, 1972)
Anthology Series no. 5

***Christians, Zionism and Palestine: A Selection of Articles and Statements on the Religious and Political Aspects of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)
Anthology Series no. 4

***Israel and the Geneva Conventions***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, ca. 1969)
Anthology Series no. 3

As assumed editor: ***International Documents on Palestine***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967)
Divided into three sections – International (including Israel), the United Nations, and the Arab world.

***The Partition of Palestine***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967)

***Plan Dalet: The Zionist Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine***
(Beirut: Alumni Association of the American University Beirut, 1961)
Off-print pamphlet from *Middle East Forum,* No. 1, November 1961.

**Mahmoud Khalil**

***No Land to Stand On: Protest, Palestine and Being Unfree in America***
(Metropolitan/Henry Holt/Macmillan, 196 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Mahmoud Khalil conjures the despair and cruelty of ICE detention, where prisoners can vanish overnight and visiting families risk their own deportation. In tandem, he tells the multigenerational story of a family expelled from Palestine to a Syrian refugee camp, of his flight from Assad's regime to Lebanon, of arrival in an America that promised permanence and protection, and of the enduring struggle for Palestine."

**Laleh Khalili**

***Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration***
(Cambridge University Press, 2007)

**Mushtaq Husain Khan** (SOAS), **Inge Amundsen** & **George Giacaman**, editors

***State Formation in Palestine: Viability and Governance During a Social Transformation***
(Routledge, 2004)
**Mushtaq Husain Khan**: *Evaluating the Emerging Palestinian State: 'Good Governance' verse 'Transformation Potential'* ; **Linda Tabar** (Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy/Ramallah) and **Sara Hanafi**: *Donor Assistance, Rent-seeking and Elite Formation*; **Mohamed M. Nasr** (Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy/Ramallah): *Monopolies and PNA*; **Adel Zagha** (Birzeit University), and **Husam Zomlot** (Palestine Mission Ambassador, SOAS): *Israel and the Palestinian Economy: Integration or Containment?*; **Odd-Helge Fjeldstad** & **Adel Zagha**: *Taxation and State Formation in Palestine 1994-2000*.

**Zafarul-Islam Khan**

***Palestine Documents – Compiled, Annotated, and Partly Translated from Arabic***
(New Delhi: Pharos / Institute of Islamic and Arab Studies, 894 pages, 1998)

**Diala Khasawneh**

***Memoirs Engraved in Stone: Palestinian Urban Mansions***
(Ramallah/Jerusalem: Riwaq, 157 pages, 2001)
Ramallah: RIWAQ – Centre for Architectural Conservation / Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2001, 2005, 2007)
Photographs by **Mia Gröndahl**; drawings by **Firas Rahhal**. Homes built mainly 1920s-1930s and designed by architects, rather than village homes that were built communally to traditional standards. Note from RIQAW, not in the book: "The adopted Palestinian Heritage Law of 2018, which was issued by the Palestinian president, protects buildings that were constructed prior to 1917. However, listings, classifications, policies, and by-laws are required by the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities to protect later constructions. This makes the more modern architecture in Palestine vulnerable and prey to destruction and replacement with newer and larger buildings. This practically turned out villages and towns, especially after the Oslo Agreement (1993), and the huge urbanisation boom accompanying it, into jungles of reinforced concrete structures and imported curtain glass facades."

**Tony Khater**

***Lebanese Politics and the Palestinian Resistance Movement, 1967-1976***
(university thesis, State University of New York, Buffalo, 296 pages, 1982)

**Hisham Khatib**, with foreword by **Sarah Searight**

***Jerusalem, Palestine and Jordan in the Archives of Hisham Khatib***
(Gilgamesh Publications, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "This remarkable collection spans the 400 years of Ottoman rule, but has a heavy focus on 19th Century watercolors, including works from Edward Lear, Carl Haag and Carl Werner. Their work concentrated on realistic portrayals of the region (in particular Jerusalem) rather than basking in romantic 'Orientalism'. Images from illustrated plate books are of especial interest. These include rare works by Charles van de Velde, Sir David Wilkie, Louis de Forbin, Francois Paris, Honore d'Albert duc de Luynes, Leon de Laborde and David Roberts. The focus of these plate books was the large-scale engravings, lithographs and etchings which illustrated them. The section on travel books – also frequently illustrated – includes works by Bernardino Amico, John Lewis Burckhardt, Adrian Reland and Baedecker's Travel Guides."

**Dr. Hassan A.G. Al-Khatib** (Lebanese Bar Association)
***The General Factors for the Collapse of Democracy in Lebanon***
(author, 1994)
Uses archival materials from the UK Foreign Office.

**Rouhi Al-Khatib** (Mayor of Jerusalem)
***The Judaization of Jerusalem***
(Amman: Al-Tawfiq Press, 100 pages, 1979)

***The Judaization of Jerusalem***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 70 pages, 1970)

***Jerusalem: Israeli Annexation***
(Amman: HashemiteKingdom of Jordan, 20 pages, 1968)
Statement delivered before the United Nations Security Council, 3 May 1968; in English, but with some facsimiles of documents in Arabic.

***Address delivered at a meeting held in the House of Commons Members' dining room, during the Jordan Refugee Week in London, June 13th, 1968***
(publisher unspecified)

**Shawqi Khatib**, **Felicia Langer**, **Uri Davis**, et al.
***Political Torture in Israel: The Case of Shawqi Khatib***
(Washington, DC: Free Palestine Press / London: Palestine Action, 20pp, 1974)

**Munira Khayyat**
***A Landscape of War: Ecologies of Resistance and Survival in South Lebanon***
(University of California Press, 286 pages, 2022)

***Zionism and the Arab Jews***
(PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998)

**Farid el-Khazen**
***The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967-1976***
(IB Tauris / Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1991)

**Sami al-Khazendar**
*Jordan and the Palestine Question: The Role of Islamic and Left Forces in Foreign Policy-Making*
(Reading: Ithaca Press, 1997)

**Walid W. Kazziha**

***Palestine in the Arab Dilamma***
(Routledge/Croom Helm, 111 pages, 2015)

***Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World: Habash and His Comrades from Nationalism to Marxism***
(London: C. Knight Publishing, 118 pages, 1975)
Focus on Jurj Habash aka George Habash, founder of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

***The Social History of Southern Syria (Trans-Jordan) in the 19th and Early 20th Century***
(Beirut Arab University, 39 pages, 1972)

**Walid Qaziha** aka **WalidW. Kazziha**, co-editor, with **Walid Khadduri**

*International Documents on Palestine, 1969*
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 867 pages, 1972)

**Raja Khouri** (Canadian Arab Institute, Ontario Human Rights Commission) and **Jeffrey J. Wilkinson**

***The Wall Between; What Jews and Palestinians Don't Want to Know about Each Other***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 227 pages, 2023)

**Grace C. Khoury** (Director Birzeit University MBA programme) & **Farid A. Muna** (business consultant)

***The Palestinian Executive: Leadership Under Challenging Conditions***
(Taylor & Francis, 258 pages, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "The Palestinian Executive is based on field research in the West Bank and Gaza, which involved interviewing 110 executives from 63 publicly and family-owned companies. Using a cross-cultural and contextual approach, the authors examine the leadership styles of successful senior executives and managers living and working under challenging conditions in Palestine. The book explores the impact of culture, environmental pressures, and harsh circumstances on doing business in Palestine and sheds light on the leadership, interpersonal, and decision-making styles of successful Palestinian executives. Provides specific recommendations on how to develop future business leaders. *The Palestinian Executive* is an indispensable book to many, among them: CEOs, business leaders, and HR professionals who are responsible for recruiting, motivating, and developing their current and future managers; aspiring young Palestinian students, supervisors, and managers; academic scholars as well as students of cross-cultural leadership; multicultural managers and expatriates who work with or for Palestinian organizations."

**Makram Khoury-Machool** (academic and Royal Shakespeare Company actor; founder of the Cambridge Centre for Palestine Studies)

***The Arab Press in Israel 1948-1968: Israel Cultural Hegemony and Palestinian Nationalist and Communist Counter-Hegemony***
(University of London/SOAS PhD thesis, 398 pages, 2002)

**Maurice N. Khoury**

***It All Started in Nazareth: A Memoir***
(Archway Publishing, 340 pages, 2023)
Family life in Haifa, Nazareth, Beirut, Jordan, Aqaba, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the Lebanon civil war. Topics include family eviction, the author's Lebanon based career in management consultation. Publisher's blurb: "It All Started in Nazareth is about the author's life in Palestine,

then in Beirut, where classmates, teachers and life offered wide horizons. An appointment as head of the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company at age 25 followed, with new experiences among the Jordanian elite of the time and the politics of the country. In the 1950, 60s and 70s, the world of business in the Arab region was exciting and challenging. New job types emerged and required new approaches. The discovery of oil created unbelievable wealth, which changed economies and societies throughout the region. During his career as a management consultant, he held jobs in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon among other places. Throughout the period of his work, political instabilities were dominant in social and business life. It was a journey of success, frustration and learning. The Arab region has been troubled politically and socially since the victors of WWI divided the Ottoman provinces into small, weak areas of British and French influence, sowing uncertainties in the new nation-states. The resulting Middle East suffers to this day from the momentous effect of the Sykes-Picot agreement."

**Philip S. Khoury**

***Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab nationalism, 1920-1945***

(Princeton University Press, 1987)

**Samia Nasir Khoury** (Birzeit University & the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre)

***Reflections from Palestine: A Journey of Hope – a Memoir***

(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2014)

Memoir of the Occupation, from 1967 onwards. Publisher's blurb: "Reflections from Palestine tells the story of life under Israeli occupation. The book opens at the outset of 1967 "Six-Day" war" and describes the relentless series of "temporary measures" that became the binding, suffocating reality of occupation leading up to and following the Oslo Accords. Khoury explains the wide-ranging social and political problems facing Palestinians under occupation through the sweet and sorrowful experiences of family and community life. Khoury has been an active community volunteer worker throughout most of her life. She is a founding member of the Board of Trustees of Birzeit University and Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre. She earned recognition from local NGOs and a citation of merit award from the alumni of Southwestern University. She was married to the late Yousef Khoury who passed away in 2004, and lives in East Jerusalem close to her two children Dina and Suhail, and her seven grandchildren.
"

**Shahadeh Khoury (**aka **Shehadeh Khoury)** & **Nicola Khoury**

***A Survey of the History of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem***

(Amman: Feras / Dar Al-Shorouk, 363 pages, 2002)

Originally published in Arabic as Khulasat tarikh kanisat Urshalim al-Urthuduksiyah (A History of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem), in Jerusalem: Matba'at Bayt al-Maqdis, 1925.

**Geraldine Kidd** (University College, Cork)

***Eleanor Roosevelt: Palestine, Israel and Human Rights***

(Routledge, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "Memorialised as a US heroine and an iconoclastic humanitarian who sought to protect society's marginalised, Eleanor Roosevelt also, at times, disappointed contemporaries and biographers with some of her stances. Examining a period of her life that has not been extensively explored, this book challenges the previously held universality of Eleanor Roosevelt's humanitarianism. The Palestinian question is used as a case study to explore the practical application of her commitment to social justice, living and the author argues that, at times, Roosevelt's humanitarianism was illogical, limited and flawed by pragmatism. New insights are provided into Eleanor Roosevelt's human rights activism – its dichotomies, its inspiration, and the effect it had on US relations with the Middle East."

**Peretz Kidron**, editor, with foreword by **Susan Sontag**
***Refusenik! Israel's Soldiers of Conscience***
(Zed Books, 2004)

**David Killingray** & **David M Anderson**, editors
***Policing and Decolonisation: Nationalism, Politics and the Police, 1917-1965***
(Manchester University Press, 1992)
Compilation of 'Policing the Empire' conference papers, including the editor's own piece, ***An Orderly Retreat? Policing the End of Empire***.

**Jon Kimche** (Zionist with the Independent Labour Party; Military Correspondent, *London Evening Standard*, 1942)
***Palestine or Israel: The Untold Story of Why We Failed, 1917-1923, 1967-1973***
(London: Secker & Warburg, 360 pages, 1973)
Published New York City by Dial Press, 1973, as ***There Could Have Been Peace***.

***The Unromantics: The Great Powers and the Balfour Declaration***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968)

With **David Kimche** (Mossad operative, contributing to Israel's Lebanon involvement, 1981-1982):
***A Clash of Destinies: The Arab-Jewish War and the Founding of the State of Israel***
(New York City: Praeger, 1960)
US edition of ***Both Sides of the Hill: Britain and the Palestine War***

***Both Sides of the Hill: Britain and the Palestine War***
(London: Secker & Warburg, 1960)
UK edition of ***A Clash of Destinies: The Arab-Jewish War and the Founding of the State of Israel***

***The Secret Roads: The "Illegal" Migration of a People, 1938-1948***
(Secker & Warburg, 1954, 1955)

**Baruch Kimmerling** (Hebrew University Jerusalem; sociologist; an early 'new historian' who questioned Zionist myths, using declassified Israeli archival materials)
***Clash of Identities: Explorations in Israeli and Palestinian Societies***
(Columbia University Press, 2008)

***Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians***
(Verso Books, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "Ariel Sharon is one of the most experienced, shrewd and frightening leaders of the new millennium. Despite being found both directly and indirectly responsible for acts considered war crimes under international law, he became Prime Minister of Israel, a political victory he won by provoking the Palestinians into a new uprising, the second intifada. From the beginning of his career Sharon was regarded as the most brutal, deceitful and unrestrained of all the Israeli generals and politicians. A man of monstrous vision, his attempts to destroy the Palestinian people have included the proposal to make Jordan the Palestinian state and the now infamous invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which resulted in the Shabra and Shatila massacres. Baruch Kimmerling's new book describes Sharon's quest to reshape the whole geopolitical landscape of the Middle East. He describes how Sharon is committed to politicide, the destruction of the Palestinian political identity, and how he has won the support of powerful elements within Israeli society and the present American administration in order to achieve this. At this time of crisis Kimmerling exposes the brutality of Sharon and his junta's "solutions" and

constructs a devastating indictment of a man whose cruelty and ruthlessness have resulted in widespread and indiscriminate slaughter."

***The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society and the Military***
(University of California Press, 2005)

***Politicide: The Real Legacy of Ariel Sharon***
(Verso Books, 2003)

***The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society and the Military***
(University of California Press, 2001)

With **Joel Migdal**: ***The Palestinian People: A History*** (aka ***Palestinians: Making of a People***
(Harvard University Press, 1994 / 2003)
Contains 40 page appendix, a chronological list of major events from 635 AD. – "This remarkable book recounts how the Palestinians came to be constituted as a people. The authors offer perceptive observations on the status of Palestinian citizens of Israel, the successes and failures of the Oslo process, and the prospects for both Palestinians and Israelis of achieving a peaceful future together. A dispassionate and balanced analysis that provides essential background for understanding the complexities of the Middle East." –Rashid Khalidi, University of Chicago. Authors assert that the Muslim Arab Palestinian revolt against Ottman-Egyptian rule as early political + nationalism.

***Patterns of Militarism in Israel***
(A possible monograph offprint from *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, v. 34, no. 2, 1993, pages 196-223, available via University College London)

As editor: ***The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers***
(State University of New York, 1989)

***Zionism and Economy***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing, 1983)

***Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics***
(Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1983)

***Social Interruption and Besieged Societies - The Care of Israel***
(State University of New York at Buffalo, 1979)

***A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Behavior in a Territorial Conflict: The Generalization of the Israeli Case***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1978)

**Mary Elizabeth King**

*A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance*
(Nation Books, 2007)
With foreword by former US President **Jimmy Carter**

**Rex (Robert) King-Clark** (auto racer and soldier)

***Free for a Blast*** (Grenville, 1988)
Author commanded one of Orde Wingate's Jewish Special Night Squads; later awarded the 'medal for 'Heroic Contributions to the People of Israel'.

**Yigal Kipnis**

***1973: The Road to War***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2013)

Ex-IDF pilot and longtime settler in the Golan with backstory of the 1973 offensive that unsettled Israeli society when first published in 2012.

**Kemal Kirisci**

***The PLO and World Politics***

(Frances Pinter, 198 pages, 1986)

**(Frederick) Kisch**

***Palestine Diary***

(Victor Gollancz, 1938)

With foreword by former Prime Minister **Lloyd George**

**Bakr Abu-Kishk** and **P.G. Sadler**

***Palestine: Options for Development***

(Geneva: United Nations, 70 pages, 1983)

Trade and Development Board, Twenty-Seventh Session, Geneva, 3 October 1983.

**Khalid Kishtainy**

***The New Statesman and the Middle East***

(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1972)

Thorough unpacking of the Labour Party-leaning magazine's consistent Zionist bias.

***Palestine in Perspective: On the Image and Reality of Palestine Throughout the Ages***

(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, 1971)

***Wither Israel? A Study of Zionist Expansionism***

(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, 1970)

***Verdict in Absentia: A Study of the Palestine Case as Represented to the Western World***

(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, 118pp, 1969)

**James E. Kitchen** (Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst)

***The British Imperial Army in the Middle East: Morale and Military Identity in the Sinai and Palestine Campaigns, 1916-1918***

(Bloomsbury, 2014)

**John Kitto**

***Land of Promise – or, a Topographical Description of the Principal Places in Palestine and of the Country Eastward of the Jordan***

(London: publisher?, 1851)

**Francine Klagsbrun** (columnist for Jewish journals and mainstream publications; biographer of Golda Meir)

***Henrietta Szold: Hadassah and the Zionist Dream***

(Yale University Press, 256 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "Henrietta Szold (1860–1945) is renowned as the founder of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, which quickly became one of the most successful of all

Zionist groups. In her work with Hadassah, Szold used a combined ethical and pragmatic approach aimed at improving the lives of both Jews and Arabs. She later moved to Mandate Palestine to help shape education, health, and social services there. The pinnacle of her career came in her seventies, when she took on the task of directing the Youth Aliyah program, which rescued thousands of young people from the Nazis and resettled them in Palestine. Using Szold's copious letters, diaries, and essays, along with other archival documents, Francine Klagsbrun traces Szold's life and legacy with an eye to uncovering the person behind the Zionist icon. She reveals Szold as a complex human being who had to cope with controversy and criticism, a workaholic with an outsized sense of duty, and an idealist who fought for her beliefs even as she questioned her own abilities. With deep insight, Klagsbrun introduces readers to this extraordinary woman, whose impact on women's lives as well as on education and health systems still resonates." See also biographical material by **Marvin Lowenthal** and **Baila Shargel**.

**Alex Klaushofer**

***Paradise Divided: A Portrait of Lebanon***
(Signal Books, 2007)
Drawing on interviews with community leaders and relationships with ordinary people, it reveals a richly-textured social and religious fabric in which Sunni and Shia Muslims, Druze and Christians of all kinds, from Maronite Catholics to evangelical Protestants, strive to maintain a delicate balance. It offers an insight into how Lebanon's religious communities, their identities formed by history, landscape and their relationships with one another, came to be what they are today—and how their different perspectives can lead to potentially destructive tensions. What emerges is a quintessentially Middle Eastern form of coexistence, poised between tolerance and sectarianism—a theme powerfully developed through the author's privileged access to the normally secretive Druze.

**Joseph Klausner**

***Menahem Ussishkin: His Life and Work***
(London: Joint Zionist Publication Committee, 87 pages, ca. 1944)

**Aaron S. Klieman**

***Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales as Diplomacy***
(Washington DC: Pergamon-Brassey International Defense, 241 pages, 1985)

**Ephraim Kleiman**

***Jewish and Palestinian Diaspora Attitudes to Philanthropy and Investment: Lessons from Israel's Experience***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996)

***The Economic Provisions of the Agreement between Israel and the PLO***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995)

***The Economic Interdependence of the West Band, the Gaza Strip, and Israel***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995)

***The Flow of Labour Services from the West Bank and Gaza to Israel***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992)

***Some Basic Problems of the Economic Relationships between Israel and the West Bank and Gaza***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992)

**Aaron J. Klein**

***Striking Back: The 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre and Israel's Deadly Response***
(Random House, 2005)
Reports that Wadie Haddad (aka Abu Hani; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/PFLP) was poisoned by Mossad. See also: **Ronen Bergman**: ***Rise and Kill First: The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations.***

**Manachem Klein** (Bar-Ilan University)

***Lives in Common: Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Hebron***
(C. Hurst & Co, 2014)

***The Shift: Israel-Palestine from Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict***
(Hurst, 2010)
Author proposes an analytical framework involving an Israeli-imposed "control system" over no less than five Palestinian constituencies defined by the administrative regimes to which they are subject: the citizens of Israel, the residents of East Jerusalem, the residents of Gaza, and the residents of the West Bank, the latter being divided into those living to the west of the separation wall and those living to the east of it. The progressive emergence of this "pattern of control," Klein argues, has transformed what was originally a border dispute into an ethnic confrontation.

***A Possible Peace Between Israel and Palestine: An Insider's Account of the Geneva Initiative***
(Columbia University Press, 2007)

***The Jerusalem Problem: The Struggle for Permanent Status***
(University Press of Florida, 2003)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**

***Jerusalem: The Contested City***
(Hurst, 2001)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**

**Ruth Klinov**

***Arabs and Jews in the Israeli Labor Force***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem, 1989)

**William Kluback** (Early Hebrew University academic keen to incorporate Arab Palestinians in any post-Mandate state)

***Courageous Universality: The Work of Schmuel Hugo Bergmann***
(Scholars Press, 1992)
Subject b. Prague, 1993, to Palestine via Berlin 1920, head of Hebrew University Library.

**Ahmad El-Kodsy** & **Eli Lobel**

***The Arab World and Israel***
(Monthly Review Press, 1970)

**Arthur Koestler** (Zionist journalist-novelist)

***The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage***
(Random House/Hutchinson, 255 pages, 1976; Pan Books, 224 pages, 1977)
Focus on the conversion of Khazaria to Judaism. Upon publication, Israel's ambassador to the UK called it, "an antisemitic action financed by the Palestinians" [Shlomo Sand: *The Invention of the Jewish People*].

***Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine, 1917-1949***
(Macmillan, 1949, 1983)

**Hans Kohn** (b. 1891, Prague; to Palestine 1920. Early Hebrew University academic keen to incorporate Arab Palestinians in any post-Mandate state; prominent member of Brit Shalom but had travelled the Middle East as a journalist for German press. Pushed for a Zionism of integration with Arab nationalism, not assimilation. Had had enough of tribalist Zionism and so emigrated to the USA 1931 – Smith College & the New School for Social Research, New York City. Numerous books on the concept of 'nationalism'.)

***Living in a World Revolution: My Encounters with History***
(Trident Press, 1964 / Pocket Books, 1965)
A bibliography of Kohn's works, 1922-1963, is found on pages 357-360 in his book, *Reflections on Modern History: The Historian and Human Responsibility* (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand Books, 1963 / Greenwood Press, 1978)

As co-author with **Robert Weltsch**: ***Zionistische Politik – eine Aufsateihe***
(Mährisch-Ostrau: R. Färber, 1927)
Probably not translated into English, but these essays deal with the central political problem of Zionism in Arab Palestine. See: Noam Pianko

**Maria Koinova** (University of Warwick)

***Diaspora Entrepreneurs and Contested States***
(Oxford University Press, 384 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This book develops a theory of socio-spatial positionality and its implications for the individual agency of diaspora entrepreneurs. A novel typology features four types of diaspora entrepreneurs—Broker, Local, Distant, and Reserved—depending on the relative strength of their socio-spatial linkages to host-land, original homeland, and other global locations. A two-level typological theory captures nine causal pathways unravelling how diaspora entrepreneurs operate in transnational social fields and interact with host-land foreign policies, homeland governments, parties, non-state actors, critical events, and limited global influences. Non-contention often occurs when diaspora entrepreneurs act autonomously and when host-state foreign policies converge with their goals. Dual-pronged contention is common under the influence of homeland governments, non-state actors, and political parties. The most contention occurs in response to violent events in the original homeland or adjacent to it fragile states. The book is informed by 300 interviews among the Albanian, Armenian, and Palestinian diasporas connected to de facto states, Kosovo, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Palestine respectively. Interviews were conducted in the UK, Germany, France, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Brussels in Belgium, as well as Kosovo and Armenia in the European neighbourhood."

**Paul Kohlbry** (University of California, Santa Barbara)

***Plots and Deeds: Agrarian Annihilation and the Fight for Land Justice in Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 262 pages, 2026) Publisher's blurb: "Peasant farming was once an integral part of Palestine's agrarian fabric. But after military occupation of the West Bank in 1967, Israeli land confiscations and economic policies pushed rural cultivators into wage labor. In recent decades, Palestinian land titling and private developers have driven the slow transformation of agricultural land into real estate. In Plots and Deeds, Paul Kohlbry argues that we should see these changes as part of a larger process of agrarian annihilation, one in which state violence and market coercion together devastate the social, ecological, and economic relationships that make agrarian livelihoods possible. Kohlbry tells the story of those who, refusing annihilation, struggle both for the return of land, and for their return to it. Through long-term engagements in the central highlands of the West Bank, Kohlbry shows how peasant practices and ethics matter for those fighting to rebuild collective attachments to rural places, and the surprising ways that property ownership has become a means of both land dispossession and defense. Going beyond accounts that treat the peasant as a tragic figure or a heroic national symbol, Kohlbry foregrounds the complexity of agrarian life to reveal the

relationships between agrarian regeneration and political liberation—ultimately connecting Palestine within a global struggle for land justice."

**Teddy Kollek** (long-time Mayor of Jersusalem) & **Amos Kollek**
***For Jerusalem: A Life***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978)
Note: numerous other books promoting Jerusalem tourism.

**Thomas A. Kolsky**
***Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948***
(Temple University Press, 1992) From the preface: "The American Council for Judaism was the only American Jewish organization ever formed for the specific purpose of fighting Zionism and opposing the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. In the 1940s, when the Zionists were engaged in a decisive struggle to create a Jewish state, the Council stood as their most formidable opponent within the Jewish community. Much has been written about the history of American Zionism, with Melvin Urofsky's *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust,* and *We are One!* providing a thorough survey of the movement. But no comprehensive history of the Council and its activities in the 1940s has been written to date. The major works on the growth of American Zionism, including Urofsky's, have given the Council only marginal attention. My essay, *The Opposition to Zionism: The American Council for Judaism under the Leadership of Rabbi Louis Wolsey and Lessing Rosenwald,* in *Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-1985,* edited by Murray Friedman, is a brief overview of the formation and the main phases of the history of the organization. Elmer Berger, the central figure in the Council's history, presents a highly candid personal account of the organization in *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew.* However, besides being too brief, Berger's story, though told frankly, is not free of partisan bias. Throughout my research and writing I have tried to remain impartial. My basic attitude toward the American Council for Judaism has been that its philosophy is as legitimate as that of the Zionists. Both Zionism and Jewish anti-Zionism are products of the powerful historical forces that have shaped the modern Jewish experience. "

**Daniel P. Kotzin** (Medaille College, Buffalo, NewYork)
***Judah L. Magnes: An American Jewish Nonconformist***
(Syracuse University Press, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "Judah L. [Leon] Magnes (1877-1948) was an American Reform rabbi, Jewish community leader, and active pacifist during World War I. In the 1920s he moved to British Mandatory Palestine, where he helped found and served as first chancellor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Later, in the 1930s and 1940s, he emerged as the leading advocate for the binational plan for Palestine. In these varied roles, he actively participated in the major transformations in American Jewish life and the Zionist movement during the first half of the twentieth century."

**Joel Kovel**
***Overcoming Zionism: Creating a Single Democratic State in Israel / Palestine***
(Pluto Press 2007)
The author is the Jewish American former leader of the US Green Party. This book is a sustained critique of Zionism as 'state-sponsored racism', and a compelling argument for the One State solution. The author has particular insights into the psychology of Zionism, and the state of denial that the ideology attempts to engender in Jews. – Naomi Foyle

**Liat Kozma** (Hebrew University), **Cyrus Schayegh** (Princeton University) and **Avner Wishnitzer** (Tel Aviv University), editors
***A Global Middle East: Mobility, Materiality and Culture in the Modern Age, 1880-1940***
(IB Tauris, 2015) Relevant chapters include **Evelin Dierauff**: *Global migration into late Ottoman Jaffa as reflected in the Arab-Palestinian newspaper Filastin, 1911-1913* / **Haggai Ram**: *Travelling substances and their*

*human carriers; hashish traicking in Mandatory Palestine* / **Ami Ayalon**: *New practices – Arab printing, publishing and mass reading*

**Neal Kozodoy** (Editor of *Commentary* magazine, Director of conservative NGO, the Tikvah Fund)
***The Mideast Peace Process: An Autopsy***
(San Francisco: Encounter Books, 148 pages, 2002)
Articles from *Commentary* magazine

**Gudrun Kramer**
***A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel***
(Princeton University Press, 357 pages, 2008)
Translated from German by the author and **Graham Harman**. Contents:
Names and borders -- The holiness of the "Holy Land" -- Contrasts : Palestine, 1750-1840 -- The age of reform, 1840-1914 -- Evolving nationalisms : Zionism and Arabism, 1880-1914 -- "A land without a people for a people without a land"? : Population, settlement, and cultivation, 1800-1914 -- World War I and the British mandate -- Double standard, or dual obligation -- "Two peoples in one land" -- The Mufti and the Wailing Wall -- From unrest to uprising -- The Arab uprising, 1936-39 -- Triumph and catastrophe : from World War II to the state of Israel.

**Martin S. Kramer**
***Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses***
(Columbia University Press, 250 pages, 1986)

**Vered Kraus** and **Robert W. Hodge**
***Promises in the Promised Land: Mobility and Inequality in Israel***
(Greenwood Press, 203 pages, 1990)
Foreword by **Judah Matras**; tangential to Israeli Palestinians.

**David Kretzmer**
***The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(State University of New York, 2002)

***The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990 / Routledge, 2020)

**Andrej Kreutz**
***Vatican Policy on the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Struggle for the Holy Land***
(Greenwood Press, 196 pages, 1980)

**Atif Kubursi**
***The Economic Consequences of the Camp David Agreements***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Kuwait: Kuwait Chamber of Commerce & Industry, 1981)

***Arab Economic Prospects in the 1980s***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1980)

**Uri M. Kupferschmidt**
***The Supreme Muslim Council: Islam Under the British Mandate for Palestine***

(Leiden & New York City : EJ Brill, 1987)
Based on author's PhD thesis, Hebrew University. See also: Nicholas E. Roberts

**Judy Kuriansky**

***Beyond Bullets and Bonbs: Grassroots Peacebuilding between Israelis and Palestinians***

(Praeger, 382 pages, 2007)

Contents: Introduction: A professional and personal odyssey for peace / Judy Kuriansky -- pt. I. The "never-ending" conflict: is cooperation possible? The intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict and possible pathways to peace / Rafi Nets-Zehngut and Daniel Bar-Tal -- Holding two worlds at the same time / Jodi Shams Prinzivalli -- The peacebuilder's paradox and the dynamics of dialogue: a psychosocial portrait of Israeli-Palestinian encounters / Mohammed Abu Nimer and Ned Lazarus -- Sensitive subjects and ideological differences affecting civil society collaboration between Palestinian and Israeli people / Runny A. Shtarkshall -- Can talking to each other really make a difference? Perspectives on reconciliation-aimed dialogues in the conflict between Israeli-Jews and Palestinians / Ifat Maoz, Zvi Bekerman and Mara Getz Sheftel -- Coming together: theory and practice of intergroup encounters for Palestinians, Arab-Israelis, and Jewish-Israelis / Karen Doubilet -- Recreating the golden age: quest to unravel the Gordian knot / Abdul Basit -- Dancing tango during peacebuilding: Palestinian-Israeli people-to-people programs for conflict resolution / Sari Hanafi -- Greenprints for peacebuilding between Palestinians and Israelis / Yaron Prywes -- pt. II. Growing, grieving, and talking together. Grieving but growing: Palestinians and Israelis in the parents circle-families forum / Boaz Kitain -- Compassionate listening with Israelis and Palestinians / Leah Green -- Beacon for peace in the promised land: transforming Palestinian-Israeli relationships with nonviolent communication / Hagit Lifshitz, Arnina Kashtan and Miki Kashtan -- Food for thoughts of peace: Jews and Palestinians sharing dialogue and dinner / Judy Kuriansky, Lionel Traubman and Elizabeth Traubman -- Beginning the dialogue in faith / Cheryl M. Walker -- Believe it can happen: the interfaith encounter approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Yehuda Stolov -- Dialogue in the midst of an ongoing conflict: a group process of Israeli Jewish and Palestinian students / Shoshana Steinberg and Dan Bar-On -- Opening a little space -- and a little breathing room -- for peace / Lisa Heft, Carol Daniel Kasbari, Avner Haramati, Tova Averbuch and Harrison Owen -- pt. III. The arts and heroes in building peace. Young leaders on the front lines for Palestinian-Israeli peace / Rachel Brandenburg -- Just vision: in search of Israeli and Palestinian morning-after leadership / Ronit Avni -- Coming soon to a theater near you: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the movies / Meir Fenigstein as told to Rachel Summer Claire Friedman -- Salaam shalom: singing for peace between Palestinians and Israelis / Kjell Skyllstad -- Kites fly for peace: staging Palestinian-Israeli peace / Neil Ryan Walsh, Judy Kuriansky and Lorenzo Toppano -- Alice in the Holy Land: dramatic discoveries of Arab and Jewish youth in Peace Child Israel / Karen Doubilet -- Coping with crisis: Seeds of Peace and the intifada / Edie Maddy-Weitzman -- Samen in Zee: Israelis and Palestinians in the same boat camp / Sophie Schaarschmidt -- Children march for peace / Richard C. Goodwin -- Cooking, climbing, camping, and other creative cooperations between Palestinians and Jews: successes and challenges / Judy Kuriansky and Tali Elisha -- pt. IV. Efforts in education, media, and mental health. Booking peace for pupils: the PRIME peace education project for Israeli and Palestinian youth / Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On -- Teen talk: a hope for peace between the Palestinians and Israelis / Warren Spielberg -- Hand in hand: a revolutionary education model for Israeli Arab and Jewish children / Josie Mendelson -- No "mission impossible": teaching Israeli and Palestinian teens peace / Gershon Baskin and Hanna Siniora -- School for peace: between hard reality and the Jewish-Palestinian encounters / Rabah Halabi and Nava Sonnenschein -- peace candle and beyond: women as partners in innovative projects for peace in the Middle East / Dena Merriam -- From the trauma vortex to the healing vortex: a new paradigm for healing the Israeli-Palestinian crisis / Gina Ross -- Palestinian-Israeli cooperation on mental health training: Gaza community mental health program and Tel Aviv University, 1993-2007 / Tamar Zelniker, Eyad El Sarraj and Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz -- Healing after a terror event on campus in Israel: unique workshops and allied techniques for international Jewish, and Arab students, staff, and extended community / Judy Kuriansky -- Media and search for common ground in the Middle East / John Bell -- A different future: raising the voice of the moderates in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Bruce E. Wexler -- Training peacemakers for Israeli-Palestinian conflict resolution / Julia DiGangi -- Prizes for peace:

winning cooperative projects between Israelis and Palestinians / Judy Kuriansky -- Afterword / Judy Kuriansky.

**Howard Kurtz** (Washington Post)
*Hot Air: All Talk, All the Time*
(New York City: [New York] Times Books, 1996)
Thinly Tangential to Palestine coverage, but book analyses switch from mainstream news media from an assumption of balance wilful point of view, largely originating from 'talk radio' formats and extending to 'spin' on straight news slots.

**Daniel C. Kurtzer** (US Ambassador to Israel and diplomat involved in the Oslo Accords)
With **Scott B. Lasensky, William B. Quandt, Steven L. Spiegel** and **Shirley Z. Telhami:** ***The Peace Puzzle – America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011***
(Cornell University Press, 2012)

With **Scott B. Lasensky**: ***Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East***

(United States Institute of Peace, 2008)

**Daniel C. Kurtzer** (US Ambassador to Egypt under William Clinton, then US Ambassador to Israel under George W. Bush)
***The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011***
(Cornell University Press, 2011)

As editor: ***Pathways to Peace: America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

**Daniel C. Kurtzer, Scott B. Lazensky, William B. Quandt, Steven L. Spiegel** & **Shibley I. Telhami**
(University of Massachusetts; Arab Center, Washington DC)
***Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East***
(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Studies, 2008)
Contents: Foreword — The Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking — Interviews and consultations — Lessons learned, opportunities lost — The United States & Arab-Israeli peacemaking: a report card — Making peace among Arabs and Israelis: lessons learned and relearned — Conclusion: Recommendations for future administrations — Appendices. Timeline, 1967-2007

**Samuel J. Kuruvilla**
***Radical Christianity in Palestine and Israel: Liberation and Theology in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Christianity arose from the lands of biblical Palestine and, regardless of its twentieth century associations with the Arab-Israeli conflict, to Christians around the world it remains first and foremost the birthplace of Christianity. Nevertheless the size of the Christian population among Palestinians today living in Israel and the Palestinian territories is now relatively insignificant. In Radical Christianity in the Middle East, Samuel J. Kuruvilla argues that Christian Palestinians often emply politically astute as well as theologically radical means in their efforts to prove relevant as a minority community within Israeli and Palestinian societies. Examining the political background of the gradual collapse of secular Arab Nationalism, to be replaced by Islamic liberation movements, he reveals a trend within the Christian Palestinian Church which saw increasing politicisation in the 1980s and 1990s. In the face of often-restrictive Israeli policies, such as land confiscation, along with the First Intifada, there

was a drive towards setting up inter-Church and faith activism with the goal of Palestinian liberation. Kuruvilla charts the development of a theology of Christian liberation, in particular through the work of Palestinian Anglican cleric Naim Stifan Ateek and Palestinian Lutheran Pastor Mitri Raheb. From its roots in 1960s Latin America, liberation theology has been adapted and contextualised within the specific situation within Israel and Palestine to produce a framework that emphasises peace and reconciliation, while recognising the importance of resistance and national unity. Theology has impacted Christian perceptions of Palestinians' struggle with Israel; the idea of a land promised to the sons of Abraham and the moral responsibilities that come with this are pitted against Israeli oppression of both Christian and Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land and their desire for independence and justice. Through this comprehensive study of the,often overlooked, theological, political and practical position of Christians in Palestine, Kuruvilla provides a new and insightful perspective on one of the most written-about conflicts."

**David Kushner**

***To be Governor of Jerusalem: The City and District During the Time of Ali Ekrem Bey, 1906-1908***
(Istanbul: Isis, 245 pages, 2005)

As editor: ***Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation***
(Jerusalem: Yad Izhad Ben-Zvi/Brill, 1986)
Includes **Bashir Abu-Manneh**: ***Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period***; **G. Baer**: ***Jerusalem's Families of Notables and the Waqf in the Early 19th Century***

**Tony Kushner** & **Alisa Solomon**, editors

***Wrestling with Zion: Progressive Jewish-American Responses to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Grove Press, 378 pages, 2003)

**Daoud Kuttab**, **Mordechai Bar-On** and **Mark P. Cohen**

***The Palestinian Uprising: The Second Phase, Self-Sufficiency***
(PLO, 32pp, 1988)

**Kuwaiti Graduate Society / General Union of Palestine Students**

***Towards a Democratic State in Palestine***
(KGS/GUPS, 26pp, 1970)
Argues for a secular democratic state for Jews, Muslims and Christians.

**Labour for Palestine**

***Tear Down the Wall in Palestine! A Reader for Unionists and Activists in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Campaign against Israeli Apartheid***
(Toronto: Open Door Press / Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid, 2007)
Contributors include: Greg Albo, Zainab Amadahy, Geoff Bickerton, Dan Freeman-Maloy, Adam Hanieh, Ed Janzen, Jamal Juma, David Kidd, Ken Luckhardt, Herman Rosenfeld, Lance Selfa, Dani Ben Simhon, and Virginia Tilley.

**Labour Friends of Israel** (London; see also: **Poale Zion**)

**David Cesarani** (Jewish holocaust historian): ***The Left and the Jews: The Jews and the Left***
(LFoI, 101 pages, 2004 / London: No Pasaran Media, 2021)
Reprint with foreword by Prime Minister **Gordon Brown** and preface by **Dawn Waterman**.

**Ben Garratt**, editor: ***Making the Progressive Case for Israel: A Series of Essays by Labour Friends of Israel, in Memory of David Cairns, Former Chair of LFI***
(LFoI, 82 pages, 2011)
Foreword by **John Woodcock**.

**Toby Greene**: ***Aiding Peace: One Year On: Funding to the Palestinians in Support of the Peace Process***
(LFoI, 8 pages, 2007)

**David Cairns** (Chair, Labour Friends of Israel): ***Striving for Peace: The Legacy of Yitzhak Rabin***
(LFoI, 90 pages, 2005)
Foreword by Prime Minister **Tony Blair**; includes Rabin's lecture on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, 1994.

**Paul Richards**, editor: ***Labour Looks to Israel: Essays on Politics, Society and Peace***
(LFoI, 80 pages, 2005)
Foreword by **Ivan Lewis** (Labour MP for Bury South).

***What the Papers Say: Labour Friends of Israel***
(LFoI, 10 pages, ca. 1974)

***Harold Wilson's Visit to Israel*** aka ***Harold Wilson Reports on His Visit to Israel, Chairtmas 1972***
(LFoI / Poale Zion, 16 pages, ca. 1973)
**Willie Hamilton** (Labour MP for Fife): ***Report of the Study Mission to Israel, January 1972***
(LFoI,40 pages, ca. 1972)

**Golda Meir**: ***Speech delivered at the 12th Congress of the Socialist International, Vienna, June 1972***
(LFoI/Poale Zion, 12 pages, 1972)

**Dov Bar-Nir**: ***A Letter to a Left-Wing Friend from Dov Bar-Nir, an Israeli Socialist***
(LFoI, 8 pages, 1970)

***The Arabs and the Nazis: A Study in Complicity***
(LFoI, 4 pages, 1970)

***Arabs Aiding International Fascism***
(LFoI, 4 pages, 1970)

**M.S. Arnoni** (Lódz-born political science professor, in Israel 1969-1971): ***Rights and Wrongs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(LFoI, 90 pages, 1970)
Introduction by **Raymond Fletcher** (Labour MP for Ilkeston, possible Soviet spy) and **Prof. D.F. Fleming** (American Cold War historian).

**Sidney Goldberg**: ***Labour Studies Israel: Labour Friends of Israel Study Mission, 1970***
(LFoI, 47 pages, 1970)

**Paul Rose** aka **Paul Bernard Rose** (Labour MP for Manchesater Blackley, campaigner against the National Front): ***Israel and the Left***
(LFoI, 16 pages, various editions, 1969, 1970)

***This is Fascist, Arab, Terrorist, Assassins, Humbugs***
(LFoI, 1 sheet, ca. 1969)

**Reuven Barkatt MK:** ***The Philosophy of Israel Labour***
(LFoI, offprint from *Socialist International Information,* ca. 1969)

***Golda Meir: speech delivered in Eastbourne at the Congress of the Socialist International on 16th June, 1969***
(LFoI, 10 pages, ca. 1969)

**Sidney Goldberg**: ***How the Arab Leaders Created the Middle East Refugees***
(LFoI, 10 pages, 1969, 1970, etc.)

**Sidney Goldberg**: ***Labour Studies Israel: Labour Friends of Israel Study Mission, 1969***
(LFoI, 47 pages, 1969)

**Paul Johnson** (Editor of the *New Statesman*): ***Israel, the Militant Peacemaker – A Socialist State with a Colonial Burden*** (Labour (LFoI, 8 page offprint from the *New Statesman*, 1968)

**Sidney Goldberg**, editor; Labour MPs **Ian Mikardo**, **Richard Crossman**, **Edwin Brooks**, **John Ellis**, **Raymond Fletcher**, **Eric Heffer**, **Margaret Herbison**: ***Labour and Israel***
(LFoI, 23 pages, 1968)
Foreword by MP **Richard Crossman**.

***Histadrut: The General Federation of Labour in Israel***
(LFoI, pamphlet, ca. 1968)

***Speeches Made at the Trades Union Congress, Brighton 1967, on Israel and the Middle East***
(LFoI, 8 pages, ca. 1967)

**Eric Heffer** (Labour MP for Liverpool Walton): ***After the Six Days War: What We Saw in Israel***
(LFoI, 16 pages, 1967)

**Peter Lust**: ***Nasser's Nazis: Egypt, a Home for Wanted Hitlerites***
(LFoI, ca. 1967)

***Israel – Never an Arab Land***
(LFoI, 4 pages, ca. 1960s)

**Sidney Goldberg**: ***Israel, Africa and Asia: Partners in Progress***
(LFoI, ca. 1960s)

***What They Said a Decade or Two Ago: The "Left" and the Middle East***
(LFoI, 4 pages, ca. 1960s)

**Ira Hirschmann**: ***The Case of the Missing Arab Refugees***
(LFoI, 4 pages, ca. 1960s)

**Labour Middle East Council (UK Labour Party)**

***Right of Return: Joint Parliamentary Middle East Councils Commission of Enquiry – Palestinian Refugees***
(LMEC,317 pages, 2001)

**Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine**

***Labour Zionism: Socialist or Colonialist?***

(London: LMCP, 12 pages, ca. 1988)

**Maija Kahteenmaki**

***The Palestine Liberation Organization and its International Position: Until the Palestine National Council of Algiers in November 1988***
(Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 294 pages, 1994)

**Arthur Lall**

***The U.N. and the Middle East Crisis, 1967***
(Columbia University Press, 322 pages, 1968; revised edition, 350 pages, 1970)

**Franklin P. Lamb** (Sabra-Shatila Foundation)

***The Price We Pay: A Quarter Century of Israel's Use of American Weapons against Civilians in Lebanon, 1978-2006: A Report to the American People, the United States Congress, and the International Community***
(Beirut & London: Lamont Press, 2006, 2007)

As co-editor, with **John E. Dockham**: ***Reason Not the Need: Eyewitness Chronicles of Israel's War in Lebanon aka Israel's War in Lebanon: Eyewitness Chronicles of the Invasion and Occupation***
(Spokesman / Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1984)

***International Legal Responsibility for the Sabra-Shatila Massacre***
(International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People and Their Central Cause, Palestine, 158 pages, 1983)

**M.J. [Myer Jack] Landa**

***Palestine as it is***
(Edward Goldston, 1932)
"This is a record of a unique tour in Palestine in the summer of 1931…pluckily and splendidly organized by Paole Zion, the Jewish Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain."

**Jacob B. Landau**

***The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967-1991: Political Aspects***
(Oxford University Press, 237 pages, 1993)

***A Photographic History of Palestine***
(Jupiter Books, 1983)

***Abdul-Hamid's Palestine***
(Andre Deutsch, 1979)
Pre-British Mandate photographs from the private collection of the Ottoman Sultan.

**Jacob M. Landau**

***The Arabs and the Histadrut***
(Tel-Aviv, author, 27 pages, 1976)

***The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study***
(Oxford University Press/Royal Institute of International Affairs, 301 pages, 1969)

Focus includes demographics, religious communities, urban and rural residents, Bedouins, education and students, and political organisations.

**Susan Landau**
***'Thou Shalt Not Stand Idly By' : Jews of Conscience on Palestine***
(166 pages, free download: openbookpublishers.com, 2025)

**Arthur Lane** (Manchester Regiment, also WWII prisoner of war)
***Lesser Gods, Greater Devils: Betrayal, Starvation and Murder in the Twilight of Empire***
(Stockpore: Lane, 223 pages, 1993)

**Sharon D. Lang**
***Sharaf Politics: Honor and Peacemaking in Israeli-Palestinian Society***
(Routledge, 219 pages, 2005)
Focus includes so-called honour killings and *sulha* reconciliations among Galilee Palestinians.

**Felicia Langer** (Israeli Communist)
***An Age of Stone***
(Quartet Books, 1988)

***These are My Brothers: Israel and the Occupied Territories, Part 2***
(Ithaca Press, 1979)

***With My Own Eyes: Israel and the Occupied Territories, 1967-1973***
(Ithaca Press, 1975)
With foreword by **Israel Shahak**. Translated from Hebrew edition, 1974. Observational journalism, case studies of cruelty and torture during imprisonment, forming a document of 'confessions' during the early years of the Occupation.

**Stephen Langfur**
***Confession from a Jericho Jail: What Happened When I Refused to Fight the Palestinians***
(New York City: Grove Weidenfeld, 1992)

**Yitzhak Laor**
***The Myths of Liberal Zionism***
(Verso, 162 pages, 2009, 2017)
Translated from French.

**Ruth Lapidoth-Eschelbacher**
As co-editor, with **Moshe Hirsh**: ***The Jerusalem Question and its Resolution – Selected Documents***
(Dordrecht & London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, ca. 1994)
Much enlarged 542 page edition of the 387 page edition of 1992.

As co-editor, with **Ora Ahimeir**: ***Freedom of Religion in Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1999)

With **Moshe Hirsh** & **Deborah Housen-Couriel** : ***Whither Jerusalem ? Propsals and Petitions Concerning the Future of Jerusalem***
(The Hague & London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, ca. 1995)

As co-editor, with **Moshe Hirsh**: ***The Arab-Israel Conflict and its Resolution: Selected Documents***
(Dordrecht & London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 387 pages, ca. 1992)

**Sharon R. Lapp**
***Towards a Palestinian Education for Liberation: Gender Issues in the Development of Palestinian Education***
(York University, 134 pages, 1991)
University thesis.

**Walter Laqueur**
***A History of Zionism***
(Tauris Parke, 2003 and other editions)

As co-editor, with **Barry Rubin**: ***The Israel-Arab Reader***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969) / Bantam 1976 / Penguin, 1984, 2008)
Reproduces the General Syrian Congress' *Memorandum Presented to the King-Crane Commission*, 2 July 1919.

***The Struggle for the Middle East: The Soviet Union and the Middle East, 1958-1968***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969-1970, 1972, 2016)

**Guy Laron** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
***The Six-Day War: The Breaking of the Middle East***
(Yale University Press, 2017)
Author assesses the military establishment keenness for war in Israel, Egypt and Syria.

***Origins of the Suez Crisis: Postwar Development Diplomacy and the Struggle over Third World Industrialization, 1945-1956***
(Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

**Theo Larsson**
***Seven Passports for Palestine: Sixty Years in the Levant***
(Pulborough: Longfield, 1995)

**Anne Latendresse**
***Jerusalem: Palestinian Dynamics, Resistance and Urban Change 1967-1994***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 128 pages, 1995)

**Michael Lavalette** (Liverpool Hope University)
***Palestinian Cultures of Resistance: Mahmood Darwish*** [Mahmoud Darwish]***, Fadwa Tuqan, Ghassan Kanafani, Naj Al-Ali*** [Naji Al-Ali]
(Redwords, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This book tells the story of the Palestinian Nakba, the development of Palestinian refugee identity and the Palestinian struggle for liberation through the work of four great artists: the poets Mahmood Darwash and Fadwa Tuqan, the novelist Ghassan Kanafani and the cartoonist Naji Al Ali. Darwash, Palestine's 'national poet' was ethnically cleansed from his village in 1948. He moved to

Lebanon before returning to present day Israel. In the early 1980s he was in Beirut when it came under Israeli siege. His poetry traces the development of the Palestinian struggle. Tuqan was raised in the West Bank city of Nablus. Former Israeli Chief of Staff, Moshe Dayan, is reported to have said that with each poem she wrote, another 20 people joined the Palestinian armed resistance. Kanafani was 'cleansed' from his village in 1947 and brought up in refugee camp in Lebanon. His novels and short stories are recognised as bringing the plight of the refugee to global prominence. Whilst the cartoonist Ali is immortalised through his most famous character 'Handala' - a young boy of 10 (the age Naj Al Ali was when chased out of Palestine) who doesn't grow - and won't grow - until Palestine is free. Each of these artists lived through the Nakba and each was intimately involved in the struggle for liberation. Their stories, their biographies and their work allows for a deeper reflection on the continuing struggle for Palestinian rights."

***Palestine Journey: When Preston Went to Nablus***
(Respect Books, 63 pages, 2005)
West Bank visit by author and others from Preston, Lancashire.

**Hagit Lavsky** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

***The Creation of the German-Jewish Diaspora: Interwar German-Jewish Immigration to Palestine, the USA and England***
(De Gruyter, 150 pages, 2017)

***Before Catastrophe: the Distinctive Path of German Zionism***
(Wayne State University Press, 292 pages, 1996)

**Morris S. [Samuel] Lazaron** (Reform rabbi, anti-Zionist and co-founder of the American Council for Judaism) Ethel Mannin: "No one has denounced 'Israeli' treatment of the Arab minority more strongly."

***Bridges not Walls: A Challenge to All Faiths***
(Citadel Press, 1959)

***In the Shadow of Catastrophe***
(American Council for Judaism, 14 pages, 1956)
Speech given in Baltimore, 23 October 1956.

***Olive Trees in the Storm***
(New York City: American Friends of the Middle East, 1955)
Book based on the report from tour of the Middle East undertaken with Harold Fey and John Cogley; likely replicated in ***Mission to the Middle East: A Report by Three Editors***.

With **John Cogley** and **Harold E. Fay**: ***Mission to the Middle East: A Report by Three Editors***
(New York City: American Friends of the Middle East, 1954)
Based on six weeks of touring the Middle East, November-December 1953.

***Address in Three Dimensions***
(1954)
Address at the tenth annual conference of the American Council for Judaism, Philadelphia, 1 May 1954.

***Palestine and the Jew***
(*Christian Century* magazine offprint, 24pp, 1947)

***Palestine, the Dream and the Reality: A Survey of Jewish Nationalism***
(*Atlantic Monthly* magazine offprint, November 1944)

***Is This the Way?***

(Baltimore: author, 13 pages, 1942)
Talk delivered at Madison Avenue Temple, 1942)

***Reform Judaism and Jewish Nationalism***
(Baltimore: *Jewish Times* magazine offprint, 8 pages, 1931)

**The League of Arab States** (see also **The Arab League**)
***Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories: A Collection of Paper Studies Presented to the International Symposium***
(al-Jadidah, Saudi Arabia: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadidah, 437 pages, ca. 1986)
Event organised by the Secretariat General of the League of Arab States' Department of Palestine Affairs, held in Washington DC, 22-24 April 1985.
Contents: Individual speeches and statements by Sean MacBride, Chedi Kilbi, Bruno Kreisky, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Lord Hugh Caradon, and Ambassador Khwaja Wasiuddin / Presentation by the Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan / Panel 1: Dr. William Harris, with discussants Prof. David H. Ott and Donald Will: *Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories 1967-1984: Overview and Historical Perspective* / Panel 2: Prof. M.S. Agwani with discussants Dr. Ann Lesch and Mohammad Milhem: *Goals, means and Patterns of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories* / Panel 3: Henry Cattan, with discussants Dr. Elmer Berger, Prof. Saeeduddin Ahmad Dar, and Dr. Mahdi Abdul-Hadi: *Jerusalem: Israeli Concepts, Policies and Practices* / Panel 4: Prof. Edward Witten with discussants Prof. Mark Tessler and Prof. Dan Tschirgi: *Attitudes of Israeli Socio-Economic Forces towards the Question of Settlements* / Panel 5: Dr. Ibrahim Oweiss with discussants Prof Timothy Niblock and Manabu Shimizu: *Economics of Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories* / Panel 6: Dr. Kenneth Lewan with discussants Claude Bourdet and Prof. John Ruedy: *Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Settlements* / Panel 7: Dr. Richard Falk with discussants Prof. Sally V. Mallison, Prof. Thomas Mallison, Dr. Oki-Ooko-Ombaka: *The Status of Israeli Settlements on the West Bank under International Law and in International Forums* / Panel 8: Prof. Lorne Kenny with discussants Dr Charlotte Teuber and Merle Thorpe Jr.: *The Impact of Israeli Settlements on Peace Efforts – Present and Future* / Report on the International Symposium on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories / Speech of Ambassador Dean Brown / Closing speech of Dr. Clovis Maksoud. Includes photographs and maps.

**Lewis Gaston Leary**
***The Real Palestine of To-Day***
(New York City: McBride, Nast & Col, 210 pages, 1911)
Focus on the topographical, including cities and monuments.

**Lebanon invasion – international reports** (assorted):
***Avenging Maalot - May 15, 1974***
(Beirut: The Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine; The Lebanese Section for Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1974)
Ten-panel accordion-fold brochure, on the Israeli retaliation on Palestinian residents after a hostage-taking incident in which Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine guerrillas took 115 hostages at a school and threatened to kill them unless Palestinian prisoners were released by Israel. About two dozen children were killed; this piece claims it was actually the Israelis who killed them. Photos of men and women are shown who were killed in the subsequent Israeli strikes against Palestinian villages. Alleges that the Israelis deployed bombs disguised as dolls to kill Palestinian children.

**Sean MacBride**, Chairman:
***Israel in Lebanon: Report of the International Commission to Enquire into Reported Violations of International Law by Israel During its Invasion of the Lebanon***
(London: Ithaca Press, 282 pages, 1983)
Study undertaken 28 August-29 November 1982 by **Sean MacBride**, Chair; **Professor Richard Falk**, Vice Chair; with **Dean Kader Asmal**; **Dr. Brian Bercusson**; **Professor Geraud de la Pradelle**; and **Professor Stefan Wild**. Note: Edward Said's review in the *London Review of Books*, V. 6 N.3, 1984.

***Israel/Lebanon: "Operation Grapes of Wrath": The Civilian Victims***
(Human Rights Watch, 1997)

**Jim Lederman**
***Battle Lines: The American Media and the Intifada***
(New York City: Holt, 1992 / Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993 /Routledge, 2020)

**Bryan F. Le Beau** & **Menachem Mor**, editors
***Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land***
(Omaha: Creighton University Press, 1996)

**John Randolph LeBlanc** (University of Texas, Tyler)
***The Spectral Palestinian: Presence before Politics***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 216 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Long before October 7, 2023, Palestinians haunted the West and its political categories. In this work of political theory, John Randolph LeBlanc reads works by Raja Shehadeh, Sari Nusseibeh, and Mahmoud Darwish to track the manifold ways existing political language and norms (e.g., rule of law, human rights, international law, the nation-state) failed to capture and address the experience of a people living permanently under conditions of occupation/domination. *The Spectral Palestinian: Presence before Politics* finds that their periodic use of the language of ghosts and haunting signals the relationship between Palestinian experience and the 'promise' of Western political language and its institutions. LeBlanc argues that this resulting sense of 'spectrality' constitutes an underexplored form of Palestinian self-awareness and agency. Initially, the specter is the product of the others' fear, that is, nearly disembodied sites of violence carrying the threat of non-being. While reading the accounts of these Palestinians' frustrating confrontations with the apparatuses and language of Western politics, LeBlanc finds the latent possibility of Palestinians taking hold of the specter's power. Turning the spectral on its authors, the Palestinian defies a political language that has abandoned them and rejects the accompanying stigmas by standing fast in their spaces and fully appearing in the demand for human dignity."

**Philip Leech**
***Mis-stating Palestine: a Critical Analysis of Fayyadism and the Palestinian Authority's Agenda 2007-2011***
PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2012; hopefully this will be a published book.

**Yeshayahu Leibowitz** (1903-1994; Hebrew University professor; credited for coining the term 'Judeo-nazis')
***Judaism, Human Values and the Jewish State***
(Harvard University Press, 1992)
Outspoken Israeli critic of the Occupation and religious identification of the Israeli state. See also: Adam Zachary Newton: *The Fence and the Neighbor: Emmanuel Levinas, Yeshayahu Leibowitz, and Israel among the Nations* (State University of New York Press, 2001)

**Walter Lehn** (University of Minnesota; University of Texas)
With **Uri Davis** (A member of Fatah since 1984, long at the University of Bradford): ***The Jewish National Fund***
(Kegan Paul, 390 pages, 1988)
Translated from Hebrew by **Roland Rance**.

***The Jewish National Fund: An Instrument of Discrimination***

(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1982)
See also: Sami Hadawi

***The Development of Palestinian Resistance***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 47 pages, 1974)

**Arye Leibenson**

***The Murder of Dr. Arlosoroff***
(Author, 15 pages, 1957)
Chaim Arosoroff (1899-1933). Note also items held by the Weiner Holocaust Library, London: **Horace B. Samuel**: ***Who Killed Arlosoroff? A Record of Crime and Justice in the Mandated Territory of Palestine*** (typescript, 300 pages, ca. 1934); ***The Arlosoroff Murder Trial: Speeches and Relevant Documents*** (Jerusalem: Hasseolel Press, 170 pages, 1934).

**Yeshayahu Leibowitz** (Biochemistry professor, Hebrew University; Outspoken Orthodox Israeli Jew advocating secularity of the state.)

***Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State***
(Harvard University Press, 1992)
Edited by **Eliezer Goldman**. "The Arabs would be the working people and the Jews the administrators, inspectors, officials, and police—mainly secret police. A state ruling a hostile population of 1.5 to 2 million foreigners would necessarily become a secret-police state, with all that this implies for education, free speech and democratic institutions. The corruption characteristic of every colonial regime would also prevail in the State of Israel. The administration would suppress Arab insurgency on the one hand and acquire Arab Quislings on the other. There is also good reason to fear that the Israel Defense Forces, which has been until now a people's army, would, as a result of being transformed into an army of occupation, degenerate, and its commanders, who will have become military governors, resemble their colleagues in other nations." (pages 225-226)

**Kirsty Le Grice**

***Palestine Unwrapped: Stories from Real People and Places of the Holy Land***
(Bradt Travel Guides, 272 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In 2019, when Kirsty Le Grice arrived in Sheikh Jarrah with two young children, she was catapulted into a complex world that was both wonderful and tragic. Living as part of the international community, she travelled throughout Israel and the Palestinian West Bank to reach places that others can't or don't see. The stories she heard from the people who lived there and the places she visited helped her to try and make sense of the true character of Jerusalem and Palestine."

**Yehezkel Lein**

***Forbidden Roads: Israel's Discriminatory Road Regime in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 2004)

***Civilians under Siege: Restrictions on Freedom of Movement as Collective Punishment***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 2001)

***Israeli Violations of Human Rights of Lebanese Civilians***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 107 pages, 2000)

***Captive Corpses***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 1999)
Translated by Zvi Shulman; Topics: human rights, burial laws, repatriation, cultural property.

**Vincent Lemire** (University of Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée; Director of the European Research Council's European Open Jerusalem Project)

***In the Shadow of the Wall: The Life and Death of Jerusalem's Maghrebi Quarter, 1187-1967***
(Stanford University Press, 400 pages, 2023)
Translated by **Jane Kuntz**, with photographs by **Gilles Caron**. Former district of North Africans adjacent to the Western Wall; approximately 138 homes were bulldozed by Israel, after dark, on 10 June 1967, although planned earlier in 1963. Includes focus on the *Waqf* Abu Madyan, established in 1320 to support the quarter.

**Vincent Lemire**, **Katel Berthelot**, **Julien Loiseau**, and **Yann Potin**

***Jerusalem: History of a Global City***
(University of California Press, 360 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Juliana Froggatt**.

As co-editor, with **Angelos Delachanis**: ***Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840-1940: Opening New Archive, Revisiting a Global City***
(Leiden: Brill, 591 pages, 2018)
Contents: Introduction -- Placing Jerusalemites in the History of Jerusalem: The Ottoman Census (sicil-i nüfūs) as a Historical Source -- Introducing Jerusalem: Visiting Cards, Advertisements and Urban Identities at the Turn of the 20th Century -- The Ethiopian Orthodox Community in Jerusalem: New Archives and Perspectives on Daily Life and Social Networks, 1840–1940 -- Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood -- Foreign Affairs through Private Papers: Bishop Porfirii Uspenskii and His Jerusalem Archives, 1842–1860 -- The Brotherhood, the City and the Land: Patriarchal Archives and Scales of Analysis of Greek Orthodox Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman and Mandate Periods: Introduction: The State and the City, the State in the City: Another Look at Citadinité -- Collective Petitions (ʿarż-ı maḥżār) as a Reflective Archival Source for Jerusalem's Networks of Citadinité in the late 19th Century -- Back into the Imperial Fold: The End of Egyptian Rule through the Court Records of Jerusalem, 1839–1840 -- An Institution, Its People and Its Documents: The Russian Consulate in Jerusalem through the Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Empire, 1858–1914 -- Diplomacy, Communal Politics, and Religious Property Management: The Case of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the Early Mandate Period -- Comparing Ottoman Municipalities in Palestine: The Cases of Nablus, Haifa, and Nazareth, 1864–1914 -- Municipal Jerusalem in the Age of Urban Democracy: On the Difference between What Happened and What Is Said to Have Happened: Introduction -- Reading the City, Writing the Self: Arabic and Hebrew Urban Texts in Jerusalem, 1840–1940 -- Arab–Zionist Conversations in Late Ottoman Jerusalem: Saʿid al-Husayni, Ruhi al-Khalidi and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda -- Ben-Yehuda in his Ottoman Milieu: Jerusalem's Public Sphere as Reflected in the Hebrew Newspaper Ha-Tsevi, 1884–1915 -- Men at Work: The Tipografia di Terra Santa, 1847–1930 -- The St. James Armenian Printing House in Jerusalem: Scientific and Educational Activities, 1833–1933 -- The Wasif Jawharriyeh Collection: Illustrating Jerusalem during the First Half of the 20th Century: Introduction -- "The Preservation and Safeguarding of the Amenities of the Holy City without Favour or Prejudice to Race or Creed": The Pro-Jerusalem Society and Ronald Storrs, 1917–1926 -- Governing Jerusalem's Children, Revealing Invisible Inhabitants: The American Colony Aid Association, 1920s–1950s -- Epidemiology and the City: Communal vs. Intercommunal Health Policy-Making in Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the Mandate, 1908–1925 -- Being on a List: Class and Gender in the Registries of Jewish Life in Jerusalem, 1840–1900 -- The Tramway Concession of Jerusalem, 1908–1914: Elite Citizenship, Urban Infrastructure, and the Abortive Modernization of a Late Ottoman City -- Waqf Endowments in the Old City of Jerusalem: Changing Status and Archival Sources -- The Limitations of Citadinité in Late Ottoman Jerusalem

**Raphael Lemkin**

***Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin***

(Yale University Press, 288 pages, 2013)
Includes defining and alerting the world to the concept of genocide; Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948).

***Lemkin on Genocide***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 416 pages, 2012)
Edited and introduced by **Steven Leonard Jacobs**.

***Raphael Lemkin's Thoughts on Nazi Genocide: Not Guilty?***
(Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 375 pages, ca. 1992)
Edited by **Steven L. Jacobs**.

***Observations on War Crimes and Genocide***
(Published in USA, 9 pages, ca. 1946-1948)
Held by the Wiener Holocaust Library.

**Anne Le More** (United Nations)
***International Assistance to the Palestinians after Oslo: Political Guilt, Wasted Money***
(Routledge, 2010)
Mainly an analysis of 1994-2004, the first decade after Oslo, with insight into the role of donor aid.

As co-editor with **Robert Lowe**, & **Michael Keating**: ***Aid, Diplomacy and Facts on the Ground: The Case of Palestine***
(Chatham House, 2005)

**George Lenczowski** (Polish-American, b. 1915, St Petersburg/Petrograd; University of California, Berkeley)
***American Presidents and the Middle East***
(Duke University Press, 1990)

**Ronit Lentin**
***Co-memory and Menancholia: Israelis Memorialising the Palestinian Nakba***
(Manchester University Press, 2010)

As editor: ***Thinking Palestine***
(Zed Books, 2008)
Contents: David Theo Goldberg: *Racial Palestinianization* / Gargi Bhattacharyya: *Globalizing Racism and Myths of the Other in the 'War on Terror'* / Honaida Ghanim: *Thanatopolitics – The Case of the Colonial Occupation in Palestine* / Sari Hanafi: *Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon – Laboratories of State-in-the-Making, Discipline and Islamist Radicalism* / Laleh Khalili: *Incarceration and the State of Exception – Al-Ansar Mass Detention Camp in Lebanon* / Alina Korn: *The Ghettoization of the Palestinians* / Raef Zreik: *The Persistence of the Exception – Some Remarks on the Story of Israeli Constitutionalism* / Ilan Pappe: *The Mukhabarat State of Israel – A State of Oppression is not a State of Exception* / Nahla Abdo: *Palestinian Munadelat – Between Western Representation and Lived Reality* / David Landy: *Authenticity and Political Agency on Study Trips to Palestine* / Ronit Lentin: *The Contested memory of Dispossession – Commemorizing the Palestinian Nakba in Israel* / Conor McCarthy: *The State, the Text and the Critic in a Globalized World – The Case of Edward Said* / Anaheed Al-Hardan: *Understanding the Present through the Past – Between British and Israeli Discourses on Palestine*

With **Nahla Abdo**: ***Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation***
(Berghahn Books, 2002, 2004)

Chapters: Palestinian Women: Exile in Lebanon; Home as Exile; Life under Occupation; Israeli Jewish Women: Exile as Home; Exile as an Oppositional Locus; Existential States of Exile.

**Francesco Saverio Leopardi**

***The Palestinian Left and its Decline: Loyal Opposition***

(Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 283 pages, 2020)

"Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) within the Palestinian Resistance Movement (PRM) between 1982 and 2007. Leopardi identifies two main causes: first, the PFLP's inability to propose a counterhegemonic political program, which resulted in the PFLP's dependence on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for legitimacy and finance; and second, divergent class interests within the PRM. Leopardi is interested in the PFLP's own responsibility for its decline. He seeks to dispel myths that attribute the marginalization of leftist parties to external factors such as the fall of the Soviet Union. For this reason, he focuses on internal factors responsible for the PFLP's decline" – Raiq Mari, in *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 51 No. 1, 2022.

**Antony Lerman**

***Whatever Happened to Antisemitism? Redefinition and the Myth of the Collective Jew***

(Pluto Press, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Antisemitism is one of the most controversial topics of our time. The public, academics, journalists, activists, and Jewish people themselves are divided over its meaning. Antony Lerman shows that this is a result of a 30-year process of redefinition of the phenomenon, casting Israel, problematically defined as the 'persecuted collective Jew', as one of its main targets. This political project has taken the notion of the 'new antisemitism' and codified it in the flawed International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's 'working definition' of antisemitism. This text is the glue holding together an international network comprising the Israeli government, pro-Israel advocacy groups, Zionist organisations, Jewish communal defence bodies and sympathetic governments fighting a war against those who would criticise Israel."

**Levant Fair**

***Palestine Near-East Exhibition and Fair, Tel-Aviv, Autumn 1925***

(Jaffa: M. Shoham Press, 61 pages, 1925)

Organised by the Palestine exhibitions & fairs corporation, ltd. Catalogue for the Palestine Exhibition and Fair in Autumn 1925; the exhibitions held in Tel Aviv would later be famously named the Levant Fair. Catalogue contains list of Exhibitors and Exhibits (organized according to product or trade); Contains many advertisements from the period. Exhibitions (now known as fairs) were quite successful and were ordered for tens of thousands and then hundreds of thousands of Jews, Arabs, English, and many tourists. The fair in 1932 was visited by nearly 300, 000 people. While the existence of this fair became known for the first time in Israel, their broadcasting station broadcast the events in Hebrew. This was four years before they began regular radio broadcasts in Israel by Voice Jerusalem. Fair visitors have included British High Commissioners for Palestine Herbert Samuel (1920-1925), Herbert Plumer (1925-1928), John Chancellor (1928-1931) and Arthur Wauchope (1932-1937), as well as Arab mayors of Jaffa and Jerusalem.

**Lotta Levensohn** (Jewish National Fund researcher/photographer/translator)

***Outline of Zionist History***

(New York City: Scopus Publishing, 157 pages, 1941

Sponsored by the Jewish National Fund and Keren Haysod aka Keren Hayesod.

***Hashomer: The First Jewish Watch in Palestine***

(Tel-Aviv: Palestine Publishing/New York City: Vaad Bitachon, 70 pages, 1939)

Hashomer Hatzair, an initially Marxist, Zionist youth movement, were the volunteer police, to protect Jewish settlers in Palestine, beginning in 1909. "This work is published under the auspices of the Joint Committee for Youth Affairs, Jerusalem."

***The Plain of Bethshan: Ancient and Modern***
(Jerusalem: Joint Committee for Youth Affairs representing the Zionist Executive, Keren Kayemet Le Israel and Keren Haysod aka Keren Hayesod, 46 pages, 1938)

**Geoffrey Levin** (Emory University)

***Our Palestine Question: Israel and American Jewish Dissent, 1948-1978***
(Yale University Press, 320 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "American Jews began debating Palestinian rights issues even before Israel's founding in 1948. Geoffrey Levin recovers the voices of American Jews who, in the early decades of Israel's existence, called for an honest reckoning with the moral and political plight of Palestinians. These now-forgotten voices, which include an aid-worker-turned-academic with Palestinian Sephardic roots, a former Yiddish journalist, anti-Zionist Reform rabbis, and young left-wing Zionist activists, felt drawn to support Palestinian rights by their understanding of Jewish history, identity, and ethics. They sometimes worked with mainstream American Jewish leaders who feared that ignoring Palestinian rights could foster antisemitism, leading them to press Israeli officials for reform. But Israeli diplomats viewed any American Jewish interest in Palestinian affairs with deep suspicion, provoking a series of quiet confrontations that ultimately kept Palestinian rights off the American Jewish agenda up to the present era."

**Nir Levitan** (University of Southern Denmark)

***Scandinavian Diplomacy and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Official and Unofficial Soft Power***
(Routledge, 226 pages, 2023)
Focus on Norway, Sweden and Denmark regard the Oslo Accords.

**Anthony Löwstedt** (Webster University, Vienna)

As co-author: ***Here We Are: A Photo Essay on Palestine and the Palestinians***
(Ramallah: Miftah, 2005)

**Ann Mosely Lesch** (Associate director of the Center for Arab and Islamic Studies at Villanova University and president of the Middle East Studies Association / MESA.

As co-editor, with **Ian s. Lustick**: ***Exile and Return: Predicaments of Palestinians and Jews***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 358 pages, 2005)
Papers from two meetings at Asch Center, University of Pennsylvania, October 2002, and at both Asch Center and Villanova University, June 2003. Contents: The failure of Oslo and the abiding question of the refugees / Ian S. Lustick and Ann M. Lesch -- Commemorating contested lands / Laleh Khalili -- The right of return versus the law of return: contrasting historical narratives in Israeli and Palestinian school textbooks / Elie Podeh -- Social capital and refugee repatriation: a study of economic and social transnational kinship networks in Palestine/Israel / Sari Hanafi -- Considerations toward accepting historical responsibility / Elazar Barkan -- Negotiating truth: The Holocaust, Lehavdil, and al-Nakba / Ian S. Lustick -- The Palestinian IDPs in Israel and the predicament of return: between imagining the impossible and enabling the imaginative / Amal Jamal -- No refuge for refugees: the insecure exile of Palestinians in Kuwait / Ann M. Lesch -- The vision of return: reflections on the mass immigration to Israel from the former Soviet Union / Ze'ev Khanin -- Palestinian and Mizrahi Jewish property claims in discourse and diplomacy / Michael R. Fischbach -- Arab Jews, population exchange, and the Palestinian right of return / Yehouda Shenhav -- Palestinian refugee property claims: compensation and restitution / Salim Tamari -- Truth and reconciliation: the right of return in the context of past injustice / Nadim N. Rouhana -- The visible

and invisible in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict / Ilan Pappé -- Reflections on the right of return: divisible or indivisible? / Gershon Shafir.

***Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917-1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement***
(Cornell University Press, 1979) Focuses on both the peasant and establishment actions, including the al-Husayni family elite.

With **William B. Quandt** & **Fuad Jabber**: ***The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism***
(University of California Press, 234 pages, 1973)
Contents: Part I: The Palestine Arab nationalist movement under the mandate -- Part II: Political and military dimensions of contemporary Palestinian nationalism -- The eclipse of Palestinian nationalism, 1947-1967 -- Organizational developments, June 1967 to September 1970 -- Palestinian political leadership -- Ideology and objectives -- Military strategy and capabilities of the Fedayeen -- The September 1970 crisis and its aftermath -- Conclusion -- Part III: The Palestinian resistance and inter-Arab politics -- The resistance movement before the Six-Day War -- The Arab world after the defeat -- The Arab regimes and the Palestinian revolution -- The resistance in crisis.

***Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917-1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement***
(Cornell University Press, 1979)

***Political Perceptions of the Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip***
(Middle East Institute, 1980)

With **Mark A. Tessler**: ***Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinians: From Camp David to the Intifada***
(Indiana University Press, series in Arab & Islamic Studies, 1989)

With **Dan Tschirgi**: ***Origins and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Greenwood Press, 1998)

**David W. Lesch**
***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History***
(Oxford University Press, 495 pages, 2008; second edition, 561 pages, 2019)

**Noam Leshem**
***Life after Ruin: The Struggles over Israel's Depopulated Arab Spaces***
(Cambridge University Press, 2016)
With special spacial focus on the Arab-Palestinian village of Salama.

**Haim Levenberg**
***Military Preparations of the Arab Community in Palestine, 1945-1948***
(Frank Cass, 1993)

**Harry Levin**
***Jerusalem Embattled: A Diary of a City under Siege, March 25th, 1948 to July 18th, 1948***
(Victor Gollancz, 1950 / Cassell, 1997) History from the Haganah, Stern Group, etc.

**Mark Levine**
***Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948***
(University of California Press, 2005)
Urban planning as politics towards a future Jewish state.

**Donald M Lewis**

***The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland***

(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

**Geoffrey Lewis**

***Balfour and Weizmann: The Zionist, the Zealot, and the Emergence of Israel***

(Continuum, 2009)

**William Roger Lewis** and **Roger Owen**, editors

***Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences***

(Clarendon, 1989; Oxford University Press, 1991)

Introduction / Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen -- The historical context / J.C. Hurewitz -- Nasser and the struggle for independence / Ali E. Hillal Dessouki -- The tragedy of the Anglo-Egyptian settlement of 1954 / Wm. Roger Louis -- The collapse of Project Alpha / Shimon Shamir -- Britain and the Crisis, 1955-1956 / Keith Kyle -- France and the Suez crisis / Maurice Vaïsse -- David-Ben Gurion and the Sèvres collusion / Mordechai Bar-On -- Nasser and the crisis of 1956 / Amin Hewedy -- India, the crisis, and the non-aligned nations / Sarvepalli Gopal -- Eisenhower, Dulles, and the Suez crisis / Robert R. Bowie -- The importance of having money: the economic diplomacy of the Suez crisis / Diane B. Kunz -- The Soviet Union, the United States, and the twin crises of Hungary and Suez / John C. Campbell -- The Commonwealth and the Suez crisis / Peter Lyon -- Australia and the crisis / J.D.B. Miller -- Canada, the North Atlantic Triangle, and the United Nations / Michael G. Fry -- The crisis and its consequences for the British Conservative Party / Lord Beloff -- Post-Suez France / Maurice Vaïsse -- The aftermath of Suez: consequences for French decolonization / Adam Watson -- Reflections on the Suez crisis: security in the Middle East / Hermann Frederick Eilts -- The economic consequences of the Suez crisis for Egypt / Roger Owen -- Consequences of the Suez crisis in the Arab world / Rashid Khalidi -- Conclusion / Albert Hourani -- Select bibliography / Howard J. Dooley.

**Matthew Levitt**

***Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God***

(Georgetown University Press, 407 pages, 2013)

***Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad***

(Yale University Press/Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 324 pages, 2006)

With foreword by US Middle East Envoy Dennis Ross.

**Geoffrey Lewis**

***Balfour and Weizmann: The Zionist, the Zealot, and the Emergence of Israel***

(Continuum, 203 pages, 2009)

**Darryl Li** (University of Chicago Law and Anthropology)

***Under Cover of War: Hamas Political Violence in Gaza***

(New York City/London: Human Rights Watch, 26 pages, 2009)

With **Fred Abrahams** and **Marc Garlasco**: ***Razing Rafah: Mass Home Demolitions in the Gaza Strip***

(New York City/London: Human Rights Watch, 150 pages, 2004)

With **Yehezkel Lein**: ***Act of Vengeance: Israel's Bombing of the Gaza Power Plant and its Effects***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 35 pages, 2006)

**Brynjar Lia**
***Building Arafat's Police: The Politics of International Police Assistance in the Palestinian Territories after the Oslo Agreement ~*** aka ***A Police Force Without a State: A History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza***
(Garnet Publishing, 1999 / Reading: Ithica Press, 452 pages, 2005, 2009)

**Assaf Likhovski**
***Tax Law and Social Norms in Mandatory Palestine and Israel***
(Cambridge University Press, 2017)

***Law and Identity in Mandate Palestine***
(University of North Carolina Press, 2006)

**Alfred M. Lilienthal** (former US State Dept role)
***The Zionist Connection II: What Price Peace?***
(New Brunswick, New Jersey: North American Publishing, 1982 / Noontide Press, 1986 – Updated edition from 1978 – 904pp)

***The Zionist Collection: What Price Peace?***
(Dodd, Mead, 1978 / Middle East Perspective, 1979 – 872pp)

***The Other Side of the Coin: An American Perspective of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Devin-Adair Co., 1965 – 420 pages)

***There Goes the Middle East***
(Devin-Adair Co., 1957 – 321pp)

***What Price Israel ?***
(Henry Regnery Co, 1953 / Infinity Publishing, 2003 – 240 pages)
On the political, religious and moral problems stemming from the creation of the state of Israel.

**Helena Lindholm Schulz**
With **Juliane Hammer**: ***The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland***
(Routledge, 2003)

***The Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism: Between Revolution and Statehood***
(Manchester University Press, 1999)

**Torkel Lindquist**
***A War of Words: From Lod to Twin Towers: Defining Terrorism in Arab and Israeli Newspapers, 1972-2001: A Study in Propaganda, Semantics, and Pragmatics***
(Uppsala Univeritet, 186 pages, 2003)

**Susie Linfield** (New York University; former editor at the *Washington Pose* and the *Village Voice*)
***The Lions' Den: Zionism and the Left, From Hannah Arendt to Noam Chomsky***
(Yale University Press, 400 pages, 2019, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "In this lively intellectual history of the political Left, cultural critic Susie Linfield investigates how eight prominent twentieth-century intellectuals struggled with the philosophy of Zionism, and then with Israel and its conflicts with the Arab world. Constructed as a series of interrelated portraits that combine the personal and the political, the book includes philosophers, historians, journalists, and activists such as Hannah Arendt, Arthur Koestler, I. F. Stone, and Noam Chomsky. In their engagement with Zionism, these influential thinkers also wrestled with the twentieth century's most crucial political dilemmas: socialism, nationalism, democracy, colonialism, terrorism, and anti-Semitism. In other words, in probing Zionism, they confronted the very nature of modernity and the often catastrophic histories of our time. By examining these leftist intellectuals, Linfield also seeks to understand how the contemporary Left has become focused on anti-Zionism and how Israel itself has moved rightward."

**Beata Lipman**
***Israel, the Embattled Land: Jewish and Palestinian Women Talk about Their Lives***
(Pandora, 176 pages, 1988)

**Moshe Lissak** (Israeli sociology professor, emphasis on civil-military co-operation)
with **Dan Horowitz:** ***Origins of Israeli Polity: Palestine Under the Mandate***
(University of Chicago Press, 1978)
Translated by **Charles Hoffman**

With **Dan Horowitz**: ***Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 1989)

**Douglas Little**
***American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945***
(University of North Carolina Press, 2002, 2008)

**Myra Little**
***The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem as an International Issue***
(University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, 100 pages, 1994)
University thesis. Contents summary: Chapter 1 examines the history of Jewish persecution, the evolution of the Zionist movement and traces the path of early Zionist diplomacy. Chapter 2 explains how Ottoman Society worked, accounts for the rise of Arab nationalist movements and examines British policy in the Middle East in the years preceding the outbreak of hostilities. Chapter 3 examines key events during the war and explains how relationships between the Allies altered as the war progressed. This chapter also analyses the changing status of the inhabitants of the territory of Palestine and the accounts for its recognition an area as of international significance. Chapters 4 and 5 examine two important sets of documents: the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence and the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Chapter 4 also looks at competing perspectives of the meaning McMahon's pledge to Sharif Hussein and accounts for the secrecy which surrounded the outcome of both sets of negotiations. Chapter 6 gives an account of the Arab Revolt, an event which was fairly insignificant in the wider picture of the conflict. This chapter also explains why it was the prospect of a revolt which was crucially important, not least for various negotiations in the early stages of the war. Chapter 7 is concerned with the change of leadership in Britain and the consequences for policy in the Middle East. This chapter also explains why Zionist diplomacy was so successful at this particular time and examines the frantic negotiations which preceded the Balfour Declaration both in Britain and America.

**Meir Litvak** (Tel Aviv University)
***Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
This book analyzes the evolution and cultivation of modern Palestinian collective memory and its role in shaping Palestinian national identity from its inception in the 1920s to the 2006 Palestinian elections.

With **Esther Webman**: ***From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust***
(Columbia University Press, 416 pages, 2009)

**Tim Llewellyn**
***A Public Ignored: The Broadcasters' False Portrayal of the Israel-Palestine Struggle*** – in: **Daud Abdullah** & **Ibrahim Hewitt**, editors: ***The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe: Changing Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 2012)

**Zachary Lochman**
***Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948***
(University of California Press, 1996)
Focuses on instances of Palestinian-Jewish labour interaction during the 1936-1939 Revolt.

with **Joel Beinin**
***Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation***
(Boston: South End Press / IB Tauris, 1989)

**Amir Locker-Biletzki** (Concordia University, Montreal / Ben-Gurion University, Negev)
***Holidays of the Revolution: Communist Identity in Israel, 1919-1965***
(State University of New York Press, 226 pages, 2020)
Tangential to Palestinian Communists in the Israeli state.

**Zachary Lockman** (Middle East Studies Association)
***Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism***
(Cambridge University Press, 2010)
Tangential.

***Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948***
(University of California Press, 440 pages, 1996)
The 1936 Arab Revolt and labour strike is seen to have advanced the exclusively Jewish private labour sector. Prior, the Mandate Government is seen to have paid lower wages to its own Arab staff.

As co-editor with **Joel Beinin:** ***Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation***
(Boston: South End Press / IB Tauris, 1989)

**Peter Londey** & **David Homer** (both Australian National University), and **Rhys Crawley** (Australian War Memorial)
***The Long Search for Peace: Observer Missions and Beyond, 1947-2006 ~ Volume 1***
(Cambridge University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Volume I of the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations recounts the Australian peacekeeping missions that began between 1947 and 1982, and follows them through to 2006, which is the end point of this series. The operations described in The Long Search for Peace - some long, some short; some successful, some not - represent a long period of learning and experimentation, and were a necessary apprenticeship for all that was to follow. Australia contributed peacekeepers to all major decolonisation efforts: for thirty-five years in Kashmir, fifty-three years in Cyprus, and (as of writing) sixty-one years in the Middle East, as well as shorter deployments in

Indonesia, Korea and Rhodesia. This volume also describes some smaller-scale Australian missions in the Congo, West New Guinea, Yemen, Uganda and Lebanon. It brings to life Australia's long-term contribution not only to these operations but also to the very idea of peacekeeping."

**Louise London**

***Whitehall and the Jews: British Immigration Policy, Jewish Refugees and the Holocaust, 1933-1948***

(Cambridge University Press, 314 pages, 2000, 2002, 2003)

Contents: Immigration control : law and administration -- Control without visas : the first five years of refugee immigration, 1933-1938 -- New restrictions after the Anschluss : March to October 1938 -- From Kristallnacht to the outbreak of war : November 1938 to September 1939 -- Refugees from Czechoslovakia -- War-time policy : 1939-1942 -- The response to the Holocaust -- Post-war decisions.

**C.W.R. Long**

***The Palestinians and British Perfidy: The Tragic Aftermath of the Balfour Declaration of 1917***

(Sussex Academic Press, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "Credit for the shameful act of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 is generally given to the Zionist supporters of Theodor Herzl. But Britain cleared the way by expelling the Mufti of Jerusalem, the Palestinians' only leader, providing the Zionists, who extraordinarily made concurrent overtures to Hitler and Mussolini, with military training in Britain's Second World War campaigns in Iraq and Syria. Itself ejected by its ungrateful protégé, Britain lost all the aims of its Declaration (no base to guard the Suez Canal, no Haifa port, no railway to Iraq and no oil pipeline) and all its prestige in the Arab World."

**Richard Long** (British Council and Foreign Office)

***The Palestinians and British Perfidy: The Tragic Aftermath of the Balfour Declaration of 1917***

(Sussex University Press, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "Ottoman Turkey's decision to ally with Germany in the First World War led directly to the British (and French) conquest of the Middle East and sealed the fate of Palestine. In a monstrous betrayal of its people, 93 percent of them Arab, the November 1917 Balfour Declaration withheld the independence they rightly anticipated and for strategic reasons earmarked Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish People. Ronald Storrs, a British Foreign and Colonial Office official, remarked that 'The U.K. proposed to hand (Palestine), without consulting the occupants, to a third party; and what sort of third party!' The result was the foundation of Israel in 1948. Through ethnic cleansing and massacre the new state drove out helpless Palestinian victims of Perfidious Albion, in whom London at no stage showed the slightest interest. They were condemned to seventy years in refugee camps or to second-class citizenship of Israel as, in the words of an Israeli Foreign Minister, the land-grab state was 'born in sin'. Credit for this shameful act is generally given to the Zionist supporters of Theodore Herzl. But Britain cleared the way by expelling the Mufti of Jerusalem, the Palestinians' only leader, providing the Zionists, who extraordinarily made concurrent overtures to Hitler and Mussolini, with military training in Britain's Second World War campaigns in Iraq and Syria. Itself ejected by its ungrateful protégé, Britain lost all the aims of its Declaration (no base to guard the Suez Canal, no Haifa port, no railway to Iraq and no oil pipeline) and all its prestige in the Arab World."

**Yosefa Loshitzky**

***Identity Politics on the Israeli Screen***

(University of Texas Press, 2021)

- Publisher's blurb: "The struggle to forge a collective national identity at the expense of competing plural identities has preoccupied Israeli society since the founding of the state of Israel. In this book, Yosefa Loshitzky explores how major Israeli films of the 1980s and 1990s have contributed significantly to the process of identity formation by reflecting, projecting, and constructing debates around Israeli national identity. Loshitzky focuses on three major foundational sites of the struggle

over Israeli identity: the Holocaust, the question of the Orient, and the so-called (in an ironic historical twist of the "Jewish question") Palestinian question. The films she discusses raise fundamental questions about the identity of Jewish Holocaust survivors and their children (the 'second generation'), Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries or Mizrahim (particularly the second generation of Israeli Mizrahim), and Palestinians. Recognizing that victimhood marks all the identities represented in the films under discussion, Loshitzky does not treat each identity group as a separate and coherent entity, but rather attempts to see the conflation, interplay, and conflict among them." Contents: Screening the Birth of a Nation: Exodus Revisited -- Surviving the Survivors: The Second Generation -- Postmemory Cinema: Second-Generation Israelis Screen the Holocaust -- Shchur: The Orient Within -- In the Land of Oz: Orientalist Discourse in My Michael -- Forbidden Love in the Holy Land: Transgressing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict -- The Day After: The Sexual Economy of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

**Laurence Louer**

***To be an Arab in Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 228 pages, 2007)
Translation by **John King**, from the French edition, Editions Balland/Hurst & Co, 2003. Contents: The birth of an Arab community in Israel -- The usages of Palestinian identity -- The growing power of marginal political groups -- The protagonists of "Palestinisation" -- Labour as partner -- The usages of "Israelisation" -- The Islamists between religion and politics -- Interconfessional tensions and Islamic mobilisation -- Between Israel and Palestine -- The new clergy -- In the ambit of the Jewish state -- Questioning the Zionist project.

**William Roger Louis**

As co-editor, with **Avi Shlaim**: ***The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences***
(Cambridge University Press, 2012)

As co-editor, with **Robert Wilson Stooke**: ***The End of the Palestine Mandate***
(IB Tauris, 1986 / 2013, 2017)
Contributors include: Peter Grose, Oles M. Smolansky, Michael J. Cohen, Walid Khalidi, and JC Hurewitz. Contains Louis' chapter, "British Imperialism and the End of the Palestine Mandate," in which Ernest Bevin's accused antisemitism is seen as having developed from policy, not prejudice.

***The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951***
(Oxford University Press, 1984)

**Donald M. Love**

***Henry Churchill King of Oberlin***
(Yale University Press, 1956)
King Crane Commission; see also: David Hapgood

**Walter C. Lowdermilk** aka **Walter Clay Lowdermilk** (American Zionist Emergency Council, forerunner of AIPAC)

***The Untried Approach to the Palestine Problem***
(New York: American Christian Palestine Committee, 11 pages, 1948)

***Palestine, Land of Promise***
(New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944 / London: Gollancz, 236 pages, 1947; New York: Greenwood Press, 244 pages, 1968)

***Jordan Valley Authority***
(Jerusalem: Information office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 4 pages, ca. 1940s)

Focus on hydroelectric power and irrigation.

***Palestine Can Take Millions***
(London: Information Department, Jewish Agency for Palestine, 22 pages, 1944)
Propaganda regarding the 'Jordan Valley Plan' for a UK audience, co-written with **Abraham Revusky** on the 'absorptive capacity of Palestine'. Lush pamphlet, despite wartime paper rationing conditions, given by T.R. Feiwel [aka Tosco Fyvel] to his close friend and non-Zionist George Orwell.

**Eric Lowe**

***Palestine Remembered: An Archive of Memories of Palestine Veterans***
(Berkshire: Highfield Publishing, 75 pages, 2014)
Personal narratives from HM Forces, ca.1948.

***Forgotten Conscripts: Prelude to Palestine's Struggle for Survival***
(Victoria, British Columbia: Trafford, 242 pages, 2006-2007)

**Marvin Lowenthal**

***Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters***
(Viking Press, 350 pages, 1942 / Greenwood Press, 1975)
Szold (1860-1945) was the founder of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, who moved to Mandate Palestine. See also biographical material by **Francine Klagsbrun** and **Baila Shargel**.

**Steven Lubet** (Northwestern University; National Public Radio)

***The Trials of Rasmea Odeh: How a Palestinian Guerilla Gained and Lost US Citizenship***
(George Mason University Press, 277 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "On February 21, 1969, a bomb exploded in the largest supermarket in Jerusalem. The blast killed two and injured many more, triggering an intense search for the terrorists behind the plot. Israeli security forces quickly apprehended, tortured, tried, and eventually convicted twenty-one-year-old Palestinian Rasmea Odeh for murder. Twenty-five years later, however, Odeh was not serving a life sentence in an Israeli prison but instead starting a new life in the United States, first in Detroit and later in Chicago, eventually becoming a naturalized citizen and working as a community organizer. Her arrest by U.S. federal authorities in 2013 on charges of unlawful procurement of citizenship and subsequent trial ignited defenders and detractors, even as the facts of the case, the previous conviction, and those of Odeh's life were obscured or ignored. Based on extensive research, The Trials of Rasmea Odeh separates fact from fiction as it follows the remarkable twists of this story, even or especially where those facts subvert one political narrative or another. The result is that rare book that is both an extraordinary achievement of scholarly research and a gripping, accessible, and engaging narrative, making it an invaluable resource for discussion of the issues of citizenship, statehood, and the limits of legality this story engages."

**Ibrahim Abu-Lughod**

As co-editor, with **Roger Heacock** and **Khaled Nashef**: ***The Landscape of Palestine: Equivocal Poetry***
(Birzeit University [conference], 1999)

As editor: ***The Transformation of Palestine: Essays on the Origin and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 522 pages, 1970, 1971, 1987)
With foreword by **Arnold J. Toynbee**

***Palestinian Rights: Affirmation and Denial***

(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press, 1982)

***Renewed Commitment and Positive Pragmatism: The Thirteenth Session of the Palestine National Council***
(Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 14 or 16 pages, 1977)

With **Edward Said**
***Two Studies on the Palestinians Today, and American Policy***
(AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 22 pages, 1976)

Co-edited with **Baha Abu-Laban:**
***Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World: The Illusion of Endurance***
Willmette, Illinois: Medina University Press, 255 pages, 1974)
Essays presented at the sixth annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Washington DC, 19-21 October.

As editor: ***The Arab-Israeli Confrontation of June 1967: An Arab Perspective***
(Northwestern University Press, 201 pages, 1970)

With a foreword by **Malcolm H.Kerr**. Contents: **Edward Said -**The Arab Portrayed / **A. L. Tibawi** - *Jerusalem: Its Place in Islam and Arab History* / **Hisham Sharabi**: *Prelude to War: The Crisis of May-June 1967* / **Ibrahim Abu-Lughod**: *Israel's Arab Policy*/ **Cherif Bassiouni**: *Some Legal Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* / **Samir N. Anabtawi**: *The United Nations and the Middle East Conflict of 1967* / **Michael W. Suleiman**: *American Mass Media and the June Conflict* / **Kamal S. Abujaber**: *United States Policy Toward the June Conflict* / **Abdeen Jabara**: *The American Left and the June Conflict.*

**Lila Abu-Lughod** (Columbia University)
***Do Muslim Women Need Saving?***
(Harvard University Press, 2013, 2015)

***Nakba: Palestine, 1948 and the Claims of Memory***
(Columbia University Press, 2007)
Essays by Susan Slyomovics, Rochelle Davis, Lila Abu-Lughod, Lena Jayyusi, Rosemary Sayigh, Haim Bresheeth-Zabner, Omar Al-Qattan, Isabelle Humphries, Laleh Khalili, Samera Esmeir, Diana K. Allan and Ahmad H. Sa'di.

***Writing Womer's Worlds: Benouin Stories***
(University of California Press, 1993, 2008)

***Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in Bedouin Society***
(University of California Press, 1986)

**Yehuda Lukacs**
***Israel, Jordan and the Peace Process***
(Syracuse University Press, revised ed., 1999)
This book examines Israeli-Jordanian relations from the end of 1967 war until the 1994 signing of the Treaty of Peace, with a special emphasis on the 1967-1988 period. Its underlying theme is that, despite the formal state of war between them, the two countries engaged in functional cooperation resulting from a perception of shared interests. The paradoxical type of relationship between adversaries is not uncommon in international relations.

As editor: ***The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, 1967-1990***
(Cambridge University Press, 1991)

This book covers the period 1967–1990. It begins with UN Security Council Resolution 242 and ends with documents pertaining to Israel's 1989 West Bank elections proposal, Egypt's Ten Point Plan, and US Secretary of State James Baker's Five Point Proposal for Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change***
(Routledge, 1988)

As editor: ***Documents on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1967-1983***
(Cambridge University Press, 247 pages, 1984)
This collection brings together in one volume key documents and statements of position of the parties directly and indirectly involved: Israel, the Palestinians, the Arab countries, the United States of America and the United Nations. It begins with UN Security Council Resolution 242 and ends with the joint Jordanian-PLO statement which rejected Jordanian participation in negotiations proposed in the Reagan Peace Plan of September 1982.

**Ian Lustick**

***Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza***
(Cornell University Press, 576 pages, 1993, 1995, 2018)

***For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel***
(New York City: Council for Foreign Relations, 1988)
Gush Emunim focus.

***Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority***
(University of Texas Press, 1980)

**Kfir Cohen Lustig** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute)

***Makers of Worlds, Readers of Signs: Israeli and Palestinian Literature of the Global Contemporary***
(Verso Books, 282 pages, 2019)
A theoretical examination of literature since the 1940s.

**Joris Luyendijk**

***Hello Everybody! One Journalist's Search for Truth in the Middle East***
(Profile Books, 2009)
Translated from Dutch by Michelle Hutchison.

**Nimrod Luz** (Kinneret College, Galilee)

***The Politics of Sacred Places: A View from Israel-Palestine***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 240 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "A study of the socio-political dimensions of sacred sites in Israel–Palestine, drawing on over 20 years of in-depth ethnographic research which introduces cutting-edge theories on secularization, struggles for recognition, and diversity issues. This book focuses on contemporary sacred sites and their socio-political meanings for minorities within a hegemonic and a secularizing state-system. It argues that sacred places provide a space that is less scrutinized by the state and where alternative visions of the socio-political may be produced. A plethora of sites and case studies are examined, including the rural shrine of Maqam abu al-Hijja in the lower Galilee, the Mosque of Hassan Bek in the heart of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the most disputed sacred place in the region, the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. These sites are explored through mostly a phenomenological lens and in various contexts, from the individual body to the global. This book offers a critical-analytical

study of the socio-political aspects of sacred sites in contemporary societies within the broader understanding of scale and the spatial turn in the study of religion."

**Albert Howe Lybyer** (Professor specialising on the Ottoman Empire; University of Illinois; Oberlin College; Robert College, Istanbul; advisor to the King-Crane Commission)

***The Question of the Near East***
(New York City: Institute of International Education, 21 pages, 1921)
International Relations Clubs Syllabus, no. 8.; held at LSE Library and the Hathi Trust Digital Library.

***The Literature of the Great War***
(New York City, 1917)
Paper read before the Illinois Library Association at Ottawa, Illinois, 11 October 1916; publication held by the Hathi Trust Digital Library.

**Staughton Lynd, Sam Bahour** (Palestinian-American business consultant) & **Alice Lynd**, editors

***Homeland: Oral Histories of Palestine and Palestinians***
(New York City: Olive Branch Press, 310 pages, 1994)

**The Right Hon. The Earl of Lytton [Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton]**

***The Problem of the Mandate in Palestine***
(Nottingham: Cust Foundation Lecture, 22 pages 1931)

**Mariane A. Maasri**

***The National Democratic Assembly: An Arab Party in Israel, Headed by Azmi Bishara***
(Zalka: Mokhtarat, 2004)
Aka Bichara, editor of *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*

**R.A. (Robert Alexander) Stewart Macalister** (archaeologist in Ottoman Palestine, 1898-1900); selected publications:

***A Century of Excavation in Palestine***
(London: Religious Tract Society, 335 pages, 1925)

***A History of Civilisation in Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 139 pages, 1912)

***The Excavation of Gezer: 1902-1905 and 1907-1909***
(London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 3 volumes, 1912)

***Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer: A Record of Excavation and Discovery in Palestine***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 1906)

With **Frederick Jones Bliss**: ***Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898-1900***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)
See also the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Annual* reports, etc.

**Sean MacBride**, editor

***Israel in Lebanon: Report of the International Commission to Enquire into Reported Violations of International Law by Israel During its Invasion of the Lebanon***
(London: Ithaca Press, 1983)

Study undertaken 28 August-29 November 1982 by **Sean MacBride**, Chair; **Professor Richard Falk**, Vice Chair; with **Dean Kader Asmal**; **Dr. Brian Bercusson**; **Professor Geraud de la Pradelle**; and **Professor Stefan Wild**. Note: Edward Said's review in the *London Review of Books*, V. 6 N.3, 1984.

**Malcolm MacDonald** (Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs)

**Clyde Sanger**: ***Malcolm MacDonald – Bringing an End to Empire***
(Liverpool University Press, 498 pages, 1995)

**Sir Lewis Bernstein Namier**: ***A Zionist Reviews Mr. MacDonald's Speech***
(Off-print from the *Manchester Guardian*)
Speech delivered in the House of Commons, 6 March 1940.

***Conferences on Palestine, 1939***
(London: 3 volumes, 1939)
In February 1939 Malcolm MacDonald, convened a conference of Arab and Zionist leaders on the future of Palestine at St. James's Palace, London. The discussions ended without agreement in March 1939. Three volumes of typescript papers from the conference: vol. 1 consists of notes of formal meetings and informal discussions with Arab delegates from Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Yemen; vol. 2 consists of formal meetings with the Jewish Agency delegation, informal discussions with Arab and Jewish delegates, and informal discussions with Jewish delegates; vol. 3 consists of memoranda circulated to delegations. Delegates include Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion for the Jewish Agency, and Jamal Effendi Husseini and Auni Bey Abdul Hadi representing the Arabs of Palestine. At head of title: "Secret". Held at King's College London.

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Interview with Mr. Pinhas Rutenberg***
(6 pages, 28 November 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Interviews with Muse Bey El Alami***
(CAB/104/8, 15 pages, 25 and 28 November 1938; forwarded by the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 7 December 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Conversation with the Egyptian Ambassador***
(CAB/104/8, 2 pages, 25 November 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Jewish Scheme for a Development Corporation in Palestine and Surrounding Countries***
(CAB/104/8, 3 pages, 18 November 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Invitations to Proposed Discussions in London***
(CAB/104/8, 17 November 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Interview with Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Shertok***
(CAB/104/8, 2 pages, 8 November 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: Memorandum with attached draft policy statement***
(CAB/104/8, 6 pages, 28 October 1938)

***Cabinet Committee on Palestine: The Palestine Situation***
(8 pages, 20 October 1938)

**Ramsay MacDonald** [British Prime Minister, 1924, 1929-1935]

***A Socialist in Palestine***
(Poale Zion – Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation, 24 pages, 1922)

Visited Mandate Palestine in 1922; here
disallowing any Arab Palestinian claim because "Palestine and the Jews can never be separated."

**John MacGregor**

***Rob Roy on the Jordan: A Canoe Cruise in Palestine, Egypt, and the Waters of Damascus*** aka ***Roy Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea, and Gennesareth: A Canoe Cruise in Palestine, Egypt, and the Waters of Damascus***
(John Murray, 1869, 1880, 1904 / Routledge, 2004, 2019)

**Gerald MacLean** editor

***Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives***
(Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 319 pages, 2011)
Conference, University of Exeter, 2009. Contents: Introduction: Britain and the Muslim world / **Gerald MacLean** – British private traders in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries / **Om Prakash** – Outrageous rites: early modern English encounters with Levantine religious rituals / **Eva Johanna Holmberg** – "You will say they are Persian but let them be changed": Robert and Teresa Sherley's embassy to the court of James / **Kate Arthur** – Elihu Yale, the Eas" India Company, and the pro'lem with Madras / **Rajani Sudan** – Anglo-Ottoman enlightenment?: Thoroughbreds and the public sphere / **Donna Landry** – Turning Turk, turning heretic: Joseph Pitts of Exeter and the early enlightenment, 1640-1740 / **Humberto Garcia** – Performance and performing in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters from Istanbul, 1716-18 / **Georgina Lock** – Alternatives to Orientalism?: Mary Wortley Montagu and her "Turkish" son" / **Bernadette Andrea** – The Muslim world in British fictions of the nineteenth century / **Robert Irwin** – Owen Jones and the Islamic world / **Abraham Thomas** – The first Englishwoman on the Hajj: Lady Evelyn Cobbold in 1933 / **William Facey** – Dr Sayyid Mutwalli ad-Darsh's fatwas for Muslims in Britain: the voice of official Islam? / **Gerard Wiegers** – Manifesto for a new translation of the Qur'an / **Ziad Elmarsafy** – Al Hadatha: race and identity in Palestinian early literature of resistance / **Ahmed Masoud** – Peering around the "velvet curtain of culture": the employment and housing of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Muslim immigrants, 1960s-1990s / **Sarah Hackett** – A duty to belong?: Muslim women of Cardiff as a case study / Marta Warat – Interfaith dialogue and religious literacy prevent Christian-Muslim violence in the UK and US / **Vincent Biondo** – Framing Muslims in British television drama: 'realism' or stereotypes? / **Peter Morey** – Muslims in the media / **Tim Llewellyn**.

**Garret Machine** (IDF Duvdevan [counter terror] Unit)

***Israeli Security Concepts: A Comprehensive Guide for Selecting, Training, and Deploying a Security Team for Installation and Personal Protection***
(Author/CreateSpace, 158 pages, 2010

**John M. Machover** aka **J.M. Machover**

***Jewish State or Ghetto: Dangers of Palestine Partition: Royal Commission's Proposals Examined***
(London: Anscombe, 208 pages, July, 1937 / Westport Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 208 pages, 1976

***Governing Palestine: The Case against a Parliament***
(PS King & Son, 1936)

**Moshé Machover** (Matzpen, London University)

***Israelis and Palestinians***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012) Essays surveying anti-Zionism within Israel; author co-founder of Matzpen, the Socialist organisation in Israel.

With: **John O'Mahony, Tony Greenstein, Lenni Brenner**: ***Arabs, Jews and Socialism: The Debate on Palestine, Zionism and Anti-Semitism***
(Workers' Liberty pamphlet, ca. 1987)
Note: originally published in *Socialist Organiser,* nos. 77-302, 1977-1987; including 'Trotsky and Zionism.'

With **M. Jafar**: **Machover: *Zionism, Why We Oppose It*** / **Jafar**: ***War & Peace in the Middle East***
(Palestine Solidarity Campaign, ca. 1977)

**With: Haim Hanegbi & Akiva Orr: *The Class Nature of Israeli Society***
(Pluto Press, 1971)

**Sandra Mackey**
***Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict***
(WW Norton, 2008)

***Lebanon: Death of a Nation***
(Congdon & Weed, 1989)

**Nancy Mackinnon**
***The Background of the London Conference on Palestine, 1947***
(British Association for the Jewish National Home in Palestine, 20 pages, 1947)

**Norman MacLean** (Church of Scotland)
***His Terrible Swift Sword***
(American Zionist Council/Victor Gollancz, 87 pages, 1942)
Advocates for the 'Jewish Homeland' in Palestine.

**Sir George Macmunn** (K.C.P., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. [late R.A.], P.SC.) and **Captain Cyril Falls** (late 11th R. Innis. Fus. And General Staff)
***Military Operations Egypt & Palestine from the Outbreak of War with Germany to June 1917***
(H.M.S.O., 445 pages, 1928)
Illustrated in two volumes: text and with folding maps.

**Penny Maddrell**
***The Beduin of the Negev*** [Bedouin]
(London: Minority Rights Group, 25 pages, 1989, 1990)
With additional material by **Yunis Al-Grenawi**.

**Shaul Magid** (Harvard Divinity School)
As co-editor with **Zev Mishell**: ***Jewish Anti-Zionism: A Historical Anthology***
(Princeton University Press, 488 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: Few remember now that the Zionist movement triggered passionate debate among Jews, with many expressing ambivalence or opposition to the Zionist project. In *Jewish Anti-Zionism*, Shaul Magid and Zev Mishell have gathered a broad selection of documents, written between the late nineteenth century and the present day, many of them newly translated into English from multiple languages, revealing the rich variety of Jewish opposition to Zionism over the decades. Following Magid and Mishell's authoritative introduction on the history of anti-Zionism among Jews, the book features dozens of texts by Jewish writers from diverse backgrounds discussing why they reject the Zionist idea as the best option for Jewish flourishing. The documents reflect a lively

debate carried out though multiple forms—personal letters, essays, speeches, manifestos, newspaper columns, and extracts from learned treatises. The authors range from scholars and other thinkers writing well before the establishment of the state of Israel to well-known contemporary voices including **Peter Beinart**, **Noam Chomsky**, **Naomi Klein**, and **Judith Butler**. Magid and Mishell preface each text with a short introduction that offers historical and ideological context."

***The Necessity of Exile: Essays from a Distance***
(New York City: Ayin Press, 2023)
Critiques of liberal Zionism.

***Meir Kahane: The Public Life and Political Thought of an American Jewish Radical***
(Princeton University Press, 296 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Meir Kahane came of age amid the radical politics of the counterculture, becoming a militant voice of protest against Jewish liberalism. Kahane founded the Jewish Defense League in 1968, declaring that Jews must protect themselves by any means necessary. He immigrated to Israel in 1971, where he founded KACH, an ultranationalist and racist political party. He would die by assassination in 1990. Shaul Magid provides an in-depth look at this controversial figure, showing how the postwar American experience shaped his life and political thought. Magid sheds new light on Kahane's radical political views, his critique of liberalism, and his use of the 'grammar of race' as a tool to promote Jewish pride. He discusses Kahane's theory of violence as a mechanism to assure Jewish safety, and traces how his Zionism evolved from a fervent support of Israel to a belief that the Zionist project had failed."

***American Post-Judaism: Identity and Renewal in a Postethnic Society***
(Indiana University Press, 388 pages, 2013)

**Aaron Magid** (former Amman-based journalist for *Al-Monitor,* the Atlantic Council, France 24, Al-Jazeera, Middle East Institute)
***The Most American King: Abdullah of Jordan***
(Universal Publishers, 254 pages, 2025)
Tangential to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: "This book is the first comprehensive biography on Jordan's King Abdullah. Drawing on interviews with over 100 individuals, including Abdullah's classmates, former Jordanian ministers, and CIA directors, *The Most American King* offers a thorough account of this key Arab leader. Aaron Magid, a former Amman-based journalist, charts Abdullah's path to power from a Massachusetts prep school to a British military academy to the throne. This book examines how Abdullah has remained in power for over a quarter century, surrounded by wars and refugee crises. While leaders nearby were ousted during the 2011 Arab Spring protests, Abdullah survived the wave of discontent. *The Most American King* details Abdullah's efforts to cement an alliance with Washington. Despite leading a small desert country, the Jordanian king was the first Arab leader to meet US Presidents Joe Biden, Donald Trump, and Barack Obama. The kingdom has received billions in US assistance, and Abdullah's intelligence services helped the CIA foil Al-Qaeda terror plots against American targets. Abdullah's personal ties to the United States have strengthened this relationship. Abdullah trained with the US Army in Kentucky, appeared on a Star Trek episode, and interviewed with Comedy Central's Jon Stewart. While the Hashemite ruler has frequently been lauded in the West, The Most American King discusses how some of Abdullah's decisions provoked controversy inside the Hashemite Kingdom. Abdullah approved a $15 billion gas deal with Israel in 2014, but thousands of Jordanians protested the Hashemite Kingdom's largest-ever deal with the Jewish state. Over a decade earlier, Abdullah agreed to host US troops in Jordan and provide Washington with overflight rights ahead of the Bush administration's 2003 invasion of Iraq. The Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood denounced such military cooperation with the United States as it prepared to topple the government of its neighbor. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in Jordanian politics."

**Shaul Magid** (Harvard Divinity School) and **Zev Mishell Ayelet Waldman**, editors

***Jewish Anti-Zionism: A Historical Anthology***
(Princeton University Press, 456 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "A broad selection of documents, written between the late nineteenth century and the present day, many of them newly translated into English from multiple languages, revealing the rich variety of Jewish opposition to Zionism over the decades. Following Magid and Mishell's long, authoritative introduction on the history of anti-Zionism among Jews, the book features dozens of texts by Jewish writers from diverse backgrounds discussing why they reject the Zionist idea as the best option for Jewish flourishing."

**Judah Leon Magnes** (Chancellor of Hebrew University, Jerusalem,
and Ihud ("unity") Association aka Ichud
**Martin Buber, Judah L. Magnes** & **Ernst Simon**, editors: ***Towards Union in Palestine – Essays on Zionism and Jewish-Arab Cooperation***
(Jerusalem: Ihud Union Association, 1947)

***Arab-Jewish Unity: Testimony before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for The Ihud (Union) Association*** [1946]
(Victor Gollancz, 1947)

**Markus Reiner, Lord Samuel, Ernst Simon, Moshe Smilansky, Judah L. Magnes**: ***Palestine – Divided or United? The Case for a Bi-National Palestine before the United Nations***
(Greenwood Press, 1983)
Contains the full text of the Ihud (Union) Association s evidence, both written and oral, before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in 1947; passages of the Ihud's evidence before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; and an address delivered before UNSCOP by Dr. Ernst Simon, a leading member of the Ihud, has been included. See also: ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

***Jewish-Arab Cooperation in Palestine***
(Ihud Union Assocation, 1945)

***In the Perplexity of the Times***
(Hebrew University, 1946)
Speeches and correspondence, some in English translation

***The Source of Prophetic Morality: Address***
(Hebrew University, 1943)

***Address of the President of the Hebrew University***
(Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1939)

***The Spirit of Peace and the Spirit of War***
(8 pages, 1938)

***Addresses by the Chancellor of the Hebrew University***
(Hebrew University, 1936)

***Like all the Nations?***
(Jerusalem: Weiss Press, 1930 / Syracuse University Press, 1987)

***Dissenters in Zion – from the Writings of Judah L. Magnes***
(Harvard University Press, 1982)
Edited by **Arthur A. Goren**.

**Kate Maguire**

***The Israelisation of Jerusalem***
(London: Arab Research Centre, 1981)

**Mohammad Taki Mahdi**
***Of Lions, Chained: An Arab Looks at America***
(San Francisco: New World Press, 1962)

**Gregory S. Mahler** (Earlham College, Indiana), **Maddi F. Abdul Hadi** (Founder, PASSIA – Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of Internal Affairs, Jerusalem.
***Palestinian History and Politics: An Introduction and Documentary Reader***
(Routledge, 530 pages, 2025)

**Ada Maimon**
***Women Build a Land***
(New York City: Herzl Press, 294pages, 1962)
Translated by **Shulamith Schwarz-Nardi**.

**Rachel Mairs**
***The Untold Lives of Dragomans: The Dragoman Solomon Negime and His Clients***
(Bloomsbury, 2015)
Christian Palestinian tour guide in Jaffa and Jerusalem, from the 1880s until the Great War. Period accounts of both Negime and his customers.

**Betty Dagher Majaj**
***A War Without Chocolate: One Woman's Journey through Two Nations, Three Wars, and Four Children***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015)

**Mazen Al-Majadalawi**
***Human Resource Development in Palestinian Higher Education, with Special Reference to Evaluation of Employee Development and Training at the Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestinian Authority***
(University of South Wales, Pontypridd, 2015)
University thesis.

**Jibran Majdalany**
***On the Necessity for an Anti-Racialist Solution to the Palestine Conflict***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 16 pages, ca. 1969)

**Jean Said Makdisi** (b. Jerusalem, raised in Cairo, Beirut)
As editor, **Serene Husseini Shahid**: ***Jerusalem Memories***
(Beirut: Naufal Books, 1999, 2000)

***Teta, Mother and Me***
(Saqi Books & WW Norton & Co, 2005 & 2007)

***Beirut Fragments: A War Memoir***
(NYC: Persea Books, 1990)

As co-editor with **Martin Asser, Shafiq Al-Hout**: ***My Life in the PLO – The Inside Story of the Palestinian Struggle***
(Pluto, 2010/2011)
Translated by **Hader al-Hout** and **Laila Othman**. The memoirs of Shafiq Al-Hout, one of the most important Palestinian leaders, show him to be selfless, yet critical of Arafat's management of the PLO and the Fatah movement, especially during the Lebanese years.

**Saree Makdisi** (UCLA, nephew of Edward W. Said)
***Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation***
(WW Norton, 2008) Focus on "the hyperregulation of everyday life" by the Israelis of the Palestinians, with Hebron cited as "an ongoing experiment in the science and politics of ethnic separation and systematic dispossession…a slow-motion portrait of Palestine being turned inside out."

**David Makovsky**
***Engagement through Disengagement: Gaza and the Potential for Renewed Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking***
(Washington DC: Washington Institute for Near Easy Policy, 2005)

**Ussama Makdisi** (University of California Berkeley; Rice University)
***Age of Coexistence: The Ecumenical Frame and the Making of the Modern Arab World***
(University of California Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Moving from the nineteenth century to the present, this ground-breaking book explores, without denial or equivocation, the politics of pluralism during the Ottoman Empire and in the post-Ottoman Arab world. Rather than judging the Arab world as a place of age-old sectarian animosities, *Age of Coexistence* describes the forging of a complex system of coexistence, what Makdisi calls the "ecumenical frame." He argues that new forms of anti-sectarian politics, and some of the most important examples of Muslim-Christian political collaboration, crystallized to make and define the modern Arab world. Despite massive challenges and setbacks, and despite the persistence of colonialism and authoritarianism, this framework for coexistence has endured for nearly a century. It is a reminder that religious diversity does not automatically lead to sectarianism. Instead, as Makdisi demonstrates, people of different faiths, but not necessarily of different political outlooks, have consistently tried to build modern societies that transcend religious and sectarian differences."

***Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of US-Arab Relations, 1820-2001***
(PublicAffairs, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "In this riveting account of U.S.-Arab relations, award-winning author Ussama Makdisi explores why Arabs once had a favorable view of America and why they no longer do. Firmly rejecting the spurious notion of a civilizational clash between Islam and the West, Makdisi instead demonstrates how an initial zealous American missionary crusade was transformed across the nineteenth-century into a leading American educational presence in the Arab world, and how the advent of the idea of Wilsonian self-determination, amidst wide-scale Arab emigration to the United States, further bolstered a positive, foundational Arab idea of America. However, a series of subsequent political turning point, beginning with the British and French colonial partition of the Arab world in 1920 and culminating in the U.S.-backed creation of Israel in 1948 at the expense of the Palestinians, systematically alienated Arabs from America. Drawing on both American and Arab sources."

***Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East***
(Cornell University Press, 2008)
"The complex relationship between America and the Arab world goes back further than most people realize. In Artillery of Heaven, Ussama Makdisi presents a foundational American encounter

with the Arab world that occurred in the nineteenth century, shortly after the arrival of the first American Protestant missionaries in the Middle East. He tells the dramatic tale of the conversion and death of As'ad Shidyaq, the earliest Arab convert to American Protestantism. The struggle over this man's body and soul—and over how his story might be told—changed the actors and cultures on both sides. In the unfamiliar, multireligious landscape of the Middle East, American missionaries at first conflated Arabs with Native Americans and American culture with an uncompromising evangelical Christianity. In turn, their Christian and Muslim opponents in the Ottoman Empire condemned the missionaries as malevolent intruders. Yet during the ensuing confrontation within and across cultures an unanticipated spirit of toleration was born that cannot be credited to either Americans or Arabs alone. Makdisi provides a genuinely transnational narrative for this new, liberal awakening in the Middle East, and the challenges that beset it. By exploring missed opportunities for cultural understanding, by retrieving unused historical evidence, and by juxtaposing for the first time Arab perspectives and archives with American ones, this book counters a notion of an inevitable clash of civilizations and thus reshapes our view of the history of America in the Arab world."

**Michael Makovsky**
***Churchill's Promised Land: Zionism and Statecraft***
(Yale University Press, 2007)
Palestine considered for ridding Britain of Jewish troublemakers (Anarchists and Communists).

**Clovis Maksoud** (Arab League representative)
***Palestine Lives – Interviews with Leaders of the Resistance***
(Palestine Research Center, 1973)
Participants: **Khalid al-Hassan** [Fateh], **Abu Iyad** [Fateh], **George Habash** [PFLP], **Nayef Hawatmeh** [DFLP aka PDFLP], **Sami al-Attari** [Sa'iqa], and **A. W. Sa'id** [Arab Liberation Front]; with introduction by **Clovis Maksoud**

***The Arab Image***
(Delhi: Acharya Ramlochan Publishing House, 1963)

**Akan Malici** (Furman University)
***An Introduction to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 144 pages, 2025)

**Mohammad Malas**
***The Dream: A Diary of a Film***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2016)
Filmmaker's memoir of making a documentary on Shatila and Sabra Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, but before the massacres took place.

**Chibli Mallat** (international lawyer; law professor at University of Utah & St Joseph's University in Lebanon)
***Philosophy of Non-Violence: Revolution, Constitutionalism, and Justice Beyond the Middle East***
(Oxford University Press, 2015) Contains significant focus/examples on Palestinians.

**Sally V. Mallison**
***Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 1982: Humanitarian Law in a Real World Setting***
(American Educational Trust, 1985)
A critical analysis of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the applicable provisions of international law.

With **William Thomas Mallison**: ***The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order*** (Longmans, 1986)

**William Thomas Mallison**

***The Balfour Declaration: An Appraisal in International Law***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1973)

***The Legal Problems Concerning the Juridical Status and Political Activities of the Zionist Organization / Jewish Agency: A Study in International and US Law***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 76 pages, 1968)

**Mahmood Mamdani** (Columbia University)

***Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities***
(Harvard University Press, 416 pages, 2020)
Tangential to Palestine.

**Neville J. Mandel**

***The Arabs and Zionism before World War I***
(University of California Press, 285 pages, 1976)

***Turks, Arabs, and Jewish Immigration, 1882-1914***
(Oxford University PhD thesis, 1965)

**Mandela Institute for Human Rights / Audrey Bomse, author; Jonathan Kuttab, Mohammad Abu-Harthieh** & **Ahmad Sayyad**, editors

***Palestinian Prisoners: Legal Analysis***
(Ramallah: MIHR / Jerusalem: JCHR, 2003, 2004)

**Sophia Mann**

***Domestic Law vs. International Law: The Case of Israel and the Palestinian Refugees, 1948-1952***
(University of Oxford thesis, 2010)
Supervised by **Avi Shlaim**; available via University of Oxford Library.

**Adel Manna** (historian on Ottoman Palestinian history) & **Motti Golani**

***Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956***
(University of California Press / Institute for Palestine Studies, 387 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Jenab Tutunji**. Publisher's blurb: "Beginning in 1948, Israeli paramilitary forces began violently displacing Palestinian Arabs from Palestine. *Nakba and Survival* tells the stories of Palestinians in Haifa and the Galilee during, and in the decade after, mass dispossession. Manna uses oral histories and Palestinian and Israeli archives, diaries, and memories to meticulously reconstruct the social history of the Palestinians who remained and returned to become Israeli citizens. This book focuses in particular on the Galilee, using the story of Manna's own family and their village Majd al-Krum after the establishment of Israel to shed light on the cruelties faced by survivors of the military regime. While scholars of the Palestinian national movement have often studied Palestinian resistance to Israel as related to the armed struggle and the cultural struggle against the Jewish state, Manna shows that remaining in Israel under the brutality of occupation and fighting to return to Palestinian communities after displacement are acts of heroism in their own right. " Contents: Al-Nakba and its Many meanings in 1948; Completing the Occupation of Galilee – Operation Hiram;

The Arab Communists: Between the Nakba and Independence; Forced Migration Continues after the Cannons Fall Silent; Stories about Individuals and Villages; The Struggle to Remain: Between Politics and the Judiciary; The Parliamentary elections and Political Behaviour.

***Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948: Two Narratives of the 1948 War and its Outcome***
(Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation / Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011)
Arabic-English edition; this is a free download as well, via **historyandreconciliation.org**

**Ethel Mannin** (1900-1984. Of her almost 100 titles, these represent most of the London writer's Arab period, in the 1960s, always with a Palestinian struggle focus; see also her fiction, the first English language novels focusing on the Nakba and its aftermath.)

***The Lovely Land: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan***
(Hutchinson, 1965)
Travel book with politics.

***Aspects of Egypt: Some Travels in the United Arab Republic***
(Hutchinson, 264pp, 1964)
Travel book with politics, including Gaza.

***A Lance for the Arabs***
(Hutchinson, 1963)
Travel book with political assessments.

**Peter Manning**

***Representing Palestine: Media and Journalism in Australia Since World War I***
(IB Tauris, SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies Series, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "After more than half a century, the Israel-Palestine conflict continues to dominate headlines. But how has the coverage of Palestinians by foreign media changed? How did foreign correspondents influence the perception of Palestine amongst their audiences? And why is understanding this so important? Based on extensive original research in the archives of Australia's oldest newspaper, Peter Manning shows how the Sydney Morning Herald portrayed Palestine during three key periods – the end of World War I (1917-8); the Nakba and the creation of Israel (1947-8); and 9/11 and its aftermath (2000-2). In the process, he takes the reader on a unique journey from the moment information was gathered on the ground in Palestine, through to its final processing and publication. Crucially, when correspondents neglected to write about Palestinians, their perspective never made it to readers and a space emerged for stereotyping and misunderstanding.
Manning reveals how the newspaper reported on key events such as Australian troops in Palestine and the Holocaust, but also how the newspaper failed to cover massacres and forced migrations. Combining close textual analysis of more than 10,000 articles with cutting-edge quantitative research methods, this book is important reading for anyone with an interest in how the print media has portrayed the conflict in Palestine – both in Australia and beyond."

**Atallah Mansour** (Christian Palestinian b. 1934, longtime reporter for *Ha'aretz* (in Hebrew) and *Al Quds* (in Arabic).

***Waiting for the Dawn: An Autobiography***
(Secker & Warburg, 155 pages, 1975)
Revised as ***Still Waiting for the Dawn: Palestinian Long Life with His Sterp-Father, Israel***
(author/Createspace, 2013). See also FICTION.

**Awad Issa Mansour** (Al-Quds University)

***Settler-Colonial State Formation in Palestine: A Comparative Study***

(Routledge, 2017)

**Camille Mansour** (Paris University, Birzeit University)
***Beyond Alliance: Israel in US Foreign Policy***
(Columbia University Press / Institute for Palestine Studies Beirut, 324 pages, 1994)

***The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: An Overview and Assessment, October 1991-January 1993***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993)

**George Mansur**
***The Arab Worker under the Palestine Mandate***
(Jerusalem: Commercial Press, 64 pages, 1936 or 1937) Available:
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648832

**Johnny Mansour** (schoolteacher and associate of The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies [MADAR]
***Arab Christians in Israel: Facts, Figures, and Trends***
(Diyar, West Bank, 2012)
Perhaps only available as a digital publication. Note: author published an Arabic-only title: *Bishop Gregorios Hajjar's Life and Work* (Hakeem Printing, 2013)

As co-author with **Eli Nachmias** and **Daphna Sharfman**:
***The Secret of Co-Existence: Jews and Arabs in Haifa During the British Mandate in Palestine, 1920-1948***
(Charleston, South Carolina: BookSurge, 2007)

**Frank E. Manuel**
***The Realities of American-Palestine Relations***
(Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 378 pages, 1949)

**Moshe Ma'oz**
**As editor:** ***Muslim Attitudes to Jews in Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2010)

As editor, with **Robert L. Rothstein** & **Khalil Shikaki**: ***The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Oslo and the Lessons of Failure: Perspectives, Predicaments, and Prospects***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2002)

As editor, with **Sari Nusseibeh**: ***Jerusalem: Points of Friction and Beyond***
(Kluwer Law International, 2000)

As editor, with **Avraham Sela**: ***The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution , 1964-1994***
(Macmillan, 1997, 1998)

As editor, with **Ilan Pappe**: ***Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within***
(Tauris Academic Studies, 1997)

***Syria and Israel: from War to Peacemaking***
(Clarendon Press, 1995)

As editor, with **Barry Rubin, Joseph Ginat**: ***From War to Peace: Arab-Israeli Relations, 1973-1993***
(Sussex Academic Press, 1994)

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With **Mordechai Nisan**: ***Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of the Arab Mayors under Jordan and Israel***
(Frank Cass, 217 pages, 1984 /e-version, Routledge, 2015)

As editor, with **Allen Weinstein**: ***Truman and the American I to Israel: A Thirtieth Anniversary Conference***
(Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981)

***Palestinian Arab Politics***
(Jerusalem Academic Press, 1975)

As editor: ***Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period***
(Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975)
Sections include: geography and population; Jewish communities; Central Government and political change; foreign activities; the impact of the West; archival sources.

***Soviet and Chinese relations with the Palestinian Guerilla Organizations***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem / Leonard Davis Institute, 1974)

As editor: ***Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period: International Conference on the History of Palestine and its Jewish Population during the Ottoman Period***
(Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975)
1970 Conference

***Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society***
(Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1968)
"The study opens with the year 1840, at which time the Syrian provinces were reconquered from the Egyptians and the Tanzimat reforms first introduced in them; it closes with the death of Sultan Abdulmecid in 1861, a year which both marked the end of the fist stage in Ottoman Tanzimat and - following the events of 1860 in Damascus (and Lebanon) the conclusion of an era in Syrian history.".

**Sami Khalil Mar'i**

***Education, Culture and Identity Among Palestinians in Israel***
(Knightsbridge: International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1984)

***Arab Education in Israel***
(Syracuse University Press, 1978)

**Munya Meir Mardor**

***Strictly Illegal***
(Robert Hale, 1957)
Translated by **H.A.G. Schmucklev**. Insider's memoir of how the Haganah was armed.

**Triestino Mariniello** (Liverpool John Moores University)

***Administrative Detention in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: An Assessment of the Applicable Norms of International Law and Possibilities of Enforcement***

(180 pages, online, via Edge Hill University Library: https://research.edgehill.ac.uk/ws/files/22096758/Report_Administrative_Detention.pdf)
Tangential to Palestine.

As editor: ***Judge Pinto de Albuquerque and the Progressive Development of International Human Rights Law***
(Brill Law/Brill Nijhoff, 954 pages, 2021)
Tangential to Palestine.

As co-editor, with **Paolo Lobba**: ***Judicial Dialogue on Human Rights: The Practice of International Criminal Tribunals***
(Brill, 321 pages, 2017)
Tangential to Palestine.

As editor: ***The International Criminal Court in Search of its Purpose and Identity***
(Routledge, 306 pages, 2015)

**Dalya Markovich** (Hebrew University Jerusalem) and **Christaine Datsch** (Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg, Germany), editors

***Shared Heritage Revisited: National and Postnational Dimensions on the Example of Germany, Palestine and Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 300 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Culture is constructed, negotiated, managed, and shared by various ideological, political, and moral reasonings which manifest themselves tangibly and intangibly in public monuments, architecture, memorial sites, theaters, museums, orchestras, and heritage associations. The contributions to this volume explore the intersection of cultural heritage and nationality in societies that are characterized by national, multi-national, and post-national concepts. They question the roles that cultural heritage plays in its various contexts, and the ways in which ideology functions to produce it."

**Sally Marks** (Rhode Island College)

***The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe 1918-1933***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
Relevant to the King-Crane Commission.

**Shannee Marks**

***Where is Palestine? The Arabs in Israel***
(Pluto Press, 113 pages, 1984)

**John Marlowe**

***The Seat of Pilate: An Account of the Palestine Mandate***
(Cresset Press, 289 pages, 1959)
Includes focus on the Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb) White Paper (published 21 October 1930, then debated in the House of Commons on 17 November 1930), and notion of the late 1930s Arab Rebellion as a peasant revolt. "The Zionists were encouraged to be dynamic and invited to be unreasonable. The (British Mandate) Administration were compelled to give the appearance of anti-Zionists reluctantly pursuing a pro-Zionist policy." The 12 May 1948 Palestinian surrender of Jaffa by the Irgunists who then, "embellished their Deir Yassin battle honours by an orgy of looting."

***Rebellion in Palestine***
(Cresset Press, 279 pages, 1946)

**Lara Marlowe** (American-French war reporter for the *Rish Times,* TIME, and other major western media, both independent and as partner to Robert Fisk)

***Love in a Time of War: My Years with Robert Fisk***
(Apollo, 448 pages, 2021)
Tangential, but includes Qana Massacre, Southern Lebanon, 1996.

***The Things I've Seen: Nine Lives of a Foreign Correspondent***
(Liberties, 351 pages, 2013)
Compilation of reports, including Palestine/Israel and Lebenon.

**Mike Marqusee**

***If I am Not for Myself: Journey of an Anti-Zionist Jew***
(Verso, 2008)
Author's Leftist New York milieu misses the disconnect between justice and Zionism in the post-holocaust era.

**Khalil Marrar** (Governors State University, Illinois)

***The Arab Lobby and US Foreign Policy: The Two-State Solution***
(Routledge, 2009)

**Phil Marshall**

***Intifada: Zionism, Imperialism and Palestinian Resistance***
(Bookmarks Bookshop, 1989)

**Nabil Marshood**

***Palestinian Teenage Refugees and Immigrants Speak Out***
(Rosen Publications, 64pp, 1997)

**Michelle Mart**

***Eye on Israel: How America Came to View Israel as an Ally***
(State University of New York Press, 242 pages, 2006)

**Robin H. Martin** & editor **Anne Blackman**

***Palestine Betrayed: A British Palestine Policeman's Memoirs (1936-1948)***
(Ringwood, Hampshire: Seglawi Press, 268 pages, 2007)

**Tony Martin** (Africana Studies, Wellesley College)

***The Jewish Onslaught: Despatches from the Wellesley Battlefront***
(Majority Press, 144 pages, 1994)
Publisher's blurb: "An essay on Black-Jewish relations, primarily in the United States, by a professor of African American History who became embroiled in controversy over his classroom use of a book detailing the well- documented Jewish role in the Atlantic slave trade. *The Jewish Onslaught* discusses, among other things, the increasing attacks of Jewish organizations on Black leaders and scholars"

**Jose Ciro Martinez**

***A Genealogy of Jordanian Nationalism: Echoes from Karameh to PLO Withdrawal, 1968-1971***

(University of Cambridge MPhil thesis, 155 pages, 2013)

**Kati Marton** (Historian, formerly with ABC News and National Public Radio)
***A Death in Jerusalem: The Assassination by Jewish Extremists of the First Arab/Israeli***
(Pantheon, 2011) The assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte.

**Daniel Marwecki** (University of Honk Kong)
***Germany and Israel: Whitewashing and Statebuilding***
(Hurst Publishers, 268 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "According to common perception, the Federal Republic of Germany supported the formation of the Israeli state for moral reasons—to atone for its Nazi past—but did not play a significant role in the Arab–Israeli conflict. However, the historical record does not sustain this narrative. Daniel Marwecki's pathbreaking analysis deconstructs the myths surrounding the odd alliance between Israel and post-war democratic Germany. Thorough archival research shows how German policymakers often had disingenuous, cynical or even partly antisemitic motivations, seeking to whitewash their Nazi past by supporting the new Israeli state. This is the true context of West Germany's crucial backing of Israel in the 1950s and '60s. German economic and military support greatly contributed to Israel's early consolidation and eventual regional hegemony. This initial alliance has affected Germany's role in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict to the present day.
Marwecki reassesses German foreign policymaking and identity-shaping, and raises difficult questions about German responsibility after the Holocaust, exploring the many ways in which the genocide of European Jews and the dispossession of the Palestinians have become tragically intertwined in the Middle East's international politics. This long overdue investigation sheds new light on a major episode in the history of the modern Middle East."

**Nur Masalha** [**Nueldeen**] (Palestinian historian and professor, University of Surrey and SOAS. "The rupture of 1948 and the ethnic cleansing of Palestine are central to both the Palestinian society of today and Palestinian social history and collective identity. Resisting ethnic cleansing and politicide has been a key feature of the modern history of the Palestinians as a people.")
As co-editor, with **Ahmad H. Sa'di** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev): ***Decolonizing the Study of Palestine: Indigenous Perspectives and Settler Colonialism after Elia Zureik***
(IB Tauris, 368 pages, 2023)
Contents: **Ahmad H. Sa'di**: *Towards a Decolonization of Palestine Studies* / **Nur Masalha**: *Indigenous Versus Colonial-Settler Topoymy and the Struggle over the Cultural and Political Geography of Palestine: The Appropriation of Palestinian Place-Names by the Israeli State* / **Raef Zreik**: *What's the Problem with the Jewish State?* / **Amal Jamal**: *The Epistemology of Zionist Settler Colonialism and the Ontological Securitization of Palestinians* / **Ismael Abu-Saad**: *The Unfinished Zionist Settler-Colonial Conquest of its Elusive 'Last Frontier' and the the Indigenous Palestinian Bedouin Arab Resistance* / **Areej Sabbagh-Khoury**: *The Paradox of Settler Colonial Citizenship in Israel* / **Yasmeed Abu-Laban**: *Celebrating Survival: Palestinian Epistemes and Resisting Anti-Palestinian Racism* / **Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** & **Abeer Otman**: *Secrecy as Colonial Violence: The Case of Occupied East Jerusalem* / **Helga Tawil-Souri**: *Israel's Telecommunications Lines and Digital Surveillance Routes* / **Magid Shihade**: *Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Connections and Ruptures* / **Marwan Darweish**: *Popular Resistance in Palestine* / **Sami Miaari** & **Dorde Miloslav**: *The Effect of the Separation Wall on the West Bank Labour Market* / **Salim Tamari**: *Palestinian Refugee Archives: UNRWA and the Problem with Sources* / **David Lyon**: *Liminal Lights in Dark Placews: Elia Zureik's Sociological and Critical Contribution to Palestinian and Surveillance Studies.*

***Palestine Across Millennia: A History of Literacy, Learning and Educational Revolutions***
(IB Tauris / Bloomsbury, 352 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "In this magisterial cultural history of the Palestinians, Nur Masalha illuminates the entire history of Palestinian learning with specific reference to writing, education, literary production and the intellectual revolutions in the country. The book introduces this long cultural heritage to demonstrate

that Palestine was not just a 'holy land' for the four monotheistic religions – Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Samaritanism – rather, the country evolved to become a major international site of classical education and knowledge production in multiple languages including Sumerian, Proto-Canaanite, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin. The cultural saturation of the country is found then, not solely in landmark mosques, churches and synagogues, but in scholarship, historic schools, colleges, famous international libraries and archival centres. This unique book unites these renowned institutions, movements and multiple historical periods for the first time, presenting them as part of a cumulative and incremental intellectual advancement rather than disconnected periods of educational excellence. In doing so, this multifaceted intellectual history transforms the orientations of scholarly research on Palestine and propels current historical knowledge on education and literacy in Palestine to new heights."

***Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History***
(Zed Books, 459 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Starting with the earliest references in Egyptian and Assyrian texts, Nur Masalha explores how Palestine and its Palestinian identity have evolved over thousands of years, from the Bronze Age to the present day. Drawing on a rich body of sources and the latest archaeological evidence, Masalha shows how Palestine's multicultural past has been distorted and mythologised by Biblical lore and the Israel–Palestinian conflict. In the process, Masalha reveals that the concept of Palestine, contrary to accepted belief, is not a modern invention or one constructed in opposition to Israel, but rooted firmly in ancient past. *Palestine* represents the authoritative account of the country's history."

As co-editor, with **Nahla Abdo**: ***An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba***
(Zed Books, 329 pages, 2018)
Project done at the urging of Rosemary Sayigh, who premiered Palestinian oral history. Contents: **Nur Masalha**: *Decolonizing Methodology, Reclaiming Memory – Palestinian Oral Histories and Memories of the Nakba* / **Nahla Abdo**: *Feminism, Indigenousness and Settler Colonialism: Oral History, Memory and the Nakba* / **Diana Allan**: *What Bodies Remember: Sensory Experience as Historical Counterpoint in the Nakba Archive* / **Lena Jayyusi**: *The Time of Small Returns – Affect and Resistance during the Nakba* / **Rosemary Sayigh**: *Nakba Silencing and the Challenge of Palestinian Oral History* / **Laura Khoury**: *Shu'fat Refugee Camp Women Authenticate an Old "Nakba" and Frame Something "New" While Narrating It* / **Faiha Abdul Hadi**: *Gender Representation of Oral History – Palestinian Women Narrating the Stories of Their Displacement* / **Himmat Zubi**: *The Ongoing Nakba – Urban Palestinian Survival in Haifa* / **Amina Qablawi Nasrallah**: *Saffourieh – A Continuous Tragedy* / **Hisham Zreiq**: *The Sons and Daughters of Eilaboun* / **Safa Abu-Rabi'a**: *"This is Your Father's Land" – Palestinian Bedouin Women Encounter the Nakba in the Naqab* / **Mona Al-Farra**: *The Young Do not Forget* / **Malaka Mohammad Shwaikh**: *Gaza Remembers – Narratives of Displacement in Gaza's Oral History* / **Chandni Desai**: *"Besieging the Cultural Siege" – Mapping Narratives of Nakba through Orality and Repertoires of Resistance.*

As co-editor, with **Lisa Isherwood**: ***Theologies of Liberation in Palestine-Israel: Indigenous, Contextual, and Postcolonial Perspectives***
(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 228 pages, 2014)
Chapters: 1. Liberation Theology in Latin America and Palestine-Israel: Practical Similarities and Contextual Differences / 2. Reflections on Sabeel's Liberation Theology and Ecumenical Work (1992-2013) / 3. Theologies of Liberation in Palestine-Israel and the Struggle for Peace and Justice / 4. Reading the Bible with the Eyes of the Philistines, Canaanites and Amalekites: Messianic Zionism, Zealotocracy, the Militarist Traditions of the Tanakh and the Palestinians (1967 to Gaza 2013) / 5. God's Mapmakers: A Theology of Dispossession / 6. The Quest for Peace with Justice in the Middle East: Christian Zionist and Palestinian Theologies / 7. Transcending Monotheism and a Theology of Land / 8. Beyond Interfaith Reconciliation: A New Paradigm for a Theology of Land / 9. Confronting the Truth: New Awakenings to the Palestinian Situation / 10. Civil Liberation Theology in Palestine: Indigenous, Secular-Humanist, and Post-Colonial Perspectives. Publisher's blurb: "This collection of essays concerns the development of contextualized theologies of liberation in Palestine and the indigeno

us Palestinian people's struggle for justice and liberation. The work is innovative because of its inclusion of indigenous perspectives within its remit and the introduction of new concepts such as civil liberation theology. The collection offers other ways to look at biblical discourses and their impact on the ongoing conflict, ways to live peace, ways to be ethical when visiting these conflicted lands, understandings of resource ethics, and even a new way to understand how we approach our understanding of liberation theology. Contributors include well-known scholars from Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Palestinian-Israeli, Indian, American, and British contexts. This work goes beyond standard academic collections. It is aimed not only at scholars and students but also at peace activists and policymakers. It should be of use not only in academic courses but also for practitioners of conflict resolution, peace and reconciliation."

***The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory***
(Acumen / Routledge Publishing, 290 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Throughout the history of European imperialism the grand narratives of the Bible have been used to justify settler-colonialism. "The Zionist Bible" explores the ways in which modern political Zionism and Israeli militarism have used the Bible – notably the Book of Joshua and its description of the entry of the Israelites into the Promised Land – as an agent of oppression and to support settler-colonialism in Palestine. The rise of messianic Zionism in the late 1960s saw the beginnings of a Jewish theology of zealotocracy, based on the militant land traditions of the Bible and justifying the destruction of the previous inhabitants. "The Zionist Bible" examines how the birth and growth of the State of Israel has been shaped by this Zionist reading of the Bible, how it has refashioned Israeli-Jewish collective memory, erased and renamed Palestinian topography, and how critical responses to this reading have challenged both Jewish and Palestinian nationalism."

***The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory***
(Zed Books, 2012)
Contents: Zionism and European Settler-Colonialism / The Memoricide of the Nakba: Zionist-Hebrew Toponymy and the De-Arabisation of Palestine / Fashioning a European Landscape, Erasure and Amnesia: The Jewish National Fund, Afforestation, and Green-washing the Nakba / Appropriating History: The Looting of Palestinian Records, Archives and Library Collections (1948-2011) / New History, Post-Zionism, the Liberal Coloniser and Hegemonic Narratives: A Critique of the Israeli 'new Historians' / Decolonising History and Narrating the Subaltern: Palestinian Oral History, Indigenous and Gendered Memories / Resisting Memoricide and Reclaiming Memory: The Politics of Nakba Commemoration among Palestinians inside Israel Epilogue: The Continuity of Trauma

***The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel***
(Zed Books, 366 pages, 2007)

As editor: ***Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel and the Internal Refugees: Essays in Memory of Edward W. Said***
(Zed Books, 320 pages, 2005, 2013)
Contents: pt. 1. Evolving Israeli policies and indigenous resistance – Present absentees and indigenous resistance / Nur Masalha – The state of Israel versus the Palestinian internal refugees / Hillel Cohen – Patterns of internal displacement, social adjustment and the challenge of return / Nihad Boqa'I – Forced sedentarisation, land rights and indigenous resistance: the Palestinian Bedouin in the Negev / Isma'el Abu-sa'ad – pt. 2. Palestinian oral history and memory – "A muted sort of grief": tales of refuge in Nazareth (1948-2005) / Isabelle Humphries – Kafr Bir'im / William Dalrymple – The Nakba, oral history and the Palestinian peasantry: the case of Lubya / Mahmoud 'Issa – Unrecognised villages: indigenous 'Ayn Hawd versus artists' colony 'Ein Hod / Jonathan Cook – The Nakba in Hebrew: Israeli-Jewish awareness of the Palestinian catastrophe and internal refugees / Eitan Bronstein – pt. 3. Human rights and international protection – The real road map

to peace: international dimensions of the internal refugee question / Ilan Pappé – International protection and durable solutions / Terry Rempel.

***The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem***
(Pluto Press, 298 pages, 2003)
Contents: The Palestinian Nakba: Zionism, 'transfer' and the 1948 exodus — Israel's 'new historians' and the Nakba: a critique of Zionist discourse — 'If you can't solve it, dissolve it': Israeli resettlement schemes since 1948 — Israeli approaches to restitution of property and compensation (1948-1956) — The 'present absentees' and their legal struggle: evolving Israeli policies towards the internally displaced (1948-2003) — The 1967 refugee exodus — Israeli refugee policies during negotiations: from Madrid to Taba (October 1991-January 2001)

***Ariel Sharon: A Political Profile***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 2001)

***Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion***
(Pluto Press, 279 pages, 2000)
Contents: Labour Zionism's 'Activists': New Territorial Maximalism and the Whole Land of Israel Movement, 1967-1977 / Zionist Revisionism and the Likud: From Jabotinsky to Netanyahu / Jabotinsky's Legacy / Proposals of Jabotinsky's Disciples / The Post-1967 Period / The Likud in Power / Netanyahu and the Oslo Process / Jewish Fundamentalism, Greater Israel and the Palestinians: Gush Emunim, Settlement and Nationalist-Religious Messianic Trend / The Politics of Amalek / Proposals of Fundamentalist Academics / Other Racist Groups / The Secular Ultranationalists: Parties and Movements of the Far Right / The Public Opinion Debate / Evolving Jewish Attitudes, the Palestinians and Greater Israel / The 'Demographic Threat' Debate / Sammy Smooha's Attitudinal Data / The Impact of the 'Peace Process'

***Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 236 pages, 1992, 1993, 1999, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "From the beginning of the Zionist enterprise to found a Jewish national home, or state, in Palestine, Zionists have been confronted with what was called the "Arab problem" — the fact that the "Land of Israel" was already populated. In this meticulous work, Nur Masalha examines one of the proposed solutions to that problem — the transfer of the indigenous Palestinian population to neighboring Arab lands. Masalha's book is the most comprehensive study to date on the concept of "transfer" in Zionist thinking from the late nineteenth century up to the 1948 war. Expulsion of the Palestinians is invaluable for the light it throws on the attitudes towards the Palestinians of the Israeli political and military decision-makers on the eve of the exodus of some 750,000 Palestinians during the 1948 war."

***A Land without a People: Israel, Transfer, and the Palestinians 1949-96***
(Faber, 246 pages, 1997)

***The Palestinian Refugee Problem: Israeli Plans to Resettle the Palestinian Refugees, 1948-1972***
(Ramallah: Palestinian Diaspora & Refugee Centre [SHAML], 63pp, 1996)
Contents: Initial efforts 1948-1950, the Schechtman Plan of Compulsory Transfer in Iraq / Compensation in Lieu of Repatriation 1949-1953 / The Libyan Resettlement Scheme, 1950-1958 / The 195601957 Occupation of the Gaza Strip / Aftermath of the June 1967 Conquests / Ariel Sharon's Proposals, 1969-1971.

***An Israeli Plan to Transfer Galilee's Christians to South America: Yosef Weitz and 'Operation Yohanan', 1949-1953***
(University of Durham: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies occasional paper no. 55 / CMEIS, 31 pages, 1996)

Yosef Weitz ran the head office of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and was known as the "architect of transfer," in developing conquered Arab villages into uninhabited forests.

***Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992)
Welcome and highly praised research, based on declassified Israeli archival documents.

***King Faisal I of Iraq: A Study of His Political Leadership, 1921-1933***
(PhD thesis, University of London, 1987)

**Paul Mason**

***Israel and Palestine***
(Cavendish Square, 32 pages, 2008)

**Mazen Masri**

***The Dynamics of Exclusionary Constitutionalism: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State***
(Portland Oregon/Oxford: Hart Publishing, 257 pages, 2017)
Contents: 1. Introduction – I. Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State – II. The People and Their Constitution: Theoretical Approaches – III. Settler-colonialism – IV. The Argument in a Nutshell – V. Outline of the Book – 2. A Jewish and Democratic State: Theoretical Justifications and Critiques – I. Introduction – II. The Ultra-nationalist Approach – III. The Nationalists of the Liberal Nationalists – IV. The Pragmatists of the Liberal Nationalists – V. The Liberals of the Liberal Nationalists – VI. Classic Liberal Approaches – VII. Critical Approaches – VIII. Conclusions – 3. Locating the People in Israel: The Social Contract, the Basic Norm and the Beginnings of the State – I. Introduction – II. The People in Israel between Theory and Practice: Social Contract, Basic Norm and Nation – III. Beginnings I: The Declaration of Independence and the Colonial Encounter – IV. Beginnings II: The Declaration and the Constitution – V. Summary and Conclusions – 4. Engineering the People I: Law and the Dissolution of the Native Population – I. Introduction: Immigration, Citizenship and the Numbers Game – II. The First Years (1948-52) – III. The Citizenship Law: Exclusion and Elimination by Other Means – IV. Tony MartinSummary and Conclusions – 5. Engineering the People II: The Legal Foundation of Settler Citizenship – I. Introduction – II. The Law of Return: Jews-only Immigration Policy – III. Demography and Equality – IV. Summary and Conclusions – 6. Drawing the Red Lines: Political Representation and the Jewish and Democratic Definition – I. Introduction – II. The Evolution of a System of Exclusion: From Yerdor to Section 7A of Basic Law: The Knesset – III. The Introduction of Section 7A of Basic Law: The Knesset and the Interpretation of Jewish and Democratic State – IV. Debating Section 7A: Settler-colonialism, the People and Defensive Democracy – V. The Jewish and Democratic Definition and the Elected Representatives – VI. Summary and Conclusions – 7. The Constitution in Action: Constitution-making, Law and Governance – I. Introduction – II. The Jewish and Democratic Definition in the Process of Constitution-Making – III. Making Law: The Jewish and Democratic Definition of the State and Legislation – IV. The Jewish and Democratic Definition in Other Legislation – V. Conclusions and Summary

**Joseph A. Massad** (Columbia University / Middle East Studies Association)

***Islam in Liberalism***
(University of Chicago Press, 2015)

***The Persistence of the Palestinian Question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians***
(Routledge, 2006)

***Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan***
(Columbia University Press, 2001)

**Francois Massoulie**
***Crisis in the Middle East*** aka ***Middle East Conflicts***
(Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush / Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 1999)
(Zed Books, 2018)

**Bruce Masters**
***The Arabs and the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History***
(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

***Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianiam***
(Cambridge University Press, 2004)

**Sean Matgamna**
***Arabs, Jews, and Socialism: The Socialist Debate in the 1980s and 90s on Israel and Palestine***
(Workers' Liberty, 72pages, 2019)

**Elisabeth Mathiot**
***Zionism, a System of Apartheid***
(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 11pp pamphlet, 1983)

***The Autonomy Plan: Israel's Colonisation under a New Name***
(Paris: Eurabia, 30pp pamphlet, 1979)

**Philip Mattar**
***Encyclopedia of the Palestinians***
(New York City: Facts on File, revised edition, 684pp, 2005)

***The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin Al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement***
(Columbia University Press, 1992)
Despite some errors of judgement, Amin Al-Husayni acted honourably, if not always wisely as he was attacked by the British, the Zionists, and Amir Abdullah, in this exciting yet sober unpacking of his roller-coaster life.

**Elizabeth G. Matthews** (California State University San Marcos), as editor, with **David Newman** and **Mohammed S. Dajani Daoudi** (Al-Quds University) aka **Mohammed Dajani Daoudi**
***The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Parallel Discourses***
(Routledge, 276 pages, 2011)

**Weldon C. Matthews** (Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan)
***Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine***
(IB Tauris, 2006)
On the Istiqlal (Independence) Party.

**Elizabeth Mavroudi**

***Palestinian "Identities" in Athens: Negotiating Hybridity, Politicisation and Citizenship***
(PhD Theis, University of Durham, 2005)
Available via the EthOS system.

**Arno J. Mayer**

***Plowshares into Swords: from Zionism to Israel***
(Verso, 432 pages, 2008; 448 pages, 2021)
Scope is from 1980 to publication date.

**Thomas Mayer**

***The UN Resolution Equating Zionism with Racism: Genesis and Repercussions***
(London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1985)

**Tomer Mazarib** (Oxford University)

***From Desert to Town: The Integration of Bedouin into Arab Fellahin Villages and Towns in the Galilee, 1700-2020***
(Sussex Academic Press, 256 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "*From Desert to Town* sheds light on the sedentarizaion and integration of Bedouin living in *fellahin* towns and villages in the Galilee, between 1700 and 2020. The purpose is to analyze the dynamics of the factors and circumstances that led to this migration. Official history has always lacked data on the Bedouin population in Palestine. Historians have recorded the biography of particular elites, and especially in the context of local warfare and tribal antagonisms, but have hitherto neglected ongoing migration from desert life to town life of Bedouin in the Galilee. The historical record is further complicated by the Bedouin themselves, who over time have been reluctant to register with governmental authority, whether Ottoman, British, or Israeli. This book brings together the available historical information combined with ethnographic data, from which it is possible to derive, analyze, and infer much information about Bedouin life in the Galilee over the past three hundred years. The move from rural to town for populations world-wide has dominated twentieth-century migration patterns. The move from desert life, as opposed to the move from rural life, has distinctive features, making the Bedouin case unique in its social complexity: from change in the use of language to the economic underpinning of intermarriage. A comprehensive understanding of the process of Bedouin settlement and integration into urban society has major social, cultural and economic implications for the wider Israeli society. The work is a major contribution to government planning at many levels, including population disbursement and education."

**Roberto Mazza** (SOAS, University of London)

As editor: ***Jerusalem in World War I: The Palestine Diary of a European Diplomat***
(IB Tauris, 2011)
Diary of Antonio de la Cievra Lewita Ballobar.

***Jerusalem: From the Ottomans to the British***
(Tauris Academic Studies, 2009)

**Melani McAlister**

***Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and US Interests in the Middle East Since 1945***
(University of California Press, 2005)

**Justin McCarthy**

***Population History of the Middle East and the Balkans***

(Istanbul: Isis, 2001)

***The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923***
(Longmans, 1997)

***The Population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate***
(Columbia University Press, 1990)
Assessment noting that in 1918 7% of the population classified themselves as Jewish (58,728), with the remaining 93% being Muslim (611,098) and Christian (70,429).

**W.D. [William Denison] McCracken**
***The New Palestine***
(Jonathan Cape, 1922)
With foreword by **Viscount Bryce**.

**David McCullough**
***Truman***
(Simon & Schuster, 1992)

**Alex McDonald**
***How I Learned to Speak Israel: An American's Guide to a Foreign Policy Language***
(Great Tree Publishing, 426 pages, 2021)
"DEFEND, (di fend), v.t. To ward off attack from; especially by people one has been ethnically cleansing for seven decades."

***When They Speak Israel: A Guide to Clarity in Conversations about Israel***
(Great Tree Publishing, 154 pages, 2021)

**James G. McDonald** (US Special Representative & Ambassador), **Norman J. W. Goda, Richard Breitman, Barbara McDonald Stewart**, and **Gil Severin Hochberg**, editors
***Envoy to the Promised Land: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1948-1951***
(Indiana University Press & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017)

***To the Gates of Jerusalem: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1945-1947***
(Indiana University Press, 320 pages, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume, the third in a series of James G. McDonald's edited diaries and papers, covers his work from 1945, with the formation of the Anglo-American Committee, through 1947, with the United Nations' decision to partition Palestine between Jews and Arabs. The "Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine" was a group charged with finding a solution to the problem of European Jewish Refugees in the context of the increasingly unstable British Mandate in Palestine. McDonald's diaries and papers offer the most thorough personal account we have of the Committee and the politics surrounding it. His diary is part travelogue through the desolation of postwar Europe and a Middle East being transformed by new Jewish settlements and growing Arab intransigence. McDonald maintained discreet contact with Zionist and moderate Arab leaders throughout the Committee's hearings and deliberations. He was instrumental in the recommendation that 100,000 Jewish refugees enter Palestine and won President Truman's trust in order to counter attempts to nullify the report's recommendations."

***My Mission in Israel, 1948-1951***
(Simon & Schuster, 1951)

**David McDowall**

***The Palestinians: The Road to Nationhood***
(Minority Rights Publications, 1994)

***Palestine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond***
(University of California Press / IB Tauris, 368 pages, 1989)

**Paul McGeough** (Middle East correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*)

***Kill Khalid: The Failed Mossad Assassination of Khalid Mishal and the Rise of Hamas***

(The New Press, 2010) / aka ***Kill Khalid: Mossad's Failed Hit…and the Rise of Hamas***
(Allen & Unwin, 2009). Biography of Hamas leader.

**John McGovern**

***My Impressions of Palestine: Censored***
(New York: Avukah, American Student Zionist Federation, 7 pages, 1937)
The author travelled on behalf of the Independent Labour Party to Palestine, and prepared this report for a radio broadcast on the Palestine Broadcasting Service. He was asked to delete portions of it by the British colonial administration, and after his refusal, the broadcast was cancelled. The text here was originally intended as the script for the broadcast. The rear cover asks "Why was it censored?" It states that the author's assertion of the possibilities of Arab-Jewish friendship, his criticism of landowners, and his endorsement of Jewish immigration all ran counter to British policy.

**Daniel A. McGowan**

***Deir Yassin Fay 2001***
(London: Deir Yassin Remembered, 2001)

As editor, with **Marc H. Ellis**: ***Remembering Deir Yassin: The Future of Israel and Palestine***
(New York: Olive Branch Press, 150 pages, 1998)

***Deir Yassin Remembered: of Massacres and Memorials***
(New York City: Americans for Middle East Understanding, 15 pages, 1966)
Offprint from *The Link*, Vol. 29 No.4, 1966.

**John McHugo** (Legal historian, Centre for Syrian Studies, University of St Andrews)

***Syria: A Recent History***
(Saqi Books, 2015)

***A Concise History of the Arabs***
(Saqi Books, 2013)

**Runa MacKay** with introduction by **Dr. Ang Swee Chai**

***Exile in Israel: A Personal Journey with the Palestinians***
(Wild Goose Publications, 1995)
Doctor's 40 years' service to Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and Lebanon. See also **Dr Swee Chai Ang**, **Dr Pauline Cutting** and **Dr [Christos] Chris Giannou**

**Cynthia McKinney** (served six-terms representing a Georgia district in the US House of Representatives)

***Ain't Nothing Like Freedom***

(Clarity Press, 2013)

Experiences facing the Israeli lobby in American Congressional elections.

**Leslie McLoughlin**

***Confessions of an Arabic Interpreter: The Odyssey of an Arabist, 1959-2009***

(Dubai: Motivate, 280 pages, 2010)

***A Nest of Spies…***

(Al-Hani International, 287 pages, 1994)

Author was the director of the only British Mandate Army-authorised school, to teach Arabic to senior officers, in Jerusalem, then Amman, and eventually to Beirut.

**Sean McMeekin**

***The Ottoman Endgame: War, Revolution and the Making of the Modern Middle East, 1908-1923***

(Allen Lane, 2015)

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov fingered as prime mover of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement.

**Walter Russell Mead**

***The Arc of a Covenant: The United States, Israel, and the Fate of the Jewish People***

(Knoph, 672 pages, 2022)

Book that unpacks the clout of the Zionist lobby but tries to reject it, equating the state with Jewish identity.

**Rafael Medoff** (Founding Director of the David Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, Washington DC)

***Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926-1948***

(University of Alabama Press, 2002)

With relevance to Ben Hecht and Peter Bergson (aka Hillel Kook). See also: entries for **Ben Hecht**: *Child of the Century*; **Judith Tydor Baumel:** *The 'Bergson Boys' and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy*; **Rafael Medoff**: *Militant Zionism in America*; and **Leonard Slater**: *The Pledge*.

***Zionism and the Arabs: An American Jewish Dilemma, 1898-1948***

(Praeger Press, 1997)

**Raphael Medoff** and **David S. Wyman**

***A Race Against Death: Peter Bergson, America, and the Holocaust***

(The New Press, 288 pages, 2002)

**Rafael Medoff** and **Samuel Merlin** (one of the leaders of the 1940s Bergson Group)

***Millions of Jews to the Rescue: A Bergson Group Leader's Account of the Campaign to Save Jews from the Holocaust***

(Washington, DC: David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, 260 pages, 2011)

**MR Mehdi**

***A Palestine Chronicle: Being a Record of Injustice***

(Alpha Books, 1973)

Data on families expelled in 1967

**Mohammad T. Mehdi**

***Peace in Palestine***
(New York City: New World Press, 1976)

***Peace in the Middle East***
(New York City: New World Press, 1967)

***A Nation of Lions….Chained: An Arab Looks at America***
(San Francisco: New World Press, 1962) -World focus but with considerable text on Palestine and Zionist arguments in the USA.

**Col. Richard Meinertzhagen**

***Middle East Diary, 1917-1956***
(New York City: Yoseloff, 376 pages, 1959-1969)

***Excerpts from Middle East Diary, 1917-1956***
(London: Cresset Press, 85 pages, 1959)

**Esther Meir-Glitzstein**

***Zionism in an Arab Country: Jews in Iraq in the 1940s***
(Routledge, 2004)
With foreword by **Anita Shapira**. Focus includes the Hehalutz Movement and the Haganah in Iraq.

**Sonja Mejcher-Atassi** (American University Beirut)

***An Impossible Friendship: Group Portrait, Jerusalem Before and After 1948***
(Columbia University Press, 328 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In Jerusalem, as World War II was coming to an end, an extraordinary circle of friends began to meet at the bar of the King David Hotel. This group of aspiring artists, writers, and intellectuals—among them Wolfgang Hildesheimer, Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, Sally Kassab, Walid Khalidi, and Rasha Salam, some of whom would go on to become acclaimed authors, scholars, and critics—came together across religious lines in a fleeting moment of possibility within a troubled history. What brought these Muslim, Jewish, and Christian friends together, and what became of them in the aftermath of 1948, the year of the creation of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Nakba?"

**Yossi Mekelberg** (Royal Institute of International Affairs aka 'Chatham House')

***Israel and Iran: From War of Words to Words of War***
(London: RIIA, 8 pages, 2007)

***Doves Vote Hawk: The January 2003 Elections in Israel***
(London: RIIA, 12 pages, 2003)

**Laliv Melamed** (University of Groningen, the Netherlands)

***Private Media and the Traces of Colonial Violence***
(University of California Press, 312 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In the early 1990s, Israeli television began dedicating Memorial Day airtime to videos produced by the grieving families of soldiers killed in the line of duty. When these videos first appeared, during a period of growing Israeli discontent with the occupation of southern Lebanon, they were widely perceived as a challenge to the state, reclaiming the dead from Israel's militaristic memory culture by resituating them in intimate domestic contexts via mediated commemorations. By tracing an emerging

media system of freelance filmmaking, privatized television, state institutes of care, and grassroots campaigns, Laliv Melamed reveals how these videos nevertheless avoid a fundamental critique of Israeli militarism, which is instead invited into the familiar space of the home. These intimate connections of memory and media exploit bonds of kinship and reshape larger relationships between the state and its citizens, enabling a collective disavowal of colonial violence. In *Sovereign Intimacy*, Melamed offers a poignant and critical view of the weaponization of home media and mourning in service of the neoliberal settler state."

**Yossi Melman** and **Dan Raviv**

***Spies against Armageddon: Inside Israel's Secret Wars***

(Washington DC: Levant Books / Sea Clif, New York: Levant Books, 353 pages, 2014)

On Mossad assassinations.

**Chantal Meloni** and **Gianni Togoni**, editors

***Is There a Court for Gaza? A Test Bench for International Justice***

(The Hague, Netherlands: TMC Asser Press, 594 pages, 2012)

Part 1. International Conference 'Is There a Court for Gaza?' 22 May 2009, Rome -- Selected Materials from the International Conference 'Is There a Court for Gaza?' 22 May 2009, Lelio Basso International Foundation, Rome / Chantal Meloni and Gianni Tognoni -- Introduction / Chantal Meloni and Gianni Tognoni. Part 2. The UN Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict and Follow-up at the International and Domestic Level -- The Goldstone Report and the Goldstone Retreat: Truths Told by Law and Reviled by Geopolitics / Richard Falk -- The Follow up to the Goldstone Report and Its Legal Impact in Israel and Beyond / Sharon Weill -- Initial Reactions to the Goldstone Report and Reflections on Israeli Accountability / Jennifer Barnette -- Investigating the Investigations: A Comment on the UN Committee of Experts Monitoring of the 'Goldstone Process' / Daragh Murray -- The Importance of Fact-Finding Missions Under International Humanitarian Law / Liesbeth Zegveld. Part 3. Gaza and the International Criminal Court The Legal Debate on the Admissibility of the Palestinian Declaration pursuant to Article 12(3) of the Rome Statute -- Why Statehood Now: A Reflection on the ICC's Impact on Palestine's Engagement with International Law / Michael G. Kearney -- The Effects of Palestine's Recognition of the International Criminal Court's Jurisdiction / Allain Pellet -- The Palestine Declaration to the International Criminal Court: The Statehood Issue / John Quigley -- Is Palestine a "State"? A Response to Professor John Quigley's Article, "The Palestine Declaration to the International Criminal Court: The Statehood Issue" / Robert Weston Ash -- Palestine Statehood: A Rejoinder to Professor Robert Weston Ash / John Quigley -- ICC Jurisdiction Over Acts Committed in the Gaza Strip: Article 12(3) of the ICC Statute and Non-State Entities / Yaël Ronen -- In Defence of Functional Interpretation of Article 12(3): A Response to Yaël Ronen / Yuval Shany -- Note on the Legal Effects of Palestine's Declaration Under Article 12(3) of the ICC Statute / Vera Gowland-Debbas. Part 4. Non Judicial Responses -- The Russell Tribunal on Palestine -- The Russell Tribunal on Palestine / Frank Barat and Daniel Machover -- International (In)Justice and Palestine / John Dugard.

**Fredrik Melton**

***Electrical Palestine: Capital and Technology from Empire to Nation***

(University of California Press, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "Electricity is an integral part of everyday life—so integral that we rarely think of it as political. In *Electrical Palestine*, Fredrik Meiton illustrates how political power, just like electrical power, moves through physical materials whose properties govern its flow. At the dawn of the Arab-Israeli conflict, both kinds of power were circulated through the electric grid that was built by the Zionist engineer Pinhas Rutenberg in the period of British rule from 1917 to 1948. Drawing on new sources in Arabic, Hebrew, and several European languages, *Electrical Palestine* charts a story of rapid and uneven development that was greatly influenced by the electric grid and set the stage for the conflict between Arabs and Jews. Electrification, Meiton shows, was a critical element of Zionist state building. The

outcome in 1948, therefore, of Jewish statehood and Palestinian statelessness was the result of a logic that was profoundly conditioned by the power system, a logic that has continued to shape the area until today."

**Moshe Menuhin**

***Jewish Critics of Zionism: A Testamentary Essay; and The Stifling and Smearing of a Dissenter***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 64 pages, 1976)

***The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time***
(New York: Exposition Press, 1965 / Second Edition with postscript ~ Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 585 pages, 1969 & Chawleigh, Devon: Britons Publishing Co, 1969; second edition: ***"Not by Might, Nor by Power" The Zionist Betrayal of Judaism*** (Open Road Media [electronic form only], 741 screen pages, 2017)
Author, the father of violinist Yehudi Menuhin, worked with Rabbi Elmer Berger in several anti-Zionist organisations in the USA. Book is "a protest against the identification of Judaism with Zionism," and the postscript was also published as a separate volume.

**Philip Mendes**

***Jews and the Left: The Rise and Fall of a Political Alliance***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

**Leila Meo, Audrey Shabbas** and **Fuad K. Suleiman**

***The Arab Boycott of Israel***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 35 pages, 1976)

**Arzu Merali** & **Javad Sharbaf**, editors

***Towards a New Liberation Theology: Reflections on Palestine***
(Wembley: Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2009)

**MERIP – Middle East Research & Information Project** (Washington, DC)
Books include: **Abdullah Schleifer**: The Fall of Jerusalem (ca. 1975) / **Ahmad al-Kodsy & Eli Lobel**: *The Arab World and Israel* (1970)/ **Sabri Jiryis**: *The Arabs in Israel* (ca. 1975)
Many relevant MERIP single reports in series, published 1970s-1980s: No. 53 – *Class Transformation of Palestine* / No. 60 – *Israeli Settlements* / No.80 – *The PLO at the Crossroads* / No. 83 – *Palestinians Confront the Treaty* / No. 92 – *Israel's Uncertain Future* / No. 96 – Revolutionary Realism in Palestine / Nos. 108-109 – *War in Lebanon* / No. 114 – *Israel Divided* / No. 116 – *Israel's Strategy of Occupation* / No. 118 – *Lebanon in Crisis* / No. 119 – *The PLO Split* / No. 129 – *Egypt and Israel Today* / No. 131 – *The PLO Split and Jordon* / No. 133 – *Lebanon's Shi'as*

**Paul Charles Merkley** (Carleton University, Hebrew University)

***American Presidents, Religion, and Israel: The Heirs of Cyrus***
(Praeger, 2004)

***Christian Attitudes Towards the State of Israel***
(McGill-Queens University Press, 2001)

***The Politics of Christian Zionism, 1891-1948***
(Frank Cass, 1988)

**Jacob Metzer**

As co-editor with: **Christopher Lloyd** & **Richard Sutch**: ***Settler Economies in World History***
(Lieden: Brill, 2013)

***Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality and Sovereignty in History***
(Routledge, 2004)

***The Divided Economy of Mandate Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 275 pages, 1998)

With **Michael Beenstock** & **Sanny Ziv**: ***Immigration and the Jewish Economy in Mandatory Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel, 1993)

**Jan Metzger**, **Martin Orth** and **Christian Sterzing**

***This Land is Our Land: The West Bank under Israeli Occupation***
(Zed Books, 273 pages, 1983)
Translated by **Dan** and **Judy Bryant**, **Janet Goodwin** and **Stefan Schaaf**.

**Gerhard Meuntsner** & **Ernst Kahn**

***Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine: The Economic Activities of the General Federation of Jewish Labour***
(Jerusalem & Tel Aviv: Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1943 / Victor Gollancz, 231 pages, 1945)

**Assaf Meydani**

***The Anatomy of Human Rights in Israel: Constitutional Rhetoric and State Practice***
(Cambridge University Press, 298 pages, 2014)
Contents: Introduction – Institutional theory and social choice studies: understanding the anatomy of human rights – Between constitutional rhetoric and state practice – Structural and cultural variables favoring a short-term orientation – The right to be free from the threat of torture – The right to equality: gender segregation on Orthodox buses following the Israeli High Court of justice's 2011 ruling on the "segregated lines" – The right to enjoy a decent lifestyle: the case of the Laron Law: National Insurance Law (Amendment no. 109) of 2008 encouraging the disabled to work – The human rights co"mission in Israe" –at never was –Property rights: designing the separation fence policy – The right to human dignity and liberty: the organ transplant law 5768-2008 – Policy evaluation: analysing the reality for human rights.

**Middle East Research and Action Group**

***The Candid Kibbutz Book***
(London: MERAG, 20 pages, 1978)
Accounts of kibbutz workers, including Fouzi el-Asmar, a Lydda-born Christian Arab, show the socialist ideals be hypocritical.

**Joel S. [Samuel] Migdal**

***Through the Lens of Israel***
(State University of New York Press, 2001)

***Palestinian Society and Politics***

(Princeton University Press & Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1980)

**John P. Miglietta**

***American Alliance Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1992: Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001-2002)

**Mona N. Mikhail**

***Seen and Heard: A Century of Arab Women in Literature and Culture***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 2003)
How are Arab women seen by others? How do Arab women see themselves? New York University professor Mona Mikhail's new collection of essays casts a wide net over literature, film, popular culture, and the law in order to investigate the living, often rapidly changing, reality of Arab women and their societies. Whether she examines Egyptian film, contemporary rewritings of the Sherazad story, or women in North African novels, Mikhail sheds valuable light on the role of Arab women within Islam and within the Arab world. Mona N. Mikhail, author of the groundbreaking *Images of Arab Women: Fact and Fiction*and *Studies in the Short Fiction of Mahfuz and Idris*, is a professor of Arabic and comparative literature at New York University. She has won several awards, namely from PEN and Columbia University, for her translations. Her most recent work is the film documentary, *Live Onstage: A Century and a Half of Theater in Egypt*.

**Aaron David Miller** (Diplomacy-focused historian for the US Department of State, involved in Oslo Accords)

***The Much Too Promised Land***
(New York: Bantam Books, 2008)

***The Arab States and the Palestine Question: Between Ideology and Self-Interest***
(Praeger Press, 1986)

***PLO: Politics of Survival***
(Praeger Press, 1983)
With foreword by **William B. Quandt**.

**Rory Miller** (Director, Middle East & Mediterranean Studies, Kings College London)

***Inglorious Disarray: Europe, Israel and the Palestinians since 1967***
(Columbia University Press, 2011)

As editor: ***Palestine, Britain and Empire – The Mandate Years***
(Ashgate, 194 pages, 2010 / Routledge, 208 pages, 2024)
Contents: Flawed foundations: the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate / James Renton – The impact of league oversight on British policy in Palestine / Susan Pedersen – "Our Jerusalem": Bertha Spafford Vester and Christianity in Palestine during the British mandate / Heleen Murre-van den Berg – Views of Palestine in British art in wartime and peacetime, 1914-1948 / Antoine Capet – "Unholy statistics in the Holy Land": the fallacy of growth in the Palestinian rural economy during the 1920s and 1930s / Amos nadan –The Peel Commission and partition, 1936-1938 / Penny Sinanoglou – Lawlessness was the law: British armed forces, the legal system, and brutality in Palestine during the Arab revolt, 1936-39 / Matthew Hughes – "An oriental Ireland": thinking about Palestine in terms of the Irish question during the mandatory era / Rory Miller – Sir Alan Cunningham and the view from Government House, 1945-48 / Motti Golani.

***Ireland and the Palestine Question: 1948-2004***
(Irish Academic Press, 266 pages, 2005, 2007)

***Divided Against Zion: Anti-Zionist Opposition to a Jewish State in Palestine, 1945-1948***
(Frank Cass & Co, 2000)
This is the story of three leading anti-Zionist advocacy groups: the Jewish Fellowship, the Arab (Information) Office and the Committee for Arab Affairs (led by Edward Spears MP), and the Zionist attitude towards them. The establishment of the Zionist state saw all three groups collapse; each organisation could have been managed better and this eye-opening history unpacks the errors. Despite Zionist assertions of a united anti-Zionist opposition, the CAA and the JF are shown to have almost avoided one another. Did it matter? Was Sir Edward Spears really a Jew? A crushing, yet necessary read.

**Ylana N. Miller**
***Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948***
(University of Texas Press, 1985)
Topics covered include nationalism, education, village administration, the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939 and life during the Second World War.

**Mills (Eric Mills)**
***Census of Palestine, 1931 – Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas***
(Jerusalem: Greek Convent & Goldberg Presses, Part 1 – 1931, Parts 2 & 3 – 1933)

**Tom Mills**
***The BBC: Myth of a Public Service***
(Verso, 149 pages, 2016)
Relevant for the cosiness of newsrooms to both Government and lobbiests.

With **Hilary Aked** aka **Hil Aked**, **David Miller** and **Tom Griffin**: ***The Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre: Giving Peace a Chance?***
(Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations, 96 pages, 2013)
Contents: *Shlomo Zabludowicz and the Business of War / Poju Zabludowicz and the Business of Peace / The Second Intifada and the Establishment of BICOM / BICOM and British Zionism / BICOM Strategy, Elite Networks and the Media / Funding and Finances / BICOM's Views and Arguments / The Fox-Werritty Scandal and the Decline of Democracy*.

**Menahem [**aka **Menachem] Milson** (Hebrew University, Ariel Sharon's mentor for converting West Bank military rule to Civil Administration)
***A European Plot on the Arab Stage***
(Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon Centre for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University, 16 pages, 2011)

***Countering Arab Antisemitism***
(Jerusalem: Institute of the World Jewish Congress, 17 pages, 2003)

***Society and Political Structure in the Arab World*** (New York City: Humanities Press, 1973)
Lectures.

**Uri Milstein** (IDF instructor and official historian of their paratroopers)
***The Birth of a Palestinian Nation: The Myth of the Deir Yassin Massacre***
(Israel: Gefen Publishing, 2012)
The famous massacre considered as a 'blood libel' against Zionist Jews.

**Ian Mikardo** (Soviet as well as Zionism supporting Labour MP)
***The Immigration Story: What We are Doing in Israel***

(London: Jewish Agency for Palestine, 8 pages, 1953)

As co-author, with Labour MPs **Richard Crossman**, **Edwin Brooks**, **John Ellis**, **Raymond Fletcher**, **Eric Heffer**, **Margaret Herbison**: ***Labour and Israel***
(Labour Friends of Israel, pamphlet, 1968)

**Beverley Milton-Edwards** (Middle East Council on Global Affairs, a Brookings Institution [Washington DC] thinktank based in Doha)
With **Stephen Farrell** (Reuters, former Jerusalem bureau chief for the *Times*): ***Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement***
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 368 pages, 2010)
Updated as ***Hamas: The Quest for Power*** (Polity, 340 pages, 2024)

***The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A People's War***
(Taylor & Francis, 2008 / Routledge, 2009)

***Islamic Politics in Palestine***
(Tauris Academic Studies, 256 pages, 1996)

***The Rise of the Islamic Movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip Since 1967***
(PhD thesis, 372 pages, University of Exeter, 1991)

**Minority Rights Group** (London)
**Colin Smith** *(The Observer* newspaper) *&* **David McDowall**: ***The Palestinians***
(MRG no. 24; various editions: 1984, 1987, 1992, 1998)

***Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes***
(MRG no. 12, Revised 1981)

**Alfred Friendly**: ***Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes***

(MRG, 1972)

**Salam Darwazah Mir**
***Transnational Literature of Resistance: Guyana and Palestine, 1950s-1980s***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 232 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Compares and contrasts resistance literatures from Guyana – a British exploitation colony – and Palestine – a settler colony – at a specific historical moment. Salam Darwazah Mir contests the provinciality and Eurocentric focus of comparative literature; delivers the discipline's universal objectives; and expands the discipline's practice by comparing two literatures and histories from the Global South. Mir situates the literatures within their wider historical and literary heritage, a move that links the two countries from within the colonial/imperial framework. She argues that the British invasion of the protectorate of British Guiana in 1953 and the founding of the settler colony in Palestine in 1948, with imperial Britain at the helm, are colonial acts to strengthen and sustain Empire. The two colonial projects are evidence of the protean nature of Empire that evolves, reinvents itself, and reconstructs new comparable ploys and strategies of controlling the Global South. Within this context, the emergence of poetry of resistance in both countries at this historical juncture is part and parcel of other forms of resistance during decolonization, linking the formerly colonized and the presently colonized people in the Global South. It is examined from within the framework of postcolonial theory, as Mir reads poetry as the voice of the people in their demands for freedom, equality, and national independence. Resistance poetry is thus born out of the need to assert identity, redress invisibility and erasure, reclaim national space and land, and reconstruct the history of the Indigenous."

**Yehudah Mirsky**

***Towards the Mystical Experience of Modernity: The Making of Rav Kook, 1865-1904***
(Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2021)

***Rav Kook: Mystic in a Time of Revolution***
(Yale University Press, 2014)

**Shaul Mishal**

With **Avraham Sela**: ***The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence and Coexistence***
(Columbia University Press, 2000, 2006)

***The PLO under Arafat: Between Gun and Olive Branch***
(Yale University Press, 1986)

***West Bank / East Bank: The Palestinians in Jordan 1949-1967***
(Yale University Press, 1978)

**Shaul Mishal, Ranan D. Kuperman,** & **David Boas**

***Investment in Peace: Politics of Economic Cooperation between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority***
(Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001)
With foreword by **HRH El Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan**

**Shaul Mishal** and **Avraham Sela**

***The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence***
(Columbia University Press, 2000)
Challenges Israeli and Israeli *hasbara* narrative of Hamas being desperate terrorists. Organisation is analysed as rational and sophisticated in its decisions, Jihad based on cost-benefit analyses.

**Shaul Mishal & Reuben Aharoni**

***Speaking Stones: Communiques from the Intifada Underground***
(Syracuse University Press, 307 pages, 1994)

**Pankaj Mishra** (*Guardian*, *London Review of Books*, *New York Review of Books*)

***The World After Gaza***
(Fern Press/Penguin, 304 pages, 2025/2026)
Publisher's blurb: "The World after Gaza' takes the war in the Middle East, and the bitterly polarised reaction to it within as well as outside the West, as the starting point for a broad re-evaluation of two competing narratives of the last century: the West's triumphant account of victory over Nazi and communist totalitarianism and the spread of liberal capitalism, and the darker peoples' frequently thwarted vision of racial equality. At a moment when the world's balance of power is shifting and a long-dominant Western minority no longer commands the same authority and credibility, it is critically important to enter the experiences and perspectives of the majority of the world's population. As old touchstones and landmarks crumble, only a new history with a sharply different emphasis can reorient us to the world and worldviews now emerging into the light"

**Mrs. Matiel ET Mogannam / Matiel Moghannam** aka **Mughannam** (broadcaster on Palestine Broadcasting Service, helped to run the Arab Women's Executive Committee, and a great activist during the British Mandate)

***The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem***

(Herbert Joseph, 1937 / Hyperion, 1976)
Written just at the start of the 1936 revolt, this useful period assessment tries to appeal to perceived fairness of the British Mandate Government, despite noting its hypocrisy. Author calls for replacing the Mandate with a constitutional democracy on the Iraq model, with minority Jewish legal rights. Index is solely of names.

**Mahathir Mohamad** (Malaysia's longest-service and most outspoken prime minister)
***The Wit and Wisdom of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad***
(Kuala Lumpur: Editions Didier Millet, 163 pages, 2014)
Includes a section specifically on Palestine.

**Nahil Mohana**, **Sondoa Sabra** (*Mondoweiss, New Statesman*), **Ala'a Obaid**, and **Batool Abu Akleen** (see entry under Palestine Poetry)
***Voices of Resistance: Diaries of Genocide***
(Manchester: Comma Press, 240 pages, 2025)
With foreword by **Gillian Slovo** and introduction by **Caryl Churchill**. Publisher's blurb: "Gazan women offer first-hand accounts of Israeli airstrikes, forced displacement and engineered famine. These atrocities are documented alongside the everyday defiance of Palestinians: from the neighbour who fashions an ashtray from the shrapnel of an Israeli missile, to the street vendor who donates his last egg for a child's birthday cake, to the community of displaced people who pool their resources to stage a traditional wedding. Even when displaced, under fire, forced to bury loved ones, or thrown on the mercy of a devastated health system, the writers of these diaries never abandon their humanity, their individuality, or their belief in the future of Gaza. These are not stories of pity; these are stories filled with love, humour, and the beauty of Palestinian people and culture. In the face of genocide, the existence of these diaries, like the very survival of their authors, is an act of resistance."

**Shourideh C. Molavi** (Forensic Architecture specialist; Columbia University, University of Basel; Goldsmiths University London)
***Environmental Warfare in Gaza: Colonial Violence and New Landscapes of Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 117 pages, 2024)
Includes colour photographs and illustrations. Contents: 1. Neo-Coloniality and the Reconfiguration of Biopolitical Landscapes in Israel/Palestine / 2. Slow Violence: Settler Colonial Production of Gaza's Eastern 'Border' / 3. Ecocide and The Disappearing Trees of Gaza / 4. Excursus: The Beit Hanoun Gaza Citrus Export Company / 5. Escalating Warfare: Israeli Aerial Herbicidal Spraying / 6. Creative Resistance: The Great March of Return and Breaking the Siege / 7. Fast Violence: The Israeli army as a 'Learning Organization.' Publisher's blurb: "The perimeter around the occupied Gaza Strip is formed by a sophisticated system of fences, forts, and surveillance technologies. With each Israeli incursion, a military no-go area, or a 'buffer zone', is established along Gaza's 'borders', extending deep into Palestinian residential areas and farmlands— further compounding the Gaza Strip's isolation from the rest of Palestine. Since 2014, the bulldozing of Palestinian lands by the Israeli occupation forces has been complemented by unannounced aerial spraying of military herbicides, extending the reach of Israeli violence into the realm of chemical warfare. Today, the spraying has destroyed entire swaths of arable land in Gaza, forcibly changing a once-lush Palestinian landscape, and providing the Israeli army with better visibility to fire at Palestinian targets with lethal force from a distance. This book is a vivid document of this latest stage of Israeli warfare, including original maps, images, and visualizations which deepen our understanding of its environmental and human impact. It collects new documents, original archival materials, stills of drone footage, first-hand testimonies of farmers, organizers and protesters, and documents affected vegetation in Gaza as 'silent witnesses' to Israeli settler-colonial violence."

***Stateless Citizenship: The Palestinian-Arab Citizens of Israel***
(Haymarket Books, 2014)

**Marthie Momberg**

***21 Voices from Israel and South Africa***
(Author, 150 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "One by one the individual interviews connect the private and the public, the particular and the general, the paradigmatic and the practical, the micro and the meta. The point of departure of the 21 South African and Israeli activists is not a national state, but the moral state between people and the Palestinian struggle serves as a special, focused lens for global issues."

**Daniel Bertrand Monk**

***An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict***
(Duke University Press, 268 pages, 2002)
Sociological study of sacred spaces in Palestine.

**Elizabeth Monroe** (headed the British Government's Middle East Information Division during World War Two; correspondent for *The Economist*; history professor St Antony's College, Oxford)

***The Arab-Israel War 1973 – Background and Events***
(International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1975)

***Israel's Eastern Frontier***
(Middle East Institute, 1974)
***Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1956***
(Chatto & Windus, 1963, 1964)

***Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1971*** (Chatto & Windus, 1981)
Recommended by former *Guardian* Middle East reporter Michael Adams – see his own books.

**Edwin Montagu**

***Edwin Montagu and the Balfour Declaration***
(London: Arab League Office, 23 pages, 1966)

**Jessica Montell**

***Prisoners of Peace: Administrative Detention during the Oslo Process***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1997)

**Daniel Monterescu**

As co-editor, with **Ronald Ranta** and **Alejandro Colas**: ***Going Native? Settler Colonialism and Food***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 277 pages, 2022)
Contains chapter: *Decolonising Israeli Food? Between Culinary Appropriation and Recognition in Israel/Palestine.*

With **Haim Hazan**: ***Twilight Nationalism: Politics of Existence at Life's End***
(Stanford University Press, 285 pages, 2018)
Contents: Besieged nationalism: Fakhri Jday and the decline of the elites – Worn-out nationalism: Rabbi Avraham Bachar and the community's betrayal – Surviving nationalism: Ismail abu-Shehade and testimony amid the ruins – Circumventing nationalism: the Hakim sisters and the cosmopolitan experience – Domesticated nationalism: Nazihah Asis, a prisoner of Zion – Dissolved nationalism: Subhiya abu-Ramadan and the critique of the patriarchal order – Overlooking nationalism: Talia Seckbach-Monterescu in and out of place – Suspended nationalism: Moshe (Mussa) Hermosa and

Jewish-Arab masculinity – Masking nationalism: Amram Ben-Yosef on a tightrope – Speechless nationalism: Abu-George on the edge.

***Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine***
(Indiana University Press, 2015)

As co-editor, with **Dan Rabinowitz**: ***Mixed Towns, Trapped Communities: Historical Narratives, Spatial Dynamics, Gender Relations and Cultural Encounters in Palestinian-Israeli Towns***
(Ashgate, 327 pages, 2007)
Contents: Introduction: the transformation of urban mix in Palestine/Israel in the modern era / Dan Rabinowitz and Daniel Monterescu – pt. 1. History, representation and collective memory – 1. Bourgeois nostalgia and the abandoned city / Salim Tamari – 2. 'The Arabs just left': othering and the construction of self amongst Jews in Haifa before and after 1948 / Dan Rabinowitz – 3. "We were living in a different country": Palestinian nostalgia and the future past / Jasmin Habib – 4. Cross-national collective action in Palestine's mixed towns: the 1946 civil servants strike / David De Vries – 5. How is a mixed town to be administered? Haifa's municipal council, 1940-1947 / Tamir Goren – pt. 2. Spatial dynamics: ethnic urban mix and its contradictions – 6. Planning, control and spatial protest: the case of the Jewish-Arab town of Lydd/Lod / Haim Yacobi – 7. Heteronomy: the cultural logic of urban space and sociality in Jaffa / Daniel Monterescu – 8. A nixed, not mixed, city: mapping obstacles to Democracy in the Nazareth/Natzerat Illit conurbation / Laurie King-Irani – 9. Exit from the scene: reflections on the public space of the Palestinians in Israel / Raef Zreik – pt. 3. Gendered perspectives on mixed spaces – 10. Contested contact: proximity and social control in pre-1948 Jaffa and Tel-Aviv / Deborah S. Bernstein – 11. Mixed cities as a place of choice: the Palestinian women's perspective / Hanna Herzog – pt. 4. Cultural encounters and civil society – 12. Cooperation and conflict in the zone of civil society: Arab-Jewish activism in Jaffa / Amalia Sa'ar – 13. Nationalism, religion and urban politics in Israel: struggles over modernity and identity in 'global' Jaffa / Mark LeVine – 14. Mixed as in Pidgin: the vanishing Arabic of a "bilingual" city / Anton Shammas.

**Allen Moore, F.R.G.S.**
***ABC of Palestine: Exhibition***
(Brooklyn, New York City: author, 76 pages, 1913)
A series of stereopticon lectures: Eastern Dress, Home Life in Jerusalem / The Shepherd of the East / / The Shepherd Psalm / Market Scenes/ Marketing in Town and Village / Peasant Life / Jewish and Mohammedan Religious Ceremonies/ A Village Wedding / Street Scenes / Child Life in Palestine / Befriending a Dog / In the Hands of Eastern Bandits.

**A Briscoe Moore**
***The Mounted Riflemen of Sinai and Palestine: The Story of New Zealand's Crusaders***
(Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs 1920; Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2003)
Includes photographs taken with the NZMR Brigade

**Deborah Dash Moore** & **S. Ilan Troen**, editors
***Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America***
(Yale University Press, 2001)
An early book in which the authors consider the continued cultural binding of Israel and American Jews as a struggle against reality. See **Jeffrey Shandler**'s chapter: ***Producing the Future: The Impressario Culture of American Zionism before 1948***.

**John Norton Moore**, editor
***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***

(Princeton University Press, 4 volumes, 1974 / 1977 / 1991)

**Annelies Moors** (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, The Netherlands and Universiteit van Amsterdam)
***Women, Property and Islam: Palestinian Experiences, 1920-1990***
(Cambridge University Press, 2011)

**Benny Morris** (one of the 'new historians', using declassified Israeli archival materials)
***1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War***
(Yale University Press, 524 pages, 2008)

***Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited***
(Cambridge University Press, 2003)

***The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews***
(IB Tauris, 297 pages, 2002)

***Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001***
(Vintage Books, 784 pages, 2001)

***Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1998***
(Knopf, 751 pages, 1999)

***Israel's Border Wars, 1949-1956: Arab Infiltration, Israeli Retaliation, and the Countdown to the Suez War***
(Oxford: Clarenton, 1997)

***1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians***
(Oxford: Clarendon, 1994)

***Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949***
(Cambridge University Press, 1989)

**David Morrison**
***The Gush: Centre of Modern Religious Zionism***
(Jerusalem: Gefen, 2004)

**Melissa Morrone** (Librarians and Archivists with Palestine)
***Human Geography in Nablus: "Mountain of Fire"***
(Brooklyn, New York City: Librarians and Archivists for Palestine, 14 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "The zine walks the reader through several sites and conversations from the trip, including the Nablus Public Library and its collection of prisoners' books and notebooks; the old city; Balata refugee camp; and a dinner with geographer and activist Saed Abu Hijleh. Downloadable - https://librarianswithpalestine.org/publications/booklyn-portfolio/

**Peter Mortimer** (playwright, poet, travel writer)
***Camp Shatila: A Writer's Chronicle***
(Nottingham: Five Leaves Publishing, 2009)
Memoir of the author's time at Shatila Refugee Camp in Southern Beirut, including setting up a children's theatre group, which travelled to Britain for this book's publication.

**M. Mossek** aka **Moshe Mossek**

***Palestine Immigration Policy under Sir Herbert Samuel***
(Frank Cass, 179 pages, 1978)
Based on 1975 University of London thesis.

**John James Moscrop**

***Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land***
(Leicester University Press, 1999 / Continuum, 2000)
See also the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* and the *Annual.*

**Benjamin Moser**

***Anti-Zionism: A Jewish History***
(Fourth Estate, 400 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Benjamin Moser uncovers a suppressed tradition that has shaped Jewish thought for generations. Through a cast of artists, rabbis, poets, lawyers, activists, journalists and politicians – from Europe and Africa and Asia and Latin America – Moser traces a lineage of Jewish dissenters who confronted Zionism's moral and political stakes – often at devastating personal cost, including censorship, exile and death. Their lives form a sweeping, global narrative that dismantles a powerful myth: that anti-Zionism is synonymous with antisemitism. Spanning continents and centuries, these voices – people from the right and the left, Reform and Orthodox, Ashkenazic and Sephardic, men and women, gay and straight – differ sharply in belief and background, yet converge on a shared warning about the consequences of a nationalist project built on exclusion. What emerges is not only a rediscovered tradition of Jewish moral thought, but a startling reappraisal of Zionism itself. Moser's work restores the full scale and depth of Jewish ethical imagination, affirming that Judaism is older and larger than any single political project. Lucid, unsparing and deeply humane, *Anti-Zionism* cements Moser's place as one of our foremost Jewish writers and presents a framework through which this history – and its meanings – will be understood for years to come.

**Anthony Dirk Moses** aka **A. Dirk Moses** (City College of New York)

***The Problems of Genocide: Permanent Security and the Language of Transgression***
(Cambridge University Press, 598 pages, 2021)
Tangential to Palestine.

**Mossawa Center** (Haifa-based organisation of Palestinian-Israelis)

***The Palestinian Arab Citizens of Israel: Status, Opportunities and Challenges for an Israel-Palestinian Peace Conflict***
(Haifa: Mossawa Center, 104 pages, 2006)

***Report on the Social, economic and Political Status of Arab Citizens of Israel***
(Haifa: Mossawa Center, 64 pages, 2001)

**Fouad Moughrabi** (University of Tennessee & founder of Qattan Center for Educational Research, Ramallah)

As co-editor, with **Munir Akash**: ***The Open Veins of Jerusalem***
(Bethesda, Maryland: Kitab, 1998)

***Different Scales of Justice: Arabs and Jews in Israel – Results of a National Sample***
(Kingston, Ontario: Near East Cultural and Educational Foundation of Canada / Washington DC: International Center for Research and Public Policy in the US, 1988)

As co-editor, with **Elia Zureik**: ***Public Opinion and the Palestine Question***
(Croom Helm, 1987)

**Kenize Mourad** (Turkish-French journalist)
***Our Sacred Land: Voices of the Palestine-Israeli Conflict***
(Oneworld, 326 pages, 2004)
Translated by **Katherine Spencer**. Publisher's blurb: "A powerful, shocking and profoundly moving collection of testimonies from Palestinians, Israelis, Christians and volunteer workers, each telling their own stories about life in the disputed territories. The accounts come not only from adults, but also from Arab and Jewish children. The picture painted is of two peoples who live alike in terror, blaming each other for the continuation of the conflict, but the book is also a heartfelt cry for peace, a peace that acknowledges injustice and offers dignity to all."

**Gladys Mouro**
***An American Nurse Amidst Chaos***
(American University Beirut Press, 214 pages, 2001)
Tangential to Palestinian refugees, the story of the author's perseverance in AUB Hospital during Lebanon's uncivil war.

**Hanan Mousa** (Sakhnin College for Teacher Education, Israel)
***Palestinian Memory and Identity in Modern Children's Literature***
(Routledge, 158 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "A timely and significant contribution to Palestinian children's literature from 1967 to the present day, *Palestinian Memory and Identity in Modern Children's Literatur*e examines a myriad of motifs and popular culture and the evolution of national identity and consciousness among young Palestinians. Utilizing analytical and in-depth readings, this text presents a thorough examination of the representations and role of folk culture in Palestinian children's literature from both thematic and stylistic-linguistic perspectives. The analysis covers a wide range of diverse works representing popular culture published after 1967, including diverse works by writers from Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Palestinian diaspora. This volume will be of interest to academics and students exploring the vast contexts of Arabic children's literature and Palestinian folklore."

**Aamir R. Mufti**
***Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture***
(Princeton University Press, 2007)
Tangential to Palestine.

**Mahmoud Muhareb** (Arab Centre for Research & Policy Studies, Doha; Arab Studies Society, East Jerusalem; Bethlehem University)
***The Jewish Agency and Syria During the Arab Revolt in Palestine: Secret Meetings and Negotiations***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Palestine Studies series, 224 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Founded in 1929, the Jewish Agency played a central role in the founding of the State of Israel. Throughout the 1920s, 30s and 40s, many secret meetings took place between the JA and Arab leaders and elites. The dominant narrative claims that Syrian leaders and elites were not involved in any such meetings. However, this book reveals for the first time that a multitude of secret meetings and negotiations took place including with the Syrian National Block – the official Syrian leadership at the time – and the Shahbandari opposition and leaders of Jabal al-Druze. Based mainly on primary sources from Israeli archives, including documentation of discussions, reports and decisions taken by the JA leadership, the book tells a new story of a critical period of history, the Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 in Palestine. Mahmoud Muhareb argues that the main historic

objective of the JA was to reach agreements with Arab leaders and Arab states, behind the back of the Palestinians and at their expense, and to normalize its relations with the Arab states while it continued to deny the national rights of the Palestinians. The book challenges Israeli and Syrian official narratives and substantiates the Palestinian narrative, as well as some Israeli new historians who asserted Israel refusal to recognize the national rights of the Palestinians and affirmed its attempts to reach a comprehensive settlement with the Arab states at the expense of the Palestinians. The book includes Arabic and Hebrew sources translated into English for readers."

**Helmut Victor Muhsam**
***Beduin of the Negev*** [Bedouin]
(Jerusalem: Academic Press, 123 pages, 1966)

**John W. Mulhall**
***America and the Founding of Israel: An Investigation of the Morality of America's Role***
(Los Angeles: Deshon Press, 270 pages, 1995)

**Nora Lester Murad**, editor (Boston resident, but Founder of the Dalia Association, and Aid Watch Palestine NGOs in Palestine) and **Mary L. Onorato**
***Resisting Erasure: Libraries in Palestine and Palestine in Libraries***
(Litwin Books, 2026)
Publisher's blurb "Intensified erasure of Palestinians–through genocide and censorship–increases the need for librarians to protect and provide access to resources that support critical thinking and aid in distinguishing constructive truth from racist or politically motivated fiction. But what happens when libraries become the focus of politicized attempts to control information about Palestinians? How can librarians fulfill their professional and ethical obligation to defend intellectual freedom in the face of threats to their reputations, their jobs, and even their physical safety? The diverse pieces in this anthology explore research and experiences at the intersection of Palestine and libraries. Part one examines how Palestinian librarians, archivists, and individuals resist erasure by preserving Palestinian materials and narratives and by ensuring Palestinians' access to library resources amidst recurring cycles of destruction and confiscation. Part two explores how librarians in the United States respond to pressure from right-wing and pro-Israel advocacy groups that are quick to label any effort to include Palestinians and their histories as antisemitic."

**Nancy Murray** (Gaza Mental Health Foundation)
***Palestinians: Life Under Occupation***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Middle East Justice Network, 97 pages, 1991)
Focus on the occupied West Bank.

**Angela & Jawad Musleh**
***Palestine and Palestinians***
(Alternative Tourism Group, 440 pages, 2005)
Translated by **Carol Scheller-Doyle**

**'Adnan Musallam**
***Folded Pages from Local Palestinian History: Developments in Politics, Society, Press and Thought in Bethlehem in the British Era, 1917-1948***
(Bethlehem: Wi'am Center, 2002)
In Arabic and English.

**Sami Musallam**, editor
***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine, 1947-1972***
(Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 225 pages, 1973)

**Mohammad Muslih**
***The Golan: The Road to Occupation***
(Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1999)

***The Foreign Policy of Hamas***
(New York City: Council on Foreign Relations, 55pp, 1995)

***Toward Coexistence: An Analysis of the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 56 pages, 1990)

***The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988)
Devoted exclusively to the institutional framework of Palestinian politics from 1856 until December 1920, when the third Palestinian Arab Congress was held in Haifa to discuss the future of Palestine. Muslih's book presents in detail the ideologies of Ottomanism and Arab nationalism and the ways in which they relate to the emergence of Palestinian nationalism.

**Tahani Safa Mustafa** (International Crisis Group)
***Transforming Security Landscapes: Security Sector Reform in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(University of London/SOAS PhD thesis, 410 pages, 2017)
Focus on the Palestinian National Authority Armed Forces.

**Walid Mustafa**
***Jerusalem: Population & Urbanization from 1850-2000***
(Jerusalem Media and Communications Center, 2000)

**Samir A. [Abdullah] Mutawi**
***Jordan in the 1967 War***
(Cambridge University Press, 1987 )

**Haneen Naamneh** (LSE Middle East Centre)
***A City Yet to Come: A Story of Arab Jerusalem, 1948-1967***
(PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 2019)

As co-author, with **Reem al-Botmeh** and **Rami Salameh**: ***Palestinian Everyday Life: Living Within and Without Legality***
(LSE, 27 pages, 2018)

**Ahmad Nabil**
***Hidden Companions: Paranormals from the Old City of Jerusalem***
(Likely the author, 2026)
Translated by **Fatema Alhashemi** and edited by **Jenna Hamed**. With illustrations by the author.
Publisher's blurb: "The Old City of Jerusalem comes alive in Ahmad Nabil's Hidden Companions, a testimonial and visual archive of Palestinian folklore. A man wakes every day to find coins under his

pillow, a young lonely girl strikes up a friendship with a spectral voice, a veiled woman changes form to delude ordinary senses, a petite girl in all black breaches a group of young girls returning from a wedding, a goat and her two kids draw an unsuspecting young man into a hidden room, a group of curious boys conjure the spirit of Marx. Jinns and ghouls, guardians and tricksters, wizards and possessors. In the Old City of Jerusalem, the Unseen beings are a natural element of everyday life. With rich, vivid descriptions and in stunning illustrations, Ahmad Nabil weaves a literary account of paranormal stories: held, shared in whisper networks, relayed over conversations, and passed down as inheritance. This English translation by Fatema Alhashemi traces a captivating world largely unseen in popular narrative."

**Amikam [aka Amicam] Nachmani**

***Great Power Discord in Palestine: The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry into the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine, 1945-1946***

(Routledge, 2016)

**Amos Nadan**

***The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling***

(Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2006)

See also University of London PhD thesis: *The Arab Rural Economy in Mandate Palestine, 1921-1947: Peasants under Colonial Rule* (2001)

**NAAFI** (Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes)

***NAAFI Up! More than Just Char and Wad: The Official History of NAAFI, Commemorating 75 Years of Serving the Services***

(AQ & DJ Publications, 1996) / *Celebrating 90 Years of NAAFI Serving the Services* Darlington: Navy, Army & Air Force Institutes, c2010)

Relevant for Palestinians who worked in this area during the British Mandate.

**Basheer M. [Musa] Nafi**

***Arabism, Islamism and the Palestine Question, 1908-1941: A Political History***

(Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998)

As editor, with **Mohsen Moh'd Saleh**: ***The Palestinian Strategic Report, 2005***

(Beirut: al-Zayouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, 2007)

**Khilil Nahkleh**

***Palestinian Dilemma: Nationalist Consciousness and University Education in Israel***

(Michigan: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 134 pages, 1979)

**Abdel Nasser Al-Jajjar**

***A Look at the Deportation of a Group of Arab Journalists***

(Jerusalem: Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories, 11 pages, 1987)

**Abeer al-Najjar**

***The Representation of the Question of Jerusalem in the British Press, 1967-2000: The Times, Guardian, and the Daily Telegraph***

(University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis, 2003)

Available via the British Library and university libraries, with shelfmark: EthOS DRT 735355

**Aida Ali Najjar**

***The Arabic Press and Nationalism in Palestine, 1920-1948***
(Syracuse University, 244 pages, 1994)
University thesis.

**Khalil Nakhleh** (Palestinian anthropologist from Galilee)

***Globalized Palestine: The National Sell-Out of a Homeland***
(Trenton, New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 2012)
International aid seen as benefiting an elite and holding "the entire current society and future generations in political and economic debt."

***The Myth of Palestinian Development: Political Aid and Sustainable Deceit***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2004)

***The Myth of Palestinian Development: Political Aid and Sustainable Deceit***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2004)

***After the Palestine-Israel War: Limits to US and Israeli Policy***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute of Arab Studies, 1983)

As co-editor, with **Elia Zureik**: ***The Sociology of the Palestinians***
(Croom Helm, 1980 / Routledge, 2024)
Includes **Salim Tamari**: ***The Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza: The Sociology of the Palestinians***, with details of the cheap labour source of Arab Palestinians for Jewish Israeli projects.

**L.B. Namier [Louis Bernstein Namier]**

***The Jewish Question***
(1946)
Reprinted from *The Manchester Guardian*, Thursday, March 7th, 1946

***Refugee Boats***
(Jewish Agency, 1942)

***In the Margin of History***
(MacMillan, 303 pages, 1939)
Contains a pro-Zionist section.

**Nadia Naser-Najjab** (Birzeit, Exeter Universities, Palestinian NGOs)

***Covid-19 in Palestine: The Settler Colonial Context***
(IB Tauris, 264 pages, 2024)
Contents: Chapter One: The Colonial Context of COVID-19 / Chapter Two: Life Before and After the Pandemic t:he View from the Gaza Strip / Chapter Three: The Implication of the Division of Hebron and Combating COVID-19 / Chapter Four: Jerusalemites Beyond the Wall Facing COVID-19: The Case of Kufr Aqab / Chapter Five: Palestinian Refugees Facing COVID-19: The Case of Jalzoon Camp.

***Dialogue in Palestine: The People-to-People Diplomacy Programme and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies Series, 2020)
Author's comment: "The book examines the political failure of face-to-face civil society peacemaking between Palestinians and Israelis. Using the settler-colonialism lens will provide alternative outlook to

the conflict and the solution and provide the concerned partners an alternative way of thinking. My recent publications are based on extensive interviews with Palestinian leaders of the first intifada, Palestinian Authority and civil society actors."

***Palestinian-Israeli People-to-People Contact Experience, 1993-2004: An Evaluation***
(Exeter University thesis, 288 pages, 2004)
Available via EthOS at the British Library.

**Hisham Nashabe**, editor
***Studia Palestina: Studies in Honour of Constantine K. Zurayk***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988)
Essays in English, Arabic, and French.

**Nasser Eddin Nashashibi**
***Jerusalem's Other Voice: Ragheb Nashashibi and the Moderation in Palestine Politics, 1920-1948***
(Exeter: Ithaca Press, 1990)

**Hania A.M. Nashef** (American University of Sharjah, UAE)
***Palestinian Culture and Nakba: Bearing Witness***
(Routledge, 206 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book looks at the icons, narratives and symbols that have become synonymous with Palestinian identity and culture and which have, in the absence of a homeland, become a source of memory. It discusses how these icons have come into being and how they have evolved into sites of power which help to keep the story and identity of the Palestinians alive. The book looks at examples from Palestinian caricature, film, literature, poetry and painting, to see how these works ignite memories of the homeland and help to reinforce the diasporic identity. It also argues that the creators of these narratives or emblems have themselves become cultural icons within the collective Palestinian recollection." Chapters: 1 Hanthala: the immortal child; 2. Nazareth: icon of a lost homeland in Elia Suleiman's film trilogy; 3. Mahmoud Darwish: the storyteller of Palestine; 4. Ghassan Kanafani: the clock, the orange and what remains of the homeland; 5. Ismael Shammout and Tamam al-Akhal: The Exodus and The Odyssey.

**Esmail Nashif** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
***(Un)writing Israel: Palestinians Researching Writing on Israeli Society***
(Ramallah: Madar, The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, 2011)

***Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community***
(Routledge, 2010)

**Musa Nasir** (Head of Birzeit Junior College)
***Toward a Solution to the Palestine Problem: A Selection of Speeches and Writings, 1946-1966***
(author?, 1966)

**Kameel B. Nasr**
***Arab and Israeli Terrorism: The Causes and Effects of Political Violence, 1936-1993***
(Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 261 pages, 1997)
Contents: The Arab general strike -- The struggle for statehood -- Israel's use of Arab disguises -- Birth of the Palenstinian guerrillas -- We have taken over your flight -- Black September vs. Mossad -- The rise of Abdul Nidal -- The rejectionists -- Abu Nidal in Iraq -- Intelligence capability -- Death to the Arabs --

Death to the Jews -- Lebanon war -- Deadtime -- The heyday -- The questionable 1980s -- The business of the FRC -- Holy wars and Hollywood : the manufacture of modern terrorism -- Greece -- The departure of Abu Bakr and the death of Abu Iyad

Compiled with **Dina Lawrence**, with portions on Gaza by **Karen White**: ***Children of Palestinian Refugees vs. the Israeli Military: Personal Accounts of Arrest, Detention, and Torture***
(Lafayette, California: BIP Publications, 40 pages, 1987)

**Rami Nasrallah** (Academic, formerly with Palestinian Authority, currently with the International Peace and Cooperation Center [IPCC] in Jerusalem)
***Is a Viable Democratic Palestine Possible? Future Scenarios for Palestine***
(Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 40 pages, 2007)

As co-editor, with **Phillipp Misselwitz** & **Tim Rieniets**: ***City of Collision – Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism***
(Basel & Boston: Birkhäuser, 2006)

**Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah** (Hezbollah leader)
***Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah***
(Verso Books, 432 pages, 2020)

**Issam Nassar**
***Photographing Jerusalem: The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Photography***
(Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1997)

As co-author, with **Maher Al-Sharif**: ***The History of the Palestine National Movement***
(Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018)

**Jamal Nassar** (California State University & Illinois State University via Jerusalem)
***The Palestine Liberation Organization: From Armed Struggle to the Declaration of Independence***
(Praeger Press, 1991)

As co-editor, with **Roger Heacock: *Intifada – Palestine at the Crossroads***
(Praeger Press, 1990)

**Maha Nassar** (University of Arizona)
***Brothers Apart: Palestinian Citizens of Israel and the Arab World***
(Stanford University Press, 2017) Publisher's blurb: "
Palestinian intellectuals, party organizers, and cultural producers in Israel turned to the written word. Through writers like Mahmoud Darwish and Samih al-Qasim, poetry, journalism, fiction, and nonfiction became sites of resistance and connection alike. With this book, Maha Nassar examines their well-known poetry and uncovers prose works that have, until now, been largely overlooked. The writings of Palestinians in Israel played a key role in fostering a shared national consciousness and would become a central means of alerting Arabs in the region to the conditions—and to the defiance—of these isolated Palestinians. *Brothers Apart* is the first book to reveal how Palestinian intellectuals forged transnational connections through written texts and engaged with contemporaneous decolonization movements throughout the Arab world, challenging both Israeli policies and their own cultural isolation. Maha Nassar reexamines these intellectuals as the subjects, not objects, of their own history and brings to life their perspectives on a fraught political environment. Her readings not only deprovincialize the Palestinians of Israel, but write them back into Palestinian, Arab, and global history."

**Selim Nassib** (Lebanese journalist, correspondent for the French daily newspaper, *Libération*)

***The Palestinian Lover*** aka ***A Lover in Palestine***
(Europa, 161 or 192 pages, 2007)
Translated from French by **Alison Anderson**

***Beirut: Frontline Story***
(Pluto Press, 160 pages, 1983)
Features 80 dispatches from June-August 1982. With **Caroline Tisdall** and Magnum Agency photographs by **Chris Steele-Perkin**.

**Robert R. Nathan**, **Oscar Gass** and **Daniel Creamer**

***Palestine: Problem and Promise – An Economic Study***
(Washington: American Council on Public Affairs/Public Affairs Press/American Palestine Institute, 675 pages, 1946)
Contents: pt. 1. Summary of conclusions: Problems and economic potentialities – pt. 2. Perspectives in time and space: Middle Eastern setting – Land of Israel – Syria of the Arabs – Turkish rule in Palestine – The experience of the mandate – Palestine and the Arab world – Palestine and the world Jewry – Economic analysis and the future – pt. 3. Palestine today: The land – The peoples – National income – Water, fuel, and power – Agriculture today – Manufactures today – Housing and construction today – Transport, trade and services – Labor organization and enterprise – Money and finance – International economic relations – Public and quasi-public finance – pt. 4. Palestine in the next decade: The immigration potential – Water and power potentialities – Agriculture in the next decade – Manufactures in the next decade – Housing and construction in the postwar decade – Commercial policy, services and trade in the postwar decade – Financial and fiscal problems.

**Robert Nathan**

***An Economist Looks at Palestine***
(New York City: United Palestine Appeal, 19 pages, ca. 1947)

**Susan Nathan**

***The Other Side of Israel***
(Harper Perennial, 2006)
With a glossary compiled by **Jonathan Cook**. Nathan, a South African Jew who 'returned' to Israel to live, quickly became aware that Arabs in Israel were discriminated against in ways that echoed the treatments of Blacks under apartheid. She chose to act in solidarity with Palestinians; this is her highly researched yet personal story of being a Jew living in an Arab town in Israel. – Naomi Foyle

**National Association of Arab-Americans**

***It Happened to Us! Women Caught in the Middle East Conflict***
(Jordan Tourism Authority Press, 55pp, with maps, 1985)

***Al-Ansar: A Report on the Israeli Detention Camp at Al-Ansar, Southern Lebanon***
(Washington DC: NAAA, ca. 6 pages, 1983

***The Continuing Tragedy: Israeli Occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, 1983***
(Washington DC: NAAA, 34 pages, 1983)

***Life under Israeli Occupation***
(Washington DC: NAAA, 16 pagers, 1981)

**Naval Intelligence Division** (UK)
***Palestine & Transjordan***
(Taylor & Francis, 2007 / Routledge, 2016)

**Nafez Nazzal**
With **Laila A. Nazzal**: ***Historical Dictionary of Palestine***
(Scarecrow Press, 1997)

***Policies of the Israeli Occupation in the West Bank***
(Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center International Security Studies Program no. 46, 33 pages, 1983)

***The Palestinian Exodus from Galilee, 1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 149 pages, 1978)
Witness accounts and demographic data; originally presented as the author's PhD thesis, Georgetown University.

**Nafez Y. Nazzal** & **Laila K. Nazzal**
***Historical Dictionary of Palestine***
(Scarecrow Press, 304 pages, 1997)
Partial contents The West Bank and the Gaza Strip: a brief profile.-The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.-Palestinian-Jordanian relations: post 1967.-The Palestinian Uprising: the Intifada.-The peace process.-The Palestine National Authority.-The Oslo Two Agreement. APPENDICES: Declaration of Independence.-Declaration of principles. NOTE: 2nd edition by **Ilan Pappe** & **Johnny Mansour** (Rowman & Littlefield, 773 pages, 2022)

**Donald Neff**
***Fallen Pillars: US Policy towards Palestine and Israel since 1945***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2002)

***Fifty Years of Israel***
(Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, 1998)
A compilation of the author's columns for WRMEA's magazine.

***Warriors against Israel: America Comes to the Rescue in 1973***
(Amana Books, 1988)

***Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days That Changed the Middle East***
(Simon & Schuster / Linden Press, 1984)

**Jacques Neriah** (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Israel; former adviser to Yitzhak Rabin)
***Between Rabin and Arafat: A Political Diary Behind the Oslo Deal, 1993-1994***
(Springer / Palgrave Macmillan, 257 pages, 2022)

**Boaz Neumann**
***Land and Desire in Early Zionism***
(Brandeis University Press, 2011)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**

**Emanuel Neumann**

***Zionism and the Arab World: Testimony Submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, February 15, 1944***
(New York City: American Zionist Emergency Council, 14 pages, 1944)
Argues that the Arab lands are underpopulated, that the Arab peoples have had their demands filled since the Paris peace treaty, and argues for a Jewish commonwealth.

**Michael Neumann**

***The Case Against Israel***
(Petrolia, California: Counterpunch, 2005)
Advocates a two-state solution.

**Tamara Neuman**

***Settling Hebron: Jewish Fundamentalism in a Palestinian City***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018)

**Joseph Nevo**

***King Abdallah and Palestine: A Territorial Ambition***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 1996)
Publisher's blurb: "When in 1921 the British created the 'Amirate of Transjordan' for Abdallah to rule, the barren and desolate region he was given made him concentrate almost from the start on Palestine for an expansionist drive that was to underpin the legitimacy of the kingdom he craved and lend lustre to the crown he coveted. Analyzing Abdallah's strategies I the other players involved – the British, the Jews, the Arab States and the Palestinian Arabs – the author painstakingly shows how Abdallah gradually went about fulfilling that lifelong ambition."

**David Newman**

As co-editor, with **Joel Peters**: ***The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 2013)
Contains **Nami Nasrallah**: ***The First and Second Palestinian Intifadas***.

***Boundaries in Flux: The 'Green Line' Boundary between Israel and the West Bank – Past, Present and Future***
(University of Durham International Boundaries Research Unit, 1995)

***Population, Settlement and Conflict: Israel and the West Bank***
(Cambridge University Press, 1991)

As editor: ***The Impact of Gush Emunim: Politics and Settlement in the West Bank***
(Croom Help, 1985)

***Jewish Settlement in the West Bank: The Role of Gush Emunim***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1982)
Based on 1981 PhD thesis, University of Durham: ***The Rose of Gush Emunim and the Yishuv Kehillati in the West Bank, 1974-1980***.

**John Newsinger** (Bath Spa University)

***British Counterinsurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 221 pages, 2002; 297 pages, 2015)

**Frances Emily Newton** [Haifa resident, 1920s; Dame of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem]

***Fifty Years in Palestine: The Case for the Arabs***
(Wrotham: Coldharbour Press, 1948)
Notes that British friends of Arabs were under suspicion by the Mandate Government.

***Palestine: Britain's Honour at Stake***
(author, ca. 1947; 15pp pamphlet)
A reading of British diplomatic documents related to commitments to Palestine.

***Searchlight on Palestine: Fair-play or Terrorist Methods – Some Personal Investigations*** (24pp pamphlet) ([London] Arab Centre, 1938)

**Francis R. Nicosia**

***The Third Reich and the Palestine Question***
(IB Tauris, 1985; Routledge, 344 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb, 2017 edition: "In order to ensure its racial, ideological, and strategic interests, the Hitler regime actively supported the status quo in Palestine and the Middle East during the interwar period. This included the perpetuation of British imperial power in Palestine, the Jewish National Home (not an independent Jewish state) promised by the Balfour Declaration, and the rejection of Arab self-determination and independence. *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*is the first comprehensive study of German Palestine policy during the 1930s. Francis R. Nicosia places that policy within the context of historical German interests and aims in Palestine, the Middle East, and Europe from the Wilhelminian era through the Weimar period and the Third Reich. He also provides insight into the broader foreign policy aims and calculations of the Nazi regime throughout the Arab Middle East before World War II. In a new introduction, Nicosia places his ground-breaking research in its proper historical perspective. He reviews some of the recent literature on the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. He also discusses some of the archival materials that have recently become available in the former German Democratic Republic and Soviet Union. See also: **Edwin Black**: *The Transfer Agreement: The Dramatic Story of the Pact between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine* (Macmillan, 1984).

**Norman Saadi Nikro** (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient)

***Nafssiya, or Edward Said's Affective Phenomenology of Racism***
(Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 199 pages, 2024/2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This book adapts the Arabic term *nafsiyya* to trace the phenomenological contours of Edward Said's analysis of the affective dimensions of colonial and imperial racism. Reflecting on what he called his "colonial education," Said rendered his Palestinian/Arab background and experience of racism an enabling component of his academic work. The argument focuses on his "personal dimension" section in his introduction to his famous volume Orientalism, discussing key notions of Said's oeuvre—such as 'elaboration,' 'circumstance,' 'humanism,' 'worldliness,' 'inventory,' and 'critical consciousness.' Providing a lengthy study of his earlier and somewhat neglected Beginnings: Intention and Method, the book discusses the significance of the style of the essay as a key component of what the author calls Said's interventionist brand of scholarship. The final chapter outlines how Said's oeuvre can be situated in a genealogy of a radical phenomenology of racism that emerged from the colonies."

**David B. Sachar**

***David K. Niles*** (White House advisor 1942-1951)

**Ephriam Nimni**

***The Challenge of Post-Zionism: Alternatives to Israeli Fundamentalist Politics***
(Zed Books, 2003)

**Sonia Fathi El-Nimr**
***The Arab Revolt of 1936-1939 in Palestine – A Study Based on Oral Sources***
(PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 272pages, 1990)
Available online via the EthOS portal.

**Oded Nir** (Vassar College) and **Joel Wainwright** (Ohio State University)
***Rethinking Israel and Palestine: Marxist Perspectives***
(Routledge, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "The Middle East seems to be in perpetual crisis. One might expect a plethora of Marxist analyses of Israel and Palestine. Yet in the literature on Israel and Palestine there are hardly any studies of class, relations of production, or the relationship between the political and economic balance of forces over time. This edited volume brings a diverse array of Marxist-influenced interpretations of the present conjuncture in Israel and Palestine. The collection includes works by luminaries of social theory, such as Noam Chomsky and Fred Jameson, as well as leading scholars of Palestine (Raja Khalidi, Sherene Seikaly, and Orayb Aref Najjar) and Israel (Jonathan Nitzan, Nitzan Lebovic and Amir Locker-Biletzki). It comprises the first-ever collection of Marxist-influenced writings on Palestine and Israel, and the relationship between them." This book was originally published as a special issue of the journal *Rethinking Marxism*.

**Alona Nitzan-Shiftan** (Israel Institute of Technology)
***Seizing Jerusalem: The Architectures of Unilateral Unification***
(University of Minnesota Press, 376 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This architectural history of post-1967 Jerusalem chronicles how architecture, landscape design, urban planning, and everyone from municipal politicians to state bureaucrats, Israeli-born architects to international luminaries, competed to create Jerusalem's new image. Alona Nitzan-Shiftan reveals architecture as an active agent in forming urban and national identity, demonstrating how debates about Zionism affected Jerusalem's built environment in ways that resonate today."

**Jonathan Nitzan** (York University, Toronto) and **Shimshon Bichler**
***The Global Political Economy of Israel***
(Pluto Press, 407 pages, 2002)

**Hagit Nol** (Université libre de Bruxelles)
***Settlement and Urbanization in Early Islamic Palestine, 7th-11th Centuries: Texts and Archaeology Contrasted***
(Routledge, 318 pages, 2022/2024)

**Non-Zionist Conference Concerning Palestine**
***Verbatim Report of the Proceedings, October 20-21, 1928***
(New York City: Non-Zionist Conference Concerning Palestine, 95 pages, 1928)
Louis Marshall, Chairman. The meeting of the non-Zionists was called for the purpose of considering the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, and of taking action upon that report. 400 attendees at the Hotel Biltmore.

**Jacob Norris** (University of Sussex)

***The Lives and Deaths of Jubrail Dabdoub: or, How the Bethlehemites Discovered Amerka***
(Stanford University Press, 290 pages, 2023)
A history of local merchants who sold crosses and rosaries internationally and brough enrichment to a certain class of Bethlehemites in the late 19th Century. The author uses a range of sources: the nun's notebooks, parish records, interviews with descendants of the Bethlehem merchants, and vintage diaries.

***Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948***
(Oxford University Press, 241 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Histories of Palestine in the pre-1948 period usually assume the emergent Arab-Zionist conflict to be the central axis around which all change revolves. In *Land of Progress* Jacob Norris suggests an alternative historical vocabulary is needed to broaden our understanding of the region's recent past. In particular, for the architects of empire and their agents on the ground, Palestine was conceived primarily within a developmental discourse that pervaded colonial practice from the turn of the twentieth century onwards. A far cry from the post-World War II focus on raising living standards, colonial development in the early twentieth century was more interested in infrastructure and the exploitation of natural resources. *Land of Progress* charts this process at work across both the Ottoman and British periods in Palestine, focusing on two of the most salient but understudied sites of development anywhere in the colonial world: the Dead Sea and Haifa. Weaving the experiences of local individuals into a wider narrative of imperial expansion and anti-colonial resistance, Norris demonstrates the widespread excitement Palestine generated among those who saw themselves at 594anhedrid of progress and modernisation, whether they were Ottoman or British, Arab or Jewish. Against this backdrop, Norris traces the gradual erosion during the mandate period of the mixed style of development that had prevailed under the Ottoman Empire, as the new British regime viewed Zionism as the sole motor of modernisation. As a result, the book's latter stages relate the extent to which colonial development became a central issue of contestation in the struggle for Palestine that unfolded in the 1930s and 40s."

***Ideologies of Development and the British Mandate in Palestine***
(University of Cambridge thesis, 237 pages, 2011)

**Augustus Richard Norton**
***Hezbollah: A Short History***
(Princeton University Press, 187 pages 2009; 229 pages, 2014)

As co-editor, with **Martin H. Greenberg**: ***The International Relations of the Palestine Liberation Organization***
(Southern Illinois University Press, 233 pages, 1989)
With a foreword by **Jerrold D. Green**.

**David Nott**
***War Doctor : Surgery on the Front Line***
(Picador, 359 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "For more than twenty-five years, David Nott has taken unpaid leave from his job as a general and vascular surgeon with the NHS to volunteer in some of the world's most dangerous war zones. From Sarajevo under siege in 1993, to clandestine hospitals in rebel-held eastern Aleppo, he has carried out life-saving operations and field surgery in the most challenging conditions, and with none of the resources of a major London teaching hospital. The conflicts he has worked in form a chronology of twenty-first-century combat: Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Darfur, Congo, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, **Gaza** and Syria."

**Amir Nour** (Centre for Research on Globalization, Canada)
***The Monstrosity of Our Century: The War on Palestine and the Last Western Man***

(Atlanta, Georgia: Clarity Press, 2026)
Foreword by **Richard Forer**. Publisher's blurb: "…draws on both traditions to dissect the factors that made both the October 7, 2023 attack on Israel by Hamas and other Palestinian resistance movements inevitable and Western support for the genocidal reaction of the Israelis to this predictable. "

**David Novak**

***Zionism and Judaism: A New Theory***

(Cambridge University Press, 2016)
Chapter 1: Why Zionism?; Chapter 2: Was Spinoza the First Zionist?; Chapter 3: Secular Zionism: Political or Cultural?; Chapter 4: Should Israel Be a Theocracy?; Chapter 5: Why the Jews and Why the Land of Israel?; Chapter 6: Can the State of Israel Be Both Jewish and Democratic?; Chapter 7: What Could Be the Status of Non-Jews in a Jewish State?; Chapter 8: What Is the Connection Between the Holocaust and the State of Israel?

**Peter Novick** (University of Chicago)

***The Holocaust in American Life*** aka ***The Holocaust and Collective Memory***

(Houghton Mifflin/Bloomsbury, 373 pages, 1999)
An American Jewish perspective to understand the undiminished importance of the Jewish Holocaust in national discourse; "The hallmark of the good Jew became the depth of his or her commitment to Israel." Israeli military actions are minimally criticised and hasbara unmentioned. That said, Rashid Khalidi praised the book as a "brilliant" account, along with **Amy Kaplan**'s ***Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance*** (Harvard University Press, 2018).

**Novosti Press Agency**

***Soviet Jews Reject Zionist 'Protection'***

(Moscow: NPA, 1971)
Round table discussion by leading Soviet Jewish figures: Henrich Hofman, Aron Vergelis, Isaak Mints, Dmitri Novakovsky, Violetta Palcinskaite. Mikhail Goldstein, Alexi Fishkin, Jude & Ksenya Lazaretny, Grigori Lapidus, Riva Vishchinikina, Polina Gelman, David Dragunsky, and Henrikas Zimanas

***The Deceived Testify: Considering the Plight of Immigrants in Israel***

(Moscow: NPA, 64 pages, 1972)

**Mansour Nsasra** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)

***The Naqab Bedouins: A Century of Politics and Resistance***

(Columbia University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Conventional wisdom positions the Naqab Bedouins in southern Palestine and under Israeli military rule as victims or passive recipients. In *The Naqab Bedouins*, Mansour Nasasra rewrites this narrative, presenting them as active agents who, in defending their community and culture, have defied attempts at subjugation and control. The book challenges the notion of Bedouin docility under Israeli military rule, showing how they have contributed to shaping their own destiny. *The Naqab Bedouins* represents the first attempt to chronicle Bedouin history and politics across the last century, including the Ottoman era, the British Mandate, and Israeli military rule, and document its broader relevance to understanding state-minority relations in the region and beyond. Nasasra recounts the Naqab Bedouin history of political struggle, land claims, and defiance. Bedouin resistance to central authority, mainly through nonviolent action and the strength of kin-based tribal organization, gave them power. Through primary sources and oral history, including detailed interviews with local indigenous Bedouin and with Israeli and British officials, Nasasra shows how the Naqab Bedouin community survived strict state policies and military control and positioned itself as a political actor in the region."

**Mansour Nsasra**, **Richard Ratcliffe**, **Sophie Richter-Devroe**, and **Sarab Abu Rabia-Quendar**, editors

***The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspectives***

(Routledge, 218 pages, 2015)
Contents: Introduction / Richard Ratcliffe, Mansour Nasasra, Sarab Abu Rabia Qweider, Sophie Richter-Devroe – Bedouin tribes in the Middle East and the Naqab: changing dynamics and the new state / Mansour Nasasra – The forgotten victims of the Palestine ethnic cleansing / Ilan Pappé – Past and present in the discourse of Naqab/Negev Bedouin geography and space: a critical review / Yuval Karplus, Avinoam Meir – Land, identity, and history: new discourse on the Nakba of Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab / Safa Aburabia – The politics of non-cooperation and lobbying: the Naqab Bedouin and Israeli military rule, 1948-1967 / Mansour Nasasra – Bedouin women's organizations in the Naqab: social activism for women's empowerment? / Elisabeth Marteu – Colonialism, cause advocacy, and the Naqab case / Ahmad Amara – Shifting discourses: unlocking representations of educated Bedouin women's identities / Sarab Abu Rabia Queder – Decolonizing research on Palestinians: towards critical epistemologies and research practices / Anaheed Al-Hardan.

**Maxine Kaufman Nunn**

As translator: **Meron Benvenisti**: ***City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem***
(University of California Press, 1996)

***Creative Resistance: Anecdotes of Nonviolent Action by Israel-Based Groups***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1993)

With **Ingrid Gassner-Jaradat**: ***Palestine and the Other Israel: Alternative Directory of Progressive Groups and Institutions in Israel and the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1991)

**Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh** (Palestinian-born Jordanian diplomat and government minister)

***Jerusalemites: A Living Memory***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2009)
Educational note: "The British Mandatory government established two high-level secondary schools, the Arab College [in the al-Mukhber Hills of southern Jerusalem] and the Rashidiyya School. It may sound somewhat strange, but it is true all the same, that at the Arab College the curricula included the teaching of Latin and Greek, on the same pattern as English public schools…..but when the Mandate ended there were only four government secondary schools in the whole of Palestine. The philosophy guiding the system was to educate the elite, a limited number of civil servants, to help run the machinery of government, but no more. Those academically less endowed were expected to acquire vocational skills and work their way into the private sector. Education was based on class orientation, which had been the case in Britain itself."

***Palestine and the United Nations***
(Quartet Books, 200 pages, 1981)
Drawn from the author's speeches, 1976-1980, including to the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN. One chapter on UNRWA unpacks the organisation's financial precariousness.

***The Ideas of Arab Nationalism***
(Cornell University Press, 1956 / Kennikat Press, 1972)

**Munir Nuseibah**

***Forced Displacement in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict; International Law and Transitional Justice***
(University of Westminster, PhD thesis, 2013)

**Andrea Nusse**

***Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamas***

(Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 190 pages, 1998; Routledge Curzon, 190 pages, 2002; Taylor & Francis, 204 pages, 2012)

***The Ideology of Hamas: An example of Contemporary Sunni Fundamentalist Thought***
(University of Oxford PhD thesis, 132 pages, 1991)

**Sari Nusseibeh**

***Giving Voice to Conscience***
(The Hague: Boom Lemma Uitgevers, 2013)
Lecture at the University of Utrecht

***What is a Palestinian State Worth?***
(Harvard University Press, 2011)

With Anthony David: ***Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life***
(Halban Books, 2007)
Extraordinary autobiography of President of Al-Quds University, who tried to use his cosmopolitan awareness to bypass Israeli officialdom in forming a viable Palestinian state.

As co-editor with **Moshe Ma'oz: *Jerusalem: Points of Friction and Beyond***
(The Hague: Kluwer Law, 2000)

With: **Mark A. Heller**: ***No Trumpets, No Drums: A Two-State Settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(London: IB Tauris; New York City: Hill & Wang, 183 pages, 1991)

**Andrea Nüsse**

***Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamas***
(Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 154 pages, 1998)

**Anthony Nutting**

***The Palestinian People and the United Nations***
(London: Arab League, 46 pages, ca. 1976)

***Balfour and Palestine: A Legacy of Deceit***
(CAABU / Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 16pp pamphlet, ca. 1965)

***The Tragedy of Palestine from the Balfour Declaration to Today***
(Arab League Office, 15pp pamphlet, 1969)

***Changing Attitudes in Britain from Suez to Today***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 9 pages, 1969)
Address to the Friends of Jerusalem, Americans for Justice in the Middle East, and the Fifth of June Society.

**Megan Nutzman**

***Contested Cures: Identity and Ritual Healing in Roman and Late Antique Palestine***
(Edinburgh University Press, 272 pages, 2022/2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In the ancient Mediterranean world, individuals routinely looked for divine aid to cure physical afflictions. Contested Cures argues that the inevitability of sickness and injury made people willing to experiment with seemingly beneficial techniques, even if they originated in a foreign cultural or religious tradition. With circumstances of close cultural contacts, such as prevailed in Palestine, the

setting was ripe for neighbouring Jews, Samaritans, Christians, Greeks and Romans to borrow rituals perceived to be efficacious and to alter them to fit their own religious framework. As a result, they employed related means of seeking miraculous cures. The similarities of these rituals, despite changes in the identity of the divine healers that they invoked, made them the subject of polemical discourse among elite authors trying to police collective borders. Contested Cures investigates the resulting intersection of ritual healing and communal identity."

**Edgar O'I**

***The Palestinian Intifada***
(Macmillan, 1998)

***Civil War in Lebanon, 1975-1992***
(Macmillan, 1998)

***No Victor, No Vanquished: The Yom Kippur War***
(San Rafael, California: Presidio Press, 1978)

***Arab Guerilla Power, 1967-1972***
(Faber & Faber, 1974)

***The Third Arab-Israeli War***
(Faber & Faber, 1972)

***The Sinai Campaign, 1956***
(Faber & Faber, 1959)

***The Arab-Israeli War, 1948***
(Faber & Faber, 1956 / Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1981)

**Lee O'Brien**

***American Jewish Organisations and Israel***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971; 2nd printing 1986)
Documents the rise of AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee), the UJA (United Jewish Appeal) and many other political action and fundraising groups.

**Adnan Abu-Odeh** (Nablus-born, Jordanian ambassador)

***Jordanians, Palestinians and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process***
(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999)

***UN Security Council Resolution 242: The Building Block of Peacemaking – on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of UN Resolution 242***
(Washington DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1993)

**David Ohana**

***Nationalizing Judaism: Zionism as a Theological Ideology***
Lexington Books, 214 pages, 2017)

***The Origins of Israeli Mythology: Neither Canaanites nor Crusaders***
(Cambridge University Press, 2012)
Translated by David Maisel

***Modernism and Zionism***
(Cambridge University Press, 2012)

**Ronnie Olesker** (St. Lawrence University)
***Israel's Securitization Dilemma: BDS and the Battle for the Legitimacy of the Jewish State***
(Routledge, 164 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Through historical and archival research, as well as discourse analysis of legal and governmental documents, public statements of Israeli officials, and interviews with Israeli policy makers, this book argues that Israel has constructed perceived and real challenges to its legitimacy as ontological threats that undermine its national security, and has securitized its Jewish identity in response to these threats. As a result, the state has adopted extraordinary measures, often marked by illiberalism. Rather than enhance Israel's international legitimacy, these measures have undermined it further, especially among liberal audiences in the West, whose support is critical for Israel's continued international legitimacy. Therefore, Israel is locked in a securitization dilemma—where actions taken to enhance its security through increased legitimacy result in further delegitimization. Highlighting the ways this securitization dilemma is at the heart of Israeli policymaking today—particularly in the context of the recent BDS movement—this book brings into focus key problems that Israel faces as it attempts to combat delegitimization movements against its self-constructed identity as a Jewish state."

**Margaret Olin** (scholar of religious communities and photographer focusing on the South Hebron Hills) and **David Shulman** (*New York Review of Books*)
***The Bitter Landscapes of Palestine***
(Intellect, 227 pages, 2025)

**Laurence Oliphant**
***Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine***
(Blackwood & Sons, 1887)

***A Trip to the North-East of Lake Tiberias, in Jaulan***, in ***Across the Jordan***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1885)

**Daniel Oliver**
***The Arab-Jewish Conference, London*** aka ***The Palestine Conference in London***
(taken from *The Lighthouse in the East*, 4 pages, 1939)

**Jason M. Olson**
***America's Road to Jerusalem: The Impact of the Six-Day War on Protestant Politics***
(Lexington Books, 281 pages, 2018)

**William J. Olson**
***Britain's Elusive Empire in the Middle East: An Annotated Bibliography***
(Garland Publishing, 404 pages, 1982)
Includes the early Arab Revolt, and details about university theses.

**Anthony O'Mahony** (Blackfriars Hall, Oxford University; Heythrop College, University of London)
As editor: ***Christianity and Jerusalem: Studies in Modern Theology and Politics in the Holy Land***
(Leominster: Gracewing / Gardners Books, 2010)

As editor: ***Palestinian Christians: Religion, Politics and Society in the Holy Land***
(Melisende, 2004)
Contents: "Palestinian Christians: religion, politics, and society, c. 1800-1948 / Anthony O'Mahony – Faith and statecraft: church-state relations in Jerusalem after 1948 / Michael Dumper – Socio-economic characteristics and challenges to Palestinian Christians in the Holy Land / Bernard Sabella – 'You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judaea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth'. A Christian perspective on Jerusalem / Michael Prior – Contemporary Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land / Glenn Bowman – Le pélerin de Jérusalem: Louis Massignon, Palestinian Christian, Islam, and the State of Israel / Anthony O'Mahony – A Galilee without Christians? Yosef Weitz and 'Operation Yohanan' 1949-1954 / Nur Masalha."

As editor: ***The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: Studies in History, Religion and Politics***
(University of Wales Press, 2003)

As editor, with **Goran Gunner** & **Kevork Hintlian**: ***The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land***
(Scorpion Cavendish, 1995)

**Michael Schaeffer Omer-Man** and **Sarah Leah Whitson** (both of DAWN, Democracy for the Arab World Now)

***From Apartheid to Democracy: A Blueprint for Peace in Israel-Palestine***
(University of California Press, 272 pages, 2025)
Authors examine the legal foundations of Israeli, British Mandate, and Ottoman laws (which are still in force) and call for them to be repealed or changed as a transition to forming a single democratic state.

**Adi Ophir**, **Michal Givoni**, and **Sari Hanaifi**, editors

***The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(New York City: Zone Books/MIT Press, 641 pages, 2009)
Contents: Introduction / Adi Ophir, Michael Givoni, and Sari Hanafi – The Illegality of the occupation regime: the fabric of law in the occupied Palestinian territory / Orna Ben-Naftali, Aeyal M. Gross, and Keren Michaeli – The occupation's paper trail I / Michal Givoni – The order of violence / Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir – The occupation's paper trail II – The (in)human spatial condition: a visual essay / Ariella Azoulay – Photo dossier I: the architecture of destruction – Where, where to, and when in the occupied territories: an introduction to geography of disaster / Ariel Handel – The occupation's paper trail III – Photo dossier II: types of blockage – From colonization to separation: exploring the structure of Israel's occupation / Neve Gordon – The occupation's paper trail IV – Regimes of separation: Israel/Palestine and the shadow of apartheid / Hilla Dayan – The occupations paper trail V – Photo dossier III: the architecture of separation – The colonial–oundations of the state of exce–ion: juxtaposing the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories with colonial bureaucratic history / Yehouda Shenhav and Yael Berda – The occupation's paper trail VI – From domination to destruction: the Palestinian economy under the Israeli occupation / Leila Farsakh – The occupation's paper trail VII – Cultivating dependence: Palestinian agriculture under the Israeli occupation / Caroline Abu-Sada – Photo dossier IV: the architecture of fear/the language of subjugation – The destruction of risk society and the ascendancy of Hamas / Neve Gordon and Dani Filc – The occupation's paper trail VIII – Palestinian refugee camps in the Palestinian territory: territory of exception and locus of resistance / Sari Hanafi – Matrix in Bil'in: colonial capitalism in the occupied territories / Gadi Algazi – Photo dossier V: textures of destruction – Thanato-tactics / Eyal Weizman – The occupation's paper trail IX – Occupation as disorientation: the impossibility of borders / Ronen Shamir – The occupation's paper trail X – Chronology of the occupation regime, 1967-2007 / Ariel Handel.

**Franz Oppenheimer**

With **Jacob Oettinger: Land Tenure in Palestine**
(The Hague: Jewish National Fund / New York City: Lipshitz Press, 31 pages, ca. 1917)
Contents: Collective and private ownership of land, by Franz Oppenheimer.–The practical advantages of hereditary lease, by Jacob Oettinger.–Appendix: Specimen agreements.

***Merchavia: A Jewish Co-operative Settlement in Palestine***
(The Hague: Jewish National Fund and the Settlement Company 'Eretz Israel,' 33 pages, 1914)

***Co-operative Colonisation in Palestine***
(The Hague: Jewish National Fund and the Settlement Company 'Eretz Israel,' 16 pages, ca. 1913)

**A.F.K. Organski (Abramo F.K. Organski)**
***The $36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in US Assistance to Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 315 pages, 1990)
Author discounts lobbying pressures for aid, that it is given in US' interests.

**Michael B. Oren**
***Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East***
(Oxford University Press, 2002)

***Origins of the Second Arab-Israeli War: Egypt, Israel and the Great Powers 1952-1956***
(Frank Cass, 1992)

**Neta Oren** (George Mason University)
***Israel's National Identity: The Changing Ethos of Conflict***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 291 pages, 2019)

**Efraim Orni**
***Forms of Settlement***
(Jerusalem: Youth and Hechalutz Department of the World Zionist Organisation & the Jewish National Fund, 1955, 1958, 1960, 1963)
Note: author of Israeli tour guides.

**Akiva Orr** (Israeli Marxist writer)
***Politics without Politicians***
(Jerusalem?, 35 pages, ca. 2005)

***Israel: Politics, Myths and Identity Crises***
(Pluto, 180 pages, 1994)

***The unJewish State: The Politics of Jewish Identity in Israel***
(Ithaca Press, 246 pages, 1983)
The Jewish nation-state providing an identity for the non-religious.

With **Moshe Machover** and **Haim Hanegbi**
***The Class Nature of Israeli Society***
(Pluto Books, 23 pages, 1971)
Focus on Jewish-Palestinian relations; offprint from the *New Left Review*.

With **Moshe Machover**: ***Peace, Peace, When There is No Peace***
(libcom.org, 581 pages, 1961/2011)

Translation of 1961 book, with a wide focus critical of the Israeli state, including long-hidden aspects, plus 'Operation Qadesh', memoirs of IDF looting, details not noted in Ben-Gurion's diary, and an interview with Golda Meir from May 1970.

**Bahaa Ed-Din Ossama**

***Musiqa al-Kalimat: Modern Standard Arab through Popular Songs***
(American University Press in Cairo, 2017)
An Arabic language study book (intermediate to advance levels) employing examples from singers popular through the region: Abd al-Halim Hafez, Fairouz, Fuad Abd al-Magid, Karem Mahmoud, Kazem al-Saher, Muhammad Abd al-Wahab, Nagat al-Saghira, Rima Khashish, and Umm Kulthum.

**Victor Ostrovsky** & **Claire Hoy**

***The Other Side of Deception: A Rogue Agent Exposes the Mossad's Secret Agenda***
(HarperCollins, 1994)

***By Way of Deception: The Making of a Mossad Officer***
(Arrow Books, 1990, 1991)

**Omar Othman** and **Thomas Neu**

***Qaamuus Il-Quds : A Dictionary of the Spoken Arabic of Jerusalem***
(publisher undetermined)
English-Arabic dictionary of over 25, using colloquial Palestinian dialect that is particular to Jerusalem but is also understood throughout Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and neighbouring countries.

**Robert David Ottensooser**

***The Palestine Pound and the Israel Pound: Transition from a Colonial to an Independent Currency***
(Geneva: E. Droz, 1955)

**Roger Owen** (Oxford University)

As editor: ***Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries***
(Southern Illinois University Press, 1982)
See also, his chapter, ***Economic Development in Mandatory Palestine, 1918-1948***, in **GT Abed**: ***The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development under Prolonged Occupation***
(Routledge, 1988)

**Rosamond Dale Owen**

***My Perilous Life in Palestine***
(Allen & Unwin, 346 pages, 1928)
Credited as Mrs. Laurence Oliphant, the "owner of Armageddon."

**Oxford Refugee Studies Centre**

***No Refuge: Palestinians in Lebanon***
(ORSC, 35 pages, 2010)
Contents, two papers. **Jabel Suleiman**: *Trapped Refugees – The Case of Palestinians in Lebanon*; **Nisrine Mansour** & **Nasser Yassin**: *Protecting Refugees and Governing Spaces: The Case of the Reconstruction of the Nahr El-Bared Palestinian Camp in Lebanon.*

**Joanna Oyediran** (Al-Haq, Amnesty International, United Nations)
***Plunder, Destruction, and Despoliation: An Analysis of Israel's Violations of the International Law of Cultural Property in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Ramallah: Al-Haq, 97 pages, ca. 1997)

**Artur Pakek** (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)
***Jews on Route to Palestine, 1934-1944: Sketches from the History of Aliyeh Bet – Clandestine Jewish Immigration***
(Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press / Columbia University Press, 2013)

**Palestinian Association for Mental Health**
***Report on the Mental Health of Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza Strip (The Occupied Territories): Based on a Fact-Finding Mission to the Occupied Territories in June 1990***
(Nicosia: PAMH, 105 pages, 1991)

**Palestine Action**
***Israeli Colonizing Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories: For the Information of Mr Callaghan***
(London: Palestine Action, 7 page pamphlet, 1975)
Response to Foreign Secretary James Callaghan's Parliamentary statement, "I have no particular knowledge of settlements."

**Peter Hellyer**: ***Israel and South Africa: Development of Relations, 1967-1974***
(London: Palestine Action, 31 pages, 1975)
Paper submitted in October 1974 to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid.

**Shawaqi Khatib**, **Felicia Langer**, and **Uri Davis**
***The Case of Shawqi Khatib***
(London: Palestine Action / Washington, DC: Free Palestine Press, 18 page pamphlet, 1974)

**Palestine Book Project: Joy Bonds, Jimmy Emerman, Linda John, Penny Johnson, Paul Rupert**. Illustrations: **Ron Weil** of Gonna Rise Again Graphics
***Our Roots are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People***
(San Francisco: Peoples Press, 189 pages, 1977)

**Palestine Conference**
***Conferences on Palestine, 1939***
(London: 3 volumes, 1939)
In February 1939 Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, convened a conference of Arab and Zionist leaders on the future of Palestine at St. James's Palace, London. The discussions ended without agreement in March 1939. Three volumes of typescript papers from the conference: vol. 1 consists of notes of formal meetings and informal discussions with Arab delegates from Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Yemen; vol. 2 consists of formal meetings with the Jewish Agency delegation, informal discussions with Arab and Jewish delegates, and informal discussions with Jewish delegates; vol. 3 consists of memoranda circulated to delegations. Delegates include Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion for the Jewish Agency, and Jamal Effendi Husseini and Auni Bey Abdul Hadi representing the Arabs of Palestine.
At head of title: "Secret". Held at King's College London.

**Palestine Economic Corporation**

***The Record of Activities of the Palestine Economic Corporation: Presented to the Palestine Royal Commission***
(New York City: PEC, 38 pages, 1936)

**Palestine Exhibition & Bazaar**

***Awakening Palestine***
(London: The Committee of the Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar, 8 pages, 1912)

**Palestine Land Development Company**

**Hevrat 'Hakhsharat ha-yishuv'**: ***The Palestine Land Development Company Ltd. – 25 Years of Activity, 1908-1933***
(Jerusalem: Goldberg's Press, 16 pages, 1933)

**Hevrat 'Hakhsharat ha-yishuv'**: ***Origin and Destination of the Palestine Land Development Company***
(17 pages, ca. 1922)

**Palestine Liberation Organisation / Palestine Research Center** (Note: the Research Center was established in Beirut, 1964-1965)

***The Palestinian Refugees, 1948-2000: Factfile***
(PLO Department of Refugee Affairs, 37 pages, 2000)
Contributions by **Salim Tamari** (Institute of Jerusalem Studies) and **Elia Zureik** (Queens University, Ontario)

***Intifada – A Way of Life***
(PLO Department of Information/Tunis: NJA Mahdaoui, 1989)
Oversized, photographic work from 1988 with details of events in Arabic and English. Photographers: Alfred, Sipa Press; Tano D'Amico, Italy, Dino Fracchia, Italy, Sergio Ferraris, Italy, and Neal Cassidy, USA.

***Israel and South Africa: Partners in Crime***
(London: PLO, 16 pages, 1985)

***Palestine Liberation Organisation: Policies and Politics, 1979***
(PLO, 1979)
Digital reproduction, available via University of Leeds Library and Senate House Library (University of London).

**Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyah** and **Markaz al-Abhath**
***Israeli Racism***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 16 pages, 1975)

**Leila S. Kadi**: ***The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Peaceful Proposals, 1948-1972***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 108 pages, 1973)

**Janice J. Terry** ***Attitudes of United States Congressmen towards Aid to the Palestinians and Arms to Israel***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 78 pages, 1973)

**George Jabbour**: ***Settler Colonialism in Southern Africa and the Middle East***

(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 216 pages, 1970)

**Ghazi Khurshid**, compiler, and **Ibrahim Al-Abid**, editor: ***Human Rights in the Occupied Territories***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 171 pages, 1970; 239 pages, 1973)
Various yearly editions.

**Ass'ad Razzouk**: ***Greater Israel: A Study in Zionist Expansionist Thought***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 326 pages, 1970)
With foreword by Anis Sayegh. Available as PDF: www.marxists.org

**Ibrahim Al-Abid**: ***Israel and Negotiations***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 29 pages, 1970)
Palestine books no. 20.

***Zionism and Arab Resistance***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 223 pages, 1969)

**Leala S. Kadi**, editor and translator: ***Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 254 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 27. Contents: The Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Al-Fateh)–The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)–The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP aka PDFLP)–The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)- The Palestinian National Covenant [republished in English as a 6 page document by the Isreal Information Centre, Jerusalem].

**Ibrahim Al-Abid**, editor: ***Israel and Human Rights***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 174 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 24; a chronicle of Israeli violations of human rights during the first two years after June 1967. Sourced from the PLO in Amman, the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut, the Arab League Office in Cairo, the Society for the Liberation of Jerusalem, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Amman, and the Arab Women's Information Committee in Beirut.

***The Arabs under Israeli Occupation***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 114 pages, 1969)

**Dimitri Constantine Baramki**: ***The Art and Architecture of Ancient Palestine: Survey of the Archaeology of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the Ottoman Conquest***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 258 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 23

**Leala S. Kadi**: ***A Survey of American-Israeli Relations***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 278 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 56

**Leila S. Kadi**, editor: ***Essays on the American Public Opinion and the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 192 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 53 [23?] Contents: **Michael W. Suleiman**: *The Arabs and the West: Communication Gap* and *The Mass Media and the June War* / **Harry N. [Nicholas] Howard**: *The Middle East Crisis of 1967 and the New York Times* / **Adawia Alami**: *The Treatment of the Arab World in Selected American Textbooks for Children*

**Ibrahim Al-Abid**, editor: ***Selected Essays on the Palestine Question***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 174 pages, 1969)
Palestine Books no. 20

**Ibrahim Al-Abid**: ***A Handbook to the Palestine Question***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 198 pages, 1969, 1971)
Palestine Books no. 17; with contribution from **Anis Sayigh**, the PLO Research Center's director, 1966-1976. Contents: Chapter 1. The Arab character of Palestine -- Chapter 2. The Jewish Question -- Chapter 3. Zionist colonization -- Chapter 4. Palestine resistance before 1948 -- Chapter 5. Expulsion of the Palestinians -- Chapter 6. The Arabs in the Occupied Territories -- Chapter 7. Israel -- Chapter 8. Arab rejection of Israel -- Chapter 9. The Palestinian resistance movement.

No author stated
***Do You Know? Twenty Basic Facts about the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 5 pages, 1969)

**Guy Ottewell** and **Michael E. Adams**
***A 20-Year Span and the Rise of Terrorist Gangs to Statehood Can Not Change the Israeli-Zionist Mentality, Bent on Destruction and Terror: Deir Yassin, 1948, Beir Nuba and Yalu, 1967***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 18 pages, 1969)

**Al-Hakam Darewazah**: ***A Short Survey of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center)
Palestine Books no. 7. Translated by **Leila S.Kadi**

**Ahmad Shuqayri**: ***Territorial and Historical Waters in International Law***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 211 pages, 1967)

**Leila S. Kadi**: ***Arab Summit Conferences and the Palestine Problem (1936-1950, 1964-1966***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 221 pages, 1966)
Palestine Books no. 4

**Ahmad Shukairy** aka **Ahmad Al-Shuqyri** (Palestinian Representative of the revived Arab League to the United Nations; established the Palestinian National Council, which became the Palestine Liberation Organisation, of which he was its first Chair, 1964-1967): ***Liberation ~ Not Negotiation***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 141 pages, 1966)
Palestine Books no. 3

**Asad Abdul-Rahman**: ***United States and West German Aid to Israel***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 53 pages, 1966)

**Palestine National Council** aka **Palestinian National Council** (later becoming the PLO)
***The Palestine National Council***
(London: PLO, 1 sheet, ca. 1983)
Held at University of Exeter Library.

**Palestine National Fund** (PLO financial management department)
***Palestine Statistical Abstracts***
(Damascus: Palestine National Fund, 1980-1986)
Possible annual publication; held by LSE Library.

***Agricultural Statistical Bulletin for the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Damascus: Palestine National Fund, n.d.)
Possible annual publication; held by LSE Library.

**Palestine Trade Union Federation / Trade Union Friends of Palestine**

***Histadrut: Economic Empire – The General Federation of Workers in Eretz Israel***
(Editpride, 11 pages, 1984)
Expose of the Israeli Trade Union Federation, Israel's second largest employer, for its lack of support of Palestinian trade unionists, its role in building illegal settlements, arms sales, etc.

**Palestine Zionist Executive**

***Key for the Settle of Various Names in Palestine: Reports of the Preparatory Commissions Submitted to the Department of Colonisation of the Palestine Zionist Executive, Jerusalem***
(Tel-Aviv: PZE, 47 pages, 1929)

**Palestinian Centre for Human Rights**

***A Comprehensive Survey of Israeli Settlements in the Gaza Strip***
(Geneva: Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, 105 pages, 1996)

***Critique of the Press Law 1995 issued by the Palestinian Authority***
(Gaza City: PCHR, 52 or 63 pages, 1995)

**Palestinian Environmental NGO's Network (PENGON)**

***The Wall in Palestine: Facts, Testimonies, Analysis and Call to Action***
(Jerusalem: PENGON, 199 pages, 2003)
Case studies: Qalqiliya, Qalqiliya; Ad Dab'a, Aalqiliya; Habla, Qalqiliya; 'Izbat Salman, Qalqiliya; Barta'a ash Sharqiya, Jenin; Nazlat 'Isa, Rulkarm; Rafat, Jerusalem; Aida Refugee Camp, Bethlehem. Articles: Jamal Juma' – *How Does a 21st Century Version of Apartheid Look Like? Palestine Knows* / PALDIS: *Israel's Final Push, The Fence Map is the Road Map* / Abdul-Latif Khaled: *The Apartheid Wall – Living Through the Reality* / Abdel Rahman Tamimi: *The Wall's Path is Based on Ultimate Control over Palestinian Water Resources* / Mufida Ahmad Khaled & Lana Omar: *Here in Palestine Out Dreams are Confiscated and Our Lands are Stolen* / Mohammad Abu Harthieh: *The Wall and International Law* / Jeff Halper: *Why is Israel Really Building the Wall?* / Khaled Al Shanti*:* The Apartheid Cage around Qalqiliya – Qalqiliya's Struggle for Survival since 1948 / *Uri Davis:* The Apartheid Wall in the Context of Israeli Apartheid.

**Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign**

***Do-It-Yourself Apartheid in Palestine: Israel, the World Bank and "Sustainable Development" of the Palestinian Ghettos***
(Napoli: La Citta Del Sole/Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign, 103 pages, 2005)
Contents: Maintaining the Apartheid Wall: The Myth of "Disengagement" / World Bank and the Developmental Discourse of Sustainable Apartheid / Industrial Zones: Cheap Labour and Trade Liberalization / Industrial Zones, Past and Present / Free Markets: Imprisoned People / The Colonialism of Co-existence: Profiting from Basic Services / Samir Amin: Israeli Apartheid in the Global Context.

**American Committee for Antifa**

***Program and Aims of Antifa***
(New York City: ACA, leaflet, 1937)
"Palestinian League Against War and Fascism and for Jewish-Arab Solidarity"

**Palestinian Liberation Organization**

***The PLO: The Sole Legitimate Representative of the Palestinian People***
(Beirut: PLO, 23 pages, 1974)

**Palestinian National Authority** aka **Palestinian Authority**

**Hamdan Taha** & **Ali Qleibo**: ***Jericho: a Living History: Ten Thousand Years of Civilization***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 118 pages, 2012)

***Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine***
(Ramallah: Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 56 pages, 2009)

***Technical Assistance in the Passenger Transport Sector Development: Final Report***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Transport / Washington DC: Sustainable Development Department, Middle East & North Africa Region, 39 pages, 2009)

**Romi Khosla**: ***Future Schools in Palestine, 1998-2003: A Manual for Designing Schools***
Ramallah: UNESCO/PNA Ministry of Education, 349 pages, 2000)

**Nicolo Marchetti** & **Lorenzo Nigro**, editors: ***Excavations at Jericho, 1998: Preliminary Report on the Second Season of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys at Tell el-Sultan, Palestine***
(Ramallah: PNA Department of Antiquities / Rome: Universita de Roma La Sapienza, 381 pages, 2000)

***The Palestinian Export Import Guide***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Economy and Trade, 120 pages, 1999)
Focus on West Bank commerce.

***The Regional Plan for the West Bank Governorates***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Planning and International Cooperations, Directorate for Urban and Rural Planning, 124 pages, 1998)

***Emergency Natural Resources Protection Plan for Palestine: West Bank Governorates***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, Directorate for Urban and Rural Planning, 54 pages, 1998)

***Report on the Palestinian Economy 12-14 November 1966***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, 35 pages, 1997)

***Education Statistical Yearbook 1996-1997***
(Ramallah: PNA Central Bureau of Statistics, 244 pages, 1997)

***MOPIC's 1997: Fourth Quarterly Monitoring Report of Donor Assistance***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 1 volume, 1997)

***"Upper Nazareth," "Har Homa," and Bethlehem***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, 6 pages, 1997)

**Walid M. Awad**: ***Senator Jesse Helms Should Know Better***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, 2 pages, 1997)

**Walid M. Awad**: ***Jerusalem, a City Crying Out for Justice***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, 48pages, ca. 1996)

**Walid M. Awad**: ***Unbalanced Reporting by Newsweek***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, 2 pages, 1996)

***Education Statistical Yearbook 1994-1995***
(Ramallah: PNA Central Bureau of Statistics, 277 pages, 1995)

***The Urban and Rural Reconstruction of Palestine: Issues, Options, Policies and Strategies***
(PEDCAR, 581 pages, 1995)
Background papers for a conference held on Nov. 24-27, 1995, Amman, Jordan, organized by the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR), the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, the Palestinian Housing Council (PHC), International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank (EDI).

***Press Law 1995: Translated by the Ministry of Information***
(Ramallah: PNA Ministry of Information, Office of the President, 13 pages, 1995)

***Election of the Palestinian Council and the President: Manual of Instructions for the Guidance of Members of Commissions and Offices***
(assumed Ramallah: PNA Commission on Local Government and Elections, 2 parts, 1995)

***Law for the Election of the President of the Executive Authority and the Palestinian Council***
(assumed Ramallah: PNA Commission on Local Government and Elections, 86 pages in 2 parts, 1995)

***Palestinian Election Law 1995***
(Gaza: PNA, 42 pages, 1995)
See also: ***Critique of the Party Law 1995 issued by the Palestinian Authority*** (Gaza: Palestinian Center for Human Rights, 52 or 63 pages, 1995)

**Dr. Eng. Baker Abdel Munem**: ***Gaza-Jericho Agreement***
(assumed Ramallah: PNA, 1994.

**Palestine Red Crescent Society / Jam`iyat al-Hilal al-Ahmar al-Filastini**

***The National Health Plan for the Palestinian People: Policies and Targets***
(Jerusalem: Planning and Research Centre, likely the Palestine Red Crescent Society, 133 pages, 1993)

***The Interim Action Plan: Addressing Immediate Health Needs for Palestinians, 14 December 1993 – 31 December 1994***
(Palestine Red Crescent Society / Palestine Health Council, 13 pages, 1993)

***Health Under Occupation: Health and Social Conditions of the Palestinian People in Occupied Palestine 1987-1988***
(Nicosia: Sanabel Publishing / Palestine Red Crescent Society, 71 pages, 1988)

***Certain People, Certain Voices: A Photo Documentary of the Israeli Repressive Practices against the Palestinian People in Occupied Palestine, 1987-1988***
(Palestine Red Crescent Society, 35 pages, 1988)
Designed by **Yousif al-Nassir**.

***Palestinian Red Crescent Society***
(16pp pamphlet, 6 pages in English & 10 pages in Arabic, ca. 1970)

***Al Kuds Hospital***
(Jerusalem: Palestine Red Crescent Society, 10 pages, in English and Arabic, 1970s)

**Palestinian Return Centre**

***The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Establishment of UNRWA, 1949-2009: Poll of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon and Syria***
(PRC, 2009)

At just 88 pages, these are the results of opinion surveys carried out by about 150 researchers throughout the refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria. Overwhelmingly, the expelled refugees give UNRWA a failing grade in terms of education and health care. Polling was undertaken with the top statisticians deom The General Administration for the Palestinian Arab refugees (GAPAAR), Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations, Al-'Awda Magazine, and the Beirut Center for Research and Information.

Edited by **Daud Abdullah**: ***The Israeli Law of Return & its Impact on the Struggle in Palestine***
(PRC, 2004)
Other contributors include: Mun Abd Al-Wahab M El-Messiri, Mustafa Abu Sway, Magdy Hammad, Asad Abdel Rahman, Salman Abu Sitta, Michael Prior, Naseer Aruri, Ja'afar Hadi Hasan, Rassem Khamaisi, Mohammad Abu-Elheja, and Shafik Masri.

**Palestinian Society for the protection of Human Rights and the Environment**

***Palestinian Workers Exploited by Israeli Economic Oppression: The Case of Settlement Workers. Report on Palestinian Workers in Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, August 2000***
(Jerusalem: LAW – The Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment, 84pp, 2000)

***Apartheid, Bantustans, Cantons: the ABC of the Oslo Accords***
(Jerusalem: PSPHRE, 75pp, 1998)

**Palestine Solidarity Campaign**

***Why Palestine?***
(London: PSC, 36 pages, 2002)

***Prisoners of the Uprising***
(London: PSC, 4 pages, 1988)
First Intifada.

***Palestinian Universities***
(London: PSC, 1987)
Pamphlet with illustrations by S. Mansour, plus photographs.

***The World is Deaf to Us: The Conditions of Palestinian and Lebanese Political Prisoners***
(London: PSC, 24 page pamphlet, 1983)

**Michael Palumbo**

***Imperial Israel: The History of the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza***
(Bloomsbury, 1990 / 1992)

***The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of a People from Their Homeland***
(Faber, 1987 / Quartet, 1989)

**Alice Panepinto** (Queen's University, Belfast), **Nana Abu Zuluf**, **Ahmad Amara**, **Brendan Ciaran Browne**, **Munir Nuseibah**, and **Triestino Mariniello**, editors

***Ending Impunity for International Law Violations: Palestinian Bedouins and the Risk of Forced Displacement***
(Hart Publishing/Bloomsbury, 224 pages, 2025)
Contents: 1. Contextualising the Bedouin Communities of the Central West Bank and Greater Jerusalem Area; 2. Palestinian Bedouins' Displacement as a Colonial Urban Planning "Collateral" Damage; 3.

Active Settler Frontiers: Shifting Israeli Borders and the forced displacement of Palestinian Bedouin Communities; 4. The Gendered Dimensions of Forcible Displacement: The Case of Palestinian Bedouins in the E1 Area; 5. Donor-funded interventions in Area C, including Palestinian Bedouin communities in Eastern Jerusalem; 6. Beyond Physical Destruction: The problematic focus on the Right to Culture for Bedouins in East Jerusalem; 7. Bedouin Communities and the War Crimes of Extensive Destruction and Appropriation of Property Not Justified by Military Necessity; 8. The irrelevance of the Oslo Accords for ICC Jurisdiction over the Crimes Committed against the Palestinian Bedouin Community

**Katherine Pangonis**

***Queens of Jerusalem: The Women Who Dared to Rule***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 272 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "In 1187 Saladin's armies besieged the holy city of Jerusalem. He had previously annihilated Jerusalem's army at the battle of Hattin, and behind the city's high walls a last-ditch defence was being led by an unlikely trio – including Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem. They could not resist Saladin, but, if they were lucky, they could negotiate terms that would save the lives of the city's inhabitants. Queen Sibylla was the last of a line of formidable female rulers in the Crusader States of Outremer. Yet for all the many books written about the Crusades, one aspect is conspicuously absent: the stories of women. Queens and princesses tend to be presented as passive transmitters of land and royal blood. In reality, women ruled, conducted diplomatic negotiations, made military decisions, forged alliances, rebelled, and undertook architectural projects."

**Robert Anthony Pape**

***Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism***
(Random House, 2005)
aka: ***Dying to Win: Why Suicide Terrorists Do It*** (Gibson Square, 2006)

**Ilan Pappe** (University of Exeter) [selected list]

***Israel on the Brink: Eight Steps for a Better Future***
(Oneworld Publications, 304 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Ilan Pappe paves a path out of the Jewish state, rooted in restorative justice and decolonisation, including the return of refugees, the end of illegal settlements, and building bridges with the Arab world. The future can be one of reconciliation, not endless war."

***A Very Short History of the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(Oneworld Books, 160 pages, 2024)

***Lobbying for Zionism on Both Sides of the Atlantic***
(Oneworld Books, 608 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In 1896, a Jewish state was a pipe dream. Zionists mooted places as diverse as Palestine and Argentina, and most Jews in Britain and the US remained aloof from the ideologists. Today support for Israel is a *sine qua non* of British and American political life, and the overwhelming majority of Jews identify as Zionists. How did this happen? Ilan Pappe unveils how a lobby changed the map of the Middle East. Zionists exerted pressure on the Congress, cracked down on dissent in the Labour Party and relentlessly smeared critics. Groups funded by the Israeli state pushed for unprecedented military aid, recognition of unlawfully occupied territories and the erasure of Palestinian rights. *Lobbying for Zionism* shows us how a dangerous consensus was built – and how it might be dismantled." Contents: The Christian Harbingers of Zionism / Lobbying for the Balfour Declaration (Herzl in London) / The Road to the Balfour Declaration / Lobbying in Britain During the Mandate (Winning over the Labour Party in the 1920s) / Early Zionist Lobbying in the USA (The Blackstone-Scofield Legacy: the Early Christian Zionist Lobby) / American Zionists and the

Holocaust / Lobbying for Israel in Postwar Britain; Lobbying for Israel in Twentieth Century America / Lobbying in Israel for Israel in Twenty-First Century America.

With **Ingrid Hjelm, Hamdan Taha, and Thomas L. Thompson**, editors
***A New Critical Approach to the History of Palestine***
(Routledge, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "*A New Critical Approach to the History of Palestine* offers a comprehensive, evidence-based history of Palestine with a critical use of recent historical, archaeological and anthropological methods. This history is not an exclusive history, but one that is ethnically and culturally inclusive, a history of and for all peoples who have lived in Palestine. After an introductory essay offering a strategy for creating coherence and continuity from the earliest beginnings to the present, the volume presents twenty articles from 22 contributors, 16 of whom are of Middle Eastern origin or relation. Split thematically into four parts, the volume discusses ideology, national identity and chronology in various historiographies of Palestine and the legacy of memory and oral history; the transient character of ethnicity in Palestine, and questions regarding the ethical responsibilities of archaeologists and historians to protect the multi-ethnic cultural heritage of Palestine; landscape and memory, and the values of community archaeology and bio-archaeology; and an exploration of the "ideology of the land" and its influence on Palestine's history and heritage. The first in a series of books under the auspices of the Palestine History and Heritage Project (PaHH), the volume offers a challenging new departure for writing the history of Palestine and Israel throughout the ages. *A New Critical Approach to the History of Palestine* explores the diverse history of the region against the backdrop of twentieth century scholarly construction of the history of Palestine as a history of a Jewish homeland, with roots in an ancient, biblical Israel, and examines the implications of this ancient and recent history for archaeology and cultural heritage. The book offers a fascinating new perspective for students and academics in the fields of anthropological, political, cultural and biblical history."

***The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories***
(OneWorld Publications, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Analysing the historical origins of the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza in the 1920s and 30s, Pappe goes on to examine the bureaucratic apparatus that has been developed to manage this occupation, from the political, legal, financial and even dietary measures to the military and security plans put in place over almost half a century. Based on exhaustive archival research, NGO records and eyewitness accounts, Pappe's investigation exposes the brutalising effects of occupation, from the systematic abuse of human and civic rights, such as military roadblocks, mass arrests, property demolitions and house searches, to the forced population transfers, annexation of land, proliferation of unlawful settlements, and the infamous wall that is rapidly turning the West Bank into an open prison." Strong evidence of the pre-1967 desire to claim the West Bank without, as in 1948, chasing out the inhabitants.

As editor: ***Israel and South Africa – The Many Faces of Apartheid***
(Zed Books, 2015)
Contents: Ronnie Kasrils: *Birds of a Feather: Israel and Apartheid South Africa – Colonialism of a Special Type* / Ilan Pappe: *The Many Faces of European Colonialism – The Templars, The Basel Mission, and the Zionist Movement* / Oren Ben-Dor: *Apartheid and the Question of Origin* / Jonathan Cook: *Visible Equality as Confidence Trick* / Leila Farsakh: *Apartheid, Israel, and Palestinian Statehood* / Anthony Löwstedt: *Femicide in Apartheid – The Parallel Interplay between Racism and Sexism in South Africa and Palestine-Israel* / Amneh Badran: *The Many Faces of Protest – A Comparative Analysis of Protest Groups in Israel and South Africa* / Steven Friedman: *The Inevitable Impossible – The South African Experience and a Single State* / Virginia Tilley: *Redefining the Conflice in Israel-Palestine – The Tricky Question of Soverignty* / Ran Greenstein: *Israel-Palestine and the Apartheid Analogy – Critics, Apologists and Strategic Lessons*

***The Idea of Israel: A History of Power and Knowledge***
(Verso, 2014)

Ignore the opinions of Israeli academics if you want to cheat yourself intellectually. This is likely the ultimate survey of the brief, post-Nakba window of Israel's self-questioning from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s. Best of all, there is seemingly no overlap with his earlier *Out of the Frame*.

***The Modern Middle East: A Social and Cultural History***
(3rd ed., Routledge, 2014)

With **Noam Chomsky**: ***Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the US-Israeli War Against the Palestinians***
(Haymarket Books, 2013)

***The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951***
(IB Tauris, various editions, 352/344 pages, 1992, 2013, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Based on archival material, it presents the reader with a comprehensive and general history of the origins and consequences of the 1948 war. Pappe shows that in sharp contract to the recollections and myths of both sides, the military events of 1948 were not decisive. The victory of the Zionist organization was determined by politicians on both sides – in the discussions and decisions of the United Nations and in the Arab League – long before a shot had been fired."

***The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel***
(Yale University Press, 2011, 2013)

***The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis 1700-1948***
(Saqi Books, 402 pages, 2010/2011, 2017)
Originally published in Hebrew, 2002, a narrative, rather than an analytical history. Over one-third focuses on al-Hajj Amin Husayni and the late 1930s Palestinian revolt.

As editor, with **Jamil Hilal**: ***Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History***
(IB Tauris, 462 pages, 2010)
Contents: **Jamil Hilal** and **Ilan Pappé**: Palisad: Palestinian and Israeli academics in dialogue / **Ehud Adiv**: Politics and identity: a critical analysis of Israeli historiography and political thought / **Dan Rabinowitz**: Oriental othering and national identity: a review of early Israeli anthropological studies of Palestinians / **Moshe Zuckermann**: The Shoah on trial: aspects of the Holocaust in Israeli political culture / **Salim Tamari**: Jerusalem 1948: the phantom city / **Nur Masalha**: Dis/Solving" the Palestinian refugee problem: Israeli "resettlement" plans in the first decade of the State (1948-1958) / **Ilan Pappe:** Fear, victimhood, self and other: on the road to reconciliation / **Jamil Hilal**: Reflections on contemporary Palestinian history / **Issam Nassar**: Palestinian nationalism: the difficulties of narrating an ambivalent identity / **Rema Hammami**: Gender, Nakba and Nation: Palestinian women's presence and absence in the narration of 1948 memories / **Oren Yiftachel**: "Ethnocracy": the politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine / **Musa Budeiri**: Democracy ... and the the experience of national liberation: the Palestinian case / **Lev Grinberg**: The derailment of peace: Rabin's assassination, democracy and post-conflict agendas / **Uri Davis**: Naming the colonizer in geographical Palestine: conceptual and political double binds and their possible solution / Ilan Pappé: One-state Palestine: past, present and future / **Jamil Hilal** and **Ilan Papper**: After Gaza.

***The Bureaucracy of Evil: A History of the Israeli Occupation***
(Oneworld, 2008)

***A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples***
(Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 2006; 3rd edition, 2022)

***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***

(Oneworld Press, 2004 / 2nd edition 2007)
A detailed, academic yet compassionate and very readable account by a leading Israeli historian of the founding of Israel. Explains the history and ideology of the Zionist movement, and gives a month by month account of the ethnic cleansing of over 500 Palestinian villages, major towns and cities.

**Ilan Pappe**: ***Understanding the Enemy: A Comparative Analysis of Palestinian Islamist and Nationalist Leaflets, 1920s-1980s***, in **Ronald L. Nettler** & **Suha Taji-Farouki**, editors: ***Muslim-Jewish Encounters: Intellectual Traditions and Modern Politics***
(Harwood Press, 1998)

As editor: ***The Israel/Palestine Question***
(Routledge, 1999, 2007)
Contents: **Ilan Pappe –** New historiographical orientation in the research on the Palestine question / **Beshara B. Doumani** – Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: writing Palestinians into history / **Butrus Abu-Manneh –** The rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the late nineteenth century / **Uri Ram** – The colonization perspective in Israeli sociology / **Gershon Shafir** – Zionism and colonialism: a comparative approach / **Walid Khalidi** – Revisiting the UNGA partition resolution / **Ilan Pappé** – Historical truth, modern historiography, and ethical obligations: the challenge of the Tantura case / **Avi Shlaim** – The debate about 1948 / **Mahmoud Yazbak** – Minor marriages and Khiyar al-Bulugh in Ottoman Palestine: a note on women's strategies in a patriarchal society / **Islad Jad** – From salons to the popular Ies: Palestinian women, 1919-89 / **Alina Korn** – Crime and legal control, the Israeli Arab population during the military government period (1948-66) / **Asad Ghanem** – Palestinians in Israel under the Israeli "ethnocratic" regime / **Nur Masalha** – Present absentees and indigenous resistance.

As co-editor, with **Joseph Nevo**: ***Jordan in the Middle East, 1948-1988: The Making of the Pivotal State***
(Routledge, 1994/2014)

***Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1951***
(Macmillan/St Antony's College Oxford, 1988)

**Tudor Parfitt**
***Operation Moses: The Story of the Exodus of the Falasha Jews from Ethiopia***
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 131 pages, 1985)

**Tudor Parfitt** and **Emanuela Trevisan Semi**, editors
***The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel: Studies on Ethiopian Jews***
(Curzon, 304 pages, 1999)
Papers presented at the Society for the Study of Ethiopian Jewry conference held in Jerusalem and Beersheva, 1995. Note: Mass immigration was a result of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council's 1984 resolution that 'Zionism is racism.'

**Timothy J. Paris**
***In Defence of Britain's Middle Eastern Empire: A Life of Sir Gilbert Clayton***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "T E Lawrence (of Arabia) described his war-time chief as ""the perfect leader"", a man who ""worked by influence rather than by loud direction. He was like water, or permeating oil, creeping silently and insistently through everything. It was not possible to say where Clayton was and was not, and how much really belonged to him"". This is the first biography of General Sir Gilbert Clayton (1875-1929), Britain's pre-eminent ""man-on-the-spot"" during the formative years of the modern Middle East. Serving as a soldier, administrator and diplomat in ten different Middle Eastern countries during a 33-year Middle Eastern career, Clayton is best known as the Director of British Intelligence in Cairo during the Great War (1914-16), and as the instigator and sponsor of the Arab

Revolt against the Turks. Dedicated to the preservation of Britain's Middle Eastern empire, Clayton came to realize that in the transformed post-war world Britain could ill afford to control all aspects of the emerging nation-states in the region. In his work as adviser to the Egyptian government (1919-22), he advocated internal autonomy for the Egyptians, while asserting Britain's vital imperial interests in the country. As chief administrator in Palestine (1923-5), he sought to reconcile the Arabs to Britain's national home policy for the Jews, and, at the same time, to solidify Britain's position as Mandatory power. In Arabia, Clayton negotiated the first post-war treaties with the emerging power of Ibn Saud, (1925, 1927), but curtailed his designs on the British Mandates in Iraq and Transjordan. And, in Iraq, where Clayton served as High Commissioner (1929), he backed Iraq's independence within the framework of the British Empire."

***Britain, The Hashemites and Arab Rule: The Sherifian Solution***
(Routledge, 2015)
Winston Churchill's colonialist regional strategy, 1920-1925.

**Matthew Parker**

***One Fine Day: 29 September 1923: Britain's Empire on the Brink***
(Abacus Books, 593 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "On Saturday 29 September 1923, the Palestine Mandate became law and the British Empire reached what would prove to be its maximum territorial extent, covering a scarcely credible quarter of the world's land mass, containing 460 million people. But the tide was beginning to turn. This book is a new way of looking at the British Empire. It immerses the reader in the contemporary moment, focusing on particular people and stories from that day, gleaned from newspapers, letters, diaries, official documents, magazines, films and novels: from a remote Pacific Island facing the removal of its entire soil, across Australia, Burma, India and Kenya to London and the West Indies."

**Richard B. Parker** (US ambassador to Algeria, Lebanon, and Morocco from 1974 to 1979)

***The Six-Day War: A Retrospective***
(University of Florida Press, 1996)
Chapters: L. Carl Brown: Origins of the Crisis / I. William Zartman: The United Nations Response / Bernard Reich: The Israeli Response / E. Ernest Dawn: Other Arab Responses / Donald C. Bergus: View from Washington / Richard B. Parker: Conspiracy Theories.

**James Parkes**

***Whose Land? A History of the Peoples of Palestine***
(Penguin, 1970)

***A History of Palestine from 135 AD to Modern Times***
(Victor Gollancz, 1949)

***Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the History of Palestine – a summary of a lecture***
(author, 1948)

***Palestine***
(Oxford University Press, 32 pages, 1940)

**Lisa Parrish** & **George Cavaletto**, editors

***The Beirut Massacre: Press Profile***
(New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 117 pages, 1982 / revised edition 207 pages, 1984)
Collection of period press coverage, including the Israeli press and thus translated from Hebrew. Part 3 of a series. See also: **Leyli Shayegan** & **Sally Covington**: ***The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Part 1, Press Profile: June-July 1982*** (New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 1982); and ***The***

***Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Part 2, Press Profile: August 1982-May 1983*** (New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 364 pages, 1983); note: These are photocopies of original press sources, with maps and illustrations.

**Trita Parsi** (Iranian American Council; Carnegia Middle East Center; Trilateral Commission)
***Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the United States***
(Yale University Press, 384 pages, 2008)
Tangential; includes the rise of Menachem Begin and the Israeli right.

**Laila Parsons** (McGill University / Harvard University / Oxford University)
***The Commander: Fawzi al-Qawaqji and the Fight for Arab Independence, 1914-1948***
(Hill & Wang, 2016 / Saqi Books, 2017)
An astonishing yet well-nuanced biography of a dedicated military commander, who was unjustly ignored by post-1948 Arab political activists. The author shares varied period opinions of the Nakba, which is generous as most historians simply wouldn't. Publisher's blurb: "Revered by some as the Arab Garibaldi, maligned by others as an intriguer and opportunist, al-Qawaqji manned the ramparts of Arab history for four decades. As a young officer in the Ottoman Army, he fought the British in World War I and won an Iron Cross. In the 1920s, he mastered the art of insurgency and helped lead a massive uprising against the French authorities in Syria. A decade later, he reappeared in Palestine, where he helped direct the Arab Revolt of 1936. When an effort to overthrow the British rulers of Iraq failed, he moved to Germany, where he spent much of World War II battling his fellow exile, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who had accused him of being a British spy. In 1947, Qawuqji made a daring escape from Allied-occupied Berlin, and sought once again to shape his region's history. In his most famous role, he would command the Arab Liberation Army in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948."

***The Druze between Palestine and Israel, 1947-1949***
(Macmillan & St Antony's College, Oxford, 2000)
Zionists' co-opting of the Druze community in the former's establishment of a Jewish state.

**Nigel Parsons** aka **Nigel Craig Parsons**
***The Politics of the Palestinian Authority: From Oslo to Al-Aqsa***
(Routledge, 429 pages, 2005)
An examination of the PA leadership grew from the PLO administration in Tunis, mainly Fatah, and severely changed the PLO's previous goals. Contents: Conceptualising Palestinian institutions: structure, agency, and transition – From PLO to PA and on toward statehood: Palestinian institutional development from 1964 to 2003 – Authoritative leadership and the new national project: the politics of Palestinian diplomacy in Madrid, Washington, and Oslo – PLO-Israel agreements of the Oslo process – The bureaucracy and security apparatus of the national project – Socio-political foundations: civil society, the legislative council, and Fatah as party of state – Oslo implodes – After Arafat, on to al-Asqua: Palestinian institutions face the future.

**Raphael Patai** (American anthropologist; editor of Theodor Herzl's diaries)
***Journeyman in Jerusalem: Memoirs and Letters, 1933-1947***
(University of Utah Press, 1992)
See also: *On Culture Contact and its Working in Modern* Palestine, in *American Anthropological Association Journal* Vol. 49, No. 4, Pt. 2.

**Ismail Adam Patel** & **Arwa Aburawa**
***Huma's Travel Guide to Palestine***
(London: Huma Press, 303 pages, 2015)

**Ismail Adam Patel** (chair of Friends of Al-Aqsa)

***A Brief History of Palestine***
(Leicester: Al-Aqsa Publishers/Islamic Foundation, 247 pages, 2023)

***Medina to Jerusalem: Encounters with the Byzantine Empire***
(Leicester: Friends of Aqsa, 160 pages, 2005, 2022)

***Al-Aqsa Sanctuary Guide Book***
(Leicester: Friends of Al-Aqsa)

***Virtues of Jerusalem: An Islamic Perspective***
(Leicester: Friends of Al-Aqsa, 147 pages, 2005)

***Palestine: A Beginner's Guide***
(Leicester: Friends of Al-Aqsa, 230 pages, 2005)

**Andrew Patrick** (Tennessee State University)

***America's Forgotten Middle East Initiative: The King-Crane Commission of 1919***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: The King-Crane Commission of 1919, sent to the Middle East by Woodrow Wilson in order to ascertain the political desires of the (no longer) Ottoman people, generated a moment of intense political debate and deliberation in the region. After returning from the Ottoman lands, the Commission made recommendations that did not align with the desires of the British, French, or the people of the region, yet these discounted proposals embodied what a Wilsonian Middle East may have resembled. Note: The first publication of the Commission's report wasn't until three years later, when Ray Stannard Baker included them in Chapter 25 of his three-volume work, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, and they were serialised in the *New York Times*, 3-4 December 1922. In September of the next year, James Wright Brown, proprietor of *The Editor and Publisher*, the oldest publishers' and advertisers' trade magazine in the US, was granted permission from the ex-President to publish the report in full.

**Howard A. Patten**

***Israel and the Cold War: Diplomacy, Strategy and the Policy of the Periphery at the United Nations***
(IB Tauris, 288 pages, 2019)

**J.H. Patterson** (John Henry Patterson; WWI Commander of the Zion Mule Corps and Jewish Legion and ardent Zionist)

***With the Judeans in the Palestine Campaigne***
(New York City: Macmillan/London: Hutchinson, 270 pages, 1922)
See also his biography by **Patrick Streeter**.

**Shany Payes**

***Palestinian NGOs in Israel: Civil Society and the Development of State-Minority Relations, 1976-1999***
(IB Tauris, 352 pages, 2005)

**Margaret Peacock** (University of Alabama)

***Frequencies of Deceit: How Global Propaganda Wars Shaped the Middle East***
(University of California Press, 326 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "On June 8, 1967, Egypt's most famous radio broadcaster, Ahmed Said, reported that Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian forces had defeated the Israeli army in the Sinai, had hobbled their British and US allies, and were liberating Palestine. It was a lie. For the rest of his life, populations in the Middle East vilified Said for his duplicity. However, the truth was that, by 1967, all the world's major broadcasters to the Middle East were dissimulating on the air. For two decades, British, Soviet, American, and Egyptian radio voices created an audio world characterized by deceit and betrayal. In this important and timely book, Margaret Peacock traces the history of deception and propaganda in Middle Eastern international radio. Peacock makes the compelling argument that this betrayal contributed to the loss of faith in Western and secular state-led political solutions for many in the Arab world, laying the groundwork for the rise of political Islam."

**Maurice Pearlman**, aka **Moshe Pearlman***, aka **Morris Pearlman** (London born, Editor, Zionist Review; Israel's first military spokesman)

As * ***The Army of Israel***
(New York City: Philosophical Library, 256 pages, 1950)

***Mufti of Jerusalem: The Story of Haj Amin el Husseini***
(London: Victor Gollancz, 91 pages, 1947)

***Adventure in the Sun: /an Informal Account of the Communal Settlements of Palestine***
(London: Victor Gollancz, 177 pages, 1947)

***Palestine Goes To It!*** Aka ***Palestine and the War***
(Central Committee of the Keren Heysod aka Keren Hayesod, 14 pages, 1941)

***Collective Adventure: An Informal Account of the Communal Settlements of Palestine***
(London: Heinemann, 292 pages, 1938)

As by **M.P. Waters**: ***What Has Been Happening in Palestine***
(London F. Muller, 72 pages, 1937)

**Wendy Pearlman** (Northwestern University)

***Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement***
(Cambridge University Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "Why do some national movements use violent protest and others nonviolent protest? Wendy Pearlman shows that much of the answer lies inside movements themselves. Nonviolent protest requires coordination and restraint, which only a cohesive movement can provide. When, by contrast, a movement is fragmented, factional competition generates new incentives for violence and authority structures are too weak to constrain escalation. Pearlman reveals these patterns across one hundred years in the Palestinian national movement, with comparisons to South Africa and Northern Ireland. To those who ask why there is no Palestinian Gandhi, Pearlman demonstrates that nonviolence is not simply a matter of leadership. Nor is violence attributable only to religion, emotions or stark instrumentality. Instead, a movement's organizational structure mediates the strategies that it employs. By taking readers on a journey from civil disobedience to suicide bombings, this book offers fresh insight into the dynamics of conflict and mobilization."

With **Laura Junka** (University of Oulu, Finland): ***Occupied Voices: Stories of Everyday Life from the Second Intifada***
(Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003).

**Richard Pearse** (Intelligence Corps, Palestine, Lebanon & Syria)

***Three Years in the Levant***
(Macmillan, 1949)

An of-its day patronising memoir by a field observer of Arab villages. Regardless, the author is sympathetic to the Arab, anti-Zionist cause. Deals, in part, with kidnapping and smuggling of Arab Jewish children into Mandate Palestine from neighbouring countries.

**Anthony Pearson**

***Conspiracy of Silence***
(Quartet Books, 1978)
Israeli air attack on the American battleship *USS Liberty*, in 1967

**Juliana Peck**

***The Reagan Administration and the Palestinian Question: The First Thousand Days***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 138 pages, 1984)

**Ami Pedahzur** & **Arie Perliger**

***Jewish Terrorism in Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 2009)
Conducting interviews with former Jewish terrorists, political and spiritual leaders, and law-enforcement officials, and culling information from rare documents and surveys of terrorist networks, Pedahzur and Perliger construct an extensive portrait of terrorist aggression, while also describing the conditions behind the modern rise of zealotry.

**Susan Pedersen** (Harvard University / Columbia University)

***The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire***
(Oxford University Press, 2017)
Historian unpacks the Mandate scheme after the Great War.

As co-editor, with **Caroline Elkins**: ***Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies***
(Routledge, 2005)
Includes: Roger Owen: *Settler Colonization in the Middle East and North Africa – Its Economic Rationale* / Caroline Elkins: *Race, Citizenship, and Governance: Settler Tyranny and the End of Empire* / Susan Pederson: *Settler Colonialism at the Bar of the League of Nations* / Gershon Shafir: *Settler Citizenship in the Jewish Colonization of Palestine*. See also: **Caroline Elkins**: ***Legacies of Violence: A History of the British Empire***

**Miko Peled**

***Injustice: The Story of the Holy Land Foundation Five***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 224 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "In July 2004, federal agents raided the homes of five Palestinian-American families, arresting the five dads. The first trial of the "Holy Land Foundation Five" ended in a hung jury. The second, marked by highly questionable procedures, resulted in very lengthy sentences—for "supporting terrorism" by donating to charities that the U.S. government itself and other respected international agencies had long worked with. In 2013, human rights activist and author Miko Peled started investigating this case. He discussed the miscarriages of justice involved in it with the men's lawyers and heard from the men's families about the devastating effects the case had on their lives. He also 619pprox.619619 to the remote federal prison complexes where the men were held, to conduct unprecedentedly deep interviews with them. Injustice traces the labyrinthine course of this case, presenting a terrifying picture of governmental over-reach in post-9/11 America."

***The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2012)

With foreword by **Alice Walker**. An Israeli-American's rejection of garrison state culture and activism in "Area A" of the West Bank. Author's father was Matti Peled, one of the commanders of the 1967 war, who protested the occupation and predicted its consequences.

**Karen Friedman-Peleg**

***PTSD and the Politics of Trauma in Israel: A Nation on the Couch***
(University of Toronto Press, 183 pages, 2017)
Focus solely on Jewish Israelis.

**Ilan Peleg**

As Editor: ***Victimhood Discourse in Contemporary Israel***
(Lexington Books, 2019)
Contributors: Ruth Amir, Yael S. Aronoff, Moshe Berent, Maya Kahanoff, Irit Keynan, Yechiel Klar, Itamar Lurie, Shafiq Masalha, Daniel Navon, Ido Zelkovitz, and Ilan Peleg. Publisher's blurb: This book deals comprehensively with different aspects of collective victimhood in contemporary Israel, but also with the wider implications of this important concept for many other societies, including the Palestinian one. The eight highly-diverse, scholarly chapters included in this volume offer analysis of the politics of victimhood (viewing it as increasingly dominant within contemporary Israel), assess victimhood as a focal point of the Jewish historical legacy, trace the evolution and changes of Zionist thought as it relates to a sense of national victimhood, study the possibility of the political transformation of victimhood through changing perceptions and policies by top Israeli leaders, focus on important events that have contributed to the evolvement of the victimhood discourse in Israel and beyond (e.g. the 1967 Six-Day and 1973 Yom Kippur wars in the Middle East), examine the politics and ideology of victimhood within the Palestinian national movement, and offer new ways of progressing beyond national victimhood and toward a better future for people in the Middle East and beyond. The insights of the eight authors and their conceptualization of Israeli victimhood are of immediate relevance for numerous other national groups, as well as for a variety of disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences. This volume has been inspired by the universality of victimhood among humans, reflected in King Lear's words ("I am a man more sinned against than sinning"), as well as by the words of the late Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, telling the Knesset in Jerusalem: "No longer is it true that the whole world is against us". While the book sums up the state of the field in regard to collective victimhood, it invites the readers to engage in contemplating the far-reaching implications of this important concept for our lives."

With **Dov Waxman**: ***Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within*** aka ***The Palestinians in Israel: The Conflict Within***
(Cambridge University Press, 2011)

As editor: ***The Middle East Peace Process: Interdisciplinary Perspectives***
(State University of New York Press, 1998)

***Human Rights in the West Bank and Gaza: Legacy and Politics***
(Syracuse University Press, 1995)

As editor, with **Ofira Seliktar**: ***The Emergence of a Binational Israel: The Second Republic in the Making***
(Westview Press, 1989)

***Begin's Foreign Policy, 1977-1983: Israel's Move to the Right***
(Greenwood Press, 1987)

**Samuel Peleg**

***Zealotry and Vengeance: Quest of a Religious Identity Group – A Sociopolitical Account of the Rabin Assassination***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001)

Gush Emunim focus.

**Lipika Pelham**

***The Unlikely Settler***
(The Other Press, 2014)
Mixed marriage in Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza.

**Monty Noam Penkower**

***Decision on Palestine Deferred: America, Britain and Wartime Diplomacy, 1939-1945*** (Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "…offers the first sustained, documented account of Palestine and the Anglo-American alliance during the Second World War. Firmly grounded in three decades of archival research, his spirited narrative offers a fascinating cast of characters against the backdrop of the larger Middle Eastern context. The latter relates to Jewish and Arab activities during the War, the grave threat of Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps, U.S. interest in Saudi Arabian oil, and the effort to achieve Arab unity. Zionism's shift to viewing the United States as the center of decision making in international affairs, and hence the Archimedean point for forging Jewry's destiny, occurred in these same six years. British anxieties about imperial security, while administering the Palestine mandate by means of a stringent immigration quota, jostled with the first American steps taken to formulate a stance vis-à-vis Palestine, and the region as a whole. The differing approaches of Churchill and Roosevelt to the Palestine imbroglio are also explored, as are the varied avenues that were then championed within the Jewish camp. The impact of the Holocaust, with both governments breathing the very spirit of defeatism and despair, surfaces throughout."

***Palestine in Turmoil: The Struggle for Sovereignty, 1933-1939***
(New York: Touro College Press, 2 volumes, 2014)
Volume 1: Prelude to Revolt, 1933-1936; Volume 2: Retreat from the Mandate, 1937-1939. The Yishuv is seen as laying the foundation for the Israeli state.

**Margaret Pennar**, editor

***The Middle East: Five Perspectives***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 32 pages, 1973)

**Pamela E. Pennock** (University of Michigan at Dearborn)

***Rethinking Arab American Activism***
(Routledge, 226 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Pennock chronicles how the Arab–Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973 galvanized a wave of secular, leftist activism. Grassroots organizing in cities like Detroit and the formation of organizations such as the Organization of Arab Students and the Association of Arab American University Graduates illustrated this era of political awakening in the 1960s and 1970s. These groups formed coalitions with African Americans and other minority groups, and Arab American activism transitioned into more mainstream political realms during the 1980s and 1990s to address civil rights, anti-imperialism, and anti-discrimination efforts. Following September 11, Arab Americans faced increased scrutiny and discrimination but also found new avenues for activism and coalition-building. By shedding light on the enduring and diverse contributions of Arab Americans to US socio-political landscapes, this book also explores the legacy of that period of organizing for contemporary justice activism on Palestinian rights."

***The Rise of the Arab American Left: Activists, Allies, and Their Fight against Imperialism and Racism, 1960s-1980s***
(University of North Carolina Press, 2017)
Focus on 1973 BDS effort by United Auto Workers Local 600, in Dearborn, Michigan.

**Derek J. Penslar** (University of Toronto)
***Zionism: An Emotional State***
(Rutgers University Press, 2023)

As co-editor with **Anita Shapira** (Tel Aviv University): ***Israeli Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right***
(Routledge, 389 pages, 2013)

***Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870-1918***
(Indiana University Press, 210 pages, 1991)

**Shimon Peres**
***Battling for Peace: Memoirs***
(London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Orion, 1995
Edited by **David Landau**.

**Oded Peri** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
***Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times***
(Brill, 219 pages, 2001)
Contents: Chapter One: The Basic Constituents of the Holy Sites Question in Early Ottoman Times; Chapter Two: The Legal Status of the Holy Sites Under Ottoman Rule; Chapter Three: The Ottoman State and the Inter-Church Struggle Over the Holy Sites; Chapter Four: The Holy Sites as a Source of Income to the Ottoman State.

**Nathan Perlmutter** (Anti-Defamation League) and **Ruth Ann Perlmutter**
***The Real Anti-Semitism in America***
(Arbor House, 303 pages, 1982)
Antisemitism seen as being critical of Israel and/or taking Left-of-centre political views.

**Stewart Perowne**
***The One Remains***
(Hodder & Stoughton, 1954)
Jerusalem focus; contains UNRWA information.

**Dan Perry** (Associated Press Middle East Editor, *Newsweek*, *Forward* aka *Jewish Daily Forward*, blogger)
With **Alfred Ironside**: ***Israel and the Quest for Permanence***
(McFarland, 208 pages, 1999)

***Israel at Fifty***
(Israel's 50th Anniversary Committee, 240 pages, 1998)
Photographic nostalgia of the state, published under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's direction, with initial printing of 35,000.

**Glenn E. Perry**
***The Palestine Question: An Annotate Bibliography***
(Boston: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 138 pages, 1990)

**Joseph Perry**

***Palestine: The Enchanted Land***
(Epworth Press/Edgar C. Barton, 1936)
Christian Bible-focused tour of Mandate Palestine, off-handedly supportive of Zionist aims and myths, and racially rejecting the "dark, stern secretive appearance of the Arabs."

**Mark Perry**
***A Fire in Zion: The Israeli-Palestinian Search for Peace***
(William Morrow, 1994)
Author was an advisor to Yassir Arafat in negotiating the flawed and disastrous Oslo Accords.

**Don Peretz** (State University of New York; advocate of a Bi-National State)
***Palestinian Refugee Compensation***
(Washington DC: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 20 pages, 1995)

***Palestinians, Refugees and the Middle East Peace Process***
(US Institute of Peace, 1993)

***Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990 / Routledge, 2021)

***The West Bank: History, Politics, Society and Economy***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986)

***The Rights of the Palestinians***
(Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 1974)

**Edward J. Perkins, Joseph Ginat** & **David Boren**, editors
***The Palestinian Refugees: Old Problems – New Solutions***
(University of Oklahoma Press, 2002)
24 author compendium regarding return v. compensation. With foreword by **HRH El Hassan Bin Talal** of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

**Julie Peteet**
***Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)
A sweeping analysis of those cramped spaces and even further cramped opportunities, from the 1950s through to the Lebanese uncivil war (1975-1990), and of the community trying to recreate and maintain a sense of identity.

***Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement***
(Columbia University Press, 1991)
Lebanese movement.

**Joan Peters [aka Joan Caro]** (writer for Liberal and Jewish American magazines, including *Commentary, Harper's,* and *The New Republic*)
***From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine***
(NYC: Harper & Row, 1984 / London: Joseph, 1985 / JKAP Publications, 2001)
Bestselling Zionist book which didn't acknowledge Palestinian legitimacy; widely criticised by Edward Said, Norman Finkelstein, Yehoshua Porath, Noam Chomsky, and others.

**Andrew Petersen** and **Denys Pringle**

***Ramla: City of Muslim Palestine, 715-1917***

(Archaeopress, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "*Ramla* presents a comprehensive overview of the history, archaeology and architecture of the city of Ramla from the time of its foundation as the capital of Umayyad Palestine around 715 until the end of Ottoman rule in 1917. It begins with a historical outline covering in turn the early Islamic (Robert Hoyland), Crusader (Peter Edbury), Ayyubid-Mamluk (Donald S. Richards) and Ottoman periods (Matthew Elliot). In the archaeological section, Gideon Avni's synthesis of the results of excavations on the early Islamic city is followed by discussions of the Umayyad-period aqueduct (Amir Gorzalczany) and the historical interpretation of First World War aerial photographs (Benjamin Z. Kedar). Architectural studies include a complete corpus of the surviving Muslim buildings (Andrew Petersen), a reassessment of the remains of the White Mosque (Michael H. Burgoyne), an account of the Christian buildings (Denys Pringle), and an analysis of late Ottoman alterations to the Great Mosque (Katia Cytryn-Silverman). The final section on numismatics and epigraphy includes chapters on the coinage of Umayyad Ramla (Nikolaus Schindel), the Arabic inscriptions (Mehmet Tütüncü) and late medieval Christian pilgrims' graffiti (Denys Pringle). The volume concludes with three appendices, including a hitherto unpublished report on the White Mosque (1919–20) by K.A.C. Creswell, a gazetteer of settlements in the Crusader lordships of Ramla, Lydda and Mirabel, and the endowment deed for a house dated 1713 (Maher Abu-Munshar)."

**James Petras**

***War Crimes in Gaza and the Zionist Fifth Column in America***

(Clarity Press, 132 pages, 2018)

**Thomas Philipp** (Earlangen, Harvard, Dartmouth and Shiraz Universities)

***Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730-1831***

(Columbia University Press, 2002)

Publisher's blurb: "Thomas Philipp's study of Acre combines the most extensive use to date of local Arabic sources with commercial records in Europe to shed light on a region and power center many identify as the beginning of modern Palestinian history. The third largest city in eighteenth-century Syria-after Aleppo and Damascus-Acre was the capital of a politically and economically unique region on the Mediterranean coast that included what is today northern Israel and southern Lebanon. In the eighteenth century, Acre grew dramatically from a small fishing village to a fortified city of some 25,000 inhabitants. Cash crops (first cotton, then grain) made Acre the center of trade and political power and linked it inextricably to the world economy. Acre was markedly different from other cities in the region: its urban society consisted almost exclusively of immigrants seeking their fortune. The rise and fall of Acre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Thomas Philipp argues, must be seen against the background of the decay of central power in the Ottoman empire. Destabilization of imperial authority allowed for the resurfacing of long-submerged traditional power centers and the integration of Arab regions into European and world economies. This larger imperial context proves the key to addressing many questions about the local history of Acre and its peripheries. How were the new sources of wealth and patterns of commerce that remade Acre reconciled with traditional forms of political power and social organization? Were these forms really traditional? Or did entirely new classes develop under the circumstances of an immigrant society and new commercial needs? And why did Acre, after such propitious beginnings as a center of export trade and political and military power strong enough to defy Napoleon, give way to the dazzling rise of Beirut in the nineteenth century? For centuries the object of the Crusader's fury and the trader's envy, Acre is here restored to its full significance at a crucial moment in Middle Eastern history."

**John Phillips**

***Jerusalem: A Will to Survive***
(Hart-Davis, 1978)
1948 news correspondent-photographer's text and image coverage of 'Glubb Pasha' and the Arab League's battle in the Old City, and his follow-up with the event's survivors.

**Melanie Phillips** (A leading British Jewish Zionist journalist, writing for the *Times, Guardian, Daily Mail, Jerusalem Post, Jewish Chronicle*, and appearing on TV and radio*)*

***Fighting the Hate: A Handbook for Jews Under Siege***
(Wicked Son/Post Hill Press/Simon & Schuster, 2026)

***The Builder's Stone: How Jews and Christians Built the West, and Why Only They Can Save it***
(Wicked Son/Post Hill Press/Simon & Schuster, 320 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Western civilization is facing a critical moment. Foreign enemies sensing its weakness are circling. Internally, the West is being consumed by division, decadence, and demoralization. The October 7 attack on Israel presented it with a choice between civilization and barbarism—a challenge the West has failed. But this damaged society is far from lost if it takes advice from an unexpected source. Western culture is based upon Christianity, whose own foundations in turn lie in Judaism. The unique survival of the Jewish people offers both the West and its struggling Christian church, as well as secular people who shun religion, priceless lessons in resilience that they must learn if their culture is to survive."

***Londonistan: How Britain is Creating a Terror State Within***
(New York City: Encounter Books, 2006 / Gibson Square, ca. 2008, 2012)

**Greg Philo** & **Mike Berry** (Glasgow University Media Group, analyzing media coverage)

***More Bad News from Israel***
(Pluto Press, 2011)

***Israel and Palestine: Competing Histories***
(Pluto, 2006)

***Bad News from Israel***
(Pluto Press, 2004)

**Emanuel Pfoh** (National University of La Plata, Argentina)

As editor: ***Revealing the History of Ancient Palestine: Changing Perspectives***
(Routledge, 322 pages, 2018)
Contents: chapter 1 Recreating the history of Israel – chapter 2 The emergence of Israel: social transformation and state formation following the decline in Late Bronze Age trade – chapter 3 Israel's traditions of origin: reclaiming the land – chapter 4 Between history and literature: the social production of Israel's traditions of origin – chapter 5 The identity of early Israel: the realignment and transformation of Late Bronze-Iron Age Palestine – chapter 6 Sociology or history: towards a (human) history of ancient / Palestine? – chapter 7 The search for early Israel: historical perspective – chapter 8 'Israel is laid waste; his seed is no more': what if Merneptah's scribes were telling the truth? – chapter 9 Palestine during the Iron Age – chapter 10 The poetics of the history of Israel: shaping Palestinian history – chapter 11 Representing minimalism: the rhetoric and reality of revisionism – chapter 12 Transcending the boundaries: expanding the limits – chapter 13 Imagining Jerusalem – chapter 14 Interested parties: history and ideology at the end of the century – chapter 15 Resisting the past: ancient Israel in Western memory – chapter 16 The death of biblical history – chapter 17 Architectures of enmity.

***Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age: An Anthropology of Politics and Power***
(Routledge, 2016)

**Robert Philpot**

***Margaret Thatcher: The Honorary Jew: How Britain's Jews Shaped the Iron Lacy and Her Beliefs***
(London: Biteback Publishing, 358 pages, 2017)

**Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights**

***Torture: Human Rights, Medical Ethics and the Case of Israel: Conference on the International Struggle against Torture and the Case of Israel***
(Zed Books, 1995)

**Physicians for Human Rights** (Tel-Aviv)

**Maskit Bendel**: ***The Disengagement Plan and its Repercussions on the Right to Health in the Gaza Strip***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2005)

**Maskit Bendel**: ***Breast Cancer in the Gaza Strip – A Death Foretold***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2005)

**Ibrahim Habib**: ***The Wall in its Midst – The Separation Barrier and its Impact on the Right to Health and on Palestinian Hospitals in East Jerusalem***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2005)

**Ziv Hadas**: ***The Bureaucracy of Occupation: The District Civil Liaison Offices – Joint Report of Machsom Watch and Physicians for Human Rights***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2004)
The Permit Regime in the West Bank, starting from 2000.

**Ziv Hadas**: ***At Israel's Will: The Permits Policy in the West Bank***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2003)
The Permit Regime in the West Bank, starting from 2000.

***Human Rights on Hold: A Report on Emergency Measures and Access to Health Care in the Occupied Territories, 1990-1992***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 1993)

**Ziv Hadas**: ***These Worldly Bars – Maltreatment and Neglect at the Israel Prison Service Medical Center***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2002)

**Ziv Hadas**: ***A Legacy of Injustice – A Critique of Israeli Approaches to the Right to Health of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 2002)

**Ziv Hadas**: ***Physicians and Torture – The Case of Israel***
(Palestinians for Human Rights, 1999)

**John Pilger** (international print and television correspondent)

***Freedom Next Time: Resisting the Empire***
(Nation Books aka Bold Type Books, 2007)
Journalist examines five nations' struggles for freedom: Palestine, Diego Garcia, Afghanistan, Iraq and South Africa.

**Noam Pianko** (University of Washington)

***Zionism and the Roads not Taken: Rawidowicz, Kaplan, Kohn***

(Indiana University Press, 2010)

Non-state approaches to Zionism that got trampled, featuring historian Simon Rawidowicz, theologian Mordecai Kaplan, and political theorist Hans Kohn.

**Leo Pinsker**

***Auto-Emancipation***

(New York City: Maccabaean, 16 pages, 1906 / London: Association of Young Zionist Societies aka Zionist Organisation Youth Department, 1932, 84 pages / London: Federation of Zionist Youth, edition including Achad Ha'am: *Pinsker and Political Zionism* / also as ***Auto-Emancipation: A Call to His People by a Russian Jew***, with foreword by **Israel Cohen**, London: R. Searl, 1947)

**Halleli Pinson**

***Rethinking Israeliness: Citizenship Education and the Construction of Political Identities by Jewish and Palestinian Israeli Youth***

(Cambridge University, 2004)

University thesis.

**Gabriel Piterberg**

***The Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel***

(Verso, 2008)

Includes examination of Hannah Arendt and Bernard Lazare ("conscious pariahs"), whose ideas represented alternatives to Zionism.

**Edward Platt**

***The City of Abraham ? History, Myth and Memory – A Journey Through Hebron***

(Picador, 2012)

With background on the Jewish settlers in Tel Rumeida.

**Avi Plascov** aka **Abraham Ozer Plascov**

***The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, 1948-1957***

(Frank Cass, 268 pages, 1981 / Routledge, 2017)

Based on 1978 University of London SOAS PhD thesis; with fold-out maps.

**Emma Playfair**, editor

***International Law and the Administration of Occupied Territories: The West Bank and Gaza, 1967-1987***

(Oxford University Press, 1992)

1988 conference papers on two decades of occupation.

**Poale Zion** (Jewish Marxist Zionist movement; see also Labour Friends of Israel; and the periodical *Jewish Labour: Bulletin of the Poale Zion-Jewish Socialist Labour Party*, London: ca. 1943, held at the Leo Baeck College; *Jewish Labour Correspondence* (Bulletin issued by the Bureau of the Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation of Poale-Zion, Vol. 1 nos. 1-10 and Vol. 2 No.1, October 1917-Januaryu 2910).

***Discussion and Action: A Report on the Contemporary Role of Poale Zion***

(London: Poale Zion, 7 pages, ca. 1978)

***Haggadah*** (Passover holiday prayerbook)
(London: Young Poale Zion, 15 pages, 1978)
"This Haggadah is centred around the situation today of those few Jews who still ive in Arab countries." In English and Hebrew. Note: held by the British Library; a 21-page 1977 edition is also held, of possible political significance.

***Elkana Margalit: Anatomy of The Left Poale-Zion in Eretz Israel***
(Jerusalem, YL Perets, 458 pages, 1976)
Possibly equally in English and Hebrew, of possible link to Poale Zion in London.

***Harold Wilson's Visit to Israel*** aka ***Harold Wilson Reports on His Visit to Israel, Chairtmas 1972***
(LfoI / Poale Zion, 16 pages, ca. 1973)

**Golda Meir**: ***Speech delivered at the 12th Congress of the Socialist International, Vienna, June 1972***
(LfoI/Poale Zion, 12 pages, 1972)

***100 Years of the Jewish Labour Movement in Britain***
(London: Poale Zion, 16 pages, 1967)

***Poale Zionism – Its Contribution to the Establishment of Israel and its Role in the Future***
(London: Poale Zion, ca 1950s-1970s)

***Lewis Rifkind*** (Zionist historian)
(Glasgow: Poale Zion, ca 1940s-1950s)
"Issued on behalf of the Lewis Rifkind Memorial Book Committee."

***Some Aspects of the Histadruth***
(London: Poale Zion/Habonim, ca. 1944)

***Jews, Arabs, and the Middle East***
(London: Poale Zion, 47 pages, 1944)
Contents: **Ephraim Broido**: *Jews, Arabs, and the Middle East*; **Mikhael Asaf**: *Arab Movement in Palestine*; **Israel Cohen**: *Progress of Zionism*.

***The Last Stand: Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe and the Role of the Labor Zionist Movement***
(New York City: Poale Zion, 43pages, 1944)

***The War and the Jewish People***
(London: Poale Zion/Jewish Socialist Labour Party, 19pages, 1940)
Memorandum submitted to the 39th annual conference of the Labour Party at Bournemouth.

***The Jewish Labour Movement in Palestine: Its Aims and Achievements***
(Berlin: Verbandsbüro Poale Zion, 89 pages, 1928)
"Submitted by the Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation Poale-Zion (united with the Z.S. Federation) to the Labour and Socialist International Congresas, Brussels, August 1928."

**Ramsay MacDonald** [British Prime Minister, 1924, 1929-1935]
***A Socialist in Palestine***
(Poale Zion – Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation, 24 pages, 1922)
Visited Mandate Palestine in 1922; here
disallowing any Arab Palestinian claim because "Palestine and the Jews can never be separated."

***The Jews and the War: Memorandum of the Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion to the International Socialist Bureau***

(New York City: Poale Zion Party of America/Jewish Socialist Labor Bureau Poale Zion, the Hague, 90 pages, 1916)

**Elie Podeh** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

***Chances for Peace: Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(University of Texas Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on a newly developed theoretical definition of "missed opportunity," *Chances for Peace* uses extensive sources in English, Hebrew, and Arabic to systematically measure the potentiality levels of opportunity across some ninety years of attempted negotiations in the Arab-Israeli conflict. With enlightening revelations that defy conventional wisdom, this study provides a balanced account of the most significant attempts to forge peace, initiated by the world's superpowers, the Arabs (including the Palestinians), and Israel. From Arab-Zionist negotiations at the end of World War I to the subsequent partition, the aftermath of the 1967 War and the Sadat Initiative, and numerous agreements throughout the 1980s and 1990s, concluding with the Annapolis Conference in 2007 and the Abu Mazen-Olmert talks in 2008, pioneering scholar Elie Podeh uses empirical criteria and diverse secondary sources to assess the protagonists' roles at more than two dozen key junctures. A resource that brings together historiography, political science, and the practice of peace negotiation, Podeh's insightful exploration also showcases opportunities that were *not* missed. Three agreements in particular (Israeli-Egyptian, 1979; Israeli-Lebanese, 1983; and Israeli-Jordanian, 1994) illuminate important variables for forging new paths to successful negotiation. By applying his framework to a broad range of power brokers and time periods, Podeh also sheds light on numerous incidents that contradict official narratives. This unique approach is poised to reshape the realm of conflict resolution."

***Britain and the Middle East: From Imperial Power to Junior Partner***
(Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008)

***Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Reconciliation?***
(Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli Textbooks, 1948-2000***
(Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2001)

**Sasha Polakow-Suransky**

***The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa***
(New York City: Pantheon Books, 2010)
Unpacks the arms export trade from Israel to South Africa, and and the Zionist state's nuclear proliferation.

**Kenneth M. Pollack** (Director, [US] Council on Foreign Relations)

***Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991***
(University of Nebraska Press, 2002 / Bison Books, 2004)

**Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) – Information Department** [Note: The PFLP published many titles not included here and serials too, such as the *PFLP Bulletin* (monthly 1979-1982 then bi-monthly to 1983]

***For a Democratic Palestine***
(PFLP, 1978)
Held by Durham University Library.

***Freedom for Political Prisoners in Jordan***
(Beirut: PFLP Central Information Committee, 15 pages, ca. 1976)

***The Political Programme Approved by the Fourth General Conference of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, August 20-27, 1973.***
(Assumed Beirut: PFLP General Command, 32 pages, ca. 1973)

***Tasks of the New Stage***
(Beirut: Foreign Relations Committee of the PFLP, 148 pages, 1973)
From the PFLP's Third National Congress, 6-9 March 1972; including PDLP Internal Rules and Regulations.

***Palestine: Towards a Democratic Solution***
(Amman: PFLP, 36pp, 1970)

***In Time of War: Children Testify***
(Beirut: 'Mawakef' & thePFLP, 188 pages, 1970)
Drawing by Palestinian children; edited by **Mona Saudi**; in English and Arabic.

***A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine***
(Amman: PFLP, 135pp, 1969)

**Yehoshua Porath (aka Porat)**

***In Search of Arab Unity, 1930-1945***
(Frank Cass, 1986)

***The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929*** and ***From Riots to Rebellion, 1929-1939*** aka ***The of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929*** and ***From Riots to Rebellion, 1929-1939***
(Frank Cass Publishing, 1974 & 1977; Routledge, 428 pages, 2015)
Two volumes. Contents: 1. The Aftermath of the 1929 Riots 1.1. Government Measures and the Arab's Reaction 1.2. Aid for the Needy 1.3. The Commission of Inquiry 1.4. The Hanging of Three Murderers 1.5. The Resolution of the Wailing Wall Problem 1.6. Mobilisation of Pan-Arab Solidarity 1.7. Mobilisation of Financial Resources 2. The Decline of the AE and Its Disappearance 2.1. St. John Philby's Initiative 2.2. Negotiations with the British Government 2.3. The 1930 White Paper and its Aftermath 2.4. Abortive Attempts at Resuscitation 3. Factional Struggle and the Emergence of Parties 3.1. Repercussions of the 1929 Riots on the Nashashibi Opposition 3.2. Splits and Realignments 3.3. The Onslaught of the President of the SMC 3.4. The Jerusalem Municipal Elections and the Establishment of the National Defence Party 3.5. Views and Attitudes of the Opposition 3.6. The Establishment of Other Parties 4. The Land Problem 4.1. Jewish land Purchases and their Effect 4.2. The Arab Political Reaction 4.3. The Role of the SMC 4.4. Government Attitudes and Policy 5. The Process of Radicalisation 5.1. Amin al-Husayni's Challenge to M.K. al-Husayni's Position 5.2. The Rise of the Radical Organisations 5.3. Initial Resort to Violence 6. The Road to the General Strike and the Revolt 6.1. The Situation in 1935 6.2. The Legislative Council Proposal 6.3. Developments in Egypt and Syria 7. The General Strike and the First Stage of the Revolt 7.1. The Establishment of the Higher Arab Committee 7.2. The General Strike 7.3. Resort to Violence – the First Stage 7.4. Government Policy 7.5. Arab Countries' Involvement and the End of the Strike 8. The Transitional Period, October 1936 – September 1937 8.1. Anti-Jewish Boycott 8.2. The Royal (Peel) Commission 8.3. The Royal Commission and the Pan-Arabisation of the Palestine Problem 8.4. The Royal Commission's Report and its Repercussions 9. The Revolt 9.1. Uprising and Repression 9.2. The Organisation of the Revolt 9.3. The Political Split and the Waning of the Revolt 9.4. Social and Communal Aspects of the Revolt 10. British Retreat and the Triumph of Pan-Arabism 10.1. Arab Solidarity and its Repercussions 10.2. The British Withdrawal from Partition 10.3. The London (St. James') Conferences and the 1939 White Paper See also: **Manuel S. Hassassian**: *Palestine, Factionalism in the National Movement (1919-1939)*

**Michael Posner** & **Virginia Sherry**

***An Examination of the Detention of Human Rights Workers and Lawyers from the West Bank and Gaza***

(New York City: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 112pp, 1988)

Conditions of detention at Ketziot.

**Fred Pragnell**

***Palestine Chronicle, 1880-1950: Extracts from the Arabic Press, Tracing the Main Political and Social Developments***

(Pragnell Books, 2005)

A most generous oversized volume reproducing photocopies made from both original newspapers or microfilm versions of vintage press, arranged chronologically. Almost entirely in Arabic with an English-language summary timeline on each page. The 2006 2nd edition was issued with a CD of Word files of Pragnell's translations. A generous gift to Palestinian history.

**David Pratt** (journalist and photographer for the *Herald* [Glasgow] and other print and broadcast news media, covering wars throughout the world)

***Intifada: The Long Day of Rage***

(Glasgow: Sunday Herald Books, 294 pages, 2006; Philadelphia: Casemate, 278 pages, 2006)

**Joshua Prawer** & **Haggai Ben-Shammai**, editors

***The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638-1099***

(New York University Press, 1996)

Collection of articles translated from Hebrew.

**Walter Preuss**

***The Jewish Labour Movement in Palestine: its Aims and Achievements***

(Berlin: Berlag des Verbandburos Poale-Zion, 89 pages, 1928)

"Submitted by the Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation Poale-Zion to the Labour and Socialist International Congress, Brussels, August 1928."

**E.M. Primakov** aka **Yevgeny Primakov** (Evgenii Maksimovich Primakov)

***Russia and the Arabs: Behind the Scenes in the Middle East from the Cold War to the Present***

(New York City: Basic Books, 418 pages, 2009)

Translated by **Paul Gould**. Contents: The nationalist revolutionaries – A failed chance for Arab-Israeli relations – The inevitable confrontation with the west – National interests take precedence over Arab unity – The Soviet Union and the Arab world: a difficult path to closer ties – The lost cause of Communism – America steps forward – The beginning and end of the six-day war – USA: tactics in the new Middle East – Hidden pressures behind the Yom Kippur War of 1973 – The making of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty – Lebanon in the eye of a storm – A return to a harder line – The Arafat phenomenon – The Soviet Union and Israel – The phenomenon that was Saddam Hussein – The saga of the Kurds – A nuclear shadow over the Arab-Israeli conflict – The future of the Middle East.

**Michael Prior** (Theology & Religious Studies lecturer at St Mary's University College, London)

***Remembering Michael Prior: Ten Years On – Selected Essays and Adresses***

(Orpington: The Living Stones of the Holy Land Trust, 203 pages, 2014)

Includes perspectives on Zionism and the Bible.

As editor: ***Western Scholarship and the History of Palestine***
(London: Melisende, 111 pages, 1998)
Contents: Preface / Subhi Ghosheh – Introduction / Michael Prior – Western scholarship and the silencing of Palestinian history / Keith W. Whitelam – Hidden histories and the problem of ethnicity in Palestine / Thomas L. Thompson – The moral problem of the land traditions of the Bible / Michael Prior – The right of return of displaced Jerusalemites / John Quigley.

***The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique***
(Sheffield Academic Press / Continuum, 1997)
Focus on Palestine (about one-half of the word), Latin America and South Africa.

**Terence Prittie** aka **Terence Cornelius Farmer Prittie** (ex-Guardian)
***Britain and Israel***
(London: Furnival Press)
Compendium from self-published periodical, *Britain and Israel* (1972-1985).

With **Walter Henry Nelson**
***The Economic War Against the Jews***
(Secker & Warburg, 269 pages, 1977)

With **Walter Henry Nelson**
***Facts about the Arab Trade Boycott***
(Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce, 4 pages, 1976)

***The Fourth Arab-Israeli War: The Propaganda Battle***
(Anglo-Israel Association, either 18 or 23 pages, 1974)

***Winds of Change on the West Bank: A Three Days Diary***
(Anglo-Israel Association/National Liberal Club, 21 pages, 1973)

With **Bernard Dineen**: ***Double Exodus: A Study of Arab and Jewish Refugees in the Middle East***
(Goodhart Press, 1974)

***Anglo-Israel Association Silver Jubilee Brochure***
(London: Anglo-Israel Association, 1973)

***Israel's Achievements and Relations with Britain, 1948-1969: Anglo-Israel Association Annual Dinner Brochure, October 1968***
(Anglo-Israel Association, 1968)

***Israel: Miracle in the Desert***
(Praeger/ Pall Mall, 260 pages, 1967-1968)

**Caitlin Harriet Elinor Procter**
***Claiming the State: The Everyday Lives of Palestinian Refugee Youth in East Jerusalem***
(University of Oxford PhD thesis, 336pages, 2019)

**Ksawery Pruszynski**
***Palestine for the Third Time***
(Brookline, Massachusetts: Academic Studies Press, 153 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "…a book of reportage originally published in Poland in 1933 by Ksawery Pruszyński, a young reporter working for a Polish newspaper, who went to Mandate Palestine to see

for himself whether the Zionist dream of returning to Eretz Yisrael had a chance of turning into reality. Travelling widely and talking to people he happened to meet on his way-Jews, Arabs, committed dreamers and the disaffected-he was trying to explain to his readers what he was seeing. This book is a unique firsthand account of the early stages in formation of the state and nation of Israel. But it's not just a nostalgic vignette. It resonates powerfully today, linking Tony Judt, Edward Said, and Amos Oz, illuminating the hotly debated questions of modern Israel" Contents:
On a Bunk Bed with the Halutzim -- The Dust of the Road -- The Land Without Crises -- More Beautiful Than Paris -- The Jews Who Do Not Like It Here -- The Onward March of Israel -- Suppliers of Men and Money -- Malaria and Millions -- Histadrut Haovdim -- Like Stones Thrown against a Bulwark -- Trekking across Emek Israel -- Sabras of Ein Harod -- Gesher -- Glass Towers Are not a Myth -- From Ghetto to Kibbutz -- The Dollar Falls Twenty Percent -- Only Four Weeks -- The Wailing Wall -- Socialism -- Collective Love -- Kibbutz, Kolkhoz, Cloister -- The Jewish Population Catches Up -- In the Eyes of Young Islam -- Arabs in the Eyes of Jews -- Christian Jerusalem -- Nineteen Centuries after Pilate : A Night in Gethsemane -- The Way of the Cross -- Resurrexit -- So Many Different Roads : "Das Wirkliche Deutschland" -- "A Daemonio Meridiano . . . " -- Roads -- The Threat of Soviet Cannons.

**Peter Vincent Pry**

***The Samson Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy***
(Random House, 354 or 362 pages, 1991/Vintage Books, 1993)

***Israel's Nuclear Arsenal***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 150 pages, 1984 / Routledge, 2019)

**David Pryce-Jones** (University of California lecturer who first visited Palestinian communities in 1962; special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*)

***The Face of Defeat: Palestinian Refugees and Guerrillas***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972 / Quartet Books, 1974)
Covers 1967-1973.

***The Next Generation: Travels in Israel***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964)

**Jasbir K. Puar** (Rutgers University)

***The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability***
(Duke University Press, 296 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "In *The Right to Maim,* Jasbir K. Puar brings her pathbreaking work on the liberal state, sexuality, and biopolitics to bear on our understanding of disability. Drawing on a stunning array of theoretical and methodological frameworks, Puar uses the concept of "debility"—bodily injury and social exclusion brought on by economic and political factors—to disrupt the category of disability. She shows how debility, disability, and capacity together constitute an assemblage that states use to control populations. Puar's analysis culminates in an interrogation of Israel's policies toward Palestine, in which she outlines how Israel brings Palestinians into biopolitical being by designating them available for injury. Supplementing its right to kill with what Puar calls the right to maim, the Israeli state relies on liberal frameworks of disability to obscure and enable the mass debilitation of Palestinian bodies. Tracing disability's interaction with debility and capacity, Puar offers a brilliant rethinking of Foucauldian biopolitics while showing how disability functions at the intersection of imperialism and racialized capital."

**Raija-Leena Punamaki**

***Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-Being: A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children***
(Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, 24 pages, 1994)

***Political Violence and Psychological Responses: A Study of Palestinian Women, Children and Ex-Prisoners***
(Tampere, Finland: Tampere Peace Institute, 59 pages, 1990)

***Torture: Experiences of Torture, Means of Coping and Level of Symptons among Palestinian Political Prisoners – Special Document: US Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1987, "The Occupied Territories"***
(Beirut: PLO Information, 29 pages, 1988)

***Childhood under Conflict: The Attitudes and Emotional Life of Israeli and Palestinian Children***
(Tampere, Finland: Tampere Peace Research Institute, 247 pages, 1987)

**Raija-Leena Punamaki**, **Samir Qouta**, and **Eyad El Sarraj**

***Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-Being: A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children***
(Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, 24 pages, 1994)

**Mutaz Qafisheh** (Chair, Law for Palestine)

As editor: ***Palestine Membership in the United Nations: Legal and Practical Implications***
(Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013)

***The International Law Foundations of Palestinian Nationality: A Legal Examination of Nationality under British Rule***
(252 pages, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "By the end of British rule in Palestine on 14 May 1948, Palestinian nationality had become well established in accordance with both domestic law and international law. Accordingly, the legal origin of Palestinian nationality lies in this nearly thirty-year period as the status of Palestinians has never been settled since. Hence, any legal consideration on the future status of individuals who once held Palestinian nationality should start from the point at which the British rule over Palestine was terminated. This work provides a legal basis for future settlement of the status of Palestinians of all categories that emerged in some sixty years following the end of the Palestine Mandate: Israeli citizens, inhabitants of the occupied territory, and Palestinian refugees. In conclusion, nationality as regulated by Britain in Palestine represents an international status that cannot be legally altered except in accordance with international law." See also: University of Geneva Thesis no. 745, 339 pages, 2007; freely downloadable: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.425.5504&rep=rep1&type=pdf

**Tamer Qarmout** (Doha Institute)

***Delivering Aid without Government: International Aid and Civil Society Engagement in the Recovery and Reconstruction of the Gaza Strip***
(Springer, 136 pages, 2017)

**Naim Qassam** [founding member of Hizbullah in 1982]

***Hizbullah: The Story from Within***
(Saqi Books, 2006)
Essentially linked with the Palestinian Struggle.

**Anis al-Qassem**
***Palestinian Rights and Israeli Institutionalised Racism***
(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1984)

**Mezna Mazen Qato**
***Education in Exile: Palestinians and the Hashemite Regime, 1948-1967***
(Oxford University thesis, 319 pages, 2013)
Available via the EthOS system via the British Library.

**A.M. Qattan Foundation** (Ramallah & London; see also entries under 'Palestine Culture')
**Corrine Silva:** ***Garden State: The Politics of Planting in Israel-Palestine***
(Ramallah/London: AM Qattan Foundation/London: Mosaic Rooms/Cardiff: Ffotogallery Wales Limited, 154 pages, 2016)

***ICT and Education in Palestine: Social and Educational Inequalities in Access to ICT: a Case Study Approach***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 48 pages, 2006)

**Ayad Al-Qazzaz**
***Two Studies on Israel***
(North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 29 pages, 1974)
Contents: *Militaristic Orientation of Israel* & *Israel's Economy*.

**Ali Qleibo**
***Jerusalem in the Heart***
(Al-Quds University & Centre for Jerusalem Studies, 2000)
Anthropological tour with verse, photographs and paintings.

**William B. Quandt** (University of Virginia)
***Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967***
(University of California Press, 488 pages, 1977, 2001)

As editor: ***The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 517 pages, 1988)

***Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1986)

***Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-1976***
(University of California Press, 313 pages, 1977)

**John Quigley** (Ohio State University)
***Britain and its Mandate over Palestine: Legal Chicanery on a World Stage***
(Anthem Press/Cambridge University Press, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Analysis of Britain's role in Palestine has proceeded on the assumption that Britain was lawfully in control of the territory. Analysts differ on whether what it did was proper, but they agree that Britain had a lawful mandate and that through the League of Nations, and that the international community advocated for Jewish territorial rights in Palestine. This analysis, though widely shared, is incorrect. Britain had no territorial rights itself to govern Palestine. It was there by

dint of force of arms. The mandate it had over Palestine was initiated unilaterally. The mandate was not given to Britain by the League of Nations. The League of Nations had no authority over Palestine and, in particular, nothing it could give to Britain. The document that Britain composed for the governance of Palestine was never approved by the League of Nations. When, in 1947, Britain had to explain the United Nations its legal status in Palestine, it resorted to distorting the historical facts, in an effort to make it appear it had been in Palestine lawfully."

***The Legality of a Jewish State: A Century of Debate over Rights in Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "[the author] argues that the fate of Palestine was not determined on the basis of principle, but by the failure of legality. In focusing on the lawyer-diplomats who pressed for and against a Jewish state at the United Nations, he offers an explanation of the effort in 1947-48 by Arab states at the UN to gain a legal opinion from the International Court of Justice about partition and the declaration of a Jewish state. Their arguments at that time may surprise a twenty-first-century reader, touching on issues that are still at the heart of the contemporary conflict in the Middle East.

***The International Diplomacy of Israel's founders: Deception at the United Nations in the Quest for Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2016)
The Zionist Lobby was on solid foundation well before the UN's scaffolding was erected, and has renovated its own Babel ever since, a clever hoodwinking by the 'only democracy in the Middle East.'

***The Six-Day War and Israeli Self-Defense: Questioning the Legal Basis for Preventive War***
(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

***The Case for Palestine: An International Law Perspective***
(Duke University Press, 2005)
Balfour's take on Zionism, that it is "of profounder import than the desires of prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."

***Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice***
(Duke University Press, 1990)

**William Henry Abdullah Quilliam** (1856-1932; Liverpool lawyer; perhaps the most influential British Muslim convert of his era)

**Jamie Gilham** (Royal Holloway, University of London) and **Ron Geaves** (Liverpool Hope University; Cardiff University), editors: ***Victorian Muslim: Abdullah Quilliam and Islam in the West***
(Oxford University Press, 2017)
See Ron Geaves: *The Significance of Abdullah Quilliam's Literary Output* (Chapter 3): Quilliam argued that Jews could be rehomed in Palestine and toured synagogues to this effect.

**Ron Geaves** (Liverpool Hope University; Cardiff University): ***Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam***
(Kube Publishing, 2010)

**Mazin B. Qumsiyeh** (co-founder of the Palestine Museum of Natural History, Bethlehem University)

***Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment***
(Pluto Press, 2011)

***Sharing the Land of Canaan: Human Rights and the Israeli-Palestine Struggle***
(Pluto, 2004)
Focusing on populations, genetics vs Zionist myths, separate economies, environmental issues, forms of resistance, and One Democratic State (ODS)

***Mammals of the Holy Land***
(Texas Tech University Press, 1996)

**Mohammad Siddique Qureshi**

***Zionism and Racism: A History of Zionist Colonialism and Imperialism***
(Either Lahore or Karachi: Islamic Publications, 378 pages, 1981)

**Ahmed Qurie**

***Peace Negotiations in Palestine: From the Second Intifada to the Roadmap***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "The start of the twenty-first century in Palestine saw the breakdown of the Oslo Accords (which, signed in 1993 was an attempt to begin the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) give way to a turbulent period of dashed hope, escalating violence and internal division. Tracking developments from the Second Intifada of 2000 to Hamas' 2006 electoral victory, former Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurie provides revealing and first-hand detail of the monumental changes that have rocked the peace process and the region as a whole. New proposals, such as the Arab Peace Initiative [2002] and the Road Map, and historic events, including the death of iconic leader Yasser Arafat and Ariel Sharon's withdrawal from Gaza, are recognised to be of immense significance. However, it is Qurie's unique position that reveals a new perspective of how they played out on the stages of Palestinian internal governance, regional politics and international diplomacy."

***Beyond Oslo, the Struggle for Palestine: Inside the Middle East Peace Process from Rabin's Death to Camp David***
(Bloomsbury/IB Tauris, 2008)

***From Oslo to Jerusalem: The Palestinian Story of the Secret Negotiations***
(Bloomsbury/IB Tauris, 2006)

**Sayyid Qutb** (1906-1966; founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, which inspired Ahmed Yassine to create Hamas. Numerous publications translated into English, including the series, *In the Shade of the Qur'an*)

***A Child from the Village***
(American University Cairo Press, 188 pages, 2000; Syracuse University Press, 150 pages, 2005; the latter translated, with an introduction by **John Calvert** and **William Shepard**.)
Contents: 1 The Magzub -- 2 The Gym Master -- 3 The Sacred School -- 4 Medical Mission -- 5 The Local Doctor -- 6 The 'Afarit -- 7 Cultural Activity -- 8 The Law of the Thieves -- 9 The Confiscation of Weapons -- 10 The Harvest -- 11 Sorrows of the Countryside -- 12 The Journey.

***The Sayyid Qutb Reader***
(Routledge, 175 pages, 2008)
Edited by **Albert J. Bergesen** (University of Arizona). Contents: **Albert J. Bergesen**: *Sayyid Qutb in Historical Context*; *Qutb's Core Ideas* / **Sayyid Qutb**: *Milestones*; *Prologue from 'In the Shade of the Qur'an*, Volume 7, Surah 8, Al-Anfal (The Spoils of War); *The Basis of Inter-communal Relations, from "In the Shade of the Qur'an,* Volume 8, Surah 9, Al-Tawbab (The Repentance); *The Earth's Suffocating Expanse, from "In the Shade of the Qur'an,* Volume 8, Surah 9, Al-Tawbab (The Repentance); *Religion and Society in Christianity and in Islam*, from "*Social Justice in Islam*"; *Sorrows of the Countryside*, from *A Child in the Village*.

***Basic Principles of the Islamic Worldview***
(North Haledon, New Jersey: Islamic Publications International, 230 pages, 2006)
Translated by **Rami David**, with preface by **Hamid Algar**.

***Milestones***

(New Delhi: Islamic Book Service, 160 pages, ca. 2001, 2007; Indianapolis, Indiana: American Trust Publications, 138 pages, 1990; Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Salimah / Kuwait: Mother Mosque Foundation, 160 pages, 1978, 1981)
American Trust edition has a foreword by **Ahmad Zaki Hammad**. Numerous international editions in English. Contents: The unique Qur'anic generation -- The nature of the Qur'anic method -- The characteristics of the Islamic society and the correct method of its formation -- Jihaad in the cause of God -- "La Ilaha illa Allah" : the way of life of Islam -- The universal law -- Islam is the real civilization -- The Islamic concept and culture -- A Muslim's nationality and his belief -- Far-reaching changes -- The faith triumphant -- This is the road.

**William E. Shepard**: ***Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam***
(Leiden: EJ Brill, 378 pages, 1996); the 1953 edition translated by **John B. Hardie** and revised, with an introduction by **Hamid Algar,** Oneonta, New York: Islamic Publications International, 339 pages, 2000; edition translated by **John B. Hardie**, Washington DC: American Council of Learned Societies, 298 pages, 1953)

***Islam and Universal Peace***
(Indianapolis, Indiana: American Trust Publications, 81 pages, 1993)

***The Islamic Concept and its Characteristics***
(Indianapolis, Indiana: American Trust Publications, 210 pages, 1991)

**Ronald L. Nettler**: ***Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist's View of Jews***
(Oxford/New York City: Pergamon, 92 pages, 1987)
Published for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

***Islam, The Religion of the Future***
(Beirut: Holy Koran Publishing House, 177 pages, ca. 1980)

***This Religion of Islam: Hadha'd-din***
(Kuwait: I.I.F.S.O, 104 pages, 1980; Gary, Indiana: International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, 104 pages, ca. 1979)

***Islam and Universal Peace***
(Indianapolis, Indiana: American Trust Publications, 81 pages, 1977)

***Social Justice in Islam***
(New York City: Octagon Books, 298 pages, 1970 [1953])
Translated by **John B. Hardie**.

**Basem Ra'ad** (Al-Quds University)
***Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean***
(Pluto Press, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "For thousands of years, Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean have been subject to constant colonial interference, which has disenfranchised the indigenous population from their own history. Basem L. Ra'ad uncovers this history and begins the process of reconnecting it with its rightful owners. Orientalist ideologies, colonial projects and Zionist cultural takeovers have contributed profoundly to the revisionism of Palestine's history. Drawing upon research in archaeology, linguistics and history, Ra'ad dispels many of the myths relating to religions, languages, peoples and sites. What emerges from this recovery is the presence of native people, a forgotten, submerged and subaltern, who stubbornly endure, from ancient Canaan to contemporary Palestine. Demanding that we 'unlearn'

whitewashed, colonial histories, Hidden History is a process of recovery, de-colonization, revision and inclusivity.

**Mohamed Rabie**

***US-PLO Dialogue: Secret Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution***
(University of Florida Press, 203 pages, 1995)
Publisher's blurb: "In December 1988 the United States announced its decision to start a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization. A year and a half later, it suspended the dialogue. In the months between, two men with no government ties, Mohamed Rabie and William Quandt, were catalysts in the short-lived talks. This memoir explains in detail their efforts to persuade both the United States and the PLO to focus on "shared" objectives, the difficulties encountered by all sides, and the disappointment they experienced as the talks were suspended. Rabie also discusses the developments that led to the U.S.-PLO dialogue and the activities that made it a reality, offering insights into the decision-making process within the PLO as well as an analysis of prominent PLO personalities"

**Yitzhak Rabin**

***The Rabin Memoirs***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 272 pages, , with an afterward by **Yoram Peri**, 1979; University of California Press, revised edition translated by **Dov Goldstein**, 435 pages, 1996)

**Itamar Rabinovich** (former Israeli ambassador in Washington DC)

***Yitzhak Rabin: Soldier, Leader, Statesman***
(Yale University Press, 2017)

With **Itai Brun**: ***Israel Facing a New Middle East: In Search of a National Security Strategy***
(Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2017)

***Israel and the Arab Turmoil***
(Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2014)

***The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East, 1948-2011***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2011, 2013)

***Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs, 1948-2003*** (Princeton University Press, 2004)

***Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century*** (Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1999)

***The Brink of Peace: The Israeli Syrian Negotiations***
(Princeton University Press, 1998)

***The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations***
(Oxford University Press, 1991)

As co-consultant with **Shlomo Avineri**, and editor **Stephen J Roth**: ***The Impact of the Six-Day War: A Twenty-Year Assessment***
(Macmillan / Institute for Jewish Affairs, 1988)

As editor, with **Jehuda Reinharz** : ***Israel and the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics and Foreign Relations, 1948-Present***
(Oxford University Press, 1984)

***From June to October: The Middle East between 1967 and 1973***
(New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1978)

**Dan Rabinowitz** and **Khawla Abu-Baker**
***Coffins on Our Shoulders: The Experience of the Palestinian Citizens of Israel***
(University of California Press, 232 pages, 2005)

**Dan Rabinowitz**, **As'ad Ghanem**, and **Oren Yiftachel**, co-editors
***After the Rift: New Directions for Government Policy Towards the Arab Population in Israel: An Emergency Report by an Inter-University Research Team, Submitted to Ehud Barak, Prime Minister of Israel***
(Israel, publisher not identified, 60 pages, 2000)
Partial contents: Land and planning / Oren Yiftachel, Rassem Khamaisi, Sandy Kedar -- Local authorities and welfare services / As'ad Ghanem, Thabet Abu-Ras, Ze'ev Rosenhek -- Identity and civic/cultural inclusion / Dan Rabinowitz [and others] -- Schooling and further education / Majid Al-Haj, Isma'il Abu-Sa'ad, Yossi Yonah -- Employment and economic development / Ahmad Sa'di, Michael Shalev, Yitzhak Schnell -- Law, society and the Arab population in Israel / Gad Barzilai [and others]. Held at SOAS Library, University of London.

**Lewis I. Rabinowitz** aka **Major Lewis Rabinowitz** (Senior Jewish chaplain to the Eighth Army)
***Soldiers from Judaea: Palestinian Jewish Units in the Middle East, 1941-1943***
(London: Victor Gollancz Publishing / American Zionist Emergency Council, 84 pages, 1945)

**Oskar K. Rabinowicz**
***Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems***
(Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974 reprint of 1956 edition)

**Yakov M. Rabkin** (University of Montreal)
***Israel in Palestine: Jewish Rejection of Zionism***
(Aspect Editions, 128 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "The author describes Palestine as it was on the eve of Zionist colonisation, recalling how Jews initially reacted to the Zionist movement and its goals. He highlights how Zionism, disdaining Jewish tradition, created a "new Hebrew man" steeped in a powerful mix of victimhood and exclusive nationalism and therefore oblivious to the fate of the Palestinians. He reminds us that Jewish identity is traditionally based on a spiritual commitment open to all races, the concept of Israel denoting not so much a geographical region but a community of believers."

***What is Modern Israel ?***
(Pluto Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Usually, we think of the state of modern Israel, as well as the late nineteenth-century Zionist movement that led to its founding, as a response to anti-Semitism which grew out of cultural and religious Judaism. In *What Is Modern Israel?*, however, Yakov M. Rabkin turns this understanding on its head, arguing convincingly that Zionism, far from being a natural development of Judaism, in fact has its historical and theological roots in Protestant Christianity. While most Jewish people viewed Zionism as marginal or even heretical, Christian enthusiasm for the Restoration of the Jews to the Promised Land transformed the traditional Judaic yearning for 'Return'—a spiritual concept with a very different meaning—into a political project. Drawing on many overlooked pages of history, and using on a uniquely broad range of sources in English, French, Hebrew, and Russian, Rabkin shows that Zionism was conceived as a sharp break with Judaism and Jewish continuity. Rabkin argues that Israel's past and present must be understood in the context of European ethnic nationalism, colonial expansion, and geopolitical interests rather than—as is all too often the case—an incarnation of Biblical prophecies or a culmination of Jewish history."

***A Threat from Within: A Century of Jewish Opposition to Zionism***
(Zed Books, 2006)

**Itamar Radai** (Tel Aviv University)
***Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1948: A Tale of Two Cities***
(Routledge, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: This book reveals that the most important internal factors to the Palestinian defeat were the social changes that took place in Arab society during the British Mandate, namely internal migration from rural areas to the cities, the shift from agriculture to wage labour, and the rise of the urban middle class. By looking beyond the well-established external factors, this study uncovers how modernity led to a breakdown within Palestinian Arab society, widening social fissures without producing effective institutions, and thus alienating social classes both from each other and from the leadership."

**Hani Raheb**
***The Zionist Character in the English Novel***
(Third World Centre for Research and Publishing, 1981)

**Mitri Raheb** (President of Dar al-Kalima University College, Bethlehem; President of the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan & The Hold Land)
As editor: ***Bethlehem: A Sociocultural History***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University, 303 pages, 2020)
Contributors: Michele Bacci/ Amanda Batarseh/ Nicholas Blincoe/ Glenn Bowmann/ Nuha Khoury/ Lance Laird/ Elizabeth Marteijn/ Falistin Naili/ Tom Selwyn/ Sawsan Shomali/ Dana Soboh/ Gislen Widen.

As co-editor, with **Saeb Erakat**: ***The Double Lockdown: Palestine under Occupation and COVID-19***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 117 pages, 2020)
Free download: https://www.diyar.ps/the_double_lockdown.pdf

As editor: ***Tawfiq Canaan: An Autobiography***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 196 pages, 2020)

As editor: ***Palestinian Identity in Relation to Time and Space***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014) – 14 authors emphasising the role of Christianity and religion in general, in forming identity.

***Faith in the Face of Empire: The Bible through Palestinian Eyes***
(Orbis Books, 160 pages, 2014)

***Bethlehem Besieged: Stories of Hope in Times of Trouble***
(Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press, 157 pages, 2004)

***I am a Palestinian Christian***
(Minneapolis, Minnesota, 164 pages, 1995)
Translated by **Ruth C.L. Gritsch**; foreword by **Rosemary Radford Ruether**.

**Mitri Raheb** & **Fred Strickert**, with photography by **Garo Nalbandian** and introduction by **Yassir Arafat**
***Bethlehem 2000***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 1999)

**Mark A. Raider**

***The Emergence of American Zionism***

(New York University Press, 1998)

Publisher's blurb: "It shows how and why American Labor Zionism-"the voice of Labor Palestine on American soil"-played such an important role in formulating the program and outlook of American Zionism. It also examines more generally the impact of Zionism on American Jews, making the case that Zionism's cultural vitality, intellectual diversity, and unparalleled ability to rally public opinion in times of crisis were central to the American Jewish experience."

**Haggai Ram** (Ben Gurion University)

***Intoxicating Zion: A Social History of Hashish in Mandatory Palestine and Israel***

(Stanford University Press, 272 pages, 2020)

**Adam Ramadan**

***Violent Geographies of Exile: Palestinian Refugees and Refugee Camps in Lebanon***

(University of Oxford PhD thesis, EthOS ID: 517330).

**Ramallah Friends Schools Educational Network**

***Cultivating Palestinian Education: Profiles of Educational Development Projects in the West Bank and Gaza Strip***

(Ramallah: Ramallah Friends Schools, 50 pages, 1992)

**Roland Rance** (editor if *News from Within* and *Return* magazines) and **Terry Conway**, editors

***Middle East: War, Imperialism, and Ecology: Sixty Years of Resistance***

(London: Socialist Resistance, 288 pages, 2007)

Other contributors include Gilbert Achcar and Tikva Honig-Parnass. See also: *Volunteers for Palestine*.

***Palestine's Second Intifada***

(London: Socialist Outlook, 38 pages, 2000)

15 articles, including two by **Dr Adel Samara** and an interview by the author and **Mahmud Hawari**.

**RAND Corporation**

***Building a Successful Palestinian State: The RAND Palestinian State Study Team***

(Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 452 pages, 2001)

**Ronald Ranta** (University College London / Kingston University UK)

As co-author, with **Yonatan Mendel**: ***From the Arab Other to the Israeli Self: Palestinian Culture in the Making of Israeli National Identity***

(Routledge, 2016)

***Political Decision Making and Non-Decisions: The Case of Israel and the Occupied Territories***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Focus on Gush Emunim and the last decade of the Labour Party's governing policies, 1967-1977.

**Audeh G. Rantisi & Ralph K. Beebe**

***Blessed are the Peacemakers: A Palestinian Christian in the Occupied West Bank***

(Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Books, 1990)

**Amir Rapaport**

***IDF and the Lessons of the Second Lebanon War***

(Ramat Gan: Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, 66 pages, 2010)

**Era Rapaport**

***Letters from Tel Mond Prison: An Israeli Settler Defends his Act of Terror***

(Free Press, 280 pages, 1996)

Edited by **William B. Helmreich**.

**Marc Lee Raphael** (College of William and Mary)

***The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America***

(Columbia University Press, 2009)

***A History of the United Jewish Appeal, 1939-1982***

(Brown Judaic Studies, 177 pages, 1982)

***Understanding American Jewish Philanthropy***

(New York: Ktav Publications, 1979)

**Angelo S. Rappoport**

***History of Palestine***

(Allen & Unwin and EP Dutton, 368 pages, 1931 / Routledge, 374 pages, 2025)

**Louis Rapoport**

***Redemption Song: The Story of Operation Moses***

(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 234 pages, 1986)

Note: Mass immigration was a result of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council's 1984 resolution that 'Zionism is racism.'

**Meron Rapoport** (Editor, *Local Call*, *972 Magazine*)

***Shady Dealings in Silwan***

(Jerusalem: Ir Amim, 47 pages, 2009)

**Translated by** Shoshana London Sappir.

**Joseph L. Rayan**

***Easter in Sidon, 1973***

(Lebanon: Peace March Committee, 13pp, 1973)

"Text of an address by Rev. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J. given at the religious service on Easter Sunday morning, April 22, 1973 at the Castle in Sidon, Lebanon at the conclusion of the Beirut-to-Sidon Peace March. The ecumenical service was organized by Americans on behalf of the rights of the Palestinian people. Father Ryan is a professor at St. Joseph University in Beirut."

**Hugh Mitford Raymond, FRGS** (19thC British Zionist)

***Palestine as it was: Notes from Letters Home***

(Mitford Literary Society, 46 pages, 2017)

Original title: *From England to Ceylon, 7000 Miles on Horseback*, published 1884.

**John Rayner**

***Jewish Voices of Dissent Regarding the Lebanon War and the Road to Peace***
(Author, 10 pages, typescript 1982)
Possible publication, held by the British Library, shelfmark: ORB30/6556

**Riad El-Rayyes** & **Dunia Nahas**

***Guerrillas for Palestine***
(Croom Helm / Portico Publications, 1976)

**Adam Raz**

***Loot: How Israel Stole Palestinian Property***
(Verso, 352 pages, 2024)
The pillaging of Palestinian property in 1948, including factory and farming equipment. Based on more than two-dozen state, army and kibbutzim archives, plus journals of key figures.

With **Yael Stein**: ***Operation Defensive Shield, March 29-April 21, 2002: Soldier's Testimonies, Palestinian Testimonies***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 35 pag3es, 2002)

**Avi Raz**

***The Bride & The Dowry: Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War***
(Yale University Press, 2012)

**John Reddaway** (Deputy Commissioner of UNRWA; Director of CAABU / Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding)

***Israel and Nuremburg: Are Israel's Leaders Guilty of War Crimes? A Preliminary Study***
(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1983)

***Right and Wrong in the Pursuit of Peace in Palestine***
(Dublin: Eurabia, 1978 or 1980)

***"Seek Peace and Insure it" – Selected Papers on Palestine and the Search for Peace***
(CAABU, ca. 1980)
Papers, 1970-1980

With **F. Khadra:** ***Palestine: Points of View***
(General Union of Arab Students, ca. 1970) – speeches given at the University of London, 1970

***Suffering Humanity: The Refugees of the Middle East***
(Beirut: University Christian Centre Forum, 16 pages, 1967)

**Simon Reeve**

***One Day in September: The Story of the 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre and Israeli Revenge Operation 'Wrath of God'***
(Faber, 358 pages, 2000, 2005; New York City: Arcade, 2000, 2011)

**Bernard Regan** (St. Mary's University London, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, and the National Union of Teachers)

***The Balfour Declaration: Empire, the Mandate, and Resistance in Palestine***

(Verso Books, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "The true history of the Imperial deal that transformed the Middle East and sealed Palestine's fate." Endorsed by Karma Nabulsi (Oxford), Nur Masalha (SOAS) and Moshe Machover.

***The Implementation of the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate in Palestine: Problems of Conquest and Colonisation at the Nadir of British Imperialism, 1917-1936***
(University of Surrey thesis, 2016)

**Nissim Rejwan** (*Iraq Times* [Baghdad]; *Al-Yaum* [Israel]; Tel-Aviv and Hebrew Universities)

***Outsider in the Promised Land: An Iraqi Jew in Israel***
(University of Texas Press, 247 pages, 2006)

***Israel's Years of Bogus Grandeur: From the Six-Day War to the First Intifada***
(University of Texas Press, 2006)
Foreword by **Nancy E. Berg**. Contents: An Iraqi Muslim's lament -- Kishtainy writes back -- Kishtainy comes to Jerusalem -- Rabbi Petuchowski's predicament -- The American Council for Judaism -- Trude Weiss-Rosmarin and I -- Erosion -- All doors tightly shut -- To a friend who chose to adapt -- Oft-celebrated victory -- Soul mates -- U.S. Jewry's Israel tangle -- Western vanities -- Postscript: George Steiner raises a point -- The Zionism-Judaism mix-up -- Letters to Irene Gendzier -- Nationality or pan-movement? -- Encounters: a Palestinian intellectual tells his story -- Israel versus the United States -- Tremors -- Elie Kedourie as a "Zionist historian" -- Further letters to Irene Gendzier -- Irving Howe and dissent -- Golda Meir redefines Judaism -- Moot points -- Reviews: fury misdirected -- Bible and nationality, boomerang, some uses of history, divergent problems, orthodox dissent -- A glimpse of the land of the Teutons -- Reviews: futile pursuit, news from nowhere, lost and found, Nazi delusions, perils of retrojection -- Review: the Jews of Palestine -- Letters to Esther Cohen -- Rewrites -- Reviews: little new to impart, Edward Said's reservations, misinformation, disinformation, and ignorance -- Vindications -- Review: Israel and Ishmael -- Who is a Jew? -- Responses and a rejoinder -- From Gemara to Shulhan 'Arukh -- Sacred cows no more -- "Mixing the exiles."

***The Last Jews in Baghdad: Remembering a Lost Homeland***
(University of Texas Press, 2004)

***Israel's Place in the Middle East: A Pluralist Perspective***
(University Press of Florida, 216 pages, 1998)
Contents: pt. I. The Jews and Their Neighbors -- Retrospect: Then and Now. 1. Jews and Arabs: Past and Present. Claims and Counterclaims. The Historical Record. The Myth of "Arab Anti-Semitism" Christianity's Inroads. Islam and the Jews: Theory and Reality. History, Historiography, and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy. 2. Jews and Arabs: The Cultural Heritage. A Formative Period. Judeo-Arabic: Origins, Influence on Hebrew. Four Jewish Philosophers. A Literary Transformation. Maimonides and His Works. 3. Europe's Dark Legacy. Voluntary and Compulsory Ghettos: Jews as Transients. In Russia and Poland: The Ghetto's Lasting Imprint. Jews East and West. A Tale of Three Emancipated Jews -- pt. II. Israel as a Middle Eastern Country. 4. The Deeper Roots of Israel. Jews, Arabs, and Semites. Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East. One Arab's Misconceptions. 5. Ideology, Politics, and Culture. Origins. Challenges to Israeli Democracy. The Ethnopolitical Cleavage. 6. A Postnationalist Middle East. Pan-Arabism Runs its Course. Islam, Democracy, and the Peace Process. Israel's Jewish Identity. Non-Jewish Israelis and Non-Israeli Jews -- Prospect: A Changing Israel in a Pluralist Middle East.

***The Jews of Iraq: 3000 Years of History and Culture***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 274 pages, 1985; Taylor & Francis, 274 pages, 2019)
Contents: From the Assyrian Captivity to the Arab Conquest (731 bc–ad 641) -- Roots -- The Lure of Exile -- The Scribes and the Birth of the Synagogue -- The Way They Lived -- Greeks, Romans, Seleucids, Sassanians -- Family, Home and Education -- A Neat Division of Labour: Exilarch and Gaon -- From Mishnah to Talmud -- The Talmud in Action -- Babylonia Assumes Leadership -- The Encounter with Islam (641–1850) -- A Deep Sigh of Relief -- Islam and the Jews: Theory and Practice --

Baghdad's Jewish Population -- Messianism and Karaism: Rabbinic Judaism Challenged -- Saadia's Legacy -- The Last of the Geonim -- The Dark Ages of Iraqi Jewry -- Lasting Imprint -- 100 Years of Turmoil -- Recovery and Reassertion -- A Century of Radical Change (1850–1951) -- The Road to Equality -- Exilarch to Nasi to Hakham Bashi -- The Impact of Modern Education -- World War I -- Rumours of a Brave New World -- Mandate and Independence -- The Farhud and its Consequences -- Youth in Revolt -- The Politics of Extortion -- The Exodus.

**Hilda Reilly**

***Prickly Pears of Palestine: The People Behind the Politics***

(Eye Publications, 2006)

With foreword by Claire Short. "At last a book that acknowledges that there are two sides to every story. Hilda manages to present a fair and accurate picture of an oppressed nation that has been so often demonised in Western Media. At the end of the day, her story shows that behind the headlines, the Palestinians are no different from any other nation. Hilda does not patronise nor pass judgement, she simply observes. The power of the story lies in the ordinariness of Palestinian life; they are ordinary people trying to lead an ordinary life under extraordinary conditions. It is a timely piece that goes a long way to explaining how the world has arrived at what is euphemistically called "clash of civilisations". This is a must read for anyone wanting to understand the extraordinary juncture of history at which we find ourselves." – Waseem Mahmood OBE.

**Tanya Reinhart** *[Yediot Aharonot* columnist and linguist professor at Tel-Aviv University; former student of Noam Chomsky]

***The Road Map to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine Since 2003***

(Verso Books, 2006)

Unpacking the intended failure of the Oslo Accords.

***Israel / Palestine: How to End the War of 1948***

(New York City: Seven Stories Press, 2002/Penguin-Random House 2004, 2006)

**Jehuda Reinharz** (Brandeis University) and **Motti Golani** (Chaim Weizmann Institute, Tel-Aviv University)

***Chaim Weizmann: A Biography***

(Brandeis University Press, 820 pages, 2024)

Translated by **Haim Watzman**.

**Nira Reiss**

***The Health Care of the Arabs in Israel***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press / International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 212 pages, 1991)

Focus on the comparative status of Arab Palestinians and Jews in Israeli health care.

**Stewart Reiser**

***The Israeli Arms Industry: Foreign Policy, Arms Transfers, and Military Doctrine of a Small State***

(New York City: Holmes & Meier, 252 pages, 1989)

***The Politics of Leverage: The National Religious Party of Israel and its Influence on Foreign Policy***

(Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 90 pages, 1984)

**Yitzhak Reiter** (Ashkelon Academic College)

***Contested Holy Places in Israel-Palestine: Sharing and Conflict Resolution***
(Routledge, 2017)
The author analyses fourteen case studies of conflicts over holy sites in Palestine/Israel, including major holy sites such as Al-Haram al-Sharif/the Temple Mount, the Western Wall and the Cave of the Patriarchs/Al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, in addition to disputes over more minor sites. It then compares these conflicts to similar cases from other regions and provides an analysis of effective and ineffective conflict mitigation and resolution tools used for dealing with such disputes.

***National Minority, Regional Majority: Palestinian Arabs versus Jews in Israel***
(Syracuse University Press, 2009)

***Islamic Endowments in Jerusalem under the British Mandate***
(Frank Cass, 1996)

**Nissim Rejwan** (Iraqi Jewish Israeli, former columnist for the *Jerusalem Post* and editor of the Histradut's *Al Yawm*)

***Outsider in the Promised Land: An Iraqi Jew in Israel***
(University of Texas Press, 247 pages, 2006, 2021)

***Israel's Years of Bogus Grandeur: From the Six-Day War to the First Intifada***
(University of Texas Press, 2006)
With foreword by **Nancy E. Berg**. Mostly diary entries, with insights into and correspondence with mainly Jewish intellectuals critical of Zionism, 1967-1988. Subjects include Irene Gendzier, AB Yehoshua, Rabbi Jakob Petuchowski, Moshe Brilliant, Yehoshafat Harkabi, Khalid Kishtainy,and, critically, himself. Requires historical familiarity with Israeli Jewish authors of the period.

***Israel in Search of Identity: Reading the Formative Years***
(University of Florida Press, 188 pages, 1999)

**James Renton** (University College London)

***The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 1914-1918***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

**Reporters Without Borders**

***Israel/Palestine: The Black Book***
(Pluto Press/RWB, 2003)
Translation of: *Israel-Palestine, le livre noir*, originally published in Paris, 2002. Contents: Jocelyn Grange – Introduction / Amnesty International – *Killings Committed by Israelis* / B'Tselem – *Excessive Force by Israeli Defence Forces* / B'Tselem – *House Demolitions and Destruction of Agricultural Land* / Reporters Without Borders – *Israeli Violations of Freedom of the Press* / Amnesty International – *The Heavy Price of Israeli Incursions* / International Federation of Human Rights Leagues – *Operation Defensive Shield* / Human Rights Watch – *Operation Defensive Shield, Jenin* / Reporters Without Borders – *The Israeli Army Turns on the Media, 29 March-15 June 2002* / Public Committee Against Torture in Israel – *Torture in Israel* / International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH) – *The Status of the Palestinian Minority in Israel* / Amnesty International – *Killings Committed by Palestinians* / Amnesty International – *Palestinian Attacks on Israeli Civilians* / Human Rights Watch – *Shortcoming of the Palestinian Justice System* / Palestinian Centre for Human Rights – *The Right to Free Expression in Palestine* / Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group – *The Death Penalty in Palestine* / Reporters Without Borders – *Press Freedom Violations by the Palestinian Authority*

**Reut Institute** (Israeli quasi-state lobby group with many publications)

***Declaration of Palestinian Statehood: An Unparalleled Political Opportunity?***
(Tel Aviv: Reut Institute, 2011)

***Building a Political Firewall against Israel's Delegitimization: Conceptual Framework***
(Tel Aviv: Reut Institute, 92 pages, 2010)
Israeli policy thinktank, which coined the term 'delegitimization' as anti-Zionist.

***Who Should be the Interlocutor: the PLO or the Palestinian Authority?***
(Tel Aviv: Reut Institute, 2005)

***Catch 22: Hamas and the Palestinian Elections***
(Tel Aviv: Reut Institute, 2005)

**John Reynolds**

***Where Villages Stood: Israel's Continuing Violations of International Law in Occupied Latroun, 1967-2007***
(Ramallah: Al-Haq Publishing, 2007)

**Faisal Odeh Matlag Rfouh**

***Quest for Peace: The United Nations and Palestine***
(New Delhi: National Book Organisation, 1986)

**Joana Ricarte** (University of Coimbra, Portugal)

***The Impact of Protracted Peace Processes on Identities in Conflict: The Case of Israel and Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 256 pages, 2022)
Topics include the Cold War and Oslo Accords periods. Available both as a printed book and as a free download from Springer.

**Simone Ricca**

***Reinventing Jerusalem: Israel's Reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter after 1967***
(IB Tauris, 258 pages, 2007)

***The Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem: Analysis of the Destruction and Reconstruction since 1967***
(thesis, Exeter University, 2 volumes, 2003)
Available via the EthOS system.

**Ernest Tatham Richmond** aka **E.T. Richmond** (British Mandate Press Secretary under Herbert Samuel)

***Dictatorship in the Holy Land***
(Arab National Office for Public Enlightenment, 24 pages, ca. 1938)

**William Harvey**: ***Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem***
(Oxford University Press, 30 pages, 1935)
Introduction by **E.T. Richmond**

**William Harvey**: ***Structural Survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem – Final Report***
(Oxford University Press, 27 pages, 1935)
Introduction by **E.T. Richmond**

***The Sites of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection***

(London: Catholic Truth Society, 40 pages, 1934)

***Provisional Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments – Published in the Official Gazette Extraordinary of the 15th June, 1929***
(Palestine: Government of Palestine, 264 pages, 1929)

***Moslem Architecture, 623-1516: Some Causes and Consequences***
(Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 159 pages, 1926)

***The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem: A Description of its Structure and Decoration***
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 111 pages, 1924)

**Amal Rifa'I** & **Odelia Ainbinde**, edited by **Sylke Tempe**
***We Just Want to Live Here***
(Turtleback, 2003)
Letters between an Arab Palestinian teenager and a Jewish Israeli teenager.

**Lewis Rifkind** (Zionist historian)
***Zionism and Judaism***
(Letchworth: Garden City Press, ca. 1937)

***Zionism & Socialism***
(London: Jewish Socialist Labour Party, 20 pages, 1918)
Includes essays and addresses.

**Andrew Rigby** (Coventry University)
With **Marwan Darweish** (Coventry University): ***Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future Unarmed Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 225 pages, 2015 / Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018)

***The First Palestinian Intifada Revisited***
(Sparsnas, Sweden: Irene Publishing, 346 pages, 2015)
Revised and updated version of *Living the Intifada* (Zed Books, 233 pages, 1991)

***Palestinian Resistance: Nonviolence***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestine Academy for Study of International Affairs, 2010)

***The Legacy of the Past: The Problem of Collaborators and the Palestinian Case***
(Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestine Academy for Study of International Affairs, 94 pages, 1997)

***Palestinian Education: The Future Challenge***
(Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs/PASSIA, 53 pages, 1995)

With **Marwan Darweish** (Coventry University): ***Palestinians in Israel: Nationality and Citizenship***
(University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, 1995)

***Economic Aspects of the Intifada***
(Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 28 pages, 1988)

**Abraham Mitrie Rihbany**
***Wise Men from the East and from the West***
(Houghton Mifflin, 1922 / as by '**Rihbani**', Andrew Melrose, 1923)

Chapter 21: *Zionism – A New Eastern Problem*

**Kenneth Ring** (University of Connecticut) & **Ghassan Abdullah** (Birzeit University and NGOs)
***Letters from Palestine: Palestinians Speak Out about Their Lives, Their Country, and the Power of Nonviolence***
(Wheatmark, 2010)

**Michael Riordon** (Documentary filmmaker)
***Our Way to Fight: Peace-Work under Siege in Israel-Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "This book follows the dangerous lives of peace activists in Israel and Palestine. It explores the crises that stirred them to act, the risks they face, and the small victories that sustain them. Michael Riordon takes us to thousand year-old olive groves, besieged villages, refugee camps, checkpoints and barracks. In the face of deepening conflict, Our Way to Fight offers courageous grassroots action on both sides of the wall, and points the way to a liveable future."

**Carl Ritter** (1779-1859)
***The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula***
(Four volumes, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1866 / St Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1972)
Translated from the German of *Die Erdkunde*, and adapted to the use of Biblical students by William L. Gage (1832-1889).

**Edward Rizk**
***The Palestine Question: Seminar of Arab Jurists on Palestine***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 203 pages, 1968)
Translated from French.

***The Arabs: Some Basic Facts***
(London: Arab Information Centre, 13 pages, ca. 1963)

**Edward Keith-Roach** (Deputy District Commissioner, Jerusalem Division)
***Pasha of Jerusalem: Memoirs of a District Commissioner under the British Mandate***
(Radcliffe Press, 244 pages, 1954, 1994)
Edited by **Paul Eedle**.

As editor, with **Harry Charles Luke** (Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine): ***The Handbook of Palestine***
(MacMillan, 1922) / ***The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*** (MacMillan, 1930, 1934)
Issued under the authority of the Government of Palestine and for sale in Jerusalem bookshops.
With introductions by **Sir John Chancellor**, High Commissioner for Palestine and Trans-Jordan and the **Sir Herbert Samuel**, former High Commissioner for Palestine.

**Jo Roberts** (editor-Israel/West Bank correspondent for North American press)
***Contested Land, Contested Memory: Israel's Jews and Arabs and the Ghosts of Catastrophe***
(Dundurn, 2013)

**Nicholas E. Roberts**
***Islam under the Palestine Mandate: Colonialism and the Supreme Muslim Council***
(IB Tauris, due 2016) Britain's cynical management of religious law to maintain the status quo.

See also: Uri M. Kupferschmidt

**Rebecca Roberts** (UNHCR, Al Najdeh Social Society aka Association Najdeh)

***Palestinians in Lebanon: Refugees Living with Long-Term Displacement***
(IB Tauris, 241 pages, 2010)
A constantly insightful, ten-year overview of the 12 Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, noting issues of education, mental health, home violence, mediation, conflict resolution, and other aspects of long term displacement. Author advocates de-politicisation of Palestinian community as a means to investment and development.

**Glenn E Robinson**

***Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution***
(Indiana University Press, 1997)

**Shira N. Robinson** aka **Shira Nomi Robinson** (George Washington University)

***Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Settler State***
(Stanford University Press, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Following the 1948 war and the creation of the state of Israel, Palestinian Arabs comprised just fifteen percent of the population but held a much larger portion of its territory. Offered immediate suffrage rights and, in time, citizenship status, they nonetheless found their movement, employment, and civil rights restricted by a draconian military government put in place to facilitate the colonization of their lands. *Citizen Strangers* traces how Jewish leaders struggled to advance their historic settler project while forced by new international human rights norms to share political power with the very people they sought to uproot. For the next two decades Palestinians held a paradoxical status in Israel, as citizens of a formally liberal state and subjects of a colonial regime. Neither the state campaign to reduce the size of the Palestinian population nor the formulation of citizenship as a tool of collective exclusion could resolve the government's fundamental dilemma: how to bind indigenous Arab voters to the state while denying them access to Its resources. More confounding was the tension between the opposing aspirations of Palestinian political activists. Was it the end of Jewish privilege they were after, or national independence along with the rest of their compatriots in exile? As Shira Robinson shows, these tensions in the state's foundation—between privilege and equality, separatism and inclusion—continue to haunt Israeli society today."

***Occupied Citizens in a Liberal State: Palestinians under Military Rule and the Colonial Formation of Israeli Society, 1948-1966***
(PhD, Stanford University, 359 pages, 2005)
Available via UMI Dissertation Services.

**George W. Robnett**

***Zionist Rape of the Holy Land! How Zionism Turned Palestine into a Jewish State***
(Pasadena, California: Crown City Publishing, 413 pages, 1976)
Original title: ***Conquest through Immigration***.

**Laura Robson** (Portland State University)

As co-editor, with **Arie M. Dubnov**: ***Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism***
(Stanford University Press, 2019)
Contains: **Motti Golani**: *The Meat and the Bones: Reassessing the Origins of the Partition of Mandate Palestine* / **Lucy Chester**: *Close Parallels?: Interrelated Discussions of Partition in South Asia and the Palestine Mandate (1936-1948)* / **Penny Sinanoglou**: *Analogical Thinking and Partition in British Mandate Palestine* / **Adi**

**Gordon**: *Rejecting Partition: the Imported Lessons of Palestine's Binational Zionists* / **Joel Beinin**: *Arab Liberal Intellectuals and the Partition of Palestine*.

***States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East***
(University of California Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "*States of Separation* tells how the interwar Middle East became a site for internationally sanctioned experiments in ethnic separation enacted through violent strategies of population transfer and ethnic partition. During Britain's and France's interwar occupation of Iraq, Palestine, and Syria, the British and French mandate governments and the League of Nations undertook a series of varied but linked campaigns of ethnic removal and separation targeting the Armenian, Assyrian, and Jewish communities within these countries. Such schemes served simultaneously as a practical method of controlling colonial subjects and as a rationale for imposing a neo-imperial international governance, with long-standing consequences for the region. Placing the histories of Iraq, Palestine, and Syria within a global context of state systems intent on creating new forms of international authority, in *States of Separation* Laura Robson sheds new light on the emergence of ethnic separatism in the modern Middle East."

As editor: ***Minorities and the Modern Arab World: New Perspectives***
(Syracuse University Press, 2016) –
Includes the editor's own chapter: *Arab Christians in Twentieth Century Palestine*

***Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2011-2012 / Wiley & Sons, 2013)
Author argues that the British transformed Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious identities into legal categories, ultimately marginalising the Christians.

**Bryan K. Roby**

***The Mizrahi Era of Rebellion: Israel's Forgotten Civil Rights Struggle, 1948-1966***
(Syracuse University Press, 256 pages, 2015)

**James Rodgers**

***Headlines from the Holy Land: Reporting the Israeli-Palestine Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
Publisher's blurb "Based on new archive research and original interviews with leading correspondents and diplomats. Inspired by the author's own experience as the BBC's correspondent in Gaza from 2002-2004, and subsequent research, this book draws on the insight of those who have spent years observing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Starting from a historical perspective, it identifies the challenges the conflict presents for contemporary journalism and diplomacy, and suggests new ways of approaching them."

***No Road Home: Fighting for Land and Faith in Gaza***
(Abramis, 2013)

***Reporting Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

**Maxime Rodinson** (Noted anti-Zionist, Marxist historian)

***Israel and the Arabs***
(Penguin, 1968, 1982)
Translated by **Michael Perl.**

***Israel – A Colonial Settler State?***
(Anchor Found/Monad Pathfinder, 1973)

Translated by **David Thorstad**. First published in 1967 in *Le Conflit Israelo-Arabe*, a special issue of *Les Temps Moderne*. Perhaps the first book author to use the phrase "colonial settler state," defining "The European-American movement of expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whose aim was to settle new inhabitants among other peoples or to dominate them economically and politically." Rodinson was sympathetic of the Zionist settlers of his day, striving to understand them and not simply writing them off as "monsters."

***The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine, 1897-1971***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina University Press International, 1971)

**Neil Rogall**

***Israel – The Making of a Racist State***
(Revolutionary Socialism, 50 pages, 2018)

**Eugene Rogan** (Director, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford)

***The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East, 1914-1920***
(485pp, Allen Lane, 2015 / 512pp, Basic Books, 2015/2016)

***The Arabs – A History***
(608pp, Basic Books, 2011 / Penguin, 714 pages, 2012)

As co-editor, with **Avi Shlaim**: ***The War in Palestine – Rewriting the History of 1948***
(Cambridge University Press, 234 pages, 2001, 2007)
Contents: Palestinians and 1948 : the underlying causes of failure / Rashid Khalidi -- Revisiting the Palestinian exodus of 1948 / Benny Morris -- Druze and the birth of Israel / Laila Parsons -- Israel and the Arab coalition in 1948 / Avi Shlaim -- Jordan and 1948 : the persistence of an official history / Eugene L. Rogan -- Iraq and the 1948 War : mirror of Iraq's disorder / Charles Tripp -- Egypt and the 1948 War : internal conflict and regional ambition / Fawaz A. Gerges -- Syria and the Palestine War : fighting King 'Abdullah's "Greater Syria plan" / Joshua Landis -- Afterword : the consequences of 1948 / Edward W. Said.

**Mary Eliza Rogers** (London)

***Domestic Life in Palestine***
(Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 436pages, 1865)
Available digitally via the Hathi Trust Digital Library. Observations of various religious groups, schools, family life, and topics include "Arab Ladies' Toilette", "European Homes in Jerusalem", "Fruit Gardens of Yafa", "Mosaic Pavement", "Bedouin's Song", "The People of Haifa", "The Olive Harvest", "Funeral Dances", "Horse-Guards of Galilee", and "Willow-pattern Cheese-plates".

**Livia Rokach**

***The Catholic Church and the Question of Palestine***
(Saqi Books, 1987)
The relationship between the Vatican (not recognising the state of Israel) and Israel, 1890s-1980s.

***Israel's Sacred Terrorism: A Study Based on Moshe Sharett's "Personal Diary" and other Documents***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG Press / Association of Arab American University Graduates, 68 pages, 1980, 3rd ed. 1986)
See also the English translation of the Sharett diaries (2019)

**Elana Seif Romahi**

***Chronic Refugeehood and its Impact on the Education of Palestinian Children in Jordanian Refugee Camps***

(University of Bristol,91pages, 2007)

University Thesis.

**Manfred Ropschitz**, Editor

***Volunteers for Palestine, Papers 1977-1980***

(Kefar Shemaryahu (Israel): Key (Miftah, 152 pages, 1982

Contains **Roland Rance**: *Descent from Mount Zion.*

**John Rose** (London Metropolitan University)

***The Myths of Zionism***

(Pluto Press, 2004)

***Israel – The Hijack State: America's Watchdog in the Middle East***

(Bookmarks, 1986)

**John H. Melkon Rose**

***Armenians of Jerusalem: Memories of Life in Palestine***

(Radcliffe Press, 1993)

**Dr. Marcus Rose**

***The Complete History of the Palestinian People: 4000 Years of Art, Music and Tradition***

(no publisher/author, 2012, etc)

Book of blank pages sold to Zionists.

**Norman Rose**

***A Senseless, Squalid War: Voices from Palestine, 1890s to 1948***

(Bodley Head, 2009 / Vintage, 2010)

Analysis of British Mandate rule, with an emphasis after the conclusion of the Second World War.

***The Gentile Zionists: A Study of Anglo-Zionist Diplomacy, 1929-1939***

(Routledge, 1973 / 2006)

Contains the minutes of a 1930 telephone conversation between Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and Chaim Weizmann, to replace the Passfield White Paper (published 21 October 1930, then debated in the House of Commons on 17 November 1930) with what became known as "The Black Letter."

**Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman** (Bar-Ilan University)

***Birthrate Politics in Zion: Judaism, Nationalism, and Modernity under the British Mandate***

(Indiana University Press, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Despite both national and traditional imperatives to have many children, the birthrate of the Jewish community in British Mandate Palestine declined steadily from 1920-1948. During these years Jews were caught in contradictions between political and social objectives, religion, culture, and individual needs. Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman takes a deep and detailed look at these diverse and decisive issues, including births and abortions during this period, the discourse about birthrate, and practical attempts to implement policies to counter the low birthrate. Themes that emerge include the effect of the Holocaust, economics, ethnicity, efforts by public figures to increase birthrate, and the understanding that women in the society were viewed as entirely responsible for procreation. Providing a deep examination of the day-to-day lives of Jewish families in British Mandate Palestine, this book

shows how political objectives are not only achieved by political agreements, public debates, and battlefields, but also by the activities of ordinary men, women, and families."

**Bernard A. Rosenblatt**

***Social Zionism: Selected Essays***

(New York City: 151 pages, 1919)

Introduction by Judge Julian Mack. Essays on 'social 655anhedr', 'a social commonwealth in Palestine', 'Jewish law and a 655anhedrin', 'a Jewish industrial army', 'Zionist state and the land problems', 'a Jewish commonwealth in Zion', by Bernard Rosenblatt (1886-1969): "In 1919 he accompanied Felix Frankfurter to the Versailles Peace Conference to assist his efforts to have a clause included in the Palestine Mandate opposing land speculation. He became a New York City magistrate in 1921 and was elected to the World Zionist Executive that same year. He floated the first Palestinian municipal bonds in the United States, the forerunner of the Israel Bond campaign. Mr. Rosenblatt served at various times as president of the Jewish National Fund and Keren Haysod aka Keren Hayesod and was a vice president and honorary Secretary of the Zionist Organization of America. He was an officer of several Jewish business enterprises in Palestine and was the first president of the American Zion Commonwealth, a land purchasing and settlement agency he founded in 1915 which established the communities of Balfouria, Afule and Herzlia and the Haifa Bay Settlement in Palestine. " – JTA [Jewish Telegraphic Agency] obituary, October 16, 1969. See also the Jewish National Fund.

**Dennis Ross** (the leading US Diplomatic advocate for Israel in effecting the Oslo Accords; founding president of the Jewish People Policy Institute, a Jerusalem-based think tank))

***Doomed to Succeed: The US-Israel Relationship from Truman to Obama***

(New York City: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 474 pages, 2015; 486 pages, 2016)

***The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace***

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 880 pages, 2005)

Numerous other titles.

**Ernie Ross, MP**

***The Position of the Labour Party Towards the Question of Jerusalem***

(Dunblane: Islamic Research Society, 1998)

"This document was delivered as an opening address at the 1997 International Academic Conference on Islamic Jerusalem organised by the Islamic Research Academy (IRAP) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London on 2 September 1997."

**Alvin H. Rosenfeld**, editor (Indiana University)

***Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: The Dynamics of Deligitimization***

(Indiana University Press, 508 pages, 2019)

An example of numerous books about how anti-Zionism is considered by Zionist Jews to be a cover for antisemitism.

**Maya Rosenfeld**

***Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp***

(Stanford University Press, 376 pages, 2004)

PhD Thesis, University of California at Berkeley.

**Jack Ross**, editor

***Liberal Jewish Anti-Zionism: The American Council for Judaism***
(De Gruyter, 285 pages, 2025)
With an introduction by **Mark Glickman**. Contributors include **Rabbi Elmer Berger**, **Alfred Lilienthal**, **Irving Reichert**, **Morris Lazaron** and **Judah Magnes**.

***Rabbi Outcast: Elmer Berger and the American Jewish Anti-Zionism***
(Washington DC: Potomac Books, 233 pages, 2011)

**Eugene Victor Rostow**

***The Future of Palestine***
(Washington DC, National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1993)

***Palestinian Self-Determination: Possible Futures for Unallocated Territories of the Palestine Mandate***
(Yale Studies in World Public Order, no. 5,

As editor: ***The Middle East – Critical Choices for the United States***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, 1976)

**Robert L. Rotberg**

***Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix***
(Indiana University Press, 296 pages, 2006)
Contributors: Sami Adwan, Dan Bar-On, Mordechai Bar-On, Daniel Bar-Tal, Nathan J. Brown, Saleh Abdel Jawad, Eyal Naveh, Ilan Pappe, Dina Porat, Robert I. Rotberg, Nadim N. Rouhana, Gavriel Salomon, and Mark Tessler.

**Ben Rothenberg**

***The Struggle for Jerusalem: A Picture Story***
(Tel Aviv: La'am Israel Publishing, 156 pages, ca 1950)
Photographic history of Jerusalem during the second half of the 1940s in the Zionists' struggle against the British Mandatory Government; in English and Hebrew.

**Celia Rothenberg** (McMaster University)

***On Doing Field Work in Palestine***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book, based on the author's ethnographic fieldwork in the Palestinian West Bank from 1995 to 1996, aims to provide an honest, authentic, and accurate accounting of the nitty-gritty, day-to-day challenges, rewards, failures, and successes of doing fieldwork in a conservative village setting. By focusing on the intimate, typically obscured aspects of the fieldwork experience this memoir is intended for students planning to do fieldwork in any locale."

**Gunther E. Rothenberg**

***The Anatomy of the Israeli Army: The Israel Defence Force, 1948-1978***
(London: Batsford / New York City: Hippocrene Books, 256 pages, 1979)

**Bernard Rougier** (Sorbonne Paris III University)

***Everyday Jijad: The Rise of Militant Islam among Palestinians in Lebanon***
(Harvard University Press, 333 pages, 2007)
Translated by **Pascale Ghazaleh** from the original 2004 French edition (Presses Universitaires de France). Contents: The Salafist dynamic – From Iranian influence to Sunni affirmation – Islamism

from Peshawar to Ain al-Hellweh – The struggle against al-Ahbash – Civil war ideology – The struggle to control the camp – Preaching topics – The role of Islamic institutes in Lebanon – Underground jihad in Sir al-Diniyeh.

**Nicholas Rowe** (Australian Ballet, Sydney Dance Company, Finnish National Ballet, Ballet Philippines, Modern Dance Turkey, and other troupes)

***Raising Dust: A Cultural History of Dance in Palestine***
(IB Tauris, 2010)
Covers period from the late Ottoman era (1800) to the present. Note: See journalism in *Dance Research Journal, Research in Dance Education, Dance Europe, Dancing Times, Dance Australia,* the *Jerusalem Times,* and *This Week in Palestine.*

**John Wilhelm Rowntree** (1865-1905, noted chocolate manufacturer and Quaker activist)

***Palestine Notes and Other Papers***
(London: Headley Brothers, 274 pages, 1906)
Edited by **Joshua Rowntree**. Travel memoir of 1895, with 60 pages of focus on Palestine: "Jerusalem lives on the piety and credulity of pilgrims, and has indeed no trade but religion, - no doubt to many here a profitable one." He relates how one woman – English or American – believed, like many, that the resurrection would occur on the Mount of Olives, and so she climbed it every day with tea-making equipment, to be able to offer Jesus a cup.

**Sara Roy** (Harvard University)

***Unsilencing Gaza: Reflections on Resistance***
(Pluto Press, 304 pages, 2021)

***Failing Peace: Gaza and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Pluto Books, 2006) Includes the author's "Oslo autopsy" and how the agreement excused Israel from International Law.

***The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of a De-Development***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995, 2001, 2004)
The author examines in detail the political economy of the Gaza Strip since the Israeli occupation in 1967. Providing a historical context for Israeli economic policy, Roy argues that despite certain economic benefits that have accrued to the Gaza Strip as a result of its interaction with Israel, Israeli policy in the Strip has been guided by political concerns that not only hindered, but blocked internal economic development. The first study of its kind to investigate fully Palestinian economic development in Gaza.

***The Gaza Strip: A Demographic, Economic, Social and Legal Survey***
(Jerusalem: West Bank Database Project, 1986)
Covers agriculture, industry, health, legal issues, Israeli settlements in Gaza, etc.

**Stephen Royle** (former Palestinian Prime Minister advisor)

***Islamic Development in Palestine: A Comparative Study***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book assesses the capabilities of an Islamic approach in aiding self-organisation by examining the case of the occupied Palestinian territories in conjunction with a comparative analysis of four other nations. Three main mechanisms of Islamic development are explored; finance, microfinance and charity. Identifying the need to recognise the non-linear nature of societal interaction at the individual, community and state levels, the book uses complexity theory to better understand

development. It assesses the role of Islamic development at macro and micro levels and identifies issues with rigid and hierarchical policy making."

**Trevor Royle**

***Orde Wingate: Irregular Soldier***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1995)

**Sharon Rotbard**

***White City – Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa***
(Pluto, 272 pages, 2015, 2025)
Contents: White City, Black City is a story of two intertwining narratives which reveals the hidden history of the region where now stands modern-day Tel Aviv. The new architectural landscape of this city, its Bauhaus-influenced modernist architecture glittering white, represents one side of the story, that of the White City, which rose from the sparse sand dunes to house a new Jewish society. But there is a second story that of the Black City of Jaffa, the traces of which lie on the outskirts of the region, and which are rarely mentioned. In this book, Sharon Rotbard blows apart this palimpsest in a clear, fluent and challenging style, which promises to force the reality of what so many have praised as progress into the mainstream discourse. White City, Black City is, all at once, an angry uncovering of a vanished history, a book mourning the loss of an architectural heritage, a careful study in urban design and a beautifully written narrative history. It is in all senses a political book, but one that expands beyond the typical. "It is not exactly a study of history or architecture… But it is compelling as a ghost story, in which the perpetual fictions created about Tel Aviv cannot obscure its past." – Tom Sperlinger, *Electronic Intifada*

**Michael Rothberg**

***The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators***
(Stanford University Press, 268 pages, 2019)
Tangential to Gaza.

**Nadim H. Rouhana** (Tufts University)

As co-editor, with **Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem / Queen Mary University London)
***When Politics are Sacrilized: Comparative Perspectives on Religious Claims and Nationalism***
(Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Focus on Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Northern Ireland, Iran, Serbia, India, etc. Contents of the Palestinian section: Nadim H. Rouhana & Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian: *A Comparative Perspective on Religious Claims and Sacrilized Politics* / Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin: *Religion and Nationalism in the Jewish and Zionist Context* / Nadim N. Rouhana: *Religious Claims and Nationalism in Zionism* / Yaacov Yadgar: *On the Uses and Abuses of Tradition* / Yagil Levy: *The Relations between the Nationalization of Israel's Politics and the Religionization of its Military, 1948-2016* / Naders Shalhoub-Kevorkian: *Sacralized Politics*

As co-editor, with **Sahar S. Huneidi** (historian / editor East West Publications, author of *A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians,* IB Tauris, 2001): ***Israel and its Palestinian Citizens: Ethnic Privileges in the Jewish State***
(Cambridge University Press, 2017)
Contents: Nadim N. Rouhana: *The Psychopolitical Foundations of Ethnic Privileges in the Jewish State* / Ian S. Lustick & Matthew Berkman: *Zionist Theories of Peace in the Pre-State Era: Legacies of Dissimulation and Israel's Arab Minority* / Hillel Cohen: *The First Israeli Government (1948-1950) and the Arab Citizens: Equality in Discourse, Exclusion in Practice* / Yair Bauml: *Israel's Military Rule over its Palestinian Citizens (1948-1969): Shaping the Israeli Segregation System* / Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian: *Settler Colonialism, Surveillance and Fear* / Ahmad H. Sa'di: *Palestinian Social Movement and Protest within the Green Line: 1949-2001* / Nadim N. Rouhana & Areej Sabbagh-Khoury: *Memory and the Return of History in a Settler-Colonial Context: The Case of*

*the Palestinians in Israel.* Publisher's blurb: "This volume presents new perspectives on Israeli society, Palestinian society, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Based on historical foundations, it examines how Israel institutionalizes ethnic privileging among its nationally diverse citizens. Arab, Israeli, and American contributors discusses the paradoxes of democratic claims in ethnic states, as well as dynamics of social conflict in the absence of equality. This book advances a new understanding of Israel's approach to the Palestinian citizens, covers the broadest range of areas in which Jews and Arabs are institutionally differentiated along ethnic basis, and explicates the psychopolitical foundations of ethnic privileges. It will appeal to students and scholars who seek broader views on Israeli society and its relationship with the Arab citizens, and want to learn more about the status of the Palestinian citizens in Israel and their collective experience as both citizens and settler-colonial subjects.

***Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict***
(Yale University Press, 1997)

**Adam L. Rovner**
***In the Shadow of Zion: Promised Lands before Israel***
(New York University Press, 2014)
Chapters include: Noah's Ark on the Niagara; Angolan Zion,;New Jerusalem, Down Under.

**Lucy Royal-Dawson**
***Meeting Human Rights Obligations in a Situation of Conflict: The right to Higher Education in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Queen's University Belfast, 2016)
University thesis.

**Royal Institute of International Affairs** aka **Chatham House**
***Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1936 /1939 /1945***
(RIIA & Oxford University Press, 1936, 1939, 1945)

**Barry Rubin** (Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies; Editor, *Middle East Review of International Affairs*)
***The Transformation of Palestinian Politics***
Harvard University Press, 304 pages, 1999)
Analysis of Palestinian party divisions since 1993.

***Israel, The Palestinian Authority and the Arab States***
(Ramat Gan: Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, 24 pages, 1998)

***Revolution until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO***
(Harvard University Press, 271 pages, 1994)

***The PLO: Between Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: Background and Recent Development***
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 37 pages, 1993)

***The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict***
(Syracuse University Press, 1981)
Contents: The bitter legacy of defeat: 1948-81 – Zionists, Heshemites, and Pan-Syrians: 1897-1930 – Entrance of the Arab kings: 1931-36 – Domestic politics and Palestine: Iraq and Egypt – The general strike and the British invitation: 1936 – Opposition to partition, support for revolt: 1937-38 – Partition abandoned, compromise denied: 1938-39 – Fortunes and misfortunes of war: 1939-42 – The division over unity: 1943-45 – The failure of Arab diplomacy: 1946-47 – The perils of partition: 1947-48 – The slippery road to war: January – May 1948 – Abdallah's perilous peace-making: 1948-51 – Egypt's revolution, Israel, and America: 1950-56.

**Gerry Rubin**

***Murder Mutiny and the Military: British Court Martial Cases 1940-1960***
(Francis Bootle Publishers, 2005)
Over 20 Empire-wide cases, including Palestine, many having generated public interest back in the day.

**Cheryl Rubenberg** (Florida International University)

As editor: ***Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2010)
3 volumes.

***The Palestinians: In Search of a Just Peace***
(Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2003)

***Palestinian Women: Patriarchy and Resistance in the West Bank***
(Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2001)

***Israel and the American national Interest: A Critical Examination***
(University of Illinois Press, 1989)

***Palestine Liberation Organization: Its Institutional Infrastructure***
(Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute of Arab Studies, 66 pages, 1983)
A period organizational line-chart of the PLO: Central Council & Executive Committee, with Cabinet posts, plus the Military Dept of the Unions Resistance organization and Commando Groups (Fatah, PFLP, ALF, DFLP aka PDFLP, Saiqa). Chapters: Historical background; Political Institutions of the PLO; Themes of Palestinian social institutions; the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS, recognised by the Palestinian National Council/PLO in Cairo, 1 September 2969); SAMED (Palestine Martyrs Works Society); Arts & Culture; Popular organizations; Social affairs & welfare; Education; Conclusion; Appendices: (A) Assaulting the Palestine Research Center; (B) the Fate of the Palestine Red Crescent; Tables & Charts: Composition of the 1980 Council; 1981 Executive Committee; PRCS Services for 1981; SAMED output. The author briefly discusses the Marxism of George Habash in the PLO. Note: SAMED began in Amman in 1970, transferring to Beirut in 1971, providing some employment for Palestinians and Lebanese.

**Leonard Rubenstein** (Johns Hopkins University)

***Perilous Medicine: The Struggle to Protect Health Care from the Violence of War***
(Columbia University Press, 2021)
With one chapter focused on Palestine.

**Sandra Miller Rubenstein** (Hofstra University; PhD from Columbia University)

***The Communist Movement in Palestine and Israel, 1919-1984***
(Routledge, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This book traces the origin and development of the communist movement in Palestine and Israel, examining in detail the problems affecting it the years preceding Israeli statehood In 1948. Focusing on these problems within the context of events in the *Ylshuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) and the International communist movement, Dr. Rubenstein 660pprox.660 unpopular positions advocated by the Communist party, its efforts to remain loyal to Moscow's dictates, and the succession of rifts within the movement. Concludes with an overview of the communist movement in Israel today, Dr. Rubenstein explains the virtual extinction of party influence on the current Israeli political scene."

**Harold Rudolph**

***Security, Terrorism and Torture: Detainees' Rights in South Africa and Israel – A Comparative Study***
(Cape Town: Juta Publications, 270 pages, 1984)

**Arthur Ruppin** (1880-1950, to Palestine from Galicia 1908; Director of the Palestine Land Development Company; Yishuv leader who at first saw co-operation with Arab Palestinians as a practical necessity)

***Memoirs, Diaries, and Letters***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971)
Edited by **Alex Bein**.

***The Jewish Fate and the Future***
(Macmillan & Co, 1940)
Translated by **EW Dickes**.

***Three Decades of Palestine: Speeches and Papers on the Upbuilding of the Jewish National Home***
(Schocken, 1936)

***The Jews in the Modern World***
(Macmillan & Co, 1934)
An enlarged edition, in English, of *Soziologie der Juden*.

***The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation of Palestine***
(Martin Hopkinson & Co, 1926 / Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 209 pages, 1976)
Translated from German by **R.J. Feiwel**.

**Alan Rush**

***Al-Sabah: History and Genealogy of Kuwait's Ruling Family, 1752-1987***
(London: Ithaca Press, 304 pages, 1987)
Documents the sizable educated Palestinian community in Kuwait.

**Russell Tribunal on Palestine**

***The Gaza War (2014): An Inquiry into Israel's Crimes***
(Brussels / Bruxelles: Russel Tribunal on Palestine, 87 pages, 2014)
In English and French, from September 2014, with preface by **Addaf Soueif**, introduction by **Pierre Galand**, edited by **Virginie Vanhaeverbeke**, and illustrated by **Martin Rowson.**

**Michael Russell**

***Palestine, or, the Holy Land: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time***
(Nelson, 505 pages, 1851)

**Evan L. Rutherford**

***Palestinians and Israelis on Peace: Israeli Military Control, Arab Self-Rule***
(Derby Lonsdale College, 102 pages, 1978)
Reproduced from typescript.

**Sheila Ryan** and **Muhammad Hallaj**

***Palestine is, but Not in Jordan***

(Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 36 pages, 1983)
Shelia Ryan: *Palestine is, but Not in Jordan* / Muhammad Hallaj: *The Jordanization of the Palestine Question.*

**Amal Saad-Ghorayeb**
***Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion*** [aka Hizbullah]
(Pluto Press, 2002)

***The Intellectual Structure of Hizbu'llah: Preservation and Adaptation*** [aka Hizbullah]
(PhD thesis, 390 pages, University of Birmingham Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 2000)

**Bashir Saade** (American University Beirut; Edinburgh University)
***Hizbullah and the Politics of Remembrance: Writing the Lebanese Nation***
(Cambridge University Press, 176 pages, 2016)
Includes interaction with the greatest number of Palestinian refugee camp residents, the majority of whom are in Lebanon.

**Anonymous [Mark Saba]**
*The Intifada: A Message from Three Generations of Palestinians*
(Knight Financial Services [sic] / Arab Women's Association [?], 1988)

**Hasan Sa'b**
***Zionism and Racism***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Center [PLO Archives], 34 pages, 1965 or 1968)

**Michael Saba**
***The Armageddon Network***
(Amana Books, 1984)

**Areej Sabbagh-Khoury** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
***Colonizing Palestine: The Zionist Left and the Making of the Palestinian Nakba***
(Stanford University Press, 352 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Among the most progressive of Zionist settlement movements, Hashomer Hatzair proclaimed a brotherly stance on Zionist-Palestinian relations. Until the tumultuous end of the British Mandate, movement settlers voiced support for a binational Jewish-Arab state and officially opposed mass displacement of Palestinians. But, Hashomer Hatzair colonies were also active participants in the process that ultimately transformed large portions of Palestine into sovereign Jewish territory. Areej Sabbagh-Khoury investigates this ostensible dissonance, tracing how three colonies gained control of land and their engagement with Palestinian inhabitants on the edges of the Jezreel Valley/Marj Ibn 'Amer. Based on extensive empirical research in local colony and national archives, *Colonizing Palestine* offers a microhistory of frontier interactions between Zionist settlers and indigenous Palestinians within the British imperial field. Even as left-wing kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair helped lay the groundwork for settler colonial Jewish sovereignty, its settlers did not conceal the prior existence of the Palestinian villages and their displacement, which became the subject of enduring debate in the kibbutzim. Juxtaposing history and memory, examining events in their actual time and as they were later remembered, Sabbagh-Khoury demonstrates that the dispossession and replacement of the Palestinians in 1948 was not a singular catastrophe, but rather a protracted process instituted over decades. *Colonizing Palestine* traces social

and political mechanisms by which forms of hierarchy, violence, and supremacy that endure into the present were gradually created."

***Bibliography on the Palestinians in Israel and Related Issues***
(Haifa: Mada al-Carmel, 103pp, 2005)

**Issa Khalil Sabbagh** (Safad-born; Arabic sections for Voice of America and the BBC; translator for US Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter, and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger)
***As the Arabs Say!***
(Washington DC: Sabbagh Management Corp, 2-volues, 1983, 1985)

**Suha Sabbagh** (Birzeit University, founder of the Institute for Arab Women's Studies in Washington DC)
As editor: ***The Palestinian Women of Gaza and the West Bank***
(Indiana University Press, 1998)
Contents: **Joost R. Hiltermann** (Birzeit University) – *The Women's Movement During the Uprising* / **Islah Jad** (Political Science & Women's Studies, Birzeit University), translated by **Magida Abu Hassabo** – *Patterns of Relations within the Palestinian Family* / **Philippa Strum** (Political Science, City University of New York) – *West Bank Women and the Intifada, Revolution within the Revolution* / **Zahira Kamal** (Women's Affairs portfolio in the Palestinian National Authority), translated by **Ramla Khalidi** – *The Development of the Palestinian Women's Movement in the Occupied Territories: Twenty Years after the Israeli occupation* / **Ilham Abu Ghazeleh** (Women's Studies, Birzeit University) – *Gender in the Poetry of the Intifada* / **Sharif Kanaana** – *Women in the Legends of the Intifada* / **Suha Sabbagh** – Interview with **Sahar Khalifeh**, Feminist Novelist / **Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi** – Two Short Stories by a Palestinian Feminist / **Robin Morgan** (former editor of *Ms Magazine* – *Women in the Intifada* / **Suha Sabbagh** – Interview with **Dr. Eyad el-Sarraj** (Gaza psychiatrist) on gender relations during the three psycho-developmental phases under occupation / **Dima Zalatimo** (Dubai Television producer) – Interview with **Hanan Mikhail Ashwari** on the history of the women's movement / **Siham Abdullah, Amal Kharisha Barghouthi, Rita Giacaman** (Public Health, Birzeit University), **May Mistakmel Nassar, Amal Wahdan:** Comments by women activists (translated by **Nagla El-Bassiouni**) / **Rita Giacaman** & **Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London, formerly Birzeit University) – *Intifada Year Four – Notes on the Women's Movement* / **Amal Kawar** (Political Science, Utah State University) – *Palestinian Women's Activism after Oslo* / **Suha Sabbagh** – *The Declaration of Principles on Palestinian Women's Rights, an Analysis*

**Ruth Sanz Sabido** (Canterbury Christ Church University)
***The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "*The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press* provides an extensive empirical analysis of how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been constructed in British national newspapers since 1948. It traces the evolution of representations of the conflict by placing them in a historical context, with particular reference to Britain's postcolonial relation to Palestine, and by presenting an in-depth analysis of the evolution of press language, including the use of terms such as 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' to classify agents of political violence. It applies an original approach to the study of media coverage, using a Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis framework, an innovative method that examines selected case studies in relation to theories of postcolonialism and discourse. Using this unique hybrid methodology, Sanz Sabido provides a thorough and precise unpicking of a highly mediated conflict."

**Khalilah Christina Sabra**
***An Unordinary Death: The Life of a Palestinian***
(Leiden: Brill, 2006)
Suicide bombers.

**David B. Sacher**

***David K. Niles and United States Policy toward Palestine: A Case Study in American Foreign Policy***
(Harvard University thesis, 1959)
Subject was a White House advisor, 1942-1951.

**Howard M. Sachar**

***Israel and Europe: An Appraisal in History***
(Knopf/Random House, 1998)

***A History of Israel***
(Oxford University Press, 2 volumes, 1987)

**Harry Sacher** (*Manchester Guardian* journalist, I of Chaim Weizmann, and, according to JMN Jeffries, the actual drafter of the Balfour Declaration; likely contributor to weekly *Palestine: The Organ of the British Palestine Committee* (Manchester, 26 January 1917-15 April 1924); later honoured with the naming of the Harry and Michael Sacher Institute for Legislative Research and Comparative Law, at Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

***Zionist Portraits and other Essays***
(Anthony Blond Publishing, 355 pages, 1959)
Author considers Islam to be a "negation of the constructive spirit of mankind."

***Israel, The Arabs, and the Foreign Office***
(Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 24 pages, 1956)

***The Establishment of a State***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 332 pages, 1952; Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976)

***Israel – The Establishment of a State***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 332 pages, 1952)

***The Mandate and the Building of a New Palestine***
(Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 12 pages, 1943)

***Anti-semitism***
(mimeographed publication, author-published, 7 pages, ca. 1942)

***A Jewish Palestine: The Jewish Case for a British Trusteeship***
(Zionist Organisation, London Bureau, 23 pages, 1919)

***A Hebrew University for Jerusalem***
(Zionist Organisation, Zionist Pamphlets no. 4, 16 pages, 1918)

***Jewish Emancipation – The Contract Myth***
(English Zionist Federation, 24 pages, 1917)

**As editor, with Leon Simon & Samuel Landman: *Zionist Pamphlets***
(The Zionist, 1915, 1916, 1917)

As editor: ***Zionism and the Jewish Future***
(John Murray, 252pages, 1916, 1917 / Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1976)
With introduction by **Chaim Weizmann**. Contains **Norman Bentwich**: ***The Future of Palestine***.

***Zionism and the State***
(The Zionist, Zionist Pamphlets no. 5, 16 pages, 1915)

***Zionism and its Programme***
(Sherratt Publishing, Anglo-Jewish Pamphlets no. 12, 6 pages, 1912, reprint from The Sociological Review, January 1912)
See also, *The Jewish Review,* co-edited with Norman Bentwich (irregularly published newsletter, Soncino Press, no.1, June-August 1932 – no. 8, March-June 1934)

**Ahmad H. Sa'di** aka **Ahmad H. Sadi** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)
As co-editor, with **NurMasalha**: ***Decolonizing the Study of Palestine – Indigenous Perspectives and Settler Colonialism after Elia Zureik***
(Bloomsbury/IB Tauris, 304 pages, 2023)
Contents: 1. **Ahmad Sa'di**, (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel) - *Towards a Decolonization of Palestinian Studies* / 2. **Nur Masalha** (SOAS) – *Indigenous versus Colonial-Settler Toponymy and the Struggle over the Cultural and Political Geography of Palestine: The Appropriation of Palestinian Place-Names by the Israeli State* / 3. **Raef Zreik** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute) *What's the Problem with the Jewish State?* / 4. **Amal Jamal** (Tel Aviv University) – *The Epistemology of Zionist Settler Colonialism and the Ontological Securitization of Palestinians* / 5. **Ismael Abu-Saad** – Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) - *The Unfinished Zionist Settler-Colonial Conquest of its Elusive 'Last Frontier', and Indigenous Palestinian Bedouin Arab Resistance* / 6. **Areej Sabbagh-Khoury** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) – *The Paradox of Settler Colonial Citizenship in Israel* / 7. **Yasmeen Abu-Laban** (University of Alberta) – *Celebrating Survival: Palestinian Epistemes and Resisting Anti-Palestinian Racism* / 8. **Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian** ( Queen Mary University London) & **Abeer Otman** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) – *Secrecy as Colonial Violence: The Case of Occupied East Jerusalem* / 9. **Helga Tawil-Souri** (New York University) – *Israel's Telecommunications Lines and Digital Surveillance Routes* / 10. **Magid Shihade** (Dar Al-Kalima University, Palestine) – *Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Connections and Ruptures* / 11. **Marwan Darweish** (Coventry University) – *Popular Resistance in Palestine* / 12. **Sami Miaari** (Tel Aviv University) & **Dorde Miloslav** (Trinity College Dublin) – *The Effect of the Separation of the Wall on the West Bank Labour Market* / 13. **Salim Tamari** (Birzeit University) & **Eliza Zureik** (Queens University Ontario) *Palestinian Refugee Archives UNRWA and the Problem with Sources* /14. **David Lyon** (Queens University Ontario) *Liminal Lights in Dark Places: Elia Zureik's Sociological and Critical Contribution to Palestinian and Surveillance Studies.*

***Thorough Surveillance: The Genesis of Israeli Policies of Population Management, Surveillance and Political Control Towards the Palestinian Minority***
(University of Manchester Press, 225 pages, 2016.

As co-editor, with **Lila Abu-Lughod:**
***Nakba – Palestine, 1948, and Claims of Memory***
(Columbia University Press, 356pages, 2007)
Places of memory. The rape of Qula, a destroyed Palestinian village / Susan Slyomovics — Mapping the past, recreating the homeland: memories of village places in pre-1948 Palestine / Rochelle Davis — Return to half-ruins: memory, post-memory, and living history in Palestine / Lila Abu-Lughod — Modes of memory. Iterability, cumulativity and presence: the relational figures of Palestinian memory / Lena Jayyusi — Women's Nakba stories: between being and knowing / Rosemary Sayigh — The continuity of trauma and struggle: recent cinematic representations of the nakba / Haim Bresheeth-Zabner — Faultlines of memory: The secret visitations of memory / Omar Al-Qattan — Gender of Nakba Memory / Isabelle Humphries and Laleh Khalili — Memories of conquest: witnessing death in Tantura / Samera Esmeir — The politics of witness: remembering and forgetting 1948 in Shatila camp / Diana Keown Allan — Afterword: reflections on representations, history, and moral accountability / Ahmad Sadi [aka Ahmad Sa'di].

**Louay M. Safi**

***Palestine: Prophetic Principles over Prophecies***
(Author, 2011)

**Nadav Safran** (secretly CIA-funded Director of the Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies)
***Israel, the Embattled Ally***
(Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1985)

***From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967***
(Pegasus, 1969)

***The United States and Israel***
(Harvard University Press, 1963)

**Afif Safieh** (former Palestinian Ambassador to the Netherlands 1987-1990 and the UK 1990-2005; Harvard University)
***The Peace Process: From Breakthrough to Breakdown?***
(Saqi Books, 2010 / also a version by CAABU, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 2010)
Contents: 1. The PLO: The Challenge and the Response — 2. One People too Many? — 3. Dead Ends? — 4. Palestinian Peace Diplomacy — 5. Resurrecting the European Working Paper — 6. Sources of Lebanese-Palestinian Tensions — 7. Interview with Gene Sharp on Non-violent Struggle — 8. Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Foreign Affairs Committee — 9. Superpower politics and the Middle East — 10. On the Madrid Peace Process — 11. On Jerusalem — 12. Those were the days — 13. The Role of Third Parties — 14. Historical or territorial compromise — 15. From breakthrough to Breakdown? — 16. Out of Jerusalem? — 17. Fifty Years On: Achievements and Challenges — 18. On Sabeel — 19. Diplomacy: The Art of Delaying the Inevitable — 20. The End of Pre-history — 21. The International Will and the National Whim — 22. Rome and its Belligerent Sparta — 23. Letter to Prime Minister Blair — 24. On Edward Said — 25. Which Way is Forward? 26. On Yasser Arafat — 27. Anatomy of a Mission: London 1990

***In Search of a a Palestinian Identity***
(44pp, Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2005)

***On Palestinian Diplomacy***
(36pp, Palestinian General Delegation to the UK and the Office of Representation of the P.L.O. to the Holy See, c2004)
Also published in an American edition (63pp, PLO Mission to the USA, 2006)

***O Jerusalem! Christian Voices in the Holy Land***
(48pp, Palestinian General Delegation to the UK and the Office of Representation of the P.L.O. to the Holy See, 2000)

***Bethlehem 2000: Palestine Year One?***
(40pp, PLO UK Delegation, 1999)

***50 Years On: Achievements and Challenges***
(6pp, MAP, 1998)
Speech delivered to Medical Aid for Palestinians, 9 July 1998

***Children of a Lesser God?***
(36pp, PLO Delegation to the UK, ca. 1996)
Speeches: One people too many? (1985) — On the Madrid Peace Process (1991) — On Jerusalem (1994) — Those were the Days (1995) — The Role of Third Parties (1996) — Historical or Territorial

Compromise? (1997) — From Breakthrough to Breakdown? (1997) — Out of Jerusalem? (1997) — 50 years on: Achievements and Challenges (1998)

With **Albert Aghazarian** & **Bernard Sabella**: ***On the Eve of a New Millennium***
(48pp, Palestinian General Delegation to the UK and the Office of Representation of the P.L.O. to the Holy See, 1998)

With **Albert Aghazarian** & **Bernard Sabella**: ***Out of Jerusalem?***
(40pp, Palestinian General Delegation to the UK and the Office of Representation of the P.L.O. to the Holy See, 1997)
Speech
(6pp, 1995)
At LSE's Global Festival

***Events in the Middle East: Minutes of Evidence, Wednesday 24 April, 1991*** [presented to the] ***Foreign Affairs Committee***
(14pp, HMSO, 1991)

***Speech Delivered to the Haldane Society for Socialist Lawyers, November 15, 1990***
(9pp, 1990)

***One People too Many?*** Various speeches
(The Hague: 58pp, PLO, 1987)
Various speeches

Interview
(13pp, ca. 1985)
Offprint of an interview originally published in *Vivant Univers*.

**Claire Safran**

***Secret Exodus: The Untold Story of How Operation Moses Saved the Lost Tribe Ethiopian Jews***
Prentice Hall, 188 pages, 1987)
Note: Mass immigration was a result of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council's 1984 resolution that 'Zionism is racism.'

**Emile Sahliyeh**

***In Search of Leadership: West Bank Politics since 1967***
(Brookings Institution, 1988)

**Amel Said**

***Conflict, Instability and Education: An Analysis of UNRWA's Response in Providing Education in Emergencies: The Case of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon***
(Oxford Brookes University, 2009)
University thesis.

**Edward W. Said** (Columbia University; just a sample…)

**Bashir Abu-Masnneh**, editor
***After Said: Postcolonial Literary Studies in the Twenty-First Century***
(Cambridge University Press, 2018)
Theoretical essays regarding Edward Said, with an introduction by the editor.

***Reflections on Exile***
(Granta Books, 656 pages, 2012)
Commentary on other authors, including George Orwell, Naguib Mahfouz, etc.

**Tariq Ali**: ***Conversations with Edward Said***
(London & Calcutta: Seagull, 128 pages, 2005/2006)
Publisher's blurb: "In these conversations with Tariq Ali, recorded in Edward Said's Riverside Drive apartment in New York in June 1994, about a decade before he finally lost his battle with cancer, Said brings his considerable intellect and deep personal engagement to bear on some of the most troubling and volatile issues of our time as he ranges back over his own dislocated existence, his initiation into politics, his involvement with the Palestine cause, his approach to the study of culture and his pervasive love of literature and music."

With **Daniel Barenboim**: ***Parallels and Paradoxes – Explorations in Music and Society***
(Bloomsbury, 208 pages, 2004)

***From Oslo to Iraq and the Road Map***
(London: Bloomsbury/New York City: Vintage, 323 pages, 2005)
With foreword by **Tony Judt**.

***Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said***
(Bloomsbury, 2005)
Edited and with an introduction by **Gauri Viswananthan**.

***The Edward Said Reader*** aka ***The Selected Works of Edward Said, 1966-2006***
(New York City: Vintage, 2000 / Bloomsbury 2021)
Edited and with an introduction by **Moustafa Bayoumi** and **Andrew Rubin**; with preface by **Mariam C. Said**. Contents: Part I: Beginnings. The claims of individuality (1966) ; The Palestinian experience (1968-1969) ; Molestation and authority in narrative fiction (1971) – Part II: Orientalism and after. Orientalism (1978) ; Introduction to orientalism (1978) ; The scope of orientalism (1978) ; Zionism from the standpoint of its victims (1979) ; Islam as news (1980) ; Traveling theory (1982) ; Secular criticism (1983) ; Permission to narrate (1984) ; Interiors (1986) ; Yeats and decolonization (1988) ; Performance as an extreme occasion (1989) ; Jane Austen and empire (1990) ; Intellectual exile: expatriates and marginals (1993) ; The Middle East "peace process": misleading images and brutal actualities (1995) – Part III: Late styles. On lost causes (1997) On writing a memoir (1999) ; The clash of definitions (2000) ; The virtuoso as intellectual (2000) ; Barenboim and the Wagner taboo (2002) ; Freud and the Non-European (2003) ; Dignity and solidarity (2003) ; The return to philology (2004) ; Timeliness and lateness (2006).

***The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After***
(New York City: Pantheon/Granta, 345 pages, 2000; 418 pages, 2002)
Contents: The first step – How much and for how long? – Where negotiations have led – Where do we go from here? – Reflections on the role of the private sector – Elections, institutions, democracy – Post-election realities – The campaign against "Islamic terror" – Modernity, information, and governance – Total rejection and total acceptance are equivalent – Mandela, Netanyahu, and Arafat – The theory and practice of banning books and ideas – On visiting Wadie – Uprising against Oslo – Responsibility and accountability – Intellectuals and the crisis – Whom to talk to – The real meaning of the Hebron Agreement – The uses of culture – Loss of precision – The context of Arafat's American visit – Deir Yassin recalled – Thirty years after – The debate continues – The next generation? – Are there no limits to corruption? – Reparations : power and conscience? – Bombs and bulldozers – Strategies of hope – Israel at a loss – Bases for coexistence – Iraq and the Middle East crisis – Isaiah Berlin : an afterthought – Palestine and Israel : a fifty-year perspective – The challenge of Isra– : fifty years on –The problem is inhumanity – Gulliver in the Middle East – Making history : constructing reality – Scenes from Palestine – End of the peace process, or beginning something else – Art, culture, and nationalism – Fifty years of dispossession – New

history, old ideas – The other Wilaya – Breaking the deadlock : a third way – The final stage – The end of the interim arrangements – Incitement – West Bank diary – Truth and reconciliation.

***Out of Place: A Memoir***
(Granta, 1999)
See also See also autobiographical works: **Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**'s ***The First Well*** and **Rega-e Busailah**'s ***In the Land of My Birth – A Palestinian Boyhood***

***Peace & Its Discontents: Gaza – Jericho, 1993-1995***
(Vintage, 1995)
With foreword by **Christophr Hitchens**. Collected journalism from *Al-Haram Weekly, Al-Hayat, Al-Arabi, London Review of Books, The Progressive,* and *The Guardian.*

***The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994***
(Chatto & Windus, 450 pages, 1994)
Compendium of pieces originally written for *The Journal of Palestine Studies, The Arab Studies Quarterly, Critical Inquiry, The New York Times, The New York Times Magazine, The New Statesman, The New Left Review, The Guardian, London Review of Books, The Los Angeles Times, The Los Angeles Times Book Review, The Nation, The Village Voice, The Christian Science Monitor, Mother Jones, The Washington Post,* and *The International Herald Tribune.*

***The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with David Barsamian*** (The Progressive Magazine)
(Edinburgh: AK Press/Toronto: Between the Lines, 1994; Chicago: Haymarket Books, 172 pages, 2010)
With an introduction by **Eqbal Ahmad**.

**Bashir Abu-Manneh** (University of Kent)
***After Said: Postcolonial Literary Studies in the Twenty-First Century***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "By the time of his death in 2003, Edward Said was one of the most famous literary critics of the twentieth century. Said's work has been hugely influential far beyond academia. As a prominent advocate for the Palestinian cause and noted cultural critic, Said redefined the role of the public intellectual. This volume explores the problems and opportunities afforded by Said's work: its productive and generative capacities as well as its in-built limitations. After Said captures the essence of Said's intellectual and political contribution and his extensive impact on postcolonial studies. It examines his legacy by critically elaborating his core concepts and arguments. Among the issues it tackles are humanism, Orientalism, culture and imperialism, exile and the contrapuntal, realism and postcolonial modernism, world literature, Islamophobia, and capitalism and the political economy of empire. It is an excellent resource for students, graduates and instructors studying postcolonial literary theory and the works of Said."

***Introduction to the Politics of Dispossession***
(author, 45 pages, 1994)

As co-editor, with **Christopher Hitchens**: ***Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question***
(Verso, 1988)
Contributors include the editors, Norman G. Finkelstein, Noam Chomsky, Peretz Kidron, GW Bowersock, Rashid Khalidi, Janet & Muhammad Abu-Lughod, and Elia and Hallaj Zureik.

***After The Last Sky: Palestinian Lives***
(Faber & Faber, 1985, 1986)
With images by UNRWA photographer **Jean Mohr**

***The Question of Palestine***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980; Fitzcarraldo Classic No. 7, 376 pages, 2024)
Four essays, mostly written 1977- early 1978.

***Orientalism***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978/1980)

As editor: ***The Arabs Today: Alternatives for Tomorrow***
(Columbus, Ohio: Forum Associates, 142 pages, 1973)
Essays from the fourth annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Boston, 29-31 October 1971.

***The Arabs Today: Alternatives for Tomorrow***
(AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1973)

**Hala Sakakini**

***Jerusalem and I: A Personal Record***
(Amman: Economic Press, 160 pages, 1990)
Book held at Oxford University and at the Institute for Palestine Studies Beirut. Contains photographs, and front cover illustration of the Sakakini family home by Sliman Mansour.

**Frank C. [Charles] Sakran**

***Palestine: Still a Dilamma***
(Ardmore, Pennsylvania: Whitmore Publishing, 1976)

***Whose Jerusalem?***
(American Council on the Middle East, 10 pages, 1968)

***And So Moscow Moved In***
(No publisher identified, 1965)
Held at Southampton University

***Palestine Dilemma: Arab Rights Versus Zionist Aspirations***
(Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 1948)
Quotes HG Wells: "If it is proper to 'reconstitute' a Jewish State which has not existed for two thousand years, why not go back another thousand years and reconstitute the Canaanite state? The Canaanites, unlike the Jews, are still there." Quotes from book itself: "In 1946 the United Jewish Appeal drive for $10,000,00, the bulk of which, according to the announcements, was to be used for settling European Jews in Palestine, was oversubscribed. Thus encouraged, the Appeal's goal for 1947, one-half of which was earmarked for the furthering of Zionist aims in Palestine, was raised to $170,000,000…. The Appeal's figure for 1948 was set at $250,000,000" Also, on non-violent Palestinian protests during the 1936-1939 uprising, "And while the guerrillas carried on raids from the hills, other Arabs conducted a psychological campaign which proved both annoying and embarrassing to the British. In an endeavour to win the sympathies of the British Tommies, the Arabs told them the reason for their rebelling an assured them that their own quarrel with Britain was the pro-Zionist policy of the Government. This appeal was so successful that the soldiers were forbidden to fraternize with Arabs. But the latter found other ways to present their case to the troops. Little boys managed to enter army camps and sell the soldiers fruit wrapped in paper containing a printed statement of the Arab case. School children, wearing tin pans for helmets and using tin kettles for drums, mimicked the troops as the latter went through their drills and manoeuvres, making them acutely conscious of the fact that they were fighting an unarmed and helpless people. In some towns, the Arabs conducted funeral services for 'British Justice', and solemnly escorted the coffin to its grave in a fitting procession." Book does not address the Jewish self-segregation under the British Mandate.

**Steven Salaita** (American University of Beirut)

***Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine***

(University of Minnesota Press, 2016) Publisher's blurb: "Steven Salaita argues that American Indian and Indigenous studies must be more central to the scholarship and activism focusing on Palestine. His discussion includes a fascinating inside account of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement; a wide range of Native poetry; the speeches of U.S. President Andrew Jackson; and the discourses of "shared values" between the United States and Israel." Regarding Israel: "There is no such a thing as real democracy in legal systems that create hierarchies of access and belonging based on nothing more than biology."

***Uncivil Rights: Palestine and the Limits of Academic Freedom***
(Haymarket Books, 2015)

***Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan***
(Syracuse University Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: "The author's original approach is based not on similarities between the two disparate settler regions but rather on similarities between the rhetoric employed by early colonialists in North America and that employed by Zionist immigrants in Palestine. "

**Redcliffe Nathan Salameh**
***The Propects of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(London: Contemporary Review Col, 12 pages, 1920)
Offprint from the *Contemporary Review*, May 1920.

**Franck Salameh media politics**(Boston College)
***Lebanon's Jewish Community: Fragments of Lives Arrested***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

**Dr. Mohsen Mohammed Saleh**
***History of Palestine: A Methodical Study of the Palestinian Struggle***
(Peshawar?: Al-Falah Foundation, 2003)

**Elie A. Salem**
***Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon: The Troubled Years, 1982-1988***
(IB Tauris, 296 pages, 1995)

***War and Peace in the Middle East: The Role of the University and the Intellectual***
(Beirut: University Christian Centre Forum, 8 pages, 1967)

**Walid Salem** (Al-Quds University lecturer; Director of the Center for Democracy and Community Development [CDCD] in East Jerusalem), **Edy Kaufman** and **Juliette Verhoeven**, editors.
***Bridging the Divide: Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publications, 2006)
Walid Salem and Edy Kaufman: Palestinian-Israeli peacebuilding: a historical perspective; Manuel Hassassian (Palestinian Ambasssador in London) & Tamar Hermann: Civil society and NGOs building peace in Israel; Mohammed Dajani and Gershon Baskin: Israeli-Palestinian joint activities: problematic endeavor, but necessary challenge; Menachim Klein and Riad Malki: Iisraeli-Palestinian track II diplomacy; Mohammed Abu-Nimer: Nonviolent action in Israel and Palestine: a growing force; Shalom Dichter and Khaled Abu Asba: Two peoples, one civil society; Edy Kaufman, Walid Salem, and Juliette Verhoeven: Looking back, looking forward: toward transforming the conflict.

**Claude Salhani** (UPI, *Time, Newsweek, Paris Match*)

***Black September to Desert Storm: A Journalist in the Middle East***
(University of Missouri Press, 304 pages, 1998)
Photojournalist and reporter's memoir.

**Muhannad Salhi**

***Palestine in the Evolution of Syrian Nationalism, 1918-1920***
(Chicago: Middle East Documentation Centre, 216 pages, 2008)
Includes focus on the King-Crane Commission.

***The Lost South: Syria and the Palestine Question, 1918-1920***
(thesis, University of Chicago, 299 pages, 2006)

**Abdul Jawad Salih**

***Naked Children of Palestine***
(Lebanon: Palestine Writers and Journalist Union, 118pp, 1979)
By the mayor of the town of al-Bireh.

**Ruba Salih** (SOAS) & **Sophie Richter-Devroe** (Exeter University & Doha Institute)

***The Political Cultures of Palestinian Refugees: Right to Rights and Right to Return***
(Cambridge University Press, was due in 2016)

**Yosef Salmon**

***Religion and Zionism: First Encounters***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 399pages, 2002)
Contents: Chapter 1 -- Orthodox Attitudes to the Land of Israel in the -- Nineteenth Century -- The Hatam Sofer 2 -- Rejection of Modernity in the Teachings of -- Akiva Joseph Schlesinger 13 -- The Zionist Thinking of R: Zevi Hirsch Kalischer 19 -- Chapter 2 -- The "Society for the Settlement of Palestine" and the -- Reactions of Traditional Jewry -- The Response of Ha-Maggid to Ideas of Redemption by Natural -- Means and the Settlement of Palestine 34 -- The Response of Ha-Mevasser in Galicia 36 -- The Hebrew Press in Russia and its Attitude to the -- Settlement of Palestine 38 -- The Jews in Palestine and their Attitude to the Zionist Awakening 41 -- The Crisis of Leadership and the Demise of the -- Society for the Settlement of Palestine 49 -- Chapter 3 -- David Gordon and Ha-Maggid: Evolving Views of Jewish -- Nationalism, 1860-1882 -- Chapter 4 -- Yehiel Michael Pines: From the Vision of Zionism to the Reality -- Exponent of Jewish National Reform 78 -- The Debate over his Views 82 -- The Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund 84 -- Activities in Palestine 87 -- The Sabbatical Year Issue 89 -- Pines and Ahad Ha-Am 90 -- Pines Turns Against the New Yishuv 92 -- Chapter 5 -- The Clash Between Orthodox and Enlightened Jews -- in Hibbat Zion during the 1880s -- The Struggle for Leadership 97 -- The Gederah Controversy 113 -- The Shemittah Controversy 123 -- Conclusion 138 -- Chapter 6 -- Samuel Mohilewer, the Rabbi of Hibbat Zion -- The 1870s 141 -- From the 1881 Pogroms to the Kattowitz Conference of 1884 144 -- From the Kattowitz Conference (1884) to the Vilna -- Conference (1889) 151 -- Activity in the Shadow of the Odessa Committee (1890-1893) 158 -- The Establishment of the Mizrachi and its First Activities -- (1893-1897) 163 -- The First Zionist Congress (1897) and -- R. Mohilewer's Death (1898) 169 -- Chapter 7 -- The Historical Background of Shivat Ziyyon -- Chapter 8 -- Polarization in the Jewish Community in Palestine during the 1890s -- Social Reforms in the Old Yishuv 201 -- Budding Opposition to the New Yishuv 203 -- Conciliation and Cooperation 206 -- The Dynamics of Polarization 210 -- Benei Moshe 211 -- The Educational Program of Benei Moshe 220 -- Pines and his Circle 223 -- Kulturkampf 225 -- Ramifications of the Controversy 231 -- Chapter 9 -- Hibbat Zion's Struggle for Haredi Support during the 1890s -- The Response of the Traditionalist Groups 237 -- Traditionalist Members of Hovevei Zion 238 -- Joshua Joseph Preil 242 -- Isaac Jacob Reines 250 -- Mahzike Hadas 251 -- The Mizrachi and R. Samuel Mohilewer 259 -- The Mediators 268 -- Ramifications and Consequences 272 -- The Rupture 276 -- Conclusions 277 --

Chapter 10 -- Traditional Jewry's Opposition to Herzlian Zionism -- The Challenge of the First Zionist Congress 287 -- Chapter 11 -- Traditional Russian-Polish Jewry and Zionism -- at the Turn of the Century -- The Years 1898-1899 307 -- The Years 1899-1900 346 -- Chapter 12 -- Socialism and Religion Hand in Hand: Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi -- The "National Center" 369 -- Particularism 369 -- Negation of Materialistic Socialism 371 -- The Uniqueness of the Zionist Proletariat 372 -- "Jewish Socialism" 373 -- Adjustment to Political Realities 375 -- "We Came First." 376 -- Between Right and Left 377 -- "Unity of Action" 378 -- Vague Hopes versus Struggle 380.

**Muhammad Ali Samadi**

***The Daughters of Olive: In the Memory of the Martyrdom – Seeking Courageous Women of Palestine***

(Jerrmein Abu Shaba, 114 pages, 2019)

Edited by **Abu Yahya al-Hussaini**; translated by **Kaneez Fatima Asad**. The book includes views of leading scholars on martyrdom seeking operations and short biographies with will testaments of martyrs Wafa Al Idrees, Noura Jamal Shalhoub, Dareen Muhammad Abu-Aisheh, Ayat Muhammad al-Akhras, Andaleeb Khalil Taqatiqah, Heba Azem Draghema, Hanadi Tissir Jaradat, Reem Saleh al-Riyashi, Zainab Ali Abu Salem with a special note on martyr Dalal Al-Mughrabi.

**Maha Sammam** (Technical University of Delft)

***Trans-Colonial Urban Space in Palestine: Politics and Development***

(Routledge, 2017)

**Jessie Ethel Sampter**, editor

***A Guide to Zionism***

(New York City: Zionist Organization of America, 262pp, 1920)

Held at University College London.

***Modern Palestine: A Symposium***

(New York City: 411pp, Hadassah, 1933)

Held at SOAS & Oxford.

**Viscount Edwin Samuel**

***A Lifetime in Jerusalem: The Memoirs of the Second Viscount Samuel***

(Vallentine Mitchell, 335 pages, 1970, 1971)

***Memoirs***

(London: Cresset Press, 304 pages, 1945)

**Horace Barnett Samuel**

***Unholy Memories of the Holy Land***

(Leonard & Virginia Woolf / Hogarth Press, 1930)

British Jewish lawyer joins Jabotinsky's Jewish Regiment at the end of the Great War and wakes up to Zionist machinations. Surprisingly, he spends 1918-1928 as a judge and then a private lawyer under the Mandate Government, where law, politics, and social mores have a go at each other. His account is dismissive of everybody but most entertainingly so in this well-written, witty if sometimes snobby, but candid and revealing read.

**Mark Sanagan**

***Lightning Through the Clouds: 'Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam and the Making of the Modern Middle East***

(University of Texas Press, 272 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "*Lightning through the Clouds* is the first English-language life-and-times biography of 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a preeminent figure who helped to reshape the political and religious landscape of the region. A Syrian-born, Egyptian-educated cleric, he went from the battlefields of World War I to join the anticolonialist fight against the French in Syria. Sentenced to be executed by the French military, he managed to escape to Palestine, where he became an increasingly popular presence, moved by the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. Outraged by British rule and the encroachment of Zionism, he formed a secret society to resist the colonization of Palestine first by the British and then by Jewish immigrants from Europe, once again taking up arms and advocating for a moral, political, and military jihad as the only solution. His death at the hands of Palestine Police in 1935 drew thousands to his funeral and sparked the 1936–1939 Arab Revolt. His influence continues to be felt in the region; for example, the military wing of the Palestinian Hamas organization is named the 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. Al-Qassam is either revered or reviled, depending on the observers' perspective, but he is without doubt a fascinating and historically significant individual whose influence on the past, and our present, makes this examination of his life both important and timely."

**Elias Sanbar**

***The Palestinians: Photographs of a Land and its People, 1839 to the Present Day***
(Yale University Press / Paris: Editions Hazan, 2015)
A crossroads of religions, politics, and cultures with deep symbolic and historical significance, the holy land of Palestine has a resonance far greater than its size. Notably, the centuries-old conflict there has catapulted this tiny area to the center of the world stage. For reasons such as these, Palestine has long been a source of fascination for photographers, and it is one of the most frequently photographed places in the world. This engrossing publication examines images of Palestine taken over the course of nearly 200 years, showing the various phases of its pictorial history. Elias Sanbar provides commentaries on this impressive and visually stunning opus, showing how a highly symbolic place and its people have been both captured and abstracted by the camera. Gripping and poignant, the photographs in this publication assert not only the global importance of Palestine, but the beauty that emerges amid its complicated history. 150 color + 500 duotone illustrations.

**Shlomo Sand**

***Israel – Palestine: Federation or Apartheid?***
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 254 pages, 2024)
Translated by **Robin Mackay**. Publisher's blurb: "Since the brutal massacre perpetrated by Hamas on 7 October and the subsequent bombing and invasion of Gaza, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been thrust back to the centre of the world's attention. How can this deep-rooted conflict, stretching back for more than 75 years, be brought to an end? What kind of political structure might one day enable Israelis and Palestinians to overcome the seemingly interminable cycle of violence and live in peace with one another? For many years, politicians and citizens of different persuasions have called for a two-state solution - two independent states, Israel and Palestine, co-existing side by side. This was Shlomo Sand's view too: a distinguished Israeli historian and political activist on the left, he had long supported the idea of a two-state solution."

***Twilight of History***
(Verso, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "The acclaimed and controversial historian turns his critical gaze on the writing of history today. Drawing on his four decades as a professional historian, Shlomo Sand interrogates the academic discipline of history, whose origin lay in the need for a national ideology. In the last few decades, traditional history has begun to fragment, yet only to give rise to a new role of historians as priests of official memory. Working in Israel has sharpened Sand's perspective, since the role of history as national myth is particularly salient in a country where the Bible is treated as a history book. He asks such questions as: Is every historical narrative ideologically marked? Do political requirements and state power weigh down inordinately on historical research and teaching? And, in such conditions, can there be a morally neutral and 'scientific' truth? Despite his trenchant criticism of academic history, Sand

would still like to believe that the past can be understood without myth, and sees pointers for this in the work of Weber and Sorel"

***How I Stopped Being a Jew***
(Verso, 2014)
Translated by **David Fernbach**.

***The Invention of the Land of Israel: from Holyland to Homeland***
(Verso, 2012)
Translated by **Geremy Forman**.

***The Words of the Land: Israeli Intellectuals and the Nationalist Myth***
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Semiotexte, ca. 2011)
Translated by **Ames Hodges**.

***The Invention of the Jewish People***
(Verso, 2009)
Translated by **Yael Lotan**. "The book's arguments are by now well known—that the Jews of the Common Era were mostly descended from converts or converts themselves, and therefore not tied in any genetic or historical manner to Eretz-Israel; that Zionist scholarship has cleverly obscured this fact by acknowledging the extent of Jewish conversion over time but inventing a Jewish demographic as well as spiritual origin in the land of Israel; that Jews comprise a religious civilization, not a people, because they lack a secular literary culture; that the State of Israel anxiously seeks to compensate for its own lack of ethnic integrity by employing its scientists to obsessively search for unique Jewish genetic material over the ages; and that the bankruptcy of Zionist assertions of Jewish peoplehood is apparent from the Jewish state's reliance upon religious law, symbols and concepts in its government and public culture." (Derek J. Penslar, review in *Israel Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2012)

**Chris Sandal-Wilson** (University of Exeter)
***Mandatory Madness: Colonial Psychiatry and Mental Illness in British Mandate Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Mandatory Madness offers a fresh new perspective on a pivotal period in the history of modern Palestine, by putting mental illness and the psychiatric encounters it engendered at the heart of the story. Through a careful and creative reading of a wide range of archival and published material in English, Arabic, and Hebrew, Chris Sandal-Wilson reveals how a range of actors responded to mental illness in the decades before 1948. Rather than a concern of European Jewish psychiatric experts alone, questions around the causes, nature, and treatment of mental illness were negotiated across diverse and sometimes surprising sites in mandate Palestine. Bringing together histories of medicine, colonialism, and the modern Middle East, Mandatory Madness highlights how the seemingly personal and private matter of mental illness generated distinctive forms of entanglement: between colonial state and society, Arabs and Jews, and Palestine and the wider region."

**Clyde Sanger**
***Malcolm MacDonald – Bringing an End to Empire***
(Liverpool University Press, 498 pages, 1995)
Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

**Arief B. Saposnik** (University of Florida)
***Becoming Hebrew: The Creation of a Jewish National Culture in Ottoman Palestine***
(Oxford University Press, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "While there has been a great deal of study of Zionist ideas of this period, Saposnik turns his focus elsewhere, showing how the ideas were put into practice by Zionist activists in Palestine.

The period from 1903-1914, he argues, was critical to the building of the infrastructure of national culture. Moreover, he shows, these activists did not attempt to build a traditional Jewish culture in a new place, but sought to effect a dramatic revolution in all aspects of Jewish life—a revolution with a complex relationship to traditional Jewish discourses, practices, and liturgy. Their view of 'culture' was expansive, involving all aspects of life, and both high culture and popular culture. Their revolution changed everything from the way they dressed to the art they created, from the holidays they celebrated to the language they spoke and the accent with which they spoke it. It also included politics, economics, medicine, and much more. Saposnik attempts to recapture this comprehensive view of culture and to show how images and ideas were translated into concrete cultural institutions, new art, rituals, language, and more.

**Mary Saran**
***For Community Service: The Mount Carmel Experiment***
(Blackwell, 1974)

**Leena Saraste** (Finnish photographer)
***For Palestine***
(Zed Books, 93 pages, 1983/1985 ) Translated by Greg Coogan. Photographic documentation of South Lebanon refugee camp life and hardship, 1980-1983. Includes verse by Mahmoud Darwish, Fadwa Touqan and others. Translated from Finnish by **Greg Coogan**.

**Aaron J. Sarna**
***Boycott and Blacklist: A History of Arab Economic Warfare against Israel***
(Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986)

**Ryad El-Sarraj** (Gaza psychologist)
***Peace and the Children of Stone***
(Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, booklet 6 pages, 1996)

With **Samir Qouta** and **Raija-Leena Punamaki**: ***Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-being: A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children***
(Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, booklet 44 pages, 1994)

***Torture and Mental Health: The Experience of Palestinians in Israeli Prisons***
(Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, booklet 14 pages, 1993)

***Trauma, Violence and Children: The Palestinian Experience***
(Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, booklet 8 pages, 1993)

With **Samir Qouta**: ***Palestinian Children under Curfew***
(Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, booklet 11 pages, 1993)

**Saliba Sarsar**
***Jerusalem: The Home in Our Hearts***
(Holy Land Books / Noble Publishing, 2018)
Multi-generational Orthodox Christian family history

**Eyad El Sarraj**, **Raija-Leena Punamaki**, and **Samir Qouta**
***Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-Being: A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children***

(Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, 24 pages, 1994)

**Eyad El Sarraj** and **Fadel Abu Hein**
***Trauma, Violence, and Children: The Palestinian Experience***
(Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, 8 pages, 1993)

**Theodore Sasson** (Tel Aviv University Institute for National Security Studies; Middlebury College Vermont)
***Danger Zone: Collapsing Support for Israel among Democrats***
(Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute for National Security Studies, 2025)

***The New American Zionism***
(New York University Press, 2013)
Topics include fundraising and tourism.

**Uri Savir**
***The Process: 1,000 Days That Changed the Middle East***
(Random House, 336 pages, 1998)

**Archibald Henry Sayce**
***Patriarchal Palestine: Canaan and the Canaanites before the Israelitish Conquest***
(Cambridge University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Archibald Henry Sayce (1845–1933) became interested in Middle Eastern languages and scripts while still a teenager. Old Persian and Akkadian cuneiform had recently been deciphered, and popular enthusiasm for these discoveries was running high when Sayce began his academic career at Oxford in 1869. In this 1895 work, he considers the history of the Holy Land in the context of the flood of new documentary and archaeological material which had come to light in the course of the nineteenth century. Sayce's approach opposed the 'higher criticism' which sought to demonstrate that the stories of the Old Testament should not be interpreted literally; in his opinion, 'in the narrative of the Pentateuch we have history and not fiction', and he believed that archaeological discoveries supported his view. Although this approach was already outdated, his reconstruction of the history of the ancient Near East remains of interest to historians of archaeology."

**Anis Sayigh**
***Palestine and Arab Nationalism***
(Beirut: PLO Research Centre, 86 pages, 1970)

**Fayez A. Sayegh** aka **Fayez Sayegh** (Son of a Protestant minister, was raised in Tiberias, went into exile after 1948, much of his time spent in the US, and did consulting work for the Kuwaiti government)
***Zionist Propaganda in the United States: An Analysis***
(Pleasantville, New York: Fayez A. Sayegh Foundation, 47 pages, 1983
Edited by **Arlene F. Sayegh** and **Samir Abed Rabbo**.

***Arab-Israeli Peace: The Human Factor***
(New York City: Fayez A. Sayegh Foundation, 6 pages, 1982)

***Camp David and Palestine***
(Pleasantville, New York: Fayez A. Sayegh Foundation, 27 pages, 1982)

***Racism and Racial Discrimination***

(London: International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racisl Discrimination, 6 pages, 1982)

With **Israel Shahak**: ***Palestine and the Camp David Accords: Commentaries***
(London: Arab Dawn, 48 pages, ca. 1979)

***The Palestine Problem and the Role of the PLO***
(publisher unidentified, 35 pages, ca. 1977)
Expanded transcript of an address delivered in Vienna, 18 May 1976, to ambassadors of Arab states; examines American and Israeli objections to the PLO.

***Zionism: "A form a racism and discrimination": Four statements made at the UN General Assembly***
(New York City: Office of the Permanent Observer of the PLO to the UN, 46 pages, 1976)

***A Palestinian View***
(Kuwait: General Union of Palestine Students, 15pp, 1972)
Paper presented at the Second World Congress on Palestine, in Amman, 2-6 September 1970, organised by the General Union of Palestine Students.

***A Palestinian View***
(publisher unidentified, 14 pages, 1971)
Paper presented at the Second International Symposium on Palestine, in Kuwait, 13-17 February 1971.

With **Sohair A. Soukkary**: ***Palestine: Concordance of United Nations Resolutions 1967-1971***
(New York City: publisher unidentified, 93 pages, 1971)

**Kadhim Jawad**, editor: ***Selective Debates on Palestine***
(Baghdad: *Baghdad Magazine,* 103 pages, 1970; possibly also 124 pages, 1978)
Contains USA television interview with Dr Sayegh, plusa debate between Arnold Toynbee and Ya'acov Herzog.

***Palestine, Israel and Peace***
(Beirut: PLO, 38 pages, 1970)

***The Zionist Diplomacy***
(PLO Research Centre, 160 pages, 1969)

***Discrimination in Education against the Arabs in Israel***
(Beirut: PLO, 30 pages, 1969)

***American TV Presents the Arab-Israeli Dispute***
(publisher unidentified, 52 pages, ca 1968)
Transcript of interview on the David Susskind Show (WNEW TV, New York City and syndicated), 3 December 1967.

***Do Jews Have a 'Divine Right' to Palestine?***
(Beirut ; PLO Research Center, 13pp, 1967)

***Zionist Colonialism in Palestine***
(Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, 78 pages, 1965)
Contents: The historical setting of Zionist colonialism – The alliance of British imperialism and Zionist colonialism – The character of the Zionist settler-state – The Palestinians' response: from resistance to liberation – Epilogue: the liberation of Palestine – Appendix: texts of resolutions on Palestine adopted at Conferences of African, Asian-African, and non-aligned states – Chart: participation in the conferences of African, Asian-African, and non-aligned states. Note: available online

~ https://www.freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC12_scans/12.zionist.colonialism.palestine.1965.pdf

***The United Nations and the Palestine Question, April 1947-April 1965***
(Beirut: PLO, 19 pages, 1965; London: PLO, 36 pages, 1970)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(New York City: Arab Information Centre, 76 pages, 1956; 69 pages, 1964)

***Strife in the Holy Land***
(Cairo: General Union of Palestine Students, 1959)

***Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment***
(New York City: Devin-Adair, 272 pages, 1958)

***Arab Unity***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 29 pages, 1958)

***Arab Property in Israeli-Controlled Territories: Israeli Measures for the Disposal of Arab Property: A Fact-Sheet Concerning Arab Property in Israeli-Controlled Territories of Palestine and the Measures Adopted by the Israeli Authorities in Relation to Such Property***
(New York City: Arab Information Center, 2nd edition, 14 pages, 1956; 4th edition, 1958)

***The Record of Israel at the United Nations***
(New York City: Arab Information Centre, 124 pages, 1957)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(New York City: League of Arab States, Arab Information Center, 77 pages, 1956)

***The Palestinian Refugees***
(Washington, DC: AMARA Press, 61 pages, (1952)
American Arabic Association (AMARA). With foreword by **William Ernest Hocking**; preface by **Virginia C. (Crocheron) Gildersleeve**

***The Arab Plight in the Holy Land***
(New York City: League of Arab States, 1 folded sheet of 6 pages, ca 1954-1955)

**Nadine Sayegh** (Austrian Palestinian)

***Oranges from Jaffa***
(Germany: Edition A, 160 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "A family history, a novel against oblivion. The book presents the coming of age story of Nicolas Sayegh, a Palestinian 'Tom Sawyer', who, together with his friends, roams the sun-drenched streets of 1940s Jaffa." Based on the author's father, and set in Jaffa, 1947. English translation 2022.

**Rosemary Sayigh** (landmark historian ~ American University of Beirut; University of Hull)

As editor: ***Becoming Pro-Palestinian: Testimonies from the Global Solidarity Movement***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 384 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "The book is the first of its kind in Palestiniography and includes voices from countries across the world, including Austria, Bosnia, Brazil, Cameroon, Chile, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Norway, South Africa, the US and Vietnam. A chapter is dedicated to each country and contributors are asked to reveal how they 'discovered' Palestine – given that Palestine is rarely mentioned in school textbooks or university courses – whether by travel, friendship, study, membership in a political party or book group. They are also asked to detail what specific forms their

engagement has taken – ranging scholarly, creative, militant, or charitable – and what their hopes are for the international solidarity movement. Finally, each contributor reflects on if they feel a just and equitable solution can ever be achieved for Palestinians, and if they accept the label 'pro-Palestinian' or would rather define their relationship to the Palestinians in some other way."

***Too Many Enemies: The Palestinian Experience in Lebanon***
(Zed Books, 369 pages, 1994; Al Mashriq, 2nd edition, 456 [480] pages, 2015)
The Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon.

As Editor: ***Yusif Sayigh: Arab Economist, Palestinian Patriot – A Fractured Life Story***
(American University Cairo Press, 388 [393] pages, 2015)
The first half is a fascinating micro-history of life under the Mandate. Sayigh was diligent in trying to block land sale to the Zionist Jews. When an internationally-induced, two-state solution was being slapped onto the front pages, he wrote the Arab Land Hunger Report, classifying dunums not just by their flat map measurement but also by their agricultural worth. He ran the Arab National Treasury, which, like the Arab Higher Committee, meant Christian and Muslim Palestinian. The immediate period before the Nakba is detailed as a kind of de facto Israeli garrison era, with settler checkpoints, as the British were reduced to either reacting or packing-up. He likens it to "Beirut in the civil war." Palestinian efforts at armed defence were comparatively weak, as Yusif tried in vain to raise the necessary funds. Soon, in 1948, he became a prisoner of war. Later, *to* Yasser Arafat: "I argue things out with Abu Ammar himself, or with people even more important than Abu Ammar [ouch!]. I will never relinquish my right to argue."

***The Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries: A People's History***
(Zed Press, 206 [214] pages, 1979; 2nd ed. Zed Books, 228 255] pages, 2007/256 pages, 2013)
Important work, constructed from the author's prescient 1970s interviews with residents of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. This book provides privileged insights into these communities' post-1948 and post-1967 traumas. Foreword by **Noam Chomsky**, who wrote an introduction to the 2007 ed.

With other authors, including **Adel Samara**: ***The Palestinian Experience Viewed as Socialization***
(Beirut: American University Beirut, 1997)

***Palestine: Profile of an Occupation***
(Zed Books, 183 pages, 1989)
Khamsin series, 14-15. Other contributors include: Toby Shelley, Ben Cashdan, Richard Thomas, Ehud-'Ein-Gil, Haim Bresheeth, and Laila Al-Hamdani.

***Palestinian Camp Women's Narratives of Exile: Self, Gender, National Crisis***
(PhD, University of Hull, 1993)

Introduction, in **Orayb Aref Najjar** and **Kitty Warnock**: ***Portraits of Palestinian Women***
(University of Utah Press, 1992)

***Encounters with Palestinian Women Under Occupation***, in **Elizabeth Warnock Fernea**, editor: ***Women and Family in the Middle East: New Voices of Change***
(University of Texas Press, 1985)

***The Palestinian Experience Viewed as Socialisation***
(American University of Beirut, 1976)

**Yezid Yusuf Sayigh** aka **Yezid Sayigh** (American University Beirut; Carnegie Middle East Center)
***Armed Struggle and the Search for a State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993***
(Oxford University Press, 1997)
At almost 1,000 pages, it's endorsed by seemingly everyone.

***Arab Military Industry: Capability, Performance and Impact***
(Brasseys Defence Publications, 1992)

**Yusif Abdallah Sayigh**

Edited by **Rosemary Sayigh:** ***Yusif Sayigh : Arab Economist, Palestinian Patriot – A Fractured Life Story***
(original Arabic edition 2009; English edition via American University in Cairo Press, 388 [393] pages 2015)
The first half is a fascinating micro-history of life under the Mandate. Sayigh was diligent in trying to block land sale to the Zionist Jews. When an internationally-induced, two-state solution was being slapped onto the front pages, he wrote the Arab Land Hunger Report, classifying dunums not just by their flat map measurement but also by their agricultural worth. He ran the Arab National Treasury, which, like the Arab Higher Committee, meant Christian and Muslim Palestinian. The immediate period before the Nakba is detailed as a kind of de facto Israeli garrison era, with settler checkpoints, as the British were reduced to either reacting or packing-up. He likens it to "Beirut in the civil war." Palestinian efforts at armed defence were comparatively weak, as Yusif tried in vain to raise the necessary funds. Soon, in 1948, he became a prisoner of war. Later, *to* Yasser Arafat: "I argue things out with Abu Ammar himself, or with people even more important than Abu Ammar [ouch!]. I will never relinquish my right to argue."

***Elusive Development: From Dependence to Self-Reliance in the Arab Region***
(Routledge, 1991)

***The Economies of the Arab World Since 1945***
(Croom Helm, 1978)

With **Louis Eaks**: ***Palestine – Background to Conflict***
(Petra Publishing, 32 pages, ca. 1975)
Based on earlier edition, published in 1968. Front cover art by **Kamal Boullata**.

***Towards a Peace in Palestine***
(Beirut: Lebanon Fifth of June Society, pamphlet, 29 pages, 1970)
Text of an address to the Council for Arab British Understanding [CAABU], Central Hall, Westminster, 15 April 1970.

***Economic Implications of UNRWA Operations in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon***
(American University of Beirut, 1952)

**Stuart Schaar** (Brooklyn College, CUNY)

***Eqbal Ahmad: Critical Outsider in a Turbulent Age***
(Columbia University Press, 2015)
Tangential to Palestinian history, this remembrance and analysis of Ahmad (ca. 1930-1999), who was the reputation of having been first to recognise that former ally Washington ally Osama bin Laden would turn against the United States.

**William A. Schabas**

***An Introduction to the International Criminal Court***
(Cambridge University Press, 6th edition 2020)

**Joseph Boris Schechtman** (Oddessa-born, revisionist Zionist who is credited with the myth that the Palestinian people fled their towns and villages in 1948 in response to Arab broadcasts advising them to do so).

***The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story: The Early Years – Rebel and Statesman***
(New York City: T. Yoseloff, 1956 / Eshel Books, 1986)
Vol. 1

With **Yehuda Benari**: ***A History of the Revisionist Movement, 1925-1930***
(Tel Aviv: Hadar Publishing, 1970)

***The Mufti and the Fuehrer: The Rise and Fall of Haj Amin El-Husseini***
(New York City: T. Yoseloff, 336 pages, 1965)

***Fighter and Prophet: The Life and Times of Vladimir Jabotinsky Story – The Last Years***
(New York: T. Yoseloff, 1961 / Eshel Books, 1986)
Vol. 2

**Bruno Schelhaas**, **Jutta Faehndrich**, and **Haim Goren**
***Mapping the Holy Land: The Foundation of a Scientific Cartography of Palestine***
(IB Tauris, 208 pages, with 22 greyscale and 10 colour maps, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Through a detailed study of the work of three of the leading figures of the era – Augustus Petermann, Physical Geographer Royal to Queen Victoria; cartographer Charles Meredith van de Velde, who produced the finest map of the region at the time; and Edward Robinson, founder of modern Palestinology – the authors explore the complex cultural, cartographic and technical processes that shaped and determined the resulting maps of the region. Making full use of newly discovered archival material, and richly illustrated in both colour and black and white, Mapping the Holy Land is essential reading for cartographers, historical geographers, historians of mapmaking, and for all those with an interest in the Holy Land and the history of Palestine."

**Robert Schick**
***The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study***
(Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995)

**Benjamin N. Schiff**
***Building the International Criminal Court***
(Cambridge University Press, 2008)

***Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians***
(Syracuse University Press, 1995)

**Ze'ev Schiff** aka **Zeev Schiff**, **Zeev A. Schiff** [Israeli journalist of military activities for *Ha'aretz* newspaper]
With **Ehud Ya'ari** ~ ***Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising – Israel's Third Front***
(Touchstone, 1991 / Simon & Schuster, 1989, 1991)
Edited & translated by **Ina Friedman**

***Israel's Lebanon War***
(Simon & Schuster, 1989)
Edited & translated by **Ina Friedman**

With **Raphael Rothstein** ~ ***Fedayeen: The Story of the Palestinian Guerrillas***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 1972)

***A History of the Israeli Army, 1874 to the Present*** [sic]

(Macmillan, 1974, 1985)

With **Ehud Ya'ari** (Israeli state-run television): ***Israel's Lebanon War***
(Simon & Schuster, 1984)

***October Earthquake: Yom Kippur 1973***
(University Publishing Projects Ltd, 1974/ New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publications, 2013)

With **Raphael Rothstein** ***The Fedayeen: The Story of the Palestinian Guerillas***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 1972)

**Abdullah Schliefer** [American Jewish journalist who became a Muslim]
***The Fall of Jerusalem***
**(**Monthly Review Press & Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1972)
An account of the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967

**Ron Schleifer** (Ariel University) & **Jessica Snapper** (IDF researcher, Hebrew University, University of Pittsburgh), editors
***Advocating Propaganda: Viewpoints from Israel: Social Media, Public Diplomacy, Foreign Affairs, Military Psychology and Religious Persuasion Perspectives***
(Sussex Academic, 2015)
Critique of Israel's *hasbara* efforts as not being strong enough.

**Dana Adams Schmidt** (Middle East journalist)
***Armageddon in the Middle East***
(New York Times Publishing, 1974)
References the appeal of the PFLP in securing recruits.

**Jonathan Schneer**
***The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Bloomsbury, 2010)

**Itzhak Schnell** (Tel Aviv University)
With **Daniel Bar-Tal**: ***The Impacts of Lasting Occupation: Lessons from Israeli Society***
(Oxford University Press, 2013)

With **Michael Sofer** & **Israel Drori**: ***Arab Industrialization in Israel: Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Periphery***
(Praeger, 1995)

***Perceptions of Israeli Arabs: Territoriality and Identity***
(Aldershot: Avebury, 1994)

***The Little Triangle: Transformation of a Region***
(Jewish Arab Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Haifa, 1985)

**Suzanne Schneider** (Brooklyn Institute for Social Research)
***Mandatory Separation: Religion, Education and Mass Politics in Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "Is religion a source of political stability and social continuity, or an agent of radical change? This question, so central to contemporary conversations about religion and extremism, has generated varied responses over the last century. Taking Jewish and Islamic education as its objects of inquiry, *Mandatory Separation* sheds light on the contours of this debate in Palestine during the formative period of British rule, detailing how colonial, Zionist, and Palestinian-Muslim leaders developed competing views of the form and function of religious education in an age of mass politics. Drawing from archival records, school syllabi, textbooks, newspapers, and personal narratives, Suzanne Schneider argues that the British Mandatory government supported religious education as a supposed antidote to nationalist passions at the precise moment when the administrative, pedagogic, and curricular transformation of religious schooling rendered it a vital tool for Zionist and Palestinian leaders. This study of their policies and practices illuminates the tensions, similarities, and differences among these diverse educational and political philosophies, revealing the lasting significance of these debates for thinking about religion and political identity in the modern Middle East."

**Alexander Schoelch** aka **Alexander Schölch**

***Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Development***

(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 351 pages, 1993)

Translated from the German by **William C. Young** & **Michael C. Gerrity**. Includes urban development, local Lords and their districts (and their disempowerment), the Palestinian reformer Yusuf al-Khalidi, and Ottoman taxes.

**David Schoenbaum** (University of Iowa)

***The United States and the State of Israel***

(Oxford University Press, 1993)

**Ralph Schoenman** (personal secretary to Bertrand Russell and became general secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation)

***The Hidden History of Zionism***

(Santa Barbara, California: Veritas Press, 1988 / Pluto Press, 1989)

Period book shattering Zionist myths and calling for a secular, democratic state

**Alexander Schölch**, editor

***Palestinians Over the Green Line: Studies on the Relations between Palestinians on Both Sides of the 1949 Armistice Line Since 1967***

(London: Ithaca Press, 207 pages, 1983)

Contains Reinhard Wiemer: *Zionism and the Arabs after the Establishment of the State of Israel.*

**Suzanne Scholz**

***The New Diaspora and the Global Prophetic: Engaging the Scholarship of Marc H. Ellis***

(Fortress Academic, 307 pages, 2021)

Liberation theology analysis, tangential to Palestine.

**Laura S. Schor** (Hunter College)

***The Best School in Jerusalem: Annie Landau's School for Girls, 1900-1960***

(Brandeis University Press, 2013)

Landau was British, Orthodox Jewish, and a non-Zionist, who struggled with of dual-loyalties to Britain and the local Jewish establishment. Her school educated the Jewish elite but open to all. Author likens her to Chicago's Jane Addams.

**Kirsten E. Schulze** (London School of Economics)

***The Jews of Lebanon: Between Coexistence and Conflict***
(Sussex Academic Press, 192 pages, 2001); Sussex Academic, 237 pages, 2007, 2009)
The 'Arabised', prosperous Jewish community of 10,000 in Lebanon is seen as having fit well with the multicultural country until the civil war, especially in 1982, when most emigrated to other countries with an existing Lebanese diaspora.

***Israeli Covert Diplomacy***
(Palgrave Macmillan & St Antony's College Oxford, 213 pages, 1997, 1998)

***The Politics of Intervention: Israel and the Maronites, 1920-1984***
(Oxford University thesis, 1994)

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Longmans, 1999; Pearson Longmans, 2008; Routledge, 2013, 2016)

**Yardena Schwartz** (NBC-TV, *New York Times*)

***Ghosts of a Holy War: The 1929 Massacre in Palestine that Ignited the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Union Square, 432 pages, 2024)

**Walter Schwarz**

***The Arabs in Israel***
(Faber & Faber, 172 pages, 1959)
"They take our land. Why? For security reasons! They take our jobs. Why? For security reasons! And when we ask them how it happens that we, our lands and our jobs threaten the security of the state – they do not tell us. Why not? For security reasons!"

**Erika Schwarze**

***Public Opinion and Political Response in Palestine: Leadership, Campaigns and Elections Since Arafat***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
Author ran NGO education programmes in the West Bank and Gaza in the 1990s.

**Michael Scott-Baumann**

***Palestinians and Israelis: A Short History of Conflict***
(History Press, 272 pages, 2021)

***Crisis in the Middle East: Israel and the Arab States, 1945-2007***
(Hodder & Stoughton Educational, 156pp, 2009 and other editions)

***Conflict in the Middle East: Israel and the Arabs***
(Edward Arnold, 47pp, 1984)

**Scottish Friends of Palestine**

As editor, **Hugh Humphries**: ***Palestine and the Legacy of Balfour***
(Assumed Haddington: SfoP, 232 pages, 2006)

**Hugh Humphries** and **Ross Campbell**: ***Countdown to Catastrophe – Palestine 1948 – A Daily Chronology***
(Assumed Glasgow: SfoP, 375 pages, 2000)

***Palestine 1948: Biblical Villages Destroyed***
(Glasgow: SfoP, 24 pages, ca. 1999)

**Hugh Humphries**: ***In the Beginning – Jerusalem – Israeli or Palestinian Owned? How to Occupy and Dominate a City – A Lay Guide***
(Glasgow: SfoP, 136 pages, 1997)

**Hugh Humphries**: ***Twenty Questions on Palestine***
(Glasgow: SfoP, 58 pages, ca. 1993)

**Patrick Seale**
*Abu Nidal: A Gun for Hire*
(Random House/Hutchinson, 339 pages, 1992; Arrow Books, 340 pages, 1993)

**Haggai Segal** (Israeli journalist, also with Channel 7 television, and member of the Israeli Jewish Underground of the 1980s)
***How My Grandmother Prevented a Civil War***
(Gefen Publishing, 2014)

***Dear Brothers: The West Bank Jewish Underground***
(Bet Shamai Publications, 1988)
Background to Gush Emunim and many individuals forming the religious Jewish settler underground.

**Rafi Segal, David Tartakover** & **Eyal Weizman**, editors, with photographs by **Milutin Labudovic**
***A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture***
(Verso Books, 2003)
Publisher's blurb: "Bringing together essays and photographs by leading Israeli practitioners, and complemented by maps, plans and statistical data, *A Civilian Occupation* explores the processes and repercussions of Israeli planning and its underlying ideology. It demonstrates how, over the last century, planning and architecture have been transformed from everyday professional practices into strategic weapons in the service of the state, which has sought to secure national and geopolitical objectives through the organization of space and in the redistribution of its population. The banning of the first edition of this book by its original publisher was proof, if any were needed, that architecture in Israel, indeed architecture anywhere, can no longer be considered a politically I activity: the politics of Israeli architecture is the politics of any architecture." With contributions by Meron Benvenisti, Zvi Efrat, Nadav Harel, Gideon Levy, Ilan Potash, Sharon Rotbard, Efrat Shvily, Eran Tamir-Tawil, Pavel Wolberg, and Oren Yiftachel

**Tom Segev** (b. 1945; leading 'new historian', using declassified Israeli archival materials)
***A State at Any Cost: The Life of David Ben-Gurion***
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 816 pages, 2019)
Translated by **Haim Watzman**. Pragmatic analysis of subject as being ruthlessly shrewd and thus fit for following the Zionist vision, rather than creating it.

***The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust***
(New York City: Hill and Wang, 593 pages, 1993-1994; New York City: Henry Holt & Co./Picador: 593 pages, 2000)

***1967: Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East***
(Metropolitan Books, 673 pages, 2007)

Translated by **Jessica Cohen**. Author suggests that Israel was motivated to the 1967 war to pull the country out of the 1966 recession.

***Elvis in Jerusalem: Post-Zionism and the Americanization of Israel***
(Metropolitan Books, 2002)

***One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate***
(Picador, 624 pages, 1999, 2001 / Little, Brown, 2000 / New York City: Metropolitan Books, 2000 / updated version, 2025)

***The First Israelis – 1949***
(Independent Publications Services, 1985 / Abacus, 2001 / Free Press-Macmillan, 1986/ New York City: Owl Books, 1998)
The new state shown treating its new citizens dishonourably in a pit of big-elbowed bureaucracies.

**Martin Seiff** (UPI editor, ex-*Washington Times*)

***The Politically Incorrect Guide to the Middle East***
(Henry Regnery Publishing, 2008)
Engaging American conservative, romantic apologist for past European Colonialism and the Ottoman Empire, with hope that the latter's mantle will be inherited by Saudi Arabia. Ridicules all historical actors in the tradition of African American George S. Schuyler's novel *Black No More!*

**May Seikaly**

***Haifa: Transformation of a Palestinian Arab Society, 1918-1939***
(IB Tauris, 285 pages, 1995, 2002)
With foreword by **Walid Khalidi**. Contents: Foreword – Maps – Introduction (starting p. 1) – 1 Physical Characteristics of Haifa in 1918 (starting p. 15) – 2 Demography and Distribution of Haifa's Communities (starting p. 19) – 3 The Economic, Social and Political Structure of Haifa's Society in 1918 (starting p. 26) – 4 The Demographic Transformation of Haifa 1918-39 (starting p. 47) – 5 The Administrative Set-up: the Municipality and its Functions (starting p. 52) – 6 Town Planning: Policies and the New Quarters (starting p. 61) – 7 British Plans and Projects (starting p. 72) – 8 Industry: a Jewish Monopoly (starting p. 81) – 9 Banking and Commerce (starting p. 98) – 10 Land and Housing Policy (starting p. 122) – 11 Labour Policy (starting p. 133) – 12 Transition into the British Orbit (starting p. 160) – 13 The Phase of Political Fragmentation (starting p. 182) – 14 Radicalization of the National Forces (starting p. 217) – 15 Conclusion: the Path to Revolution (starting p. 240) – Appendix: Haifa's Prominent Arab Families 1918-39 (starting p. 263) – Bibliography (starting p. 267) – Index (starting p. 276).

***The Arab Community of Haifa, 1918-1936: A Study in Transformation***
(thesis, Oxford University)

**Sherene Seikaly** (University of California, Santa Barbara; *Journal of Palestine Studies*)

***Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2015)
The middle class is unpacked as the author grapples with the competing tugs of capital and politics in trying to understand the reactions and existing wealth in Mandate Palestine. "Seikaly is a wonderfully engaging writer…with clarity and verve. An absolute must-read." – Sarah Irving, *Electronic Intifada*. See also: Barbara J. Smith: *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine – British Economic Policy, 1920-1929* (Syracuse University Press, 1993)

**Avraham Sela**

***The War of 1948: Representations of Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian Memory***

(Indiana University Press, 2016)
Contents: Part 1: Israeli-Jewish Narratives: Continuity and Change – 1 The 1948 Palestine War on the Small Screen: A Comparative Analysis of Its Representation in Two Israeli Television Series – 2 Israel's Publications Agency and the 1948 Palestinian Refugees – 3 The War of Independence Exhibited: A Study of Three Israeli Museums – Part 2: The Politics of Space Memory – 4 Contested Urban Memoryscape Strategies and Tactics in Post-1948 Haifa – 5 The Making of a Myth: The Story of Kfar Etzion in Religious Zionism 1948-1967 – Part 3: Palestinian Traumatic Memory – 6 Descending the Khazooq: "Working Through" The Trauma of the Nakba in Emile Habibi's Oeuvre – 7 Wa-Ma Nasayna (We Have Not Forgotten): Palestinian Collective Memory and the Print Work of Abed Abdi – 8 The Palestinian Exile-Drama Shapes Memory – Epilogue: Reflections on Post-Oslo Israeli and Palestinian History and Memory of 1948.

***The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order***
(State University of New York Press, 423 pages, 1998)

**Rona Sela** (Tel Aviv University)
***Made Public – Palestinian Photographs in Military Archives in Israel***
(Ramat-Hasharon: Helena Publishing, 2009)
Two volumes; Vol. 1 – text (Hebrew with English Abstract); Vol. 2 – photographs; 336 pages / 168 pages each volume. Based on three years of research on military photography archives in Israel and focuses on two key subjects each involving the other: the manner in which military systems plunder, collect, control and release (or censor) photographic information about the Palestinians- in the past and over the years – and the missing chapters of Palestinian visual historiography. Note: see also author's book on Khalil Raad, the first Arab Palestinian photographer, *Khalil Raad, Photographs 1891-1948* (Helena Publishing, 2010) All text in Hebrew.

**Bettina Selby**
***Riding to Jerusalem***
(Abacus, 1989, 1994)
Travel by bicycle narrative.

**Jan Selby** (University of Sussex)
***Dependence, Independence and Interdependence in the Palestinian Water Sector***
(Report: Birzeit University, 2012)

***Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(IB Tauris, 2003)

As co-editor, with **R. Duffy** & **F. Cochrane**: ***Governance and Resistance in Palestine – Simulations, Confrontations, Sumoud***
(Palgrave, 2003)

**Lance Selfa**, editor
***The Struggle for Palestine***
(Haymarket Books, 256 pages, 2002)
Contributors include: Includes Anthony Arnove, Naseer Aruri, David Barsamian, Paul D'Amato, Phil Gasper, Toufic Haddad, Tikva Honig-Parnass, Rania Masri, Tanya Reinhart, Edward Said, and Ahmed Shawki.

**Michael Selzer**

***The Wineskin and the Wizard: The Problem of Jewish Power in the Context of East European Jewish History***
(Macmillan, 1970)

As editor: ***Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of Jewish Normalcy***
(Macmillan, 1970)
Includes Hannah Arendt: Zionism Reconsidered; Simon Dubnow – *The Doctrine of Jewish Nationalism*; Morris R. Cohen – Zionism, Tribalism or Liberalism?; Yerachmiel Domb – *Neturei Karta*; plus Achad Ha'Am, Philip Roth, etc.

***Israel as a Factor in Jew-Gentile Relations in America: Observations in the Aftermath of the June, 1967 War***
(New York City: American Council for Judaism, 27 pages, 1968)
Introduction by **Rabba Elmer Berger**.

***The Aryanization of the Jewish State: A Polemic***
(New York City: Black Star Publishing, 1967)
"Zionism is anti-Semitic in its origins…conceived and founded in a conscious effort to Aryanize the Jews, thereby placating anti-Semitic stereotypes of the Jewish personality. " Chapters focus on 'Jewish anti-Semitism' and 'diaspora nationalism."

**Moshe Semyonov** & **Noah Lewin-Epstein**, editors
***Stratification in Israel: Class, Ethnicity and Gender***
(Transaction Publishers, 2004 / Routledge 448 pages, 2019)
Contains **Ahmad Saidi** (aka **Ahmad H. Sa'di**)**:** *Incorporation without Integration: Palestinian-Citizens in Israel's Labour Market.*

***The Arab Minority in Israel's Economy: Patterns of Ethnic Inequality***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993 / Routledge, 169 pages, 2019)

***Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Noncitizen Arabs in the Israeli Labor Market***
(Cornell University Press, 2019)

**Ziad Badawi Senan**
***Political Impacts on the Built Environment Colonisation and the Development of Place Identity: The Case of the Rural West Bank***
(University of Newcastle thesis, 397 pages, 1993)

**Cath Senker**, editor
***Defiance: Palestinian Women in the Uprising***
(London: The Israeli Mirror, 38pp, 1989)

**Enzo Sereni** & **R.E. Ashery**
***Jews and Arabs in Palestine: Studies in a National and Colonial Problem***
(Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 315 pages, 1936)
Reprint of the New York City: Hechalutz Press edition of 1936.

**Shaul Setter**
***Collectivity in Struggle: Godard, Genet, and the Palestinian Revolt of the 1970s***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020)

**Desmond Seward**

***Wings Over the Desert: In Action with an RFC Pilot in Palestine, 1916-1918***
(Sparkford: Haynes, 224 pages, 2009)

**Michael Sfard**

Likely to be translated, with English title: ***Occupied from Within: A Journey to the Roots of the Israeli Constitutional Coup***
(Berl Katznelson Center, in Hebrew, 181 pages, 2025)

With **Orna Ben-Natali** (Haim Striks School of Law, Israel) and **Hedi Viterbo** (University of Essex): ***The ABC of the OPT: A Legal Lexicon of the Israeli Control over the Occupied Palestinian Territory***
(Cambridge University Press, 580 pages, 2018)
"Israel's contortion of law to obstruct and obfuscate justice is beyond the legal mind to comprehend." – Mais Qandeel, Örebro University, Sweden, in book review in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

As co-editor with **Oma Ben-Naftali**: ***Unprecedented: A Legal Analysis of the Report of the Committee to Examine the Status of Building in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] The Levy Committee – International and Administrative Aspects***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 101 pages, 2014)
Translated by **Shaul Vardi**.

***The Wall and the Gate: Israel, Palestine, and the Legal Battle for Human Rights***
(Henry Holt & Co, 509 pages, 2018)
Translated by **Maya Johnston**.

As editor: **Lior Yavne**: ***Exceptions: Prosecution of IDF Soldiers During and After the Second Intifada, 2000-2007***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 131 pages, 2008)

As editor: **Lior Yavne**: ***Too Little, Too Late: Supervision by the Office of the State Attorney over the Investigation of Offenses Committed by Israeli Civilians against Palestinians in the Occupied Territories***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 79 pages, 2008)

As editor with **Natalie Rosen**: **Lior Yavne**: ***Backyard Proceedings: The Implementation of Due Process Rights in the Military Courts in the Occupied Territories***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 181 pages, 2007)

As editor: **Lior Yavne**: ***A Semblance of Law: Law Enforcement upon Israeli Civilians in the West Bank***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 149 pages, 2006)

As editor: **Lior Yavne**: ***Alleged Investigation: The Failure of Investigations into Offenses Committed by IDF Soldiers against Palestinians***
(Tel Aviv: Yesh Din/Volunteers for Human Rights, 107 pages, 2011)

**Nabil Sha'ath aka Nabeel Shaath** possibly **Nabil Ali Sha'ath**, but not the Chief Commissioner of the Palestinian National Committee for the Administration of Gaza (long-time Palestinian negotiator, Fatah Central Committee)

***My Life from Nakba to Revolution***
(unconfirmed in English, 2016)

***The PLO's Position in the Gulf Crisis***
(London: PLO, 8 pages, 1990)

***High Level Palestinian Manpower***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972)

***Palestine-of-Tomorrow for Jews, Christians, and Moslems***
(Birmingham, Alabama: Committee for Better American Relations in the Middle East, 1972)

**Rachel Shabi** (Journalist for the *Guardian, New York Times, Times*)

***Off-White: The Truth about Antisemitism***
(Oneworld, 288 pages, 2024)
Author unpacks Natan Sharansky's 2003 'three Ds' test of antisemitism. Publisher's blurb: "Looking beyond our polarising headlines and interrogating the reasons racism takes hold, *Off-White* offers urgent analysis of one of the most divisive issues of our time. Taking in the contingency of whiteness, Judeo-Christian mythmaking, pro-Israel antisemitism, and the Palestinian struggle against colonialism, Rachel Shabi lights a hopeful way forward."

***Not the Enemy: Israel's Jews from Arab Lands***
(Yale University Press, 2009)
Also published as: *We Look Like the Enemy: The Hidden Story of Israel's Jews from Arab Lands* (Walker & Company, 2009) – Well-researched book on Israel's political, residential, economic and cultural discrimination of Mizrahi Jews, including the transition of some from leftists hard done by the Labour Party to become rightists supporting Likud. The chapter on music is rewarding for its focus on Arab Jewish singers and players in Israel, despite omitting Ofra Haza's popularising Yemenite songs.

**Nathan Shachar**

***The Gaza Strip ; It's History and Politics***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2010)

**Mohammed K. Shadid**

***The United States and the Palestinians***
(Croom Helm, 1981)

**Gershon Shafir**

***A Half-Century of Occupation: Israel, Palestine and the World's Most Intractable Conflict***
(University of California Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Gershon Shafir asks three questions—What is the occupation, why has it lasted so long, and how has it transformed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?—in order to figure out how we got here, what here is, and where we are likely to go. He expertly demonstrates that at its fiftieth year, the occupation is riven with paradoxes, legal inconsistencies, and conflicting interests that weaken the occupiers' hold and leave the occupation itself vulnerable to challenge."

With **Yoav Peled**: ***Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship***
(Cambridge University Press, 397pages, 2002)

***Land, Labor and the Origin of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914***
(University of California Press, 288 pages, 1996)
Analyses the early Zionist goal of a "conquest of labour," an exclusively Jewish labour market.

**Azeez Shaheen**

***Ramallah: It's History and its Geneaologies***
(Birzeit University, 692pprox.. 550 pages,1982)
Mostly in Arabic but with English text by **Naseeb Shaheen**, 77 pages with photographs.

**Naseeb Shaheen** (Born Chicago, educated in Ramallah 1935-1938, American University of Beirut 1958-1962, University of California at Los Angeles 1969, professor Memphis State University)

***A Pictorial History of Ramallah***
(Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 295 pages, 1992)
Sweeping collection of photographs from 1890-1992, historical documents from the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate, and census records of Ramallah, 1562-63, and Beit Jala, 1553-54.

***A Pictorial History of Ramallah – Part 2***
(Birzeit University, 385 pages, 2006)
See also as co-editor with his father **Aziz Shaheen :** *'Ramallah – Its History and Its Genealogies* (in Arabic – Birzeit University, 1982)

**Arfan Shahid** aka **Irfan Arif Shahid**, **Irfan Arif Qawar**, **Irfan Kawar** (1926-2016; Palestinian author at Georgetown University)

***The Arabs in Late Antiquity: Their Role, Achievement, and Legacy***
(American University Beirut, 38 pages, 2008)

***Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century***
(Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks research Library, 1995, 2002)
Catalogued as political, military, and ecclesiastical history. Multi-volume set, 1032 pages.

***Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century***
(Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks research Library, 592 pages, 1989)

***Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam***
(London: Variorum Reprints, 336 pages, 1988)

***Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century***
(Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks research Library, 628 pages, 1984)

***Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs***
(193 pages, 1984)

***Muhammad and Alexander***
(Georgetown University, 11 pages, 1979)
Lecture delivered at Georgetown University, 2 May 1978.

As by **Irfan Kawar**: ***The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561***
(Leiden: EJ Brill, 213 pages, 1956)

**Zakaria al-Shaik**

***Sabra and Shatila, 1982: Resisting the Massacre***
(London: PLO, 15 pages, ca. 1982-1983)

**Israel Shahak** & **Norton Mezvinsky**

***Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel***

(Pluto Press, 1999)
Important study of the evolving influence of Rabbi Kook the Elder (1865-1935), Army and Chief Rabbi Shlomo Gorem, and the settler movement Gush Emunim (1975+). Book is based almost entirely on Hebrew language sources in Israel, with examples of Talmudic interpretations and Israeli Jewish commentary rarely in evidence in English.

**Israel Shahak**
**Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression**
(Belmont, Massachusetts: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 59 pages, 1982)
Introduction by **Noam Chomsky**.

**Noa Shaindlinger** (Worcester State University, Massachusetts)
***Displacement and Erasure in Palestine: The Politics of Hope***
(Cambridge University Press/Edinburgh University Press, 2023, 2025)

**Omar Shakir** (Israel and Palestine Director, Human Rights Watch)
***Two Authorities, One Way, Zero Dissent: Arbitrary Arrest and Torture under the Palestinian Authority and Hamas***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 149 pages, 2018)

**Michael Shalev**
***Labour and the Political Economy in Israel***
(Oxford University Press, 1992)

**Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian**
***Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Who has the right to a safe and protected childhood? Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding deepens understanding of children as political capital in the hands of those in power, critically engaging children's voices alongside archival, historical, and ethnographic material in Palestine. Offering the concept of unchilding', Shalhoub-Kevorkian exposes the political work of violence designed to create, direct, govern, transform, and construct colonized children as dangerous, racialized others, enabling their eviction from the realm of childhood itself. Penetrating children's everyday intimate spaces and, simultaneously, their bodies and lives, unchilding works to enable a complex machinery of violence against Palestinian children: imprisonment, injuries, loss, trauma, and militarized political occupation. At the same time as the book documents violations of children's rights and the consequences this has for their present and future well-being, it charts children's resistance to and power to interrupt colonial violence, reclaiming childhood and, with it, Palestinian futures."

***Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case Study***
(Cambridge University Press, 2009)

With **Nahla Abdo**: ***Acknowledging the Displaced: Palestinian Women's Ordeals in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Women's Study Center, 2009)

**Zaki Shalom** (many titles)

***Israel, The United States, and the War against Hamas, July-August 2014: The 'Special Relationship' under Scrutiny***
(Liverpool University Press, 2019)

***Obama Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Political Process: A Change of Approach?***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2015)

***Palestinian Statehood Bid and US Aid to the Palestinian Authority***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2011)

***Israel's Nuclear Option: Behind the Scenes Diplomacy between Dimona and Washington***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2005)

**Peter A. Shambrook** (Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford University / Programme Director for the British-Arab University Association)

As **Peter Shambrook**: ***Policy of Deceit: Britain and Palestine, 1914-1939***
(OneWorld Books, 416 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In this eye-opening book, Peter Shambrook delves into the secret correspondence between the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, and the Sharif of Mecca during the First World War. McMahon promised the Sharif an independent Arab state, including Palestine, after the war, in exchange for his alliance with Britain against the Ottomans. But what happened next changed the course of history. Despite the promises made, two years later Lloyd George's government declared that Palestine would be for the global Jewish community. Shambrook's meticulous analysis of official records and private papers reveals the behind-the-scenes machinations that led to this betrayal of the Arabs and exposes how successive British governments blocked the publication of the Sharif and McMahon's correspondence. Presenting compelling evidence, Shambrook debunks the myth perpetuated by Britain and pro-Zionist historians that Palestine was never part of the lands guaranteed to the Sharif. He lays bare the truth and its devastating consequences, which have reverberated throughout the decade–long conflict in the Middle East. Shockingly, no British government has launched an impartial investigation into this matter or officially acknowledged its betrayal of the Palestinian people."

***French Imperialism in Syria, 1927-1936***
(Reading: Ithaca Press, 316 pages, 1998)

**Meir Shamgar**, editor

***Military Government in the Territories Administered by Israel, 1967-1980: The Legal Aspects, Volume 1***
(Hebrew University, 1982)

**Israel Shamir** (controversial Israeli journalist and former WikiLeaks associate)

***Masters of Discourse***
(author/BookSurge Publishing, 2008)
Collection of essays. Publisher's blurb: "Welcome to the new world order, where mass media, a fully integrated public-opinion-forming machine of mind control had rendered the Left and Right obsolete and subservient to Zionism. Who are the people who own and operate this machine? Are they actually the Jewish Lobby? No, says Shamir. The formidable Jewish Lobby is just the visible tip of the iceberg, while below there are miles and miles of solid ice: media lords, chief editors, their favourite university pundits – in short, the Masters of Discourse."

***Kabbala of Power***
(author/BookSurge Publishing, 2008 / CreateSpace Independent Publishing)
Collection of essays.

***Flowers of Galilee***
(author/BookSurge Publishing, 2005 / CreateSpace Independent Publishing)
Collection of essays originally published online as *Galilee Flowers*.

**Itzhak Shamir** (Stern Gang)
***Summing Up: An Autobiography***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994)

**Ronen Shamir** (Tel Aviv University)
***Current Flow: The Electrification of Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "Current Flow examines the history of electrification of British-ruled Palestine in the 1920s, as it marked, affirmed, and produced social, political, and economic difference between Arabs and Jews. Considering the interplay of British colonial interests, the Jewish-Zionist leanings of a commissioned electric company, and Arab opposition within the case of the Jaffa Power House, Ronen Shamir reveals how electrification was central in assembling a material infrastructure of ethno-national separation in Palestine long before "political partition plans" had ever been envisioned.
Ultimately, Current Flowsheds new light on the history of Jewish-Arab relations and offers broader sociological insights into what happens when people are transformed from users into elements of networks."

***The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism and Law in Early Mandate Palestine***
(Cambridge University Press, 2000)

**Ismail & Tamam Shammout** (aka **Tamam al-Akhal**)
***Palestine: The Exodus and the Odyssey***
(Al Ekbal, 2000)
Leading fine artists remember the Nakba.

**Anita Shapira** (Tel Aviv University / Yitzak Rabin Center for Israeli Studies)
***Ben-Gurion: Father of Modern Israel***
(Yale University Press, 2014)
Translated by **Anthony Berris**

As co-editor, with **Yedidia Z. Stern** and **Alexnder Yakobson**: ***Nationaliam and Binationalism***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2013)
Three volumes, with an emphasis on Palestine: Vol.1 – *The Perils of Perfect Structures*; Vol. 2 – *The National State and Religion – The Resurgence of Faith*; Vol. 3 – *The Nation State and Immigration – The Age of Multiculturalism*.

***Yigal Allon: Native Son, A Biography***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) T
ranslated by **Evelyn Abel**. Aka Yigal Alon, who, in 1967, conceptualised Israel's segregated colonisation of the West Bank.

As co-editor, with **Derek J. Penslar**: ***Israeli Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right***
(Frank Cass Publishing, 2002)

As editor, with **Jehuda Reinharz**: ***Essential Papers on Zionism***
(New York University Press, 1996 / Cassell, 1996)

***Land and Power: Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948***
(Stanford University Press? / Oxford University Press, 1992)

**Avraham Shapira**, editor
***The Seventh Day: Soldiers Talk about the Six-Day War – recorded and edited by a group of young kibbutz members*** -translated from Hebrew by Henry Near
(Andre Deutsch, 1970/ Charles Scribner & Sons, 276 pages, 1971)

**Yonathan Shapiro**
***Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897-1930***
(University of Illinois Press, 1971)

**Hisham Sharabi** (Editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*; Georgetown University)
***Embers and Ashes: Memoirs of an Arab Intellectual***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 187 pages, 2008)
Translated by **Issa Boullata**; publisher's blurb: "Hisham Sharabi was a distinguished Palestinian intellectual and an outspoken critic of traditional Arab society and culture. Despite his upbringing as a member of the privileged class, his conscious self-analysis after the 1967 Arab defeat by Israel led him to radically change his former bourgeois outlook on his society and its culture. *Embers and Ashes* tells of Sharabi's childhood and boyhood in Palestine, his youth and initial political activism as a university student i' Lebanon, and his life and education as a graduate student in the US. He brings his newly acquired self-analysis and sociocultural criticism to bear on the story of each of these phases. Although Sharabi wrote many acclaimed books in English and Arabic expressing his insights into the flaws of Arab societal structure, culture, and politics, it is his autobiography, *Embers and Ashes*, first published in Arabic in 1978, that offers a candid, poignant, and engrossing account of his own personal formation and development."

As editor – ***The Next Arab Decade: Alternative Futures***
(Routledge, 347 pages, 2019)
Contents: Introduction: patriarchy and dependency and the future of Arab society / Hisham Sharabi – The state, democracy, and human rights. Forecast for the future: state and society in Egypt, Sudan, and Libya in 1995 / Ibrahim Ibrahim – State, society, and legitimacy: an essay on Arab political prospects in the 1990s / Michael C. Hudson – The future of human rights in the Arab world / Saad Eddin Ibrahim – Democracy, development, and human rights: can women achieve change without conflict? / Nadia Hijab – The political economy of Arab international relations. The shape of inter-Arab politics in 1995 / Rashid I. Khalidi – Unwelcome guests: the political economy of Arab relations with the superpowers / Bahgat Korany – The economy: breakthrough or breakdown? / The lean years: the political economy of Arab oil in the coming decade / George T. Abed – Arab agriculture in 1995: apocalypse or muddling through? / Alan Richards – The prospects of technological growth in Arab societies: an analysis of the potential for progress toward technological autonomy in the Arab world, 1985-95 / Michael J. Simpson – Cultural change, creativity, and authenticity. Challenges to Arab cultural authenticity / Issa J. Boullata – Cultural creation in a fragmented society / Kamal Abu-Deeb – Social transformations. Future Arab economic-demographic potential: whither policy? / Ismail A. Sirageldin – Arab women: 1995 / Leila Ahmed – Class structure and social change in the Arab world: 1995 / Samih K. Farsoun – The Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel: the political economy of a garrison state and its future / Joel Beinin – Palestinian impasse: constraints and opportunities / Naseer H. Aruri – The implications of current trends in the Arab-Israeli military balance / Anthony H. Cordesman – Priorities for Arab studies. Social science research and Arab studies in the coming decade / John Waterbury –
In search of a new identity of the social sciences in the Arab world: discourse, paradigm, and strategy / El Sayed Yassin – Middle East studies in the United States: the coming decade / Judith E. Tucker – Futurology and the study of the Arab world / Elia T. Zureik.

***The Palestinians: Fifty Years Later***
(Washington DC: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 17 pages, 1998)

***The Peaceful Solution: Illusions and Realities***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 8 pages, ca. 1971)

***Palestine Guerillas: Their Credibility and Effectiveness***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 64 or 69pages, 1970; Georgetown University, 56 or 74 pages, 1970)

***Palestine and Israel: The Lethal Dilemma***
(Pegasus Press, 224 pages, 1969)
Contents: America and the Arabs. – The course of U.S. policy. – The pattern of Arab policy. – The Arab-Israeli confrontation, May-June 1967. – Consequences of the 1967 War. – The problems of Jerusalem and the Suez Canal. – The problem of the Palestinian refugees. – Palestinian resistance. – The prospects for peace.

**Zeev Sharef**
***Three Days***
(WH Allen, 298 pages, 1962)
On the declaration of independence in Israel, 1948. Translated from Hebrew by **Julian Louis Meltzer**.

**Moshe Sharett**
***My Struggle for Peace: The Diary of Moshe Sharett, 1953-1956***
(Indiana University Press, three volumes at 1,984 pages, 2019)
Edited by **Neil Caplan** & **Yaakov Sharett**. Translation of the Hebrew edition (1978), which was translated into Arabic and published by the Institute for Palestine Studies (1996).

**Baila Shargel**, translator and editor
***Lost Love The Untold Story of Henrietta Szold: unpublished diary and letters***
(Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society, 1997)
Szold (1860-1945) was the founder of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, who moved to Mandate Palestine. See also biographical material by **Marvin Lowenthal** and **Francine Klagsbrun**.

**Amer A. Sharif**
***A Statistical Study of the Arab Boycott on Israel***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 29 pages, 1970)

**Dr. Mohammed Badi Sharif** (Iraqi educator & Director of the Arab League Office in London, from 1969)
***Strangers in Palestine***
(London: Morssett Press, 84 pages, 1970)
Palestinian history overview.

**Regina S. Sharif**
***Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots in Western History***
(Zed Books, 1983)

***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict, 1977***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978)

**Yara Sharif**

***Architecture of Resistance: Cultivating Moments of Possibility within the Palestinian/Israeli Conflict***
(Routledge, 216 pages, 2017)
Includes a focus on the historic centre of Birzeit.

***Spaces of Possibility and Imagination within the Palestinian/Israeli Conflict: Healing Fractures through the Dialogue of Everyday Behaviour***
(University of Westminster PhD thesis, 2011)

**Daphna Sharfman** (Western Galilee College)

***Refugees, Human Rights and Realpolitik: The Clandestine Immigration of Jewish Refugees from Italy to Palestine, 1945-1948***
(Routledge, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This book presents a multidimensional case study of international human rights in the immediate post-Second World War period, and the way in which complex refugee problems created by the war were often in direct competition with strategic interests and national sovereignty. The case study is the clandestine immigration of Jewish refugees from Italy to Palestine in 1945–1948, which was part of a British–Zionist conflict over Palestine, involving strategic and humanitarian attitudes. The result was a clear subjection of human rights considerations to strategic and political interests."

***Palestine in the Second World War: Strategic Plans and Political Dilemmas – The Emergence of a New Middle East***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "The aim of this work is to analyse the continual development of strategic plans and political dilemmas that arose during the war period, which led to the subsequent post-war circumstance where American and Soviet involvement impacted on the strategic thinking of all involved parties, notwithstanding the British military victory. Analysis includes: the pre-war British strategic situation in Palestine, and the war events in Palestine and its Middle East neighbour countries (at the military–strategic level and the repercussions of the outcome of the war for the local Palestinian population). At the heart of the discussion lies British interests and policies framed towards Jews and Arabs; analysis of the two communities' conflicting interests and policies; and the resultant sea-change in the establishment of the Jewish state which brought in its wake the emergence of a New Middle East."

**Amer A. Sharif**

***A Statistical study on the Arab Boycott of Israel***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, Monograph Series no. 26, 40 pages, 1970)

**Heather J. Sharkey** (Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania)

***A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East***
(Cambridge University Press, 2017)
Focusing on the Ottoman Middle East before the Great War, the book focuses on everyday social contacts, dress, music, food, bathing, etc.

**Arieh Sharon**

***Planning Jerusalem: The Old City and its Environs for the Municipality of Jerusalem and the Ministry of the Interior of the State of Israel***
(Widenfeld and Nicolson / McGraw-Hill, 211 pages, 1973)
Includes expropriation of *waqf* properties by Israel.

**Gene Sharp**

With **Christopher A. Miller** & **Hardy Merriman**: ***Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 2005)

With **Ronald M. McCarthy** & **Brad Bennett**: ***Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide***
(Garland Press, 1997)

***The Politics of Nonviolent Action***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973)

***Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives***
(Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970/1971)

**Ari Shavit** (former editor for *Ha'aretz*)

***My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel***
(Scribe Publications, 2014)
See critique of *My Promised Land* by Norman G. Finkelstein: *Old Wine, Broken Bottle: Ari Shavit's Promised Land* (OR Books, 100 pages, 2014).

**Uriya Shavit** (Tel Aviv University) & **Orif Winter** (Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv)

***Zionism in Arab Discourses***
(Manchester University Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "*Zionism in Arab discourses* presents a ground-breaking study of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Through analyses of hundreds of texts written by Arab Islamists and liberals from the late-nineteenth century to the 'Arab Spring', the book demonstrates that the Zionist enterprise has played a dual function of an enemy and a mentor. Islamists and liberals alike discovered, respectively, in Zionism and in Israeli society qualities they sought to implement in their sown homelands. Focusing on Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian political discourses, this study uncovers fascinating and unexpected Arab points of views on different aspects of Zionism; from the first Zionist Congress to the First Lebanon War; from gardening in the early years of Tel Aviv to women's service in the Israeli Defence Forces; from the role of religion in the creation of the state to the role of democracy in its preservation. This study presents the debates between and within contesting Arab ideological trends on a conflict that has shaped, and is certain to continue and shape, one of the most complicated regions in the world."

**Ya'acov Shavit**

***Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement, 1925-1948***
(Cass, 444 pages, 1988)

***Revisionism in Zionism: The Revisionist Movement: The Plan for Colonizatory Regime and Social Ideas, 1925-1935***
(1978)

**Tony Shaw** (University of Hertfordshire) & **Giora Goodman** (Kinneret College, Galilee)

***Hollywood and Israel, a History***
(Columbia University Press, 368 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "From Frank Sinatra's early pro-Zionist rallying to Steven Spielberg's present-day peacemaking, Hollywood has long enjoyed a "special relationship" with Israel. This book offers a groundbreaking account of this relationship, both on and off the screen. Tony Shaw and Giora Goodman investigate the many ways in which Hollywood's moguls, directors, and actors have supported or challenged Israel for more than seven decades. They explore the complex story of Israel's relationship

with American Jewry and illuminate how media and soft power have shaped the Arab-Israeli conflict. Shaw and Goodman draw on a vast range of archival sources to demonstrate how show business has played a pivotal role in crafting the U.S.-Israel alliance. They probe the influence of Israeli diplomacy on Hollywood's output and lobbying activities, but also highlight the limits of ideological devotion in high-risk entertainment industries. The book details the political involvement with Israel—and Palestine—of household names such as Eddie Cantor, Kirk Douglas, Elizabeth Taylor, Barbra Streisand, Vanessa Redgrave, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Robert De Niro, and Natalie Portman. It also spotlights the role of key behind-the-scenes players like Dore Schary, Arthur Krim, Arnon Milchan, and Haim Saban. Bringing the story up to the moment, Shaw and Goodman contend that the Hollywood-Israel relationship might now be at a turning point. Shedding new light on the political power that images and celebrity can wield, *Hollywood and Israel* shows the world's entertainment capital to be an important player in international affairs."

**Samir Shawa** aka **Sam Shawa** (Alhani Cultural Foundation, Gaza)

***Gaza Awakened the World – What Next?***

(London: Alhani, 256 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "The author documents moments of heroism, defiance, desperation and hope. He also chronicles - through photographs - the amazing popular humanitarian and solidarity movement: millions of courageous people, thousands of Jewish people of all ages; the daring anti-apartheid volunteers who sailed in small boats; and the powerful voices, writings, campaigns, and marches that formed a clear and resounding call: Free Palestine."

***Lobbying for Palestine***

(London: Alhani/Primedia eLaunch, 333 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "A collection of portraits and ketches of individuals that have set the scene, the pace, and the course of the contemporary history of Palestine, from the British Mandate to the present day."

See also FICTION.

**Scott A. Shay**

***Conspiracy U: A Case Study***

(New York City: Wicked Son Press/Simon & Schuster, 279 pages, 2021)

Zionism as 'conspiracy theory' in US universities.

**L.H. Shayebhilal**

***The Paradox of State-Building as a Path to Statehood under Occupation: The Relevance of the Palestinian Case***

(University of Exeter PhD thesis, 2020)

**Leyli Shayegan** & **Sally Covington**

***The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Part 1, Press Profile: June-July 1982***

(New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 1982)

Note: These are photocopies of original press sources, with maps and illustrations.

***The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Part 2, Press Profile: August 1982-May 1983***

(New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 364 pages, 1983)

Note: These are photocopies of original press sources, with maps and illustrations. See also: **Lisa Parrish** & **George Cavaletto**, editors: ***The Beirut Massacre: Press Profile***

(New York City: Claremont Research & Publications, 117 pages, 1982 / revised edition 207 pages, 1984)

Collection of period press coverage, some taken from Israeli press and thus translated from Hebrew. Part 3 of a series.

**Gabriel Sheffer** & **Oren Barak**

***Militarism and Israeli Society***
(Indiana University Press, 2010)
Notes the security network as wider than the military, with undefined boundaries.

As co-editors: ***Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 302 pages, 2009)

As editor: ***Dynamics of Dependence: US-Israeli Relations***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1987 / Routledge, 2019)
Israel's influence in the US Congress.

As editor: ***Dynamics of a Conflict: A Re-examination of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1975)
Conference proceedings.

**Yigal Sheffy**

***British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campgian, 1914-1918***
(Frank Cass, 1998; Routledge 400 pages, 2004))

**Imad Shehadeh**

***David and Goliath, in Nine Easy Lessons***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 83 pages, 1970)

**Ruth Sheldon** (Birkbeck College)

***Tragic Encounters and Ordinary Ethics: Palestine-Israel in British Universities***
(Manchester University Press, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "For over four decades, events in Palestine-Israel have provoked raging conflicts within British universities around issues of free speech, 'extremism', antisemitism and Islamophobia. But why is this conflict so significant for student activists living at such a geographical distance from the region itself? And what role do emotive, polarised communications around Palestine-Israel play in the life of British academic institutions committed to the ideal of free expression? This book draws on original ethnographic research with student activists on different sides of this conflict to initiate a conversation with students, academics and members of the public who are concerned with the transnational politics of Palestine-Israel and with the changing role of the public university. It shows how, in an increasingly globalised world that is shaped by entangled histories of European antisemitism and colonial violence, ethnography can open up ethical responses to questions of justice."

**Moshe Shemesh** (former IDF senior intelligence officer; Ben-Gurion University)

***The Palestinian National Revival: in the Shadow of the Leadership Crisis, 1937-1967***
(Indiana University Press, 340 pages, 2018/2025)

***Arab Politics, Palestinian Nationalism and the Six Day War: The Crystalization of Arab Strategy and Nasir's*** [sic] ***Descent to War, 1957-1967***
(Sussex Academic, 345 pages, 2007/2008)

***The Palestinian Entity, 1959-1974: Arab Politics and the PLO***
(Frank Cass, 402 pages, 1988; 2nd edition, 433 pages, 1996)

***Political Representation of the Palestinians, 1964-1974***
(London School of Economics)

University thesis, 680 pages, 1983)

**Moshe Shemesh** & **Selwyn Ilan Troen**, editors
***The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal***
(Frank Cass, 1990)

**Yehouda Shenhav**
***Beyond the Two-State Solution: A Jewish Political Essay***
(Polity Press, 2012)
Translated by **Dimi Reider**, of +972 news website. Publisher's blurb: For over two decades, many liberals in Israel have attempted, with wide international support, to implement the two-state solution: Israel and Palestine, partitioned on the basis of the Green Line – that is, the line drawn by the 1949 Armistice Agreements that defined Israel's borders until 1967, before Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza following the Six-Day War. By going back to Israel's pre-1967 borders, many people hope to restore Israel to what they imagine was its pristine, pre-occupation character and to provide a solid basis for a long-term solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this original and controversial essay, Yehouda Shenhav argues that this vision is an illusion that ignores historical realities and offers no long-term solution. It fails to see that the real problem is that a state was created in most of Palestine in 1948 in which Jews are the privileged ethnic group, at the expense of the Palestinians – who also must live under a constant state of emergency. The issue will not be resolved by the two-state solution, which will do little for the millions of Palestinian refugees and will also require the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of Jews living across the Green Line. All these obstacles require a bolder rethinking of the issues: the Green Line should be abandoned and a new type of polity created on the complete territory of mandatory Palestine, with a new set of constitutional arrangements that address the rights of both Palestinians and Jews, including the settlers.

***The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity***
(Stanford University Press, 2006)
Publisher's blurb: This book is about the social history of the Arab Jews—Jews living in Arab countries—against the backdrop of Zionist nationalism. By using the term "Arab Jews" (rather than "Mizrahim," which literally means "Orientals") the book challenges the binary opposition between *Arabs* and *Jews* in Zionist discourse, a dichotomy that renders the linking of Arabs and Jews in this way inconceivable. It also situates the study of the relationships between Mizrahi Jews and Ashkenazi Jews in the context of early colonial encounters between the Arab Jews and the European Zionist emissaries—prior to the establishment of the state of Israel and outside Palestine. It argues that these relationships were reproduced upon the arrival of the Arab Jews to Israel. The book also provides a new prism for understanding the intricate relationships between the Arab Jews and the Palestinian refugees of 1948, a link that is usually obscured or omitted by studies that are informed by Zionist historiography. Finally, the book uses the history of the Arab Jews to transcend the assumptions necessitated by the Zionist perspective, and to open the door for a perspective that sheds new light on the basic assumptions upon which Zionism was founded.

**Naomi Shepherd**
***Ploughing the Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948***
(Rutgers University Press, 2000)
Includes methodology of Palestine Police interrogation, such as "duffing up," inspired by officer/author Douglas Duff.

**Robin Shepherd**
***A State Beyond the Pale: Europe's Problem with Israel***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 310 pages, 2009)

**Gilead Sher** (Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University)

Co-edited with **Galia Golan**: ***Spoiling and Coping with Spoilers: Israeli-Arab Negotiations***
(Indiana University Press, 196 pages, 2019)
Contents: Spoiling international peace negotiations from within the room / Gilead Sher and Deborah Shulman – The leadership as a spoiler / Roee Kibrik and Maya Kornberg – Israel's domestic legal struggle against the settlements: spoiler-advancing, spoiler-hindering, or spoiler-exposing? / Shlomy Zachary – The American Jewish diaspora as a spoiler / Ofira Seliktar – Visual spoilers: peace and conflict in Israeli political cartoons / Tamir Shaefer, Ilan Danjoux, Shira Dabir-Gvirsman, and Shaul Shenhav – The psychological effects of forced evacuation: the case of Jewish settlers in the West Bank / Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, Tamar Saguy, and Gilad Hirschberger – Coping with spoilers: a comparative analysis / Galia Golan.

***Prospects for a Gaza Seaport***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2016)

***More of the Same? Fatah's Seventh General Congress and the Re-election of Abbas***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2016)

***Hamas Maneuvers in a Complex Theater***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2015)

***Image vs. Reality:The Deligitimization of Israel in the Wake of Operation Protective Edge***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2014)

***Mahmoud Abbas' UN Gambit Will not Bring Peace***
(Institute for National Security Studies, 2012)

***Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999-2001: Within Reach***
(Taylor & Francis, 297 pages, 2006)

***Challenge to the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

***Application of Israeli Law to the West Bank: De Facto Annexation?***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

***Veritable Battle field: The Palestinians' Legal Warfare Strategy***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

***Toward Resumption of Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

***International Efforts to Deligitimize Israel: Comoros versus Israel at the ICC***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

***Disengaging from the West Bank Short of a Permanent Agreement: Tenable Security-Wise?***
(Institute for National Security Studies, n.d.)

**AJ Sherman**

***Mandate Days: British Lives in Palestine, 1918-1948***
(Thames & Hudson, 1997)
A fascinating, intentionally insular survey of Mandate Government's military, police, civil servants, and what we'd now term as NGOs. The author made use of many unpublished diaries held in the Middle

East section of the St Anthony's College Oxford Archives, and vintage photographs as exceptionally well-reproduced.

**Abbas Shiblak**

***The Palestinian Refugee Issue: A Palestinian Perspective***
(Royal Institute of International Affairs, aka Chatham House, 2009)

***Falling Through the Cracks: Legal and Practical Gaps in Refugee Status: A Case Study of Unrecognised Refugees in Lebanon***
(revised edition, Beirut: Frontiers / Ruwad Association, 2006)

***The Palestinian Diaspora in Europe: Challenges of Dual Identity and Adaptation***
(Palestine: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005)

***Iraqi Jews: A History of Mass Exodus***
(al-Saqi Books, 2005)

With **Uri Davis**: ***Civil and Citizenship Rights of Palestinian Refugees***
(Jerusalem: Shami, 1995)

***The Lure of Zion: The Case of the Iraqi Jews***
(al-Saqi Books, 1986)

**(Ahmad) Faris al-Shidyaq** (1805/06-1887; Maronite from what is now Lebanon; "the father of Arabic journalism")

***Leg over Leg, or, The Turtle in the Tree: Concerning Fariyaq, What Manner of Creature Might He Be***
(New York University Press, 4 volumes, ca. 2013 / Library of Arabic Literature, 2 volumes, 2015)
Translated by **Humphrey Davies**. Leg Over Leg is the semi-autobiographical account of Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, a pivotal figure in the intellectual and literary history of the modern Arab world. His adventures and misadventures provided him with opportunities for wide-ranging digressions on the intellectual and social issues of his time, including the ignorance and corruption of the Lebanese religious and secular establishments, women's rights, the manners and customs of Europeans and Middle Easterners, and the differences between European and Arabic literature. It was initially widely condemned for its attacks on authority, its skepticism, and "obscenity," and later editions were often abridged. This is the very first English translation of the work and reproduces the original edition.

**Magid Shihade** (Birzeit University)

***Nor Just a Soccer Game: Colonialism and Conflict among Palestinians in Israel***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)
Unpacks the 1981 attack by Druze from Julis on Christian Israeli Palestinians, with indirect support from the IDF.

**Khalil Shikaki** & **Jacob Shamir**

***Palestinian and Israeli Public Opinion: The PublicImperative in the Second Intifada***
(Indiana University Press, 224 pages, 2010)

**Avi Shilon**

***The Decline of the Left Wing in Israel: Yossi Beilin and the Politics of the Peace Process***
(IB Tauris, 352 pages, 2019)

**Abdel Monem Said Aly, Shai Feldman,** & **Khalil Shikaki**
***Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East***
(Palgrave Macmillan (2013)

**Margolit Shilo**
***Girls of Liberty: The Struggle for Suffrage in Mandatory Palestine***
(Brandeis University Press, 2016)
Jewish Feminists in Palestine.

**Colin Shindler** (Israeli Studies, SOAS)
***The Forever War: Israel, Palestine and the Struggles for Statehood***
(Swift Press, 2026)
From review in the *Morning* Star: "Palestinian 'Islamists' can never make peace because they reject European Enlightenment and are 'trapped in their culture'."

As editor: ***Routledge Handbook on Zionism***
(Routledge, 592 pages, 2024)
**Arieh Saposnik**: *The Pangs of Exile and the Birth of the Zionist Idea* / **Tom Wurdmann**: *Zionism in the Arab World before 1948* / **Zohar Segev**: *The Meaning of Zionism after 1948: An American Zionist Understanding* / **Adi Sherzer** and **Ofer Schiff**: *The Ben-Gurion Perspective: The Diaspora and the Meaning of Zionism during Israel's First Decade* / **Gideon Katz**: *Jewish Secular Zionist Identity: Ahad Ha'am the Polemicist* / **Avi Sagi** and **Dov Schwartz**: *Religious Zionism: Tradition, History and Identity* / **Meir Chazan**: *David Ben-Gurion's Leadership and Zionist Fulfillment* / **Meir Chaz** / **Aviva Halamish**: *The Kibbutz: The Interplay of Ideological Concepts and Historical Circumstances* / **Brian Horowitz**: *Rightward Bound: Jabotinsky, Ahimeir, Stern and the Leadership of Zionism's Right during the Mandate* / **Amir Goldstein**: *The Zionist Right|: From a Centrifugal to a Centripetal Movement, 1925-1965* / **Tom Navon**: *Marxism and Zionism: Entangled Roads* / **Roni Gechtman**: *Bundism and Zionism before World War II: Divergent Alternatives* / **Motti Inbari**: *The Origins and Evolution of Haredi and-Zionism* / **Roman Vater**: *Yonaton Ratosh, Adya Horon and Canaanism* / **Laura Almagor**: *Jewish Territorialism and 'Other Zions'* / **Yitzhak Conforti**: *The Cultural Origins of Zionism* / **Naomi Brenner**: *Hebrew and Yiddish: The Language War* / **David Aberbach**: *Hebrew Poets and Poetry of Zion: From the Bible to 1948* / **Rachel S. Harris**: *Film, Zionism, and the Early Pioneers of Cinema* / **Bat-Sheva Margalit Stern**: *With Her Head Held High: Ada Fishman Maimon, a Relentless Labor-Zionist Feminist* / **Margalit Shilo**: *Gender Paradoxes: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Pre-State Israel (1917-1926)* / **Ofra Yeglin**: *From the Songs of Zion: lea Goldberg* / **Alessandra Tarquini**: *The Reaction to Zionism in Mussolini's Italy: The Case of the Left-Wing Political Parties* / **Boris Morozov**: *Subterranean Zionism in Stalin's Soviet Union* / **Marcin Szydzisz**: *The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland after 1967* / **Meir Litvak**: *Zionism in the Ayatollahs' Iran* / **Esther Meir-Glitzenstein**: *Zionism in Ira1 1920-1951: From Jewish Nationalism to Mass Immigration* / **Milton Shain** and **Richard Mendelsohn**: *Zionism between Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid* / **Peter Bergamin**: '*What can resist the will of England in Palestine?' Christian Zionism in Britain before the Balfour Declaration* / **Yaakov Ariel**: *Prophecy, Jews, and Politics: US Evangelicals and Christian Zionism* / **Tudor Parfitt**: *Zionism and the New Jews* / **Uri Ram**: *Hegemony Struggles in Israel* / **Matthias J. Becker** and **Matthew Bolton**: *Images of Zionism in the Age of the Internet* / **Gayil Talshir**: *'We are a traditional people' – The Zionist (Counter-) Revolution of National Conservative Populism*

***Israel: A History in 100 Cartoons***
(Cambridge University Press, 2023)

***The Hebrew Republic: Israel's Return to History***
(Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 393 pages, 2017)

***The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron***
(Cambridge University Press, 2015) – Publisher's blurb: "The Israeli Right first came to power nearly four decades ago. Its election was described then as 'an earthquake,' and its reverberations are still with

us. How then did the Right rise to power? What are its origins? Colin Shindler traces this development from the birth of Zionism in cosmopolitan Odessa in the nineteenth century to today's Hebron, a centre of radical Jewish nationalism. He looks at central figures such as Vladimir Jabotinsky, an intellectual and founder of the Revisionist movement and Menahem Begin, the single-minded politician who brought the Right to power in 1977. Both accessible and comprehensive, this book explains the political ideas and philosophies that were the Right's ideological bedrock and the compromises that were made in its journey to government."

As editor: ***Israel and the World Powers: Diplomatic Alliances and International Relations Beyond the Middle East*** (IB Tauris, 2014)

***A History of Modern Israel***
(Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 2013)

***Israel and the European Left: Between Solidarity and Deligitimisation***
(Continuum, 2011)

***The Triumph of Military Zionism: Nationalism and the Origins of the Israeli Right***
(IB Tauris, 2009)

***What Do Zionists Believe?***
(Granta, 2007)

***Israel, Likud and the Zionist Dream: Power, Politics and Ideology from Begin to Netanyahu***
(IB Tauris, 1995)

***Ploughshares into Swords: Israelis and Jews in the Shadow of the Intifada***
(IB Tauris, 1991)

***Exit Visa: I, Human Rights and the Jewish Emigration Movement in the USSR***
(Bachman & Turner, 1978)

**Lois Mary Shiner**

***His Own Country (Palestine)***
(London: Faith Press, 96 pages, 1925)
With introduction on the ecclesiastical institutions by **Canon J.A. Douglas**

**David K. Shipler** (*The New York Times'* Jerusalem Bureau Chief, 1979-1984)

***Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land***
(Times Books/Random House & Bloomsbury, 1986)
Includes coverage of the massacres at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps. Book won a Pulitzer Prize and later inspired PBS TV documentaries.

**Avi Shlaim** (Baghdad born; Oxford University; a leading 'new historian', using declassified Israeli archival material)

***Three Worlds: Memoirs of an Arab-Jew***
(Oneworld, 336 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In July 1950, Avi Shlaim, only five, and his family were forced into exile, fleeing from their beloved Iraq into the new state of Israel. Now the rump of a once flourishing community of over 150,000, dating back 2,600 years, has dwindled to single figures. For many, this tells the story of the timeless clash of the Arab and Jewish civilisations, the heroic mission of Zionism to rescue Eastern Jews from their backwards nations, and unceasing persecution as the fate and history of Jewish people. Avi Shlaim tears up this script. His mother had many Muslim friends in Baghdad, but

no Zionist ones. The Iraqi Jewish community, once celebrated for its ancient heritage and rich culture, was sprayed with DDT upon arrival in Israel. As anti-Semitism gathered pace in Iraq, the Zionist underground may have inflamed it – deliberately. This memoir celebrates the disappearing heritage of Arab-Jews – caught in the crossfire of secular ideologies."

As editor, with **William Roger Louis**: ***The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences***
(Cambridge University Press, 2012) Contains: Charles Smith: *The United States and the 1967 War*;

***Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation***
(University of California Press, 2010)

***Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations***
(Verso Books, 2009)

***Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace***
(Alan Lane 2007, Penguin 2008)

As editor, with **Eugene L. Rogan**: ***The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948***
(Cambridge University Press, 2007, 2001)

As editor, with **Eugene L. Rogan**: ***Rewriting the Palestine War: 1948 and the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Cambridge University Press, 2001)

***The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World***
(WW Norton 2000, Penguin 2001)

***The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists and Palestine, 1921-1951***
(Oxford University Press, 1998) – earlier edition published as *Collusion Across the Jordan* (OUP, 1988)

As editor, with **Yezid Sayigh**: ***The Cold War and the Middle East***
(Oxford University Press, 1997)

***War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History / A Critique of American Policy***
(Whittle Books/Viking, 2004; Whittle Books, 1994; Penguin 1995)
Shlaim: "The battle for Palestine was lost by Palestinians not in 1948 but in the late 1930s. Because Britain completely smashed to the ground the Palestinian revolt and Arab irregular forces….The Balfour Declaration was a colossal blunder-it has proved to be a catastrophe for the Palestinians and it gave rise to one of the most intense, bitter, and protracted conflicts of modern times.

**Ronen Shnayderman**

***Take No Prisoners: The Fatal Shooting of Palestinians by Israeli Security Forces during "Arrest Operations"***
(Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 2005)
Edited by **Zvi Shulman**; translated by **Shaul Vardi**.

**Meir Shamgar**, editor

***Military Government in the Territories Administered by Israel, 1967-1980: The Legal Aspects, Volume 1***
(Harry Sacher Institute/Hebrew University Jerusalem, 520 pages, 1982)
Incomplete contents 1. Legal concepts and problems of the Israeli military government: the initial stage / Meir Shamgar – 2. On the legal status of the Gaza Strip / Carol Farhi – 3. Ramat Hagolan

1918-1967 / Ya'akov Meron – 4. The power of supervision of the High Court of Justice over military government / Eli Nathan – 5. The military courts / Zvi Hadar – 6. Applicability of multilateral conventions to occupied territories / Theodor Meron – 7. Local government in Judea and Samaria / Moshe Drori – 8. The reports of the U.N. Special Committees on Israeli Practices in the Territories: a survey and evaluation / Tat-Aluf dov Shefi – 9. Development of oil resources in Sinai / Meir Rosenne – 10. The religious courts in the administered territories / Ja'akov Meron – Appendices.

**Dov Shinar** (Hadassah College, Jerusalem)
***Palestinian Dress in the West Bank: The Political Dimension***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987)

***Palestinian Voices: Communication and Nation Building in the West Bank***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Press, 1987)

**Shoal Collective**
***Everything We Thought was Beautiful: Interviews with Radical Palestinian Women***
(Oakland, California: PM Press, 200 pages, 2026)
Foreword by **Hawaida Arraf** (Palestinian American lawyer and co-founder of the International Solidarity Movement). Publisher's blurb: "This series of interviews with Palestinian women living across Palestine and in the diaspora include a journalist on the front line of resistance against settlers and the Israeli army in the West Bank, a BDS activist, a doctor exposing Israel's deliberate targeting of medical infrastructure as part of its genocidal assault on Gaza, an organiser who critiques the Palestinian Authority's repression of social media and those making their voices heard in the diaspora, and others." Contributors include: include Ayah Al-Ghazzawi, Lina Nabulsy, Samah Fadil, Diana Khwaelid, Shahd Abusalama, Sireen Khudairy, Lama Suleiman, Shrouq Aila, Rana Abu Rahmah, Shatha Abu Srour, Ghada Hamdan, Mona Al-Farra, and Faiza Abu Shamsiyah.

**Ella Shohat** (New York University)
***On the Arab-Jew, Palestine, and other Displacements: Selected Writings***
(Pluto Press, 2017)
Baghdad-born Jewish professors essays, including exile, film, literature and the wide Middle East.

***Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices***
(Duke University Press, 2006)
Author, from an Iraqi-Jewish background, engages postcolonial thought from the perspective of Mizrahi (Arab) Jews; a critique of the Eurocentric backbone of Israel.

**Noam Shoked** (Tel Aviv University)
***In the Land of the Partiarchs: Design and Contestation in West Bank Settlements***
(University of Texas Press, 400 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "An on-the-ground account of the design and evolution of West Bank settlements. Noam Shoked shows how settlements have been shaped not only by the decisions of military generals, high-profile politicians, and prominent architects but also by a wide range of actors, including real estate developers, environmental consultants, amateur archeologists, and Israelis who felt unserved by the country's housing system. The patterns of design and construction they have inspired reflect competing worldviews and aesthetic visions, as well as everyday practices not typically associated with the politics of the Israeli occupation. Revealing the pragmatic choices and contingent circumstances that drive what appears to be a deliberately ideological landscape, Shoked demonstrates how unpredictable the transformation of political passion into brick and mortar can be."

**Nida Shoughry**

***"Israeli-Arab" Political Mobilization: Between Acquiescence, Partitipation and Resistance***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 217 pages, 2012)
Based on 2009 University of Wales thesis. Publisher's blurb: "This book examines the political mobilization of 'Israeli-Arabs,' Palestinian citizens of Israel. By examining the events, context, and effects of Land Day 1976 and Habbat October 2000, and combining them with original research and interviews, the author presents fresh insights into Palestinian political mobilization against Israeli injustices."

**Ahmad Shukairy** aka **Ahmad Al-Shuqyri** (Palestinian Representative of the revived Arab League to the United Nations; established the Palestinian National Council, which became the Palestine Liberation Organisation, of which he was its first Chair, 1964-1967)

***Territorial and Historical Waters in International Law***
(Beirut: Research Centre, Palestine Liberation Organisation, 211 pages, 1967)

***Liberation, not Negotiation***
(Beirut: Research Centre, Palestine Liberation Organisation, 141 pages, 1966)
Palestine Books no. 3.

***Memorandum submitted by Mr Ahmad Al-Shukairy, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to the African Summit Conference***
(Addis Ababa, 12 pages, 1966)
Held at Durham University Library.

**David Shulman**

***Dark Hope: Working for Peace in Israel and Palestine***
(University of Chicago Press, 2007)
On Ta'ayush and Jewish Israeli peace movements within Israel.

**Dmitry Shumsky** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

***Beyond the Nation-State: The Zioinist Political Imagination from Pinsker to Ben-Gurion***
(Yale University Press, 320 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "The Jewish nation-state has often been thought of as Zionism's end goal. In this bracing history of the idea of the Jewish state in modern Zionism, from its beginnings in the late nineteenth century until the establishment of the state of Israel, Dmitry Shumsky challenges this deeply rooted assumption. In doing so, he complicates the narrative of the Zionist quest for full sovereignty, provocatively showing how and why the leaders of the prestate Zionist movement imagined, articulated, and promoted theories of self-determination in Palestine either as part of a multinational Ottoman state (1882–1917), or in the framework of multinational democracy.
In particular, Shumsky focuses on the writings and policies of five key Zionist leaders from the Habsburg and Russian empires in central and eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Leon Pinsker, Theodor Herzl, Ahad Ha'am, Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky, and David Ben-Gurion—to offer a very pointed critique of Zionist historiography."

**Greg Shupak** (*Electronic Intifada*, *In These Times*, *Middle East Eye*, etc.)

***The Wrong Story: Palestine, Israel, and the Media***
(OR Books, 195 pages, 2021)

**Martin Shaw** (University of Sussex; Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

***The New Age of Genocide: Intellectual and Political Challenges after Gaza***
(Agenda Publishing/Edinburgh University Press, 224 pages, 2026)
Contents include analysis of Gaza, Ukraine, political groups, and a critique of DirlkMoses.

***What is Genocide?***
(Polity Press, 216 pages, 2015)
Focusing on historical examples: the Jewish holocaust, Rwanda, Palestine and the former Yugoslavia.

**Martin Sicker**

***Reshaping Palestine: From Muhammad Ali to the British Mandate, 1831-1922***
(Praeger, 1999)

***Judaism, Nationalism and the Land of Israel***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992)

***Between Hashemites and Zionists: The Struggle for Palestine 1908 – 1988***
(New York: Holmes & Meier, 1989)

**Mohamed Sid-Ahmed**

***After the Guns Fall Silent: Peace or Armageddon in the Middle East***
(Croom Helm, 1976)
With foreword by **Lord Caradon**.

**Herbert Sidebotham**

***British Imperial Interests in Palestine***
(Letchworth: Garden City Press / British Palestine Committee / National Liberal Club, 15 pages, 1937)
Full text of the memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission.

***Great Britain and Palestine***
(Macmillan & Co., 310 pages, 1937)

***British Interests in Palestine***
(Caledonian Press, 44 pages, 1934)

***A Short Dialogue on Palestine***
(20 pages, ca. 1934)

***British Policy and the Palestine Mandate: Out Proud Privilege: A Memorandum***
(London: E. Benn, 36 pages, ca. 1929-1936)

***The Future of Palestine***
(British Palestine Committee, 8 pages, 1921, 1922)

***England and Palestine: Essays Towards the Restoration of the Jewish State***
(Constable & Co., 257 pages, 1918)

**Mohammad Najati Sidqi** aka **Najajati Sidki** (1905-1979; Palestinian intellectual notable for condemning Nazism as conflicting with Arab and Islamic values of hospitality, generosity, and care for the weak)

***The Muslim Attitude to the War***
(London, 35 pages, ca. 1940)
Translated from Arabic by **A.J.Arberry**.

**Baron Israel Moses Sieff**

***Jewish Colonisation and Enterprise in Palestine***
(London: The Zionist, 16 pages, 1916)

**Henry Siegman** (University of London)

As project director: **Yezid Sayigh** & **Khalil Shikaki**: ***Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions: Executive Summary – Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations***
(New York City: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999)

**Laurence Jay Silberstein**

***Postzionism: A Reader***
(Rutgers University Press, 2008)

***The Post-Zionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture***
(Routledge, 1999)
Early questioning of whether Jews need a secular Jewish state.

As editor: ***Jewish Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective: Religion, Ideology, and the Crisis of Modernity***
(New York University Press, 248 pages, 1993)
Contents: Religion, ideology, modernity / Laurence J. Silberstein – Fundamentalism: an introduction to a general theory / James Davison Hunter – Contemporary fundamentalism / Hava Lazarus-Yafeh – Contesting rhetorics in the PTL scandal / Susan Harding – Islamic fundamentalism in the wake of the Six Day War / James Piscatori – The resurgence of Palestinian Islamic fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza / Elie Rekhess – Jewish fundamentalism and the Israeli-Palestinian impasse / Ian S. Lustick – The politics, institutions, and culture of Gush Emunim / Ehud Sprinzak – Jewish zealots / Menachem Friedman – Withdrawal and conquest / Gerald Cromer – Fundamentalism: a Jewish traditional perspective / Aaron Kirschenbaum – The market model and religious radicalism / Menachem Friedman – Fundamentalism and political development / Alan L. Mittleman.

As editor: ***New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State***
(New York University Press, 293 pages, 1991)
Contents: 1. Reading Perspectives/Perspectives on Reading: An Introduction; II. The Transition to Statehood: Jews and Arabs in Conflict; 2. The Transition from Yishuv to State: Social and Ideological Changes; 3. The Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem; 4. One Hundred Years of Social Change: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem; 5. Early State Policy towards the Arab Population, 1948-1955; 6. Initial Israeli Policy Guidelines towards the Arab Minority, 1948-1949; 7. Arab Historiography of the 1948 War: The Quest for Legitimacy III. Myths, Symbols, Values: The Struggle for National Identity; 8. Attitudes of the Young State of Israel toward the Holocaust and Its Survivors: A Debate over Identity and Values; 9. Myths, Symbols, and Rituals of the Emerging State; 10. New Beginning, Old Past: The Collective Memory of Pioneering in Israeli Culture; 11. At Half-Mast-Myths, Symbols, and Rituals of the Emerging State: A Personal Testimony of an "Israeli Arab"; IV. Conflicts Within and Conflicts Without: Diplomacy and Foreign Policy 12. Israel's Global Foreign Policy, 1948-195613. Zionist-Arab Diplomacy: Patterns and Ambiguities on the Eve of Statehood; 14. Israel-Diaspora Relations in the Early Years of the State.

**Abba Hillel Silver**

***Vision and Victory: A Collection of Addresses, 1942-1948***
(New York City: Zionist Organization of America, 232 pages, 1949)

With **Moshe Shertok**: ***The Jewish Agency for Palestine before the Security Council of the United Nations – Statements Submitted***
(New York City, 62 pages, 1948)

***The Jewish State in Palestine: Addresses before the United Nations at Lake Success***
(Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 16 pages, 1947)
Addresses given 8 and 10 May, 1947.

With **Moshe Shertok** and **David Ben Gurion**: ***The Jewish Agency before the United Nations: May 1947 – Statements***
(New York City: American Zionist Emergency Council, 20 pages, 1947.

***After the U.N. Decision on Palestine***
(New York City: American Zionist Emergency Council, 12 pages, ca. 1947)

With **Moshe Shertok** and **David Ben Gurion**: ***"Advance on All Fronts!" An Address Delivered at the 1943 National Conference for Palestine***
(New York City: United Palestine Appeal, 15 pages, 1943)

**Sanford R. Silverburg**, editor

***Palestine and International Law: Essays on Politics and Economics***
(McFarland & Co, 2002)

With **Bernard Reich**: ***U.S. Foreign Relations with the Middle East and North Africa: A Bibliography – Supplement, 1998***
(Scarecrow Press, 1999)

***Middle East Bibliography***
(Scarecrow, 1992)

**Sir Leon Simon**

***Studies in Jewish Nationalism***
(Longmans, 1920)
"The idea that Jews are a religious sect, precisely parallel to Catholics and Protestants, is nonsense."

**Chaim Simons**

***Herzl to Eden: A Historical Survey of Proposals to Transfer Arabs from Palestine, 1895-1947***
(Kiryat Arba, Israel: Nansen Institute, 1994)

***Supplement No. 1 to International Proposals to Transfer Arabs from Palestine, 1895-1947***
(Kiryat Arba, Israel: Nansen Institute, 1993)

***Edward Norman's Plans to Transfer Arabs from Palestine to Iraq***
(Kiryat Arba, Israel: Nansen Institute, 1991)

***International Proposals to Transfer Arabs from Palestine, 1895-1947***
(Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publications, 1988)
Detailed in categories of Jews and non-Jew. 1942: "Simon Marks, another member of the [Jewish Agency] Executive, and chairman of the board of the multiple chain store of Marks and Spencer, felt that they should ask for the establishment of a Jewish state within the British Empire and the "voluntary transfer of Arabs, with financial assistance, to neighbouring Arab States, particularly to Iraq." Harry Sacher [co-drafter of the Balfour Declaration] "has asked whether the members of the Executive were "in favour of transfer of the Arabs either by compulsion or persuasion."

**Geoff Simons**

***The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine***

(London: Palestinian Return Centre, 2006)

Despite having the same title as Ilan Pappe's book, this work doesn't emphasise the era of the Nakba. Its reach is broader in time, and especially helpful is his coverage of some of the many UN resolutions since 1948. Note: see also United Nations

**Jake Wallis Simons** (*Jewish Chronicle* editor)

***Israelophobia: The Newest Version of the Oldest Hatred & What to Do About it***

(Constable, 224 pages, 2023)

Endorsed by Melanie Phillips, *The Jewish Chronicle*, Howard Jacobson, Simon Sebag Montefiore, and the *Daily Telegraph*

**John Hope Simpson** (Liberal MP for Taunton 1922-1924, later known for his work with the Refugee Settlement Committee)

***Palestine, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development***

(HMSO, 185 pages, with maps, 1930)

Known as the 'Hope Simpson Report,' and presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament.

**Hugh James Simson**

***British Rule and Rebellion***

(Blackwood & Sons, 1937 / Salisbury, North Carolina: Documentary Publicatins, 1977)

With special reference to the Palestinian Revolt, from 1936.

**Penny Sinanoglou**

***Partitioning Palestine: British Policymaking at the End of Empire***

(Chicago University Press, 256 pages, 2019)

Emphasis on the Peel Commission (1936-37), with partition as papering over the cracks in disparate visions.

**Georgina Sinclair** (Open University)

***At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame, 1945-1980***

(Manchester University Press, 2006)

**Amy Singer**

***Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History***

(Markus Wiener, 2011)

***Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem***

(State University of New York Press, 240 pages, 2002)

Contents: Ch. 1 "Devote the fruits to pious purposes" – What is a waqf? – roots of waqf – Why found a waqf? – Ottomans – Ch. 2 Bowl of Soup and a Loaf of Bread – written record – Institutions of the endowment – Endowed properties – Personnel – Soup – Why Jerusalem? – Ch. 3 Ladies Bountiful – conflated traditions: Hurrem-Helena – Beneficence and women in Islamic history – Gender of Beneficence – Ch. 4 Serving Soup in Jerusalem – report from the 'imaret – On management – Getting started – Tax arrears and firewood – Food for all – Building a bath – Dealing

in grain – Adding to the endowment – Ch. 5 Feeding Power – Provisioning – On the word 'imaret – Pre-Ottoman precedents – Ottoman institution.

***Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem***
(Cambridge University Press, 201 pages, 1994)

**Bhim Singh** and **Angelina Helou**
***An Examination of Documents on Whith the State of Israel is Based***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 117 pages, 1970)

**Asaf Siniver**, editor (University of Birmingham)
***Routledge Companion to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Routledge, 632 pages, 2022)
40 author contributions.

**Yahya Al-Sinwar** aka **Yahya Sinwar** (Hamas military leader, assassinated in 2024)
***The Thorn and the Carnation***
(TASQ Company, approximately 450 pages, 2024)
Freely downloadable, in 2 parts, this is called a novel but is really a description of Gaza activism and resistance from the late 1970s through to just beyond the First Intifada. Years of Hamas and Jihad news reporting is presented as personal, fictional narrative.

**Bassem Sirhan** aka **Bassem Toufic Sirhan**
***Education and the Palestinians in Lebanon***
(Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 29 pages, 1996)

***Zionism in Pure Form: The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon Summer 1982: An Information File***
(Kuwait: al-Watan, 95 pages, ca. 1983)

***Palestinian Children: The Generation of Liberation: A Sociological Study***
(Beirut: PLO Research Centre, 55 pages, 1970)

**Miranda Sissons**
***Promoting Impunity: The Israeli Military's Failure to Investigate Wrongdoing***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 125 pages, 2005)

with **Joe Stork** & **Lucy Mair**: ***In a Dark Hour: The Use of Civilians during IDF Arrest Operations***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 23 pages, 2002)

**Ghassan Soleiman Abu-Sittah** (Head of Plastic Surgery, American University Beirut Medical Center)
As co-editor, with **Jamal J. Hoballah**
***The War Injured Child: From Point of Injury Treatment through Management and Continuum of Care***
(Springer, 245 pages, 2023)
Focus is on a wide range of injuries, amputation, physical rehabilitation, and mental health support.

As co-editor, with **Jamal J. Hoballah** and **Joseph Bakhach**

***Reconstructing the War Injured Patient***
(Springer, 2017)
Contributes three of the 14 chapters.

**Salman Abu Sitta** (Right of Return champion with the research to make it work)
With **Daleen Saah**: ***Ed Dawayima 1948 Massacre***
(Palestine Land Society, 40 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Ed Dawayima was a Palestinian village that sat on top of a wide rocky hill in the western part of the Hebron Mountains. Some scholars have estimated that the Dawayma is located in the spot of the village of Bishkeh mentioned in the Old Testament (Joshua 15:39), meaning high or rocky. In 1948, the village had a population of 4,304 which consisted of several clans and families. Dawayima was shaped like a star, allowing businesses to expand in all directions. There was a mosque in the center of the village. Shops were scattered inside neighborhoods near the village center, whose houses were built of stone and mud and separated from each other by narrow paths and alleys. Village economy was mostly based on agriculture, as the fertile land of Dawayima grew wheat, barley, corn, lentils, olives, figs, grapes and pomegranates among other fruits and vegetables. The village had good trade relations with Hebron, Gaza, and surrounding villages as well as the cities of Jaffa and Haifa. Ed Dawayima had several holy and archaeological significant sites, and was home to a thriving and growing population."

***Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir***
(IB Tauris, 2016)
Memories of the famous polymath who has single-handedly made available crucial mapping work on Palestine, and contains back-story to his lifetime cartographic effort. Equally important are political and personal insights not found elsewhere.

With painter **Samia Halaby**: ***Drawing the Kafr Massacre***
(The Netherlands: Schlit Publishing, September 2016)

***Che Guevara in Gaza: Palestine Becomes a Global Cause***
(MEMO/Middle East Monitor, pamphlet, 2015)

***Atlas of Palestine, 1917-1966***
(Palestine Land Society, 2010 – 700pp)
Contains 500 detailed atlas pages (scale 1:25,000), land ownership and population composition, the origins of the present population, a geography of land and water, the shifting of armistice lines, towns and villages before and after 1948, historical village photographs from 1918, and 65 tables of population, land and geography. Available as downloads from the Palestine Land Society: http://www.plands.org.

***The Return Journey: A Guide to the Depopulated and Present Palestinian Towns and Villages and Holy Sites***
(Palestine Land Society, 248 pages, 2007)
In English, Arabic, & Hebrew

***The Palestinian Nakba 1948: The Register of Depopulated Communities in Palestine***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 2000)

***Palestine Right of Return: Sacred, Legal, Possible***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding/CAABU, 1999)

**Hagith Sivan** (University of Kansas)
***Palestine Late Antiquity***
(Oxford University Press, 464 pages, 2008)

Publisher's blurb: "Hagith Sivan offers an unconventional study of one corner of the Roman Empire in late antiquity, weaving around the theme of conflict strands of distinct histories, and of peoples and places, highlighting Palestine's polyethnicity, and cultural, topographical, architectural, and religious diversity. During the period 300-650 CE the fortunes of the 'east' and the 'west' were intimately linked. Thousands of westerners in the guise of pilgrims, pious monks, soldiers, and civilians flocked to what became a Christian holy land. This is the era that witnessed the transformation of Jerusalem from a sleepy Roman town built on the ruins of spectacular Herodian Jerusalem into an international centre of Christianity and ultimately into a centre of Islamic worship. It was also a period of unparalleled prosperity for the frontier zones, and a time when religious experts were actively engaged in guiding their communities while contesting each other's rights to the Bible and its interpretation."

**Rev. Stephen Sizer** (Church of England priest, banned from serving until 2030)

***Zion's Christian Soldiers: The Bible, Israel and the Church***

(Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 199 pages, 2007)

Contents: Introduction: For the love of Zion -- The Bible tells them so: is it possible to read the Bible too literally? -- Israel and the church: who are God's chosen people? -- The promised land: from the Nile to the Euphrates? -- Battle for Jerusalem: the eternal capital of the Jews? -- The coming last days temple: ready to rebuild? -- Overture to Armageddon: want to be left behind? -- Conclusion: The last word on the Middle East? -- The place of Israel: a sermon by John Stott.

***Christian Zionism: Roadmap to Armageddon?***

(Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 298 pages, 2004)

Contents: Zionism defined -- Christian Zionism defined -- The significance of the Christian Zionist movement -- A critique of Christian Zionism -- The early intimations: proto-Christian Zionism -- The socio-political context for the rise of Christian Zionism -- The origins of covenantal premillennial restorationism in Britain -- The origins of dispensational Christian Zionism in Britain -- Lord Shaftesbury and the influence of restorationism upon British foreign policy -- British Christian political support for the Jewish Zionist movement -- The Balfour Declaration and the implementation of the Zionist vision -- Dispensationalism and the birth of Christian Zionism in America (1859-1945) -- Anti-Semitism and American liberal Christian Zionism (1918-1967) -- Contemporary American evangelical Christian Zionism (1967-2002) -- The proliferation and diversification of Christian Zionist organizations -- The historical roots of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- The Bible: a literal futurist hermeneutic -- Chosen peoples: the relationship between Israel and the church -- Restorationism: the return of the Jews to Zion -- Eretz Israel: reclaiming Judea, Samaria and beyond -- Jerusalem: the eternal and exclusive Jewish capital -- The temple: rebuilding for desecration -- The future: the eschatology of Christian Zionism -- The distinctive theology of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- The chosen people: supporting Israeli colonialism -- Restorationism: facilitating aliyah from Russia and Eastern Europe -- Eretz Israel: sustaining the West Bank settlements -- Jerusalem: lobbying for international recognition -- The temple: identifying with religious Zionism -- The future: opposing peace and hastening Armageddon -- The political implications of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- Observations on the development of Christian Zionism -- Variant forms of Christian Zionism -- The constructive and destructive aspects of Christian Zio.

***The Promised Land: A Critical Investigation of Evangelical Christian Zionism in Britain and the United States of America since 1800***

(Middlesex University thesis, 2002)

Abstract: Christian Zionism is a complex, controversial and deeply influential movement. In particular, it impacts US foreign policy in the Middle East as well as strengthens the Israeli right-wing. The influence of evangelicals upon the development of Zionism has, however, been consistently underestimated. An exhaustive survey of published works also confirms the relatively undeveloped nature of research in this field. Consequently the assumption, made by advocates as well as critics, that Christian Zionism is synonymous with Evangelicalism has remained largely uncontested. This thesis challenges this assumption through an examination of the historical roots, theological basis and political ramifications of the movement. Chapter 2 traces its historical development since 1800 and transition from British sectarianism to mainstream American Evangelicalism. Chapter 3 assesses seven basic

theological tenets that distinguish the various strands within the Christian Zionist movement: an ultra-literal and futurist hermeneutic; a belief that the Jews remain God's chosen people; Restorationism and the return of the Jews to Palestine; the justification of Eretz Israel; the centrality of Jerusalem as the Jewish capital; the expectation that the Temple will be rebuilt; and a pessimistic apocalyptic eschatology. Chapter 4 focuses on the political consequences of this theology and the way in which Christian Zionists bolster the pro-Israeli lobby; facilitate aliyah; sustain the West Bank settlements; lobby for international recognition for Jerusalem; promote the rebuilding of the temple; and oppose a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A literature analysis of primary historical and contemporary sources as well as interviews together with unpublished correspondence have been used to identify the dominant themes which both define as well as distinguish variant forms of contemporary Christian Zionism. Published findings arising from this thesis have already contributed to the international debate on the significance of Christian Zionism. It is hoped that this thesis will stimulate further research and form the basis for constructive dialogue between proponents and critics in the future.

***A Panorama of the Bible Lands*** -aka: ***A Panorama of the Holy Land***
(Guildford: Eagle Press, 80 pages, 1998 / 2000)
With photographs by **Jon Arnold**

**Chloe Skinner** (University of Sussex)

***Occupier and Occupied: Israel, Palestine, and Masculinities across the Divide***
(Cambridge University Press, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Working from the premise that gender and violence are cyclically related, masculinities' connection to power and violence are frequently simplistically assumed. Yet, amid ongoing colonisation and military occupation, there are other more complex dynamics simultaneously at play across Israel and Palestine. In this book, Chloe Skinner explores this, untangling the gendered politics of settler colonialism to shed specific light on the ways in which masculinities shift and morph in this context of colonial violence. Oscillating between analysis of Israeli militarism and military occupation in Palestine, each chapter examines the constitutive performance and negotiation of masculinised ideals across these colonial hierarchies. Masculinities are thus analysed across these settings in connection, rather than in isolation – illustrating that gendered identities, practices, and performances here are intertwined by that which simultaneously divides and separates them: the apartheid politics of the Israeli state."

**Leonard Slater**

***The Pledge***
(Simon & Schuster 1970 / Pocket Books, 1971)
An utterly shameless saga of the gathering and shipping of armaments by individual Americans and Canadians for the Haganah and Palmach, 1945-1948. More than simple arms-smuggling, this history also details the inspired manufacture of all forms of war equipment, from the latest firearms and encrypted radio communications to re-converting for wartime use, ex-military aeroplanes that had been only recently converted for civilian use. 'Palestinians' are Palestine Jews only, with Arab Palestinians ('Arabs') barely mentioned. Written for the readership of battle history enthusiasts. This movement also described, with no overlap, in **Rafael Medoff**: ***Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926-1948*** (University of Alabama Press, 2002). Ironically, these titles argue that Israel's War of Independence was, despite unsuccessful machine gun manufacture and the purchase of a Baltimore-grounded aircraft carrier, overwhelmingly imbalanced against the non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

**Robert Slater** (*Time Magazine*'s Israel correspondent)

***Warrior Statesman: The Life of Moshe Dayan***

(St. Martin's Press, 1991 / Robson Books, 1992)

***Golda, the Uncrowned Queen of Israel: A Pictorial Biography***
(Middle Village, New York: J. David, 1981)

***Rabin of Israel: A Biography***
(Robson Books, 1977; rev. 2015)

**Margaret Slattery**
***New Paths through Old Palestine***
(Boston & Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 126 pages, 1921)
Contemporary travelogue.

**Hana Sleiman** and **Leopold Lambert**
***Constructing a Palestinian Oral History Archive***
(The Funambulist, 2015)
Held by University of the Arts, London.

**Shlomo Slonim** (Hebrew University)
***Jerusalem in America's Foreign Policy, 1947-1997***
(The Hague: Klewer Law International, 1998)

**Susan Slyomovics**
***The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)
Palestinian village Ein Houd emptied in 1948 and re-named Ein Hod, as a Jewish Israeli artists' colony. But the original inhabitants built a "temporary" Ein Hod again, on a neighbouring mountain.

**Matthew Small**
***The Wall Between Us: Notes from the Holy Land***
(London: Paperbooks, 189 pages, 2014)
Travelogue.

**Moshe Smelansky**
***Jewish Colonisation and the Fellah: The Effect of Jewish Land Settlement in Palestine on the Native Rural Population and on Agricultural Development in General***
(Tel-Aviv: Mischar w'Taasia, 56 pages, 1930)

**David Smiley**
***Irregular Regular***
(Norwich: Michael Russell Publishing, 1994)
Documents the brutality of the Palestine Police and their Arab Palestinian enforcers. See also: Clive Jones (Durham University, Royal Historical Society): *The Clandestine Lives of Colonel David Smiley* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019) Publisher's blurb: "An academic biography of Colonel David de Crespigny Smiley and his intimate involvement in British secret service operations. Draws on extensive interviews and archival research, including 20 hours of interview conducted with Colonel David Smiley himself. Uncovers the motivations and ideals that informed Smiley's commitment to covert action and intelligence during the Second World War and early part of the Cold War, often among tribally based societies. Addresses the wider issues of accountability and control of clandestine operations, referring in

particular to operations in Albania, Oman and Yemen. This book illuminates the shadowy world of covert British intelligence through an exploration of the life of one of Britain's foremost exponents of irregular warfare. With a particular focus on operations in the Balkans and the Middle East, it offers a granular understanding of the motivations and ideals that informed Smiley's commitment to covert action and intelligence, both during the Second World War and in the early Cold War era."

**Barbara J. Smith**

***The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy, 1920-1929***

(Syracuse University Press, 1993)

The Zionist settler movement, unsuccessful during the period of Ottoman rule, flourished under the British: within a few years of the establishment of British administration, the Zionists had laid the foundations of a national economic base which underpinned their nationalist ideology. British policy thus contributed significantly to the division of the country on ethnic lines and ultimately to the partition of Palestine and the establishment of the state of Israel. This central argument informs a wide-ranging discussion of economic policy, embracing immigration, land, labour, industry, agriculture, education, social welfare and taxation. Essential reading to understand the Mandate era.

**Charles D. Smith**

***Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents***

(St Martin's Press, 624 pages, 2013 and earlier editions)

**Gary V. Smith**, editor (Professor of Christian Studies, Union University, Jackson, Tennessee)

***Zionism, The Dream and the Reality – A Jewish Critique***

(New York City: Barnes & Boble Book; Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 325 pages, 1974)

Contents: **Hans Kohn**: *Ahad Ha'Am : Nationalist with a Difference* / **Morris Jastrow, Jr.** : *Nationality versus Nation* / **Morris R. Cohen**: *Zionism : Tribalism or Liberalism?* / **Martin Buber**: *Nationalism* / **Hannah Arendt**: *The Jewish State : Fifty Years After* -- Where have Herzl's politics led? / **Ahad Ha'am**: *After the Balfour Declaration* / **William Zuckerman**: *The Menace of Jewish Fascism* / **Morris S. Lazaron**: *Palestine : the Dream and the Reality* / **Judah L. Magnes**: **A solution Through Force?** / **Alfred M. Lilienthal**: *Israel is Created* / **Georges Friedmann**: *Jews and the State of Israel* / **Jakob I. Petuchowski**: *Philanthropy and Politics* / **Uri Avnery**: *The Establishment* / **Peter Buch**: *Burning Issues of the Mid-East Crisis* / **Amos Kenan**: *Between Gaza and Tel Aviv, de facto, We Already Live in a Bi-National State* / **I.F. Stone**: *For a New Approach to the Israeli-Arab Conflict* / **[Rabbi] Elmer Berger**: *The real Issues in the Arab-Israeli-Zionist Conflict* / **Norton Mezvinsky**: *The Zionist Character of the State of Israel* / **Maxine Rodinson**: *Israel and the Arabs* / **Michael Selzer**: *Politics and Human Perfectibility : A Jewish Perspective* / **Erich Fromm**: *The Prophetic Concept of Peace.*

**George Adam Smith**

***The Historical Geography of the Holy Land***

(Hodder & Stoughton, 1984 plus numerous editions to 1936 / Glasgow: Collins, 1973)

**Grant F. Smith** (Institute for Research – Middle Eastern Policy)

***Big Israel: How Israel's Lobby Moves America***

(Washington DC: Institute for Research – Middle East Policy, 330 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "The Israel lobby exerts incredible power and influence over America. Some identify only one organization, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), as "the lobby" citing its influence on Capitol Hill. This is wrong. Many interconnected organizations channel their power and influence through AIPAC in Congress. Hundreds more "mini-AIPAC's" coordinate with AIPAC and their own national office to lobby state legislatures to pass model legislation and spending authorizations benefiting Israel—without publicly disclosing most of their lobbying activities. Others operate quietly,

policing what is allowed to appear in mainstream news media and channeling "hush money" to civil rights organizations to keep them out of grassroots pro-Palestinian movements. Coordinated, effective and highly averse to public scrutiny, the Israel Affinity Organizations that make up the lobby have transformed America. While some informed voters know the U.S. provides more foreign aid to Israel than any other country, the total flow of charitable, tax dollar, military aid, intelligence and "opportunity cost" are unknown to those footing the bill—and the lobby is determined to keep it that way.
Yet storm clouds are gathering over Israel's lobby. Public opinion polls asking the right questions indicate Americans are nowhere near as approving of unconditional support as many Israel lobbyists insist. Most American Jews have nothing to do with Israel lobbying organizations. More important, broad and deep societal changes, along with the technology-driven rise of alternative and social media, are transforming large numbers of Americans from mostly unaware supporters into informed and active dissenters. Big Israel is a comprehensive, historical, data-driven analysis of how the Israel lobby exerts influence across the United States. Based on a detailed review of more than 4,000 nonprofit organization tax returns, declassified U.S. government files and closely-held internal reports from Israel lobby organizations, Big Israel reveals how staid, respectable and bona fide social welfare organizations transformed themselves into a networked lobby for a foreign country—inflicting immense damage on average Americans. Big Israel offers many surprising insights into the Israel lobby's strengths and weaknesses so that Americans working for peace and justice in Middle East policymaking can finally turn down the rolling thunder of propaganda and take effective action."

***Spy Trade: How Israel's Lobby Undermines America's Economy***
(Washington DC: Institute for Research – Middle Eastern Policy, 2009)

***America's Defense Line: The Justice Department's Battle to Register the Israel Lobby as Agents of a Foreign Government***
(Washington DC: Institute for Research – Middle Eastern Policy, 322 pages, 2008)

***Foreign Agents: The American Israel Public Affairs Committee from the 1963 Fulbright Hearings to the 2005 Espionage Scandal***
(Washington DC: Institute for Research – Middle Eastern Policy, 180 pages, 2007)

***Declassified Deceptions: The Secret History of Isaiah L. Kenen and the Rise of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee***
(Washington DC: Institute for Research – Middle Eastern Policy, 250 pages, 2007)

**Rev. Haskett Smith**

***Patrollers of Palestine***
(Edward Arnold, 361pages, 1906)
Travelogue with photographs.

***Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine: Including a Short Account of the Geography, History, and Religious and Political Divisions of These Countries, Together with Detailed Descriptions of Jerusalem, Damascus, Palmyra, Baalbedk, and the Interesting Ruined Cities of Moab, Gilead, and Bashan***
(John Murray Publishing, 403 pages, 1892)

**James Smith**

***A Pilgrimage to Palestine – an Account of a Visit to Lower Palestine (1893-1894)***
(Aberdeen: publisher unidentified, 203 pages, 1895).
Illustrated, with a folding-map.

**Pamela Ann Smith**

***Palestine and the Palestinians, 1876-1983***

(St. Martin's Press 1984 / Croom Helm, 280 pages, 1984)
A comprehensive picture of the development of Palestinian society, including the post-Nakba diaspora. A "Historical Perspective" (Part 1) traces the socioeconomic history of Palestine from the eve of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II's accession until 1948; "The Palestinian Diaspora, 1948-1983" (Part 2) examines the transformations that occurred in Palestinian class structure: the decline of the elite families and the emergence of a Palestinian bourgeoisie, and the fragmentation of the peasantry. During the British Mandate, "the virtual destruction of the indigenous economy and the growing concentration of the means of production within the Zionist community led to the fragmentation of the Arab bourgeoisie and to extreme factionalism within the traditional ruling class." Of note is the Jordan-weighted chapter, "Decline of the Ruling Families, 1948-1967" and much period coverage of translational Palestinian businesses.

**Tim Mackintosh Smith**

***Arabs: A 3,000-Year History of Peoples, Tribes, and Empires***
(Yale University Press, 592 pages, 2019)

**Sammy Smooha**

***Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: Alienation and Rapprochement***
(Washington DC: US Institute of Peace, 2010)

***Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel, 2004***
(University of Haifa Press, 2005)

With **As'ad Ghanem**: ***Ethnic, Religious and Political Islam Among the Arabs in Israel***
(University of Haifa Jewish-Arab Center, 1998)

***Arabs and Jews in Israel – Vol. 2: Change and Continuity in Mutual Intolerance***
(Boulder, Colorado / London ; Westview Press, 1989)

***Arabs and Jews in Israel – Vol. 1: Conflicting and Shared Attitudes in a Divided Society***
(Boulder, Colorado / London ; Westview Press, 1989)

***The Orientation and Politicization of the Arab Minority in Israel***
(University of Haifa Press, 1984)

***Israel, Pluralism and Conflict***
(London: Routledge & Kegan Paul / University of California Press, 1978)

With **Ora Cibulski**: **Social** ***Research on Arabs in Israel, 1948-1977: Trends and an Annotated Bibliography***
(University of Haifa Jewish-Arab Center / Turtledove Publishing, 1978)

**John Snetsinger**

***Truman, the Jewish Vote, and the Creation of Israel***
(Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 208 pages, 1974)

**Stephen J. Sniegoski**

***The Transparent Cabal: The Neoconservative Agenda, War in the Middle East, and the National Interest of Israel***
(Norfolk, Virginia: Enigma Editions, 2008)
With foreword by former Congressman **Paul Findley** and introduction by **Paul Gottfried**.

**Alex Snowdon**

***A Short Guide to Israeli Apartheid***
(Counterfire, 73 pages, 2022)

**Daniel Sachor**

***Palestine-Israel: One Democratic State?***
(Author, 212 pages, 2018)

**Society of British Jews for the Colonisation of Palestine**

***Rules of the Society of British Jews for the Colonisation of Palestine***
(Leeds Crowther & Hunt, 8 pages, 1891)

**Society of Friends [Quakers]**

***The Search for Peace in the Middle East***
(London: Friends Peace and International relations Committee, 72 pages, 1970; Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1971; Hill & Wang, 1971)

***Quaker Work among Arab Refugees Undertaken for the United Nations: A Brief Description of the Distribution of Relief among Arab Refugees in the Gaza Strip, undertaken by Friends in Behalf of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, December 1948-April 1950***
(Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 32 pages, 1950)

**Ben Soedendorp** (Leiden University)

***The Dynamics of Israeli-Palestinian Relations: Theory, History and Cases***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
Book examines key choices made by Israelis and Palestinians regarding three central issues: the 1947 UN Partition Plan, the Lebanon invasion in 1982, and the 1993 Oslo Agreements.

**Arnon Sofer** (Haifa University demographer; head of research at the IDF's National Defense College; advised the 2004 Sharon Government to seal off Gaza)

With **Evgenia Bystrov**: ***Israel, Demography and Dfensity: 2007-2020***
(University of Haifa, 91 pages, 2008)
Translated by **Murry Rosovesky**.

With **Evgenia Bystrov**: ***Tel Aviv State: A Threat to Israel***
(University of Haifa, 80 pages, 2006)

With **Evgenia Bystrov**: ***Israel Demography, 2004-2020, in Light of the Process of Disengagement***
(University of Haifa, 48 pages, 2005)

***Rivers of Fire: The Conflict over Water in the Middle East***
(Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 303 pages, 1999)
Translated by **Murry Rosovesky** and **Nina Copaken**.

***Developments in the Israeli Mountains: A Geo-Ecological Analysis***
(presumed author, 17 pages, 1987)
Offprint from *Pirineos*, no. 129, 1987.

***Residential and Internal Migration Patterns among the Arabs of Israel: Issues and Social Geography***

(University of Haifa, Jewish-Arab Center, 1986)

With **Yoram Bar-Gal**: ***Geographical Changes in the Traditional Arab Villages in Northern Israel***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 88 page, 1981)

***The Location of Industries in the Haifa Bay Area, from the Geographical Standpoint***
(Hebrew University thesis, 67 pages, 1971)
Credited as being bi-lingual.

**Nahum Sokolow** (President of the World Zionist Congress, 1931-1935; President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine [Jewish Agency for Israel] 1931-1933.

***The New Jew: A Sketch***
(Central Office of the Zionist Organisation, 2nd edition, 1929)

***Memorandum of the Zionist Organisation Relating to the Reconstitution of Palestine as the Jewish National Home***
(London: Electrical Press, 41 pages, 1919)
At the head of the title, it reads "Strictly confidential."

***Statement of the Zionist Organisation Regarding Palestine***
(Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 14 pages, 3 February 1919)
At the head of the title, it reads "Strictly confidential" and signed at end, "Respectfullyu submitted, Lord Walter Rothschild, on behalf of the Zionist Organisation, Nahum Sokolow, Chaim Weizmann."

***History of Zionism, 1600-1918***
(Longmans, Green & Co. 1919; ; New York City: KTAV Publications, 1969; about 460 pages in 2 volumes)
Introduction by **A.J. Balfour**.

***Zionism in the Bible***
(London: Zionist Organisation, 17 pages, 1918)

**Tamir Sorek** (Pennsylvania State University; University of Florida)

As editor: ***Culture and Conflict in Palestine/Israel***
(Routledge, 184 pages, 2024)
Contents: **Merav Kaddar** and **Avihu Shoshana**: *Dancing with Tears in Our Eyes: Political Hipsters, Alternative Culture and Binational Urbanism in Israel/Palestine* / **Yotam Hotam** and **Avihu Shoshana**: *Face Control: Everynight Selection and 'the Other'* / **Nadeem Karkabi**: *The Impossible quest of Nasreen Qadri to Claim Colonial Privilege in Israel* / **Fatina Abreek-Zubiedat** and **Alona Nitzan-Shiftan**: *Mediterraneanism in Conflict: Development and Settlement of Palestinian Refugees and Jewish Immigrants in Gaza and Yamit* / **Oded Erez** and **Arnon Yehuda Degani**: *Songs of Subordinate Integration: Music Education and the Palestinian Arab Citizens of Israel dur the Mapai Era* / **Amal Jamal** and **Noa Lavie**: *Self-Categorization, Intersectionality and Creative Freedom in the Cultural Industries: Palestinian Women Filmmakers in Israel* / **Samira Alayan** and **Lana Shehadeh**: *Religious Symbolism and Politics: Hijab and Resistance in Palestine* / **Liora R. Halperin**: *Anniversaries of 'First' Settlement and the Politics of Zionist Commemoration.*

***Palestinian Commemoration in Israel: Calendars, Monuments, and Martyrs***
(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2015)

***Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: The Integrative Enclave***
(Cambridge University Press, 2007)
Israeli football as an unlevel playing field.

With **Danyel Reiche**, editors
***Sport, Politics and Society in the Middle East***
New York City: Oxford University Press, 296 pages, 2019 / London: Hurst & Co, 2020)
Contents: **Murat C. Yildiz**: Mapping the 'sports Nahda': toward a history of sports in the modern Middle East / **Dag Tuastad Hapoel**: Football's role in how societies remember: the symbolic wars of Jordanian-Palestinian football / **Tamir Sorek**: Tel Aviv and Israeli liberal secularism / **Charlotte Lysa**: Qatari female footballers: negotiating gendered expectations / **Nida Ahmad**: Sportswomen's use of social media in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) / **Craig L. LaMay**: The World Cup and freedom of expression in Qatar / **Cem Tinaz**: Turkish sports: lost in politics? / **Nadim Nassif**: Developing a national elite sport policy in an Arab country: the case of Lebanon / **Danyel Reiche**: Legacies of mega-sporting events in developing countries: a case study of Lebanon / **Simon Chadwick**: The business of sports in the Gulf Cooperation council member states.

***Palestinian Commemoration in Israel: Calendars, Monuments, and Martyrs***
(Stanford University Press, 312 pages, 2015)

**Adhaf Soueif** (novelist of Egyptian diasporic themes, political essayist, and translator)
***Mezzaterra: Fragments from the Common Ground***
(Anchor Books, 2005)
Includes reviews and essays on Palestinian authors. Note: Wrote foreword to Jean Genet's *Prisoner of Love*; foreword to Nick King's disappointment with the Palestinian university system, *Education under Occupation*.

**Helga Tawil-Souri** (New York University Professor and film documentary maker) and **Dina Matar** (SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies), editors
***Producing Palestine: The Creative Production of Palestine Through Contemporary Media***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury/SOAS Palestine Studies, 296 pages, 2024)
Contents: **Rayya El Zein -** *A Place Called Return*; **Danash Abdulla** and **Sarona Abuaker**: *Imagining Returns – Countless Palestinian Futures*; **Dina Matar**: *Re-centring Palestine and Palestinians in Poster Art*; **Nayrouz Abu Hatoum** and **Hadeel Assali**: *Becoming Al-Mulatham/a: Fedayee Art, Abu Obaida, and Palestinian TikTok*; **Viviane Saglier**: *Vertical Visions of the Nakba: Towards a Topography of Layers*: **Kareem Estefan**: *Virtual Returns: Rehearsing and Remediating Returns in Palestinian Video Practices*; **Aamer Ibraheem**: *Reincarnated: Common Sense and the Poetics of Elsewhere*; **Nadeem Karkabi** and **Kiven Strohm**: *Fugitive Crossings: On the Condition of Being Palestinian*; **Sary Zananiri**: *Marking Bodies: A Catalogue of Keffiyehs*; **Lara Khalidi**: *We're Still Alive, so Remove Us from Memory: Asynchronicity and the Museum in Resistance*; **Stephen Sheehi**: *Forging Revolutionary Objects*; **Anne Meneley**: *Cooking Online with Chef Fadi*; **Dale Hudson**: *Interactive Documentary, Layers of Historical Cracks*; **Sophie Chamas**: *Palestine and the Question of Queer Arabness*; **Helga Tawil-Souri**: *Refractions*; **Hagit Keysar, Ariel Kane, and Barak Brinker**: *Terra Ex Machina*. NOTE: Helga Tawil Souri's documentary, *Not Going There, Don't Belong Here*, was completed in 2002 and filmed in Lebanon refugee camps.

***Gaza as Metaphor***
(Hurst, 267 pages, 2016)
Contents – **Helga Tawil-Souri**: *Gaza as Larger Than Life* / **Haidar Eid**: *Diary July 20, 2014 – Signposts on the Road to Liberation* / **Said Shehadeh**: *Ghazeh el Sumud – Confronting Israeli Mass Torture* / **Pierre Krähenbühl**: *Gaza as a Metaphor for Unsustainability* / **Mouin Rabbani**: *Israel Mows the Lawn* / **Naim Al Khatib**: *On War and Shit* / **Khaled Hroub** aka **Khaled Al-Hroub**: *Tunnels – Love, Lions and Absurdities* / **Jehad Abusalim**: *From Fence to Fence: Retelling Gaza's Story* / **Ilana Feldman**: *Gaza-Isolation* / **Salman Abu Sitta**: *The Gaza Strip and the Lessons of History* / Glenn Bowman: *Gaza – Encystation* / **Selma Dabbagh**: *Inventing Gaza* / **Ramzy Baroud**: *Fighting Another Day – Gaza's Unrelenting Resistance* / **Atef Alshaer**: *In the Company of Frantz Fanon, the Israeli Wars and the National Culture of Gaza* / **Ilan Pappe**: *Can the Pen be Mightier than the Sword? Permission to Narrate Gaza* / **Dina Matar**: *Gaza Image Normalization* / **Darryl Li**: *Gaza at the Frontiers of Zionism* / **Ariella**

**Azoulay**: *Concentration-Place* / **Nimer Sultany**: *Repetition* / **Sara Roy**: *Gaza, no se Puede Mirar – One Cannot Look, a Brief Reflection* / **Sherene Seikaly**: *Gaza as Archive*.

**Thomas Sparr**

***German Jerusalem: The Remarkable Life of a German-Jewish Neighborhood in the Holy City***
(Haus Publishing, 220 pages, 2021)

**Gerald Sparrow** (British lawyer)

***The Sphinx Awakes***
(New York: Pitman / London: Robert Hale, 1956)
1956 travel journalism with a legal focus; includes attention to the Tripartite Declaration of the United Kingdom, France and the United States to the Arab-Israeli Conflict (1950) and a selection of key articles of the Arab League from 1945.

**Steven L. Spiegel**

***The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan***
(University of Chicago Press, 1985)

**Timea Spitka** (Carleton University, Ottawa)

***National and International Civilian Protection Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 201 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This open access book examines security and protection within Israel and Palestine, analyzing national and international security strategies that apply to the protection of civilians. The author examines the principles, practices and the perception of protection. Focusing on protection strategies and practices in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this book reveals some of the myths and enigmas of national and international protection of civilians. The book moves beyond the current lack of protection strategies to discuss more effective human security focused on prioritizing protection of civilians, use of alternative tools such as community policing and inclusive protection."

**Bernard Spolsky** (Bar-Ilan University) & **Robert L. Cooper** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

***The Languages of Jerusalem***
(Oxford University Press, 1991)
Mainly a Hebrew (Judezmo, Hebrew, and Yiddish) focus but includes both spoken and classical Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Latin, French, Armenian, German and English.

**Ehud Sprinzak**

***Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination***
(New York City: The Press Press, 1999)

***The Israeli Right and the Peace Process, 1992-1996***
(Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, 1998)

As co-editor, with **Larry Diamond**: ***Israeli Democracy under Stress***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishing, 1993)

***The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right***
(Oxford University Press, 1991)
See also Ami Pedahzur, in THE STORY TODAY section.

**Nasser Abu Srour**

***The Tale of a Wall: Reflections on Hope and Freedom***

(Allen Lane, 320 pages, 2024)

Translated by **Luke Leafgren**. The author was arrested in 1993 and sentenced to life in prison. While incarcerated, Abu Srour completed the final semester of a bachelor's degree in English from Bethlehem University, and obtained a master's degree in political science from Al-Quds University. Publisher's blurb: "Nasser Abu Srour grew up in a refugee camp in the West Bank, on the outskirts of Bethlehem. As a child, he played in its shadow and explored the little world within the camp. As he grew older, he began questioning the boundaries that limited his existence. Later, sentenced to life in prison, with no hope of parole, he found himself surrounded by a physical wall. This is the story of how, over thirty years in captivity, he crafted a new definition of freedom. Turning to writings by philosophers as varied as Derrida, Kirkegaard and Freud, he begins to let go of freedom as a question that demanded an answer, in order to preserve it as a dream. The wall becomes his stable point of reference, his anchor, both physically and psychologically. As each year brings with it new waves of releases of prisoners, he dares to hope, and seeks refuge in the wall when these hopes are dashed. And, in a small miracle, he finds love with a lawyer from the outside – while in her absence, the wall is his solace and his curse."

**Abdelqader Steih** (Rammal Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center)

With **Ali Ihsan Aydin** (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University) and **Zekeriya Kursun** (Rammal Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center): ***A Handbook of the Ottoman Palestine Place Names and Atlas***

(Vadi Kültür Sanat Ve Yayıncılık / Vadi Publications, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "This atlas aims at revealing Palestine in the minds of the Ottomans, regardless of whether it is within the borders of contemporary Palestine. Two methods were followed for this purpose. Place names such as the sanjak (prefectur), Kaza (district), nahiye (sub-district) and so on have been identified by examining Tahrir Notebooks (16th century) which were written in the first years of Palestinian geography came under the rule of Ottoman Empire. Then, 19th-century sources were referenced. Among these, in particular, the places in the Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Suriye (Annual of the Vilayet of Syria) of 1872, which indicates the Ottoman administrative division in Syria, were identified. Thus, the reader was provided with a comparison between the 16th and 19th centuries. The above records were confirmed by applying to the Ottoman documents and various maps. The new settlements identified from the last sources are included in the related tables or given independently. There are various maps in the atlas that have been drawn up starting from the first years of Ottoman rule until 1917. Indeed, the first and the last one of these maps are the Ottoman maps, but Ottomans drew not all of them. However, the characteristic feature of all is that they are showing the Palestinian geography of the Ottoman period. The aim of this study is not a borderline delimitation. It is only to guide those who wonder about the subject and history researchers to contribute to new studies on this subject."

**Leonard Stein**

***Weizmann and the Balfour Declaration***

(Rehovoth, Israel: Yad Chaim Weizmann, 1964)

Text of speech.

***The Balfour Declaration***

(Simon & Schuster / Vallentine Mitchell, 681 pages, 1961)

Author looks at the personalities of the major figures in Zionist lobbying.

***The Truth about Palestine: A Reply to the Palestine Arab Delegation***

(London: Zionist Organisation, 19 pages, 1922)

**Ori Stendel**

***The Arabs in Israel***
(Sussex Academic Press, 296 pages, 1995-1996)
Publisher's blurb: "The political map of the Arab minority is at the heart of this book, but there are extended chapters on demographic trends, geographic distribution, the configuration of the religious communities, social conditions, the status of women, Arabic-language literature in Israel, the Arabic press, the legal status of the minority, government policies, the Arabs of East Jerusalem, the relations of Israeli Arabs with those of the occupied territories and with the Palestinian Authority under Yasser Arafat."

***The Minorities in Israel: Trends in the Development of the Arab and Druze Communities, 1948-1973***
(Jerusalem: Israeli Economist, 210 pages, 1973)
Also published as *Minorities in Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Information Centre, 31 pages, 1973)

***Arab Villages in Israel and Judeo-Samaria: A Comparison in Social Development***
(Jerusalem: Israel Economist, 43 pages, 1967-1968, 1985)

**Richard P. Stevens**

***American Zionism and US Foreign Policy, 1942-1947***
(New York City: Pageant, 1962 / Institute for Palestine Studies, 227 pages, 1970)

***Weizmann and the Smuts: A Study of Zionist-South African Cooperation***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973)

**Andrea L Stanton** (University of Denver)

***"This is Jerusalem Calling": State Radio in Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2013)
A rewarding cultural resource focusing on the Arab side of the broadcasting body. Aside from political developments, the author focuses on the marketing of radios, newspaper coverage of the broadcasts, the role of women in the broadcast schedule, and many less obvious topics. Publisher's description: "Modeled after the BBC, the Palestine Broadcasting Service was launched in 1936 to serve as the national radio station of Mandate Palestine, playing a pivotal role in shaping the culture of the emerging middle class in the region. Despite its significance, the PBS has become nearly forgotten by scholars of twentieth-century Middle Eastern studies. Drawn extensively from British and Israeli archival sources, This Is Jerusalem Calling traces the compelling history of the PBS's twelve years of operation, illuminating crucial aspects of a period when Jewish and Arab national movements simultaneously took form. Andrea L. Stanton describes the ways in which the mandate government used broadcasting to cater to varied audiences, including rural Arab listeners, in an attempt to promote a "modern" vision of Arab Palestine as an urbane, politically sophisticated region. In addition to programming designed for the education of the peasantry, religious broadcasting was created to appeal to all three main faith communities in Palestine, which ultimately mayz have had a disintegrating, separatist effect. Stanton's research brings to light the manifestation of Britain's attempts to prepare its mandate state for self-governance while supporting the aims of Zionists. While the PBS did not create the conflict between Arab Palestinians and Zionists, the service reflected, articulated, and magnified such tensions during an era when radio broadcasting was becoming a key communication tool for emerging national identities around the globe."

**Freya Stark** (Middle East travel writer of many books, campaigner in Mandate Palestine during WWII for the reduction of Jewish immigration)

***Dust in the Lion's Paw: Autobiography, 1939-1946***
(John Murray, 296 pages, 1961 / Century Publishing, 1985)

***East is West***
(John Murray, 218 pages, 1945 / Century, 1986)

***Letters from Syria***
(John Murray, 194 pages, 1942 / Travel Book Club, 1944)

**Joyce R. Starr**

***Kissing through Glass: The Invisible Shield between Americans and Israelis***
(Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1990)
"Starr talks openly about these connections; her career is indicative of the process. Starr was the White House liaison on Soviet Jews and Press Coordinator in the Jewish Community Affairs Division for the Carter Administration. Subsequently, she served on George Bush's Middle East campaign task force." – Janice J. Terry, East Michigan University.

**Ilan Stavans** (Amherst College)

***Words in Transit: Stories of Immigrants ~ Portraits That Celebrate Global Diversity in Western New England***
(University of Massachusetts Press, 2016)
Photographs by **Beth Reynolds**. Interviews conducted by **Cathleen O'Keefe** and **Tema Silk**.
Includes an interview with a Fulbright scholar from Palestine.

**Kenneth W. Stein**

***The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939***
(University of North Carolina Press, 1984)
Shows Palestinian land concerns mainly agriculturalm that they lacked expertise in dealing with bureaucratic hurdles.

With **Samuel W. Lewis** & **Sheryl J. Brown**: ***Making Peace among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons of Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience***
(Washington DC: US Institute of Peace, 1991)

***The Intifadah and the 1936-1939 Uprising: A Comparison of the Palestinian Arab Communities***
(Atlanta: The Carter Center of Emory University, 36 pages, 1990)

**Yael Stein**

***Fake Justice: The Responsibility Israel's High Court Justices Bear for the Demolition of Palestinian Homes and the Dispossession of Palestinians, February 2019***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 48 pages, 2019)

***Minors in Jeopardy: Violation of the Rights of Palestinian Minors by Israel's Military Courts***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 34 pages, 2018)
Translated by **Maya Johnston** and **Michelle Bubis**.

***Getting off Scot-Free: Israel's Refusal to Compensate Palestinians for Damages Caused by its Security Forces***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 52 pages, 2017)
With field research by **Salma a-Deb'i Musa Abu Hashhash**, **Khaled al'-Azayzeh**, **Lyad Hadad** and **Abdulkarim Sadi**; Translated by **Michelle Bubis**.

***Unprotected: Detention of Palestinian Minors in East Jerusalem, October 2017***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 32 pages, 2016-2017)

With field research by **Murad Jadallah** and **Kareem Jubran**; translated by **Michelle Bubis** and **Maya Johnston**.

With **Naama Baumgarten-Sharon**: ***Presumed Guilty: Remand in Custody by Military Courts in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 63 pages, 2015
Translated by **Maya Johnston**.

***By Hook and by Crook: Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 69 pages, 2010)

***Void of Responsibility: Israel Military Policy not to Investigate Killings of Palestinians by Soldiers***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem,54 pages, 2010)

***Forbidden Families: Family Unification and Child Registration in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 41 pages, 2004)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**.

***Abuse of Palestinians at the Sarra Checkpoint, Nablus District, 27-31 December 2003***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 22 pages, 2004)
With data coordination by **Yael Handelsman** and **Sohad Sakalla**; fieldwork by **Najib Abu Rokaya**; translated by **Jessica Montell** and **Zvi Shulman**.

***Behind the Barrier: Human Rights Violations as a Result of Israel's Separation Barrier***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 41 pages, 2003)

***Abuse of Palestinians by IDF Soldiers in Hebron, 3 December 2002***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 21 pages, 2002)
Data collection by **Maya Johnston**; translated by **Maya Johnston** and **Zvi Shulman**.

With **Ron Dudai**: ***Wounded in the Field: Impeding Medical Treatment and Firing at Ambulances by IDF Soldiers in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 31 pages, 2002)
Translated by **Rachel Greenspahn** and **Zvi Shulman**.

***Policy of Destruction: House Demolitions and Destruction of Agricultural Land in the Gaza Strip***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 45 pages, 2002)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**

***Standing Idly By: Non-Enforcement of the Law on Settlers, Hebron, 26-28 July 2002***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 20 pages, 2002)

***Abuse of Palestinians by IDF Soldiers in Hebron, 3 December 2002***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 21 pages, 2002)

***Death in Custody: The Killing of Murad 'Awaisa, 17, in Ramallah, 31 March 2002***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 25 pages, 2002)

With **Eyal Raz**: ***Operation Defensive Shield, March 29 – April 21, 2002: Soldiers' Testimonies, Palestinian Testimonies***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 35 pages, 2002)

With **Yehezkel Lein**: ***Excessive Force: Human Rights Violations during IDF Actions in Area B; Beit Jala, 6 May 2001; Beit Rima, 24 October 2001; Bethlehem area, 19-28 October 2001***

(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 82pages, 2001)

***Human Shield: Use of Palestinian Civilians as Human Shields in Violation of High Court of Justice Order***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 20 pages, 2002)

***Torture of Palestinian Minors in the Gush Etzion Police Station***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 23 pages, 2001)

***Whitewash: The Office of the Judge Advocate General's Examination of the Death of Khalil al-Mughrabi, 11, on 7 July 2001***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 30 pages, 2001)

***In Broad Daylight: Abuse of Palestinians by IDF Soldiers on 23 July 2001***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 16 pages, 2001
Edited by **Jessica Montell**.

***Standard Routine: Beatings and Abuse of Palestinians by Israeli Security Forces during the Al-Aqsa Intifada***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 38 pages, 2001)

***Expulsion of Residents from the South Mr. Hebron Area, October-November 1999***
(Jerusalem B'tselem, 25 pages, 2000)

***Illustrations of Restraint: Human Rights Violations During the Events in the Occupied Territories, 29 September – 2 December, 2000***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 58 pages, 2000)
Translated by **Jessica Bonn**, **Jessica Montell** and **Zvi Shulman**.

***Operation Defensive Shield, March 29 – April 21, 2002: Soldiers' Testimonies, Palestinian Testimonies***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 35 pages, 2002)

***The Quiet Deportation Continues: Revocation of Residency and Denial of Social Rights of East Jerusalem Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: HaMoked / B'tselem, 25 pages, 1997; 37 pages, 1998)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**

***Divide and Rule: Prohibition on Passage between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 33 pages, 1998)

With **Shirly Eran**: ***Lethal Training: The Killing of Muhammad al-Hilu by Undercover Soldiers in Hizmeh Village***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 12 pages, 1997)

***Sexual Harassment in the Name of the Law: Violence and Degradation during Searches of Palestinian Homes in Hebron***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 21 pages, 1996)
Translated by **Zvi Shulman**

With **Yuval Ginbar**: ***Detention and Interrogation of Salem and Hanan 'Ali, Husband and Wife, Residents of Bani Na'im Village***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 13 pages, 1995)

With **Yuval Ginbar**: ***Torture during Interrogations: Testimony of Palestinian Detainees: Testimony of Interrogators***

(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 33 pages, 1994)

***Firing at Vehicles by the Security Forces in the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: B'tselem, 18 pages, 1994)

**Gerald M. Steinberg** (Bar Ilan University) and **Ziv Rubinovitz** (Ben-Gurion University)
***Menachem Begin and the Israel-Egypt Peace Process: Between Ideology and Political Realism***
(Indiana University Press, 282 pages, 2019/2025)

**Milton Steinberg** & **Ira Eisenstein**
***Zionism and the New Opposition: Reconstructionism and Zionism***
(offprint from *The Reconstructionist*, v. 8 N. 12, 23 pages, 1945)
Steinberg's essay details the longstanding non-Zionist tendency in the CCAR (Reform) and amongst various Reform Rabbis, and addresses and counters the statements of what he calls the 'Anti-Zionist Organization of America'. Eisenstein's essay lays out reconstructionist Judaism as uniquely positioned in its ideas and practices to best overlap with Zionism as opposed to other Rabbinical traditions.

**Fritz Steppat**
***Zionism-Judaism: Some Historical Aspects of the Clash between Zionism and Arab Nationalism***
(Beirut: University Christian Centre Forum, 13 pages, 1968)

**Yoav Stern** (Al-Jazeera) and **Sarah Ozacky-Lazar**
***Locals: Conversations with Arab Citizens in Israel***
(Multieducator Press, 270 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "This is not a 'representative sample' or an 'opinion poll,' but rather, a collection of in-depth conversations with private individuals from different walks of life."

**Ze'ev Sternhell**
***The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism and the Making of the Jewish State***
Translated by David Maisel
(Princeton University Press, 1998)
One of the Jewish Israeli "new historians" of the late 1980s and 1990s. "A very important book in which he dispels the myths about Israeli society as a liberal, socialist, democratic state – in an extraordinarily detailed analysis of its illiberal, quasi-fascist, and profoundly anti-socialist character as evidenced by the Labour Party generally, and the Histadrut in particular." – Edward Said, 1998, in *The End of the Peace Process.*

**Russell Stetler**, editor
***Palestine: The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Ramparts Press Reader***
(San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1972)
With photographs by **Jeffrey Blankfort**. Pieces detail the variability of the resistance movements, with policy statements. One section features Fateh suggesting the 'one state' compromise. Contents: **Isaac Deutscher**: *The Six-Day War* / **Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover** & **Akiva Orr**: *The Class Nature of Israeli Society* / **Africa Research Group**: *Israel's Mission in Africa* / **Leila S. Kadi**: *Origins of the Armed Resistance* / **Gerard Chaliand**: *Inside Fateh* / **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine**: *Strategy for Revolution* / **Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine**: *The August Program* / **Naef Hawatmeh**: *Jew and Arabs – Our Future* / **Fateh**: *Towards a Democratic State in Palestine* / **Leila Khaled**: *Skyjack* (interview) / *Diary of a Resistance Fighter* / **Yasser Arafat**: *Black September – An Organised Retreat*

(interview) / **Ghassan Kanafani**: *PFLP and the September Attack* (interview) / **Robert Elias Abu Shanab**: *The Resistance after September – An Appraisal* / **Khalil al-Hindi**: *An End*

**Desmond Stewart** (biographer of Theodor Herzl)
***Palestinians: Victims of Expediency***
(Quartet Books, 1982) Observations, 1980-1981

***The Middle East: Temple of Janus***
(Hamish Hamilton, 1972)

**Walter Francis Stirling** (C.E. Lawrence's Chief of Staff, later *Times* correspondent)
***Safety Last***
(Hollis & Carter, 1953)
Autobiography.

**Ernest Stock** (b. 1924, Frankfort; American Zionist with the Jewish Agency, then with Tel-Aviv & Bar-Ilan Universities)
***Partners & Pursestrings: A History of the United Israel Appeal***
(London: University Press of America, 1987)
Includes the Jewish Agency (for Palestine) and the Jewish Federations (in America); 'competition' with the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet).

**Nancy L. Stockdale** (University of North Texas)
***Colonial Encounters among English and Palestinian Women, 1800-1948*** (University Press of Florida, 2007) Varied remembered reactions to the encountering of English culture and how English women missionaries furthered the colonial project.

**Nancy Stohlman** and **Laurieann Aladin**, editors
***Live from Palestine: International and Palestinian Direct Action against the Israeli Occupation***
(Boston: Sound End Press, 223 pages, 2003)

**I.F. Stone** [Isador Feinstein] (journalist for the *New York Post, The Nation*, and his own *I.F. Stone's Weekly*)
***Underground to Palestine***
(Boni & Gaer, 1946; republished with an additional chapter by Hutchinson, 1979)

***Underground to Palestine: and other Writing on Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East***
(New York: Open Road Media, 2015)

**Nahum Isaac Stone**
***Economic Aspects of Restoration***
(New York City: Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, 14pp, 1918)
"For private circulation" printed at top of front cover. The leftist economist discusses problems faced by Zionist settlement, including the amount of land purchase in both Palestine and Mesopotamia that was thought necessary to make the project feasible, and possible solutions.

**Lyndsey Stonebridge** (University of Birmingham)
***Placeless People: Writings, Rights, and Refugees***
(Oxford University Press, 2018)

Contents: 1: Reading Statelessness: Arendt's Kafka / 2: Arendt's Message of Ill-Tidings / 3: Orwell's Jews / 4: Weil's Uprooted / 5: Beckett's Expelled / 6: Sands of Sorrow: Dorothy Thompson in Palestine / 7: Statelessness and the Poetry of the Borderline: W.H. Auden and Yousif M. Qasmiyeh

**Joe Stork**

With **Bill Van Esveld, Fares Akram** & **Saleh Hijazi:** ***No News is Good News: Abuses against Journalists by Palestinian Security Forces***
(New York City: Human Rights Watch, 35 pages, 2011)

With **Sharon Stone**: ***Zionism and American Jewry*** aka ***Zionism and American Jews***
(Washington: MERIP, 26 pages, 1974)

**(Sir) Ronald Storrs** (Military Governor of Jerusalem, 1917-1926)

***Orientations***
(Nicholson & Watson, 677 pages, 1937)
"Jewish homeland…will form for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism." A section was of *Orientations* was reprinted as *Lawrence of Arabia, Zionism and Palestine* (Penguin, 1940)

**Jacob Stoyanovsky**

***The Mandate for Palestine: A Contribution to the Theory and Practice of International Mandates***
(Longmans & Co, 1928)

**Trude Strand** (Geneva Graduate Institute)

***Israel and the Gaza Strip since 1967: A History of Occupation,Domination and Unilateralism***
(I.B.Tauris / Bloomsbury Academic, 256 pages, 2026)

**Nathan Strauss** (1848-1931; owner of New Yorik City department stores RH Macy & Co. and Abraham & Straus)

***Palestine for the Jews: A Copy of the Memorial Presented to President Harrison, March 5, 1891***
(Oak Park, Illinois: W. Blackstone, 23 pages, 1891)
Likely the first official request to an American President for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. William Eugene Blackstone was an American evangelist and Christian Zionist. Pamphlet asks of the President, "What shall be done for the Russian Jew? …Why not give Palestine back to them again? According to God's distribution of nations, it is their home, an inalienable possession, from which they were expelled by force… Why shall not the powers which under the treaty of Berlin in 1878 gave Bulgaria to the Bulgarians and Servia to the Servians [sic] now give Palestine back to the Jews? …Let us now restore them to the land of which they were so cruelly despoiled by our Roman ancestors."

**John Strawson** (University of East London)

***Partitioning Palestine: Legal Fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Pluto Press, 2010)
Book focuses on the different ways in which Palestinians and Israelis have narrated the key legal texts of the conflict: the League of Nations Mandate, the United Nations partition plan, and the Oslo Agreements.

**Patrick Streeter**

***Mad for Zion: A Biography of Colonel J.H. Patterson***

(The Matching Press, 191 pages, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "John Henry Patterson…rose from the rank of private in the British Army to be Commander of the Zion Mule Corps and Jewish Legion… An Irish Protestant, he devoted the last half of his life to an unflinching campaign for Zionism." Associate of Vladimir Jabotinsky. See also Patterson's own memoir.

**Philippa Strum**

***The Women are Marching: The Second Sex and the Palestinian Revolution***
(Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, ca. 1992)
Publisher's blurb: "Before the onset of the intifada in 1987, most Palestinian women rarely left their homes, and could do so only if escorted by a female relative. They could not divorce their husbands, and if a Palestinian woman was sexually harassed or abused, she was ostracized from the community and could even be killed. Three months after the intifada began, with no recourse to law or redress in the face of the arrests, the beatings, the torture, and the shootings by the Israeli military, Palestinian women took to the streets, holding more than one hundred marches a week. Led by the women's committees that were formed in the late 1970s, they have since gone on to create an entire social and economic infrastructure to end Palestinian reliance on Israel. In their march toward equality, they are enforcing strike days and boycotts of Israeli products, providing underground health care, building agricultural cooperatives and small-scale industries, opening alternative schools, and smuggling food to communities under curfew. The extent to which the massive transformation in the lives of Palestinian women will endure once independence is achieved remains a question. As long as the occupation lasts, Strum asserts, meaningful reform–whether in gender equality, politics, or economics–will fail to reach fruition in both the occupied territories and Israel. Nevertheless, as she concludes In one of the most gripping accounts of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict written to date, Palestinian women will never return to their traditional status, and they hold out the promise of profound change in the Middle East."

**Richard Stubbs** (British Mandate Government's Public Information Officer, 1945-1948)

***Palestine Story: A Personal Account of the Last Three Years of British Rule in Palestine***
(Brettenham, Suffolk: Thurston Publications "Private Publication," 208 pages, 1995)
Dictated to Ann Swithenbank in 1948. An astounding period account of the social collapse of Mandate Palestine's unjust normality, viewed from the press corps, such as the King David Hotel bombing, the hanged Sergeants, and the Deir Yassin massacre. "…even if might isn't always right in Palestine, at any rate, it is victorious."

**Thomas Suarez**

***Palestine Mapped: From the River to the Sea in Early Geographic Thought***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 248 pages, 2025)
Starting approximately 1500, this book shows how elaborate and colourful Holy Land maps began to be prized as "symbols of erudition." One major expedition by the Palestine Exploration Fund produced "the consummate product of nineteenth-century hybrid messianic-imperial mapping of the land."

***Palestine Hijacked: How Zionism Forged an Apartheid State from River to Sea***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 424 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "The Israel-Palestine "conflict" is often understood to be a clash between two ethnic groups—Arabs and Jews—inhabiting the same land. What this book proves is something quite different: the violent take-over of Palestine by a European racial-nationalist settler movement, Zionism, using terror to assert by force a claim to the land that has no legal or moral basis.
Thomas Suárez' shocking account details a litany of Zionist terrorist acts against anyone in their way—the indigenous Palestinians, the British who had helped establish Zionism, and against Jews who disagreed with the Zionist agenda, carried out or supported by the same leaders who then established and led the Israeli state. Suárez has uncovered documents in the British state archives, many revealed here for the first time—secret internal papers of terrorists' own accounts boasting of their successes, contemporary intelligence briefings, secret diplomatic correspondence and British

CID reports—which establish beyond doubt that far from being isolated atrocities by rogue groups, the use of terror to acquire and keep Palestine for the Zionists was deliberate and sustained. It is a story that continues today with the violence employed by Israel to sustain its regime of Apartheid against the Palestinians and continued expropriation of their country."

***Writings on the Wall: Palestinian Oral Histories Collected by the Arab Educational Institute in Bethlehem***
(Interlink Publications/Skyscraper Publications, 232 pages, 2019)
"Thomas Suarez has organized a moving collection of oral histories conveying the hopes and humanity of Palestinians living under Israel's seven-decade military occupation… Accompanied by photographs and detailed factual text in order to contextualize the people's memory of their experienced history, the book conveys insight into the Palestinian process of remembering… Suarez makes some important observations within the context of these collected testimonies. Focusing upon the concepts of holding identity hostage, Suarez notes that the Israeli narrative has created a human shield 'to insulate the state from accountability'… The misinformation and propaganda spread by Israel can only be countered by Palestinian memory and its dissemination. This collection of brief testimonies emphasizes the repetitive violations which require persistent resistance by Palestinians." — The New Arab (Al-Araby Al-Jadeed)

***State of Terror: How Terrorism Created Modern Israel***
(Skyscraper Books / Interlink Publications, 2016)
As described by the eminent Israeli historian Ilan Pappe, the book is "A tour de force, based on diligent archival research that looks boldly at the impact of Zionism on Palestine and its people in the first part of the 20th century. The book is the first comprehensive and structured analysis of the violence and terror employed by the Zionist movement and later the state of Israel against the people of Palestine." Former US Green Party presidential candidate Cynthia McKinney said that it exposes "the reality of the 'conflict' through the simple act of documenting why a tolerant, multi-cultural Palestine became the battleground it is today," and in the UK Baroness Jenny Tonge wrote that "I thought I knew a fair bit about the Middle East after all the years I've been involved in its politics but this book came as an eye-opener." Seven years in the making, the book is based predominantly on declassified source documents in the National Archives of Great Britain.

***Palestine Sixty Years Later: Gaza, East Jerusalem and the West Bank, 2008-2009: Photographs and Observations***
(New York City: Americans for Middle East Understanding, 2010)

**Sandy Sufian** & **Mark LeVine**, editors
***Re-approaching Borders: New Perspectives on the Study of Israel-Palestine***
(Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007)
Contents: Filling a gap in the chronology: what archaeology is revealing about the Ottoman past in Israel / Uzi Baram — Remembering Jewish-Arab contact and conflict / Michelle Campos — Reapproaching the borders of Nazareth (1948-1956): Israel's control of an all-Arab city / Geremy Forman — Defining national medical borders: medical terminology and the making of Hebrew medicine / Sandy Sufian — Contested bodies: medicine, public health, and mass immigration to Israel / Nadav Davidovitch, Rhona Seidelman, and Shifra Shvarts — Seeing the "Holy Land" with new eyes: undocumented labor migration, reproductive health, and the fluctuating borders of the Israeli national body / Sarah S. Willen — Masculinity as a relational mode: Palestinian gender ideologies and working-class boundaries in an ethnically mixed town / Daniel Monterescu — From water abundance to water scarcity (1936-1959): a "fluid" history of Jewish subjectivity in historic Palestine and Israel / Samer Alatout — Seizing locality in Jerusalem / Alona Nitzan-Shiftan — Present and absent: historical invention and the politics of place in contemporary Jerusalem / Thomas Abowd — Framing the borders of justice: Sharia courts in Israel and the conflict between secular ideology and Islamic law / Moussa Abou Ramadan — Modernity and its mirror: three views of Jewish-Palestinian interaction in Jaffa and Tel Aviv / Mark LeVine.

**Sandra Sufian**

***Healing the Land and the Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Palestine, 1920-1947***
(University of Chicago Press, 385 pages, 2007)

**Michael W. Suleiman**

***US Policy on Palestine: From Wilson to Clinton***
(Normal, Illinois: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 263 pages, 1995)
Contents: Palestine and the Palestinians in the mind of America / Michael W. Suleiman – Roots of denial: American stand on Palestinian self-determination from the Balfour Declaration to World War Two / Hisham H. Ahmed – The Truman administration and the Palestinians / Fred Lawson – Missed opportunities and roads not taken: the Eisenhower administration and the Palestinians / Deborah J. Gerner – The Kennedy-Johnson administrations and the Palestinian people / Zaha Bustami – Nixon's Middle East policy: from balance to bias / Donald Neff – The Carter administration and the Palestinians / Janice J. Terry – The Reagan administration's policy toward the Palestinians / Ann M. Lesch – The Bush administration and the Palestinians: a reassessment / Cheryl A. Rubenberg – The Clinton administration and the Palestine question / Joe Stork – America's Palestine policy / Ibrahim Abu-Lughod.

**Yasir Suleiman** (Cambridge University; Islamic Manuscript Association, Banipal Trust, etc.)

As editor: ***Being Palestinian: Personal Reflections on Palestinian Identity in the Diaspora***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2016)
102 Palestinians in the UK and North America explain diasporic diversity. Contributors include Ghada Karmi, Salman Abu Sitta, Dina Matar, Abdel Bari Atwan, Marwan Kanafani, Jean Said Makdisi, Michel Moushabeck, Fady Joudah, Karl Sabbagh, Selma Dabbagh, Reja-e Busailah, Victor Kattan, Marwan Nassar, Khaled Hroub aka Khaled Al-Hroub, Dina Ibrahim, etc.

***Israel-Palestine Conflict: The Politics of Self-Perception in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "The conflict between Israel and Palestine is, and remains to be, one of the most widely- and passionately-debated issues in the Middle East and in the field of international politics. An important part of this conflict is the dimension of self-perception of both Israelis and Palestinians caught up in its midst. Here, Camelia Suleiman, using her background in linguistic analysis, examines the interplay of language and identity, feminism and nationalism, and how the concepts of spatial and temporal boundaries affect self-perception. She does this through interviews with peace activists from a variety of backgrounds: Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, Jewish Israelis, as well as Palestinians from Ramallah, officially holders of Jordanian passports. By emphasizing the importance of these levels of official identity, Suleiman explores how self-perception is influenced, negotiated and manifested, and how place of birth and residence play a major role in this conflict.
This book therefore holds vital first-hand analysis of the conflict and its impact upon both Israelis and Palestinians, making it crucial for anyone involved in Middle East Studies, Conflict Studies and International Relations."

***No Refuge: Palestinians in Lebanon***
(Oxford University Refugee Studies Centre, 35 pages, 2010)

**Antony Thrall Sullivan**

***Palestinian Universities under Occupation***
(American University in Cairo Press, 1988)

**Mohamed Sultan**

***Quotes on Israeli Racism***
(Cairo: Institute for Human Rights Studies, 40 pages, 2001)

Translated by **Sulaf Taha**.

**Nimer Sultany**

As editor: ***Israel and the Palestinian Minority***
(Haifa: Mada al-Carmel, various editions, 2003-2005)

**Karene Sanchez Summerer** (Leiden University) & **Sary Zananiri** (Leiden University), editors

***European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine, 1918-1948: Between Contention and Connection***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 465 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "This open access book investigates the transnationally connected history of Arab Christian communities in Palestine during the British Mandate (1918-1948) through the lens of the birth of cultural diplomacy. Relying predominantly on unpublished sources, it examines the relationship between European cultural agendas and local identity formation processes and discusses the social and religious transformations of Arab Christian communities in Palestine via cultural lenses from an entangled perspective. The 17 chapters reflect diverse research interests, from case studies of individual archives to chapters that question the concept of cultural diplomacy more generally. They illustrate the diversity of scholarship that enables a broad-based view of how cultural diplomacy functioned during the interwar period, but also the ways in which its meanings have changed. The book considers British Mandate Palestine as an internationalized node within a transnational framework to understand how the complexity of cultural interactions and agencies engaged to produce new modes of modernity."
Contents: **Sarah Irving**: *Indigenising Cultural Diplomacy?* And *History and Archaeology in a Colonial Space*/ **Norig Neveu**: *Orthodox Clubs and Associations: Cultural, Educational and Religious Networks Between Palestine and Transjordan, 1925–1950* / **Sadia Agsous**: *The Making Stage of the Modern Palestinian Arabic Novel in the Experiences of the udaba Khalil Baydas (1874-1949) and Iskandar al-Khuri al-BeitJali (1890-1973)* / **Maria Chiara Rioli**: *Sound Power – Musical Diplomacy within the Franciscan Custody in Mandate Jerusalem* / **Charbel Nassif**: *The Melkite Community, Educational Policy and French Cultural Diplomacy – Archbishop Grigorios Hajjar and Mandatory Galilee* / **Maayan Hilel**: *Cultural Diplomacy in Mandatory Haifa – The Role of Christian Communities in the Cultural Transformation of the City* / **Philippe Bourmaud**: *Excavating, Exhibiting and Cultural Diplomacy in the Palestine Mandate* / **Mathilde Sigalas**: *Between Diplomacy and Science – British Mandate Palestine and its International Network of Archaeological Organisations, 1918-1938* / **Nisa Ari**: *Competition in the Cultural Sectors – Handicrafts and the Rise of the Trade Fair in British Mandate Palestine* / **Heather J. Sharkey**: *European Soft Power and Christian Cultures at the Crossroads in Mandate Palestine* / **Konstantinos Papastathis**: *Diaspora-Building and Cultural Diplomacy – The Greek Community of Jerusalem in Late Ottoman Times and the Mandate* / **Lora Gerd**: *The Palestine Society: Cultural Diplomacy and Scholarship in Late Tsarist Russia and the Soviet State* **Barbara Haider-Wilson**: *Continuities and Discontinuities in the Austrian Catholic Orient Mission to Palestine, 1915-1938* / **Roberto Mazza**: *Itaisialian Cultural Diplomacy in Palestine, 1918-1938* / **Paolo Maggiolini**: *The International Centre for the Protection of Catholic Interests in Palestine – Cultural Diplomacy and Outreach in the British Mandate Period* / **Inger Marie Okkenhaug**: *A 'Significant Swedish Outpost' – The Swedish School and Arab Christians in Jerusalem, 1920-1930* / **Dominique Tribur**: *French Cultural Efforts Towards Jerusalem's Arab Population in the Late British Mandate Palestine* / **Tamara Kessel**: *Cultural Affiliation and Identity Constructs under the British Mandate for Palestine.*

**Karène Summerer-Sanchez**, **Lucia Admiraal** and **Karstian Oudman**

***The Multiple Lives of Jacob Israel de Haan: The Palestine Years (1919-1924)***
(University of Groningen Press, 72 Pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "During the turbulent period following the First World War, the Dutch and queer Jewish poet, writer and journalist **Jacob Israël de Haan** (Smilde 1881-Jerusalem 1924) worked in Mandate Palestine as a correspondent for the *Algemeen Handelsblad* and later British media like *The Times* and *Daily Mail*. However, his stay in Jerusalem and his broader views on politics, culture and religion, including on Zionism and Arab Palestinian nationalism, remain largely unknown. In 1919, De Haan went to Palestine, where exactly one hundred years ago, in June 1924, he was murdered because of his sharp criticism on political Zionism. Thisbook contextualizes the Palestine years within the biography of

a man who durably impacted the links between the Netherlands and Palestine and who is said tobe, for some, a Dutch Lawrence of Arabia."

**Sunday Times Insight Team**
***Israel and Torture: A Special Investigation***
(Sunday Times / Arab Dawn, 34 pages, 1978/London: Press Department, Libyan Peoples Bureau, 72 pages)
Reprint of articles appearing in the *Sunday Times* [London], 19 June – 10 July 1977.

**Supreme Muslim Council** aka **Supreme Moslem Council** (Jerusalem)
***Statement of the Moslem Position***
(Jerusalem: Supreme Moslem Council, 6 pages, 19 October 1929)

***A Brief Guide to al-haram al-Sharif***
(Jerusalem: Supreme Moslem Council, 16 pages, 1924; 9 pages, 1930, 1935

**Muhammad Suwaed**
***Bedouin in the Holy Land during the Ottoman Era, 1516-1918: The Rise and Fall of Tribal Dominance***
(Sussex Academic, 300 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book describes and analyses the part played by the Bedouin in the cultural and political history of the Holy Land, during the centuries when it was a province governed by the Ottoman Empire. A historical study based on diverse materials, the work is based on official Ottoman, British and Israeli archives; official publications of archival documents; foreign consulate reports; private and municipal archives; legislative and registry records; historical reports and literary commentaries in multiple sources. The rise and fall of Bedouin dominance can be construed as a barometer of the political strength of political authority: when the central regime showed weakness, Bedouin tribes became stronger and dominated the territories they lived in; when the central government became stronger, the forces of law and order restricted the power of the Bedouin."

**Tariq M. Suwaidan**
***Palestine: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow***
(unidentified publisher, Kuwait, 2006)
School book.

**Lewis Mark Suzman**
***Building a Nation-State: Understanding Zionist Strategies for Independence in Palestine, 1897-1948***
(Masters thesis, 132 leaves, Oxford University, 1993)
Available at the Bodleian Library, shelfmark: MS.D.Phil.c.1596.

**Hiroyuki Suzuki** (University of Tokyo) and **Keiko Sakai** (Chiba University, Japan)
***Gaza Nakba 2023-2024***
(Springer Singapore, 242 pages, 2025)
Contents: **Keiko Sakai**: *Nakba(s) That Killed All the Norms* / **Hiroyuki Suzuki**: *Where Will Separation Lead? The Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza and Future Prospects* / **Kensuke Yamamoto**: *Israel's Ongoing Annexation of East Jerusalem: Oppressing Palestinian National Sentiments Before and After October 7* / **Kaoru Yamamoto**: *Culture and Resistance in Palestine: Rap Music from Gaza* / **Taro Tsurumi**: *In the Shadow of Israel's Prosperity: The Illiberal History of the Liberal International Order* / **Hiroshi Yasui**: *How Public Opinion in Israel Shifted: Insights from Post-Cross-Border Attack Opinion* / **Koji Horinuki** : *From Oil Weapon to Mediation Diplomacy: An Examination of the Gulf States' Responses to the Gaza War* / **Yasuyuki Matsunaga**: *The Myth of*

*Vertical Integration in Regional Conflict: Iran and the "Axis of Resistance"* / **Rawia Altaweel**: *Gaza War 2023-2024 and Reactions from Neighbouring Countries: Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria* / **Ai Kihara-Hunt**: *The Gaza War from the Perspective of International Law* / **Ryoji Tateyama**: *Japan's Foreign Policy Regarding the Arab-Israeli Conflice and the Palestinian Question from the Perspective of Three Factors* / **Keiko Sakai**: *Unsolved Settler Colonialism and Devastation of Global Norm.*

**Ted Swedenburg** (American University in Cairo)

As co-editor, with **Rebecca L. Stein** (Duke University): ***Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture***
(Duke University Press, 2005)

As co-editor, with **Smadar Lavie** (University of California at Davis): ***Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity***
(Duke University Press, 1996)

***Memories of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past***
(University of Minnesota Press, 1995 / University of Arkansas Press, 2003)
Not strictly an oral history but based on memories of what was a peasants' uprising.

**Marcelo Svirsky** (University of Wollongong, Australia)

***After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation***
(Zed Books, 2014)
Theory-emphasis work intended to change Israelis' attitudes, using examples of The Hiker, The Teacher, The Parent, and The Voter. Publisher's blurb: "Svirsky argues that the Zionist political project cannot be fixed… the book aims to generate a reflective attitude, allowing Jewish-Israelis to explore how they may divest themselves of Zionist identities." Includes chapter on Zochrot movement to acknowledge ethnically cleansed former Palestinian villages.

***Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel-Palestine***
(Routledge, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "Israel-Palestine sets out to re-conceptualise the relationship between resistance and power in ethnically segregated spaces in general, and the Israeli-Palestine context in particular. Combining many years of ethnographic study and political and social activism with a solid, theoretical, conceptual framework, Marcelo Svirsky convincingly argues that successful efforts to decolonise the region depend on taking the struggle beyond self-determination and making it collaborative. Decolonisation depends on political and cultural changes that elaborate on the historical partition of social life in the region that have been an issue since the early twentieth century. This elaboration means producing a civil struggle aimed at the destabilisation of the Zionist supremacy and resulting in a democratic, political community from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River. Simply not just another book on Israel and Palestine, Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel-Palestine provides refreshingly new empirical evidence and theoretical analysis on the connection between resistance, intercultural alliances, civil society, and the potential for actualising shared sociabilities in a conflict-ridden society. An indispensable read to all scholars wishing to gain original insights into the transversal connections which transcend ethnicity."

**Shlomo Swirski** with **Yael Hasson**

***Invisible Citizens: Israel Government Policy Toward the Negev Bedouin***
(Tel-Aviv: Adva Center, 128 pages, 2006)
Translated by Ruth Morris

**Shlomo Swirski**

***Israel: The Oriental Majority***

(Zed Books, 1989)
Translated by **Barbara Swirski**.

**Barbara Swirski** with **Kefalea Yosef**
***The Employment Situation of Ethiopian Israelis***
(Tel-Aviv: Adva Center, 49 pages, 2005)

**Clayton E. Swisher**, editor
***The Palestine Papers: The End of the Road***
(Hesperus Press, 2011)

***The Truth about Camp David: The Untold Story about the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process***
(Bold Type Books / Nation Books, 2009)

**Christopher Sykes**
***Crossroads to Israel***
(Indiana University Press, 1965, 1973)

***Orde Wingate***
(Collins, 1959)

***Two Studies in Virtue***
(Collins, 1953)

**Rev. Henry Sykes**
***A Soldier's Handbook: Palestine and Jerusalem j- Salient Points in the Geography, History and Present Day Life of the Holy Land***
(Hodder & Soughton, 64 pages, 1917, 1918)

**Henrietta Szold** (1860-1945; founder of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, who moved to Mandate Palestine). See also biographical material by **Francine Klagsbrun**, **Marvin Lowenthal**, and **Baila Shargel**.
***Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine***
(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 158 pages, 1915 / New York City: Arno Press, 1977)

***Hadassah in Palestine, 1918-1918: Address delivered at the dedication exercises, April 30, 1929***
(Jerusalem: Nathan and Lina Straus Health center, 17 pages, 1929)

**Lina Mikdadi Tabbara**
***Survival in Beirut: A Diary of Civil War***
(Onyx Press, 1979)
Translated from French by **Nadia Hijab**.

**Bashar Tabbah** (British-Levantine photographer based in Amman, focusing on cultural and religious heritage)
***Between Moments: A Portrait of Life in Old Jerusalem***
(A Map and a Lens Publishing / AMAAL, 200 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "photographic exploration of modern life within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, a reframing and humanizing of a people and place that live under occupation. Far from the media images of violence and brutality, photographer and author Bashar Tabbah invites us to witness the quieter moments of Palestinian lives within the streets, souks, and sanctuaries of the city. The book is divided into two sections: the first part features images showcasing life in and around the Old City, while the second part highlights life in the Haram al-Sharif complex. It is bilingual (Arabic and English) and features over 200 full-color images taken between 2017 and 2023."

**Mala Tabory**

As co-editor, with **Amos Shapira**: ***New Political Entities in Public and Private International Law: With Special Reference to the Palestinian Entity***
(The Hague & London: Kluwer Law International, 1999) Conference proceedings.

***The Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai: Organization, Structure and Function***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986)
With Introduction by **Ruth Lapidoth**.

**Simon Taggart**

***Workers in Struggle: Palestinian Trade Unions in the Occupied West Bank***
(Editpride, 79pp, 1985)

**Sahar Taghdisi-Rad**

***The Political Economy of Palestinian Aid*** aka ***The Political Economy of Aid in Palestine: Relief from Conflict or Development Delayed?***
(Routledge, 242 pages, 2010, 2015)
Contents: Aid effectiveness debate disputed – Palestinian economic performance and donor response: a pre-and post–intifada analysis – (De- )development and collapse of Palestinian trade: 1967–present – Trade-related assistance in Palestine – Evaluation of the trends in donor assistance to Palestine.

***The Palestinian Economy: Macroeconomic and Trade Policymaking under Occupation***
(United Nations, 50 pages, 2012)
Contents: I. The Palestinian economy: a brief review – II. Economic growth, trade, employment and poverty – III. Palestinian regional trade agreements – IV. The dynamics of Arab regional integration – V. Impediments to Palestinian regional integration – VI. Towards deeper Arab integration – VII. Elements of a strategy to reduce unemployment and poverty – VIII. Institutional and policy harmonization – IX. Conclusions and policy recommendations.

With **Raja Khalidi**: ***The Economic Dimensions of Prolonged Occupation: Continuity and Change in Israeli Policy Towards the Palestinian Economy***
(United Nations, 31 pages)
A special report commemorating twenty-five years of UNCTAD's assistance programme. Contents: I. Occupation, sovereignty and development – II. Israeli policies towards the Palestinian economy in the 1980s – III. Israeli policies of the early 1990s: the Gulf War and separationism – IV. The Paris Protocol: a quasi customs union – V. The "skewed integration" of the 1990s: development under occupation? – VI. The second intifada and the dysfunctional Paris Protocol since 2001 – VII. Israeli "economic peace" or a Palestinian economic strategy for peace?

***'Aid Effectiveness' in Conflict-affected Countries: The Case of the West Bank and Gaza Strip*** aka ***Aid in Conflict or Conflict in Aid: Aid Effectiveness in Conflict Zones – The Case of the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(thesis, SOAS, University of London, 521 pages, 2008)

**Dr. Ali Tahrawi** (Gaza surgeon)

***Do Genocides Have an Ending?***

(MSJI Press / Muslim Social Justice Initiative, 250 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: "Written between 2024-2026, a first-hand testimony from the emergency rooms of Gaza during the ongoing genocide."

**Lex Takkenberg** (UNRWA officer since 1989)

with **Francesca P. Albanese** (Georgetown University & UNRWA)

***Palestinian Refugees in International Law***

(Oxford University Press, second edition, 608 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "The Palestinian refugee question, resulting from the events surrounding the birth of the state of Israel seventy years ago, remains one of the largest and most protracted refugee crises of the post-WWII era. Numbering over six million in the Middle East alone, Palestinian refugees' status varies considerably according to the state or territory 'hosting' them, the UN agency assisting them and political circumstances surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict these refugees are naturally associated with. Despite being foundational to both the experience of the Palestinian refugees and the resolution of their plight, international law is often side-lined in political discussions concerning their fate. This compelling new book, building on the seminal contribution of the first edition (1998), offers a clear and comprehensive analysis of various areas of international law (including refugee law, human rights law, humanitarian law, the law relating to stateless persons, principles related to internally displaced persons, as well as notions of international criminal law), and probes their relevance to the provision of international protection for Palestinian refugees and their quest for durable solutions."

As co-editor, with **Sari Hanafi** (American University Beirut), **Leila Hilal** (New American Foundation & UNRWA advisor): ***UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development***

(Routledge, 303 pages, 2014)

14 essays, most modern, but including one on the emergence and early management of the camps, 1950-1970.

With **Francesca Albanese**: ***Palestinian Refugees in International Law,*** aka ***The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law***

(Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 411 pages, 1998; 560 or 609 pages, 2020)

Note: This edition was translated into Arabic by **Camille Mansour.**

**Alon Tal** (Arava Institute for Environmental Studies, Israel)

***Pollution in a Promised Land: An Environmental History of Israel***

(University of California Press, 2002)

**David Tal**

As editor: ***The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East***

(Routledge, 2013)

Contents: 1. Suez: The Last Imperial War or an Imperial Hangover?; 2. Eisenhower and the Sinai Campaign of 1956: The First Major Crisis in US-Israeli Relations; 3. France and the Crisis of Suez: An Appraisal, Forty Years On; 4. The Soviet Union and the Suez Crisis; 5. Britain's Slow March to Suez; 6. The Protocol of Sèvres, 1956: Anatomy of a War Plot; 7. Origins of the Czech-Egyptian Arms Deal: A Reappraisal; 8. The Sinai War, 1956: Three Partners, Three Wars9. Egyptian Perspectives on the Suez War; 10. Regaining Lost Pride: The Impact of the Suez Affair on Egypt and the Arab World.

***War in Palestine, 1948: Strategy and Diplomacy***

(Routledge, 2004)
Contents: chapter 1 Towards Invasion – chapter 2 Communal War – chapter 3 Invasion – chapter 4 The Egyptian Invasion of Palestine: From Containment to the First Truce – chapter 5 The Israeli-Jordanian Front, 15 May-10 June – chapter 6 The Palestine Northern Front, 15 May-10 June – chapter 7 The First Truce – chapter 8 Ten Days of Fighting: The Egyptian-Israeli Front – chapter 9 Ten Days of Fighting: The Israeli-Jordanian Front – chapter 10 Ten Days of Fighting: The Northern Front – chapter 11 The Second Truce: Days of Diplomacy and Military Preparation – chapter 12 The Egyptian-Israeli Front: The Decisive Campaigns, I – chapter 13 Jordan-Israel: A Permanent Cease-Fire Agreement – chapter 14 The Northern Campaign: The Decisive Stage – chapter 15 The Egyptian-Israeli Front: The Decisive Campaigns, II – chapter 5 Conclusion.

**Hassan Bin Talal (HRH El Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan)**

***Christianity in the Arab World***
(SCM Press, 1998)
With foreword by **HRH The Prince of Wales**

***Search for Peace: The Politics of the Middle Ground in the East***
(Macmillan, 1984)

***Palestinian Self-Determination: A Study of the West Bank and Gaza Strip***
(Quartet Books, 138 pages, 1981)
An overview of Palestinian history, including legal issues.

***A Study of Jerusalem***
(publisher unconfirmed, 1979)

**Ghada Hashem Talhami**

***American Presidents and Jerusalem***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017)

***Historical Dictionary of Women in the Middle East and North Africa***
(Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 407 p-ages, 2013)

***Palestine in the Egyptian Press: From Al-Ahram to Al-Ahali***
(Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 387 pages, 2007/2010)
Contents: Opinion journalism and the beginning of Egyptian nationalism – The press defines the liberal phase – The flowering and the decline of the private and party press – Nasser's Palestinian passion: advocating with one voice – Sadat plays circus master to a liberated press – Mubarak, the press, and the consequences of Camp David – Heikal: a journalist for most seasons.

***Palestinian Refugees: Pawns to Political Actors***
(Nova Science Publishers, 227 pages, 2003)
Publisher's blurb: "As the PLO itself moved further and further away from the refugee constituency, it became necessary to examine and define the impact of the refugee issue on the larger Palestinian political picture, for indeed, as it turned out, they were always a tremendous influence on the course of Palestinian and Arab history. Although they lost their leadership positions within the PLO, as the latter became increasingly elitist and bureaucratic, the powerless refugees apparently never lost the means to influence the course of Palestinian history. This book relies heavily on early State Department dispatches, Israeli Foreign Office correspondence, early accounts of the stirrings of a refugee movement in Jordan and declarations, statements and studies of the Badil Research Centre and some right of return groups. Also investigated is much of the known literature to emerge from the secretive Oslo negotiations and the reverberations produced by their deliberations throughout the Palestinian diaspora. The resilience of the refugee question should never be questioned or declared until one of two things happened: either the obliteration or dispersal of concentrated

refugee communities became a reality or the Palestinian refugees accepted a resolution of some kind or another." Contents: The theory and reality of refugee law. – From protected subjects into refugees. – Refugees of another kind-Israel, Oriental Jews and restitution. – The shift to resettlement and development. – The refugees in the Arab environment. – UNRWA: the politics of aid. – The PLO and the refugee question: Oslo and beyond. – Pawns to political actors.

***Syria and the Palestinians: The Clash of Nationalisms***
(University Press of Florida, 257 pages, 2001)
Contents: 1. The Struggle for Geographic Coherence: Reclaiming Southern Syria 1; 2. The Earthquake of the 1948 Palestine War 25; 3. The Political Co-optation of the Palestinians 47; 4. The Guerrilla Factor and Syria's Vulnerability 78; 5. When Brothers Collide: The Confrontation over Lebanon 112; 6. The Clash of Nationalisms 154; 7. Peace or Pax Americana? 195; 8. The Search for a Unified Strategy 212.

As co-editor, with **Janice J. Terry** and **William W. Haddad**: ***The June 1967 War after Three Decades***
(Washington DC: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 215 pages, 1999)
Contents: Fighting the June 1967 war / William W. Haddad – From June 1967 to June 1997: learning from our mistakes / Clovis Maksoud – A year of discovery / Fouad Moughrabi – An interview / Sadik al-Azm – Is the peace process a process for peace? A retrospective analysis of Oslo / Elaine C. Hagopian – The U.S. and the Arabs: a woeful history / Naseer Aruri – The United Nations and Palestine: partition and its aftermath / Phyllis Bennis – The culture of resistance: the 1967 war in the context of the Palestinian struggle / Jamal R. Nassar – Finding the lost agenda in Jerusalem: a Jewish meditation on the 1967 war / Marc H. Ellis – Re-writing history: the Jewish claim to Hebron / Ghada Karmi – The power of remembrance: Palestinians record their history / Ghada H. Talhami – Selected sources in English on the 1967 war / Janice J. Terry – Reflections on the Arab-Israeli conflict: its past and its future / Edward W. Said.

***Palestine and Egyptian National Identity***
(Praeger Press, 177 pages, 1992)

As co-editor, with **Suha Sabbagh**: ***Images and Reality: Palestinian Women under Occupation and in the Diaspora***
(Washington DC: Institute for Arab Women's Studies, 66 pages, 1990)
Contents: The coverage of women in West Bank newspapers / Orayb Najjar – Women under occupation: the great transformation / Ghada Talhami – The education of Palestinian women on the West Bank / Sarah Graham Brown – City and village in the Palestinian wedding song: the Palestinian community in Kuwait / Taghreed Alqudsi-Ghabra – Palestinian women in the U.S.: who are they and what kind of lives do they lead? / Louise Cainkar.

**Azzam Tamimi** (Editor, London-based Al-Hiwar [Dialogue] TV channel)
***Hamas: Unwritten Chapters***
(Hurst & Co., 379 pages, 2007/379 pages an additional chapter, 2009)
With preface by Alastair Crooke. US publication title variation: ***Hamas: A History from Within***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2007, 2011).

**Salim Tamari**
With **Issam Nassar** (University of Illinois) & **Stephen Sheehi**
***Camera Palaestina: Photography and Displaced Histories of Palestine***
(University of California Press, 200 pages, expected June 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Camera Palaestina is a critical exploration of Jerusalemite chronicler Wasif Jawhariyyeh (1904–1972) and his seven photography albums entitled The Illustrated History of Palestine. Jawhariyyeh's nine hundred images narrate the rich cultural and political milieu of

Ottoman and Mandate Palestine. Nassar, Sheehi, and Tamari locate this archive at the juncture between the history of photography in the Arab world and the social history of Palestine. Shedding new light on this foundational period,mzi Jubeh the authors explore not just major historical events and the development of an urban bourgeois lifestyle but a social field of vision of Palestinian life as exemplified in the Jerusalem community. Tracking the interplay between photographic images, the authors offer evidence of the unbroken field of material, historical, and collective experience from the living past to the living present of Arab Palestine." Note: Open access publication: luminosoa.org.

As editor: ***The Other Jerusalem: Rethinking the History of the Sacred City***
(Institute of Palestine Studies & the Khalidi Library, 401 pages, 2020)
Articles from the *Journal of Palestine Studies* and the *Jerusalem Quarterly*, encompassing archaeology, history and sociology. Contents: **Rashid Khalidi**: *Transforming the Face of the Holy City: Political Messages in the Built Topography of Jerusalem* / **Beatrice St. Laurent** & **Himmet Taskomur**: *The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930,, an Alternate Narrative* / **Rana Barakat**: *Urban Planning, Colonialism, and the Pro-Jerusalem Society* / **Wendy Pullan** & **Maximilian Gwiazda**: *'City of David': Urban Design and Frontier Heritage* / **Salim Tamari**: *With God's Camel in Siberia: The Russian Exile of an Ottoman Officer from Jerusalem* / **Ellen Fleischmann**: *Young Women in the City: Mandate Memories* / **Rochelle Davis**: *Peasant Narratives: Memorial Book Sources for Jerusalem* / **Andrea L. Stanton**: *Jerusalem Calling: The Birth of the Palestine Broadcasting Service* / **Penny Johnson**: *Take My Camel: The Disappearing Camels of Jerusalem and Jaffa* / **Alex Winder**: *The 'Western Wall' Riots of 1929: religious Boundaries and Communal Violence* / **Rana Barakat**: *The Jerusalem Fellah: Popular Politics in Mandate-Era Palestine* / **Gish Amit**: *Salvage of Plunder? Israel's 'Collection' of Priv ate Palestinian Libraries in West Jerusalem* / **S. Abdullah Schleifer**: *The Fall of Jerusalem, 1967* / **Rema Hammami**: *On the Importance of Thugs: The Moral Economy of a Checkpoint* / **Nazmi Jubeh**: *Jerusalem: Five Decades of Subjection and Marginalization* / **Karen Armstrong**: *The Holiness of Jerusalem: Asset or Burden?* / **Edward W. Said** / *Projecting Jerusalem* / **Henty Cattan**: *The Status of Jerusalem under International Law and United Nations Resolutions* / **Chad. F. Emmett**: *The Status Quo Solution for Jerusalem* / **Walid Khalidi**: *The Ownership of the US Embassy Side in Jerusalem.*

As editor: ***Jerusalem Lives: Biography and the Convoluted Modernity of Jerusalem***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 227 Pages, 2020)

***The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine***
(University of California Press, August 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This rich history of Palestine in the last decade of the Ottoman Empire reveals the nation emerging as a cultural entity—a vibrant intellectual, political, and social exchange of ideas and initiatives. Through a phenomenal ethnography, rare autobiographies, and unpublished maps and photos, *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* discerns a particular bourgeois Palestinian public sphere, self-consciously modern and inexorably secular. New urban sensibilities, schools, monuments, public parks, railways, and roads catalyzed by the Great War and described in detail in this book show a world that challenges the politically driven denial of the existence of Palestine as an affective geographic, cultural, political, and economic space."

***Year of the Locust: A Soldier's Diary and the Erasure of Palestine's Ottoman Past***
(University of California Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "*Year of the Locust* captures in page-turning detail the end of the Ottoman world and a pivotal moment in Palestinian history. In the diaries of Ihsan Hasan al-Turjman (1893-1917), the first ordinary recruit to describe World War I from the Arab side, we follow the misadventures of an Ottoman soldier stationed in Jerusalem. There he occupied himself by dreaming about his future and using family connections to avoid being sent to the Suez. His diaries draw a unique picture of daily life in the besieged city, bringing into sharp focus its communitarian alleys and obliterated neighbourhoods, the ongoing political debates, and, most vividly, the voices from its streets – soldiers, peddlers, prostitutes, and vagabonds. Salim Tamari's indispensable introduction places the diary in its local, regional, and imperial contexts while deftly revising conventional wisdom on the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire." Note: 1915 produced mass starvation due to a combination of a locust plague and soldiers claims on the scarce food.

***Mountain against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture***
(University of California Press, 235 pages, 2009)
Contents: Introduction: Palestine's conflictual modernity – The mountain against the sea? Cultural wars of the eastern Mediterranean – From Emma Bovary to Hasan al-Banna: small towns and social control – Bourgeois nostalgia and the abandoned city – A musician's lot: the Jawhariyyeh memoirs as a key to Jerusalem's early modernity – Lepers, lunatics, and saints: the nativist ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and his circle – Sultana and Khalil: the origins of romantic love in Palestine – The last feudal lord – Ishaq Shami and the predicament of the Arab Jew in Palestine – The enigmatic Bolshevik from the Holy city – The vagabond café and Jerusalem's prince of idleness.

As editor: ***Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War***
(Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies / Badil Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 1999, 2002)
Includes **Nathan Krystall**: *The Fall of the New City, 1947-1950*.

***Reinterpreting the Historical Past: The Uses of Palestinian Refugee Archives for Social Science***
(Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2001)

***Palestinian Refugee Negotiations: From Madrid to Oslo II***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1996)

**Dan Tamir** (Hebrew University & University of Zürich)
***Hebrew Fascism in Palestine,* 1922-1942**
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "This book focuses on a little-studied yet virulent and devoted fascist faction that was active within Zionist circles during the 1920s and 1930s. Since the early 1930s, the term 'fascist' was regularly used by Labour Zionists in order to defame their right-wing opponents, the 'Revisionists'. The latter group, for its part, tended to reject such accusations. Up to this point, however, little comprehensive research has been carried out for examining the possible existence of a genuine Hebrew fascism in Palestine according to a global comparative model of generic fascism. This book is an attempt to do so, examining the first wave of fascism in Palestine, during the inter-war period. The current discussion in Israel about rising fascist movements and organisations gained momentum during the past decade. Telling the story of a yet relatively neglected part of the roots of the Israeli right wing may not only shed light on the past, but also provide us with a historical perspective when measuring contemporary political movements and events."

**Kenji Tanaka**
***Great Israel: Geopolitics, Zionism, and Territorial Expansion – Critical Analysis of 2025-2035 Strategies***
(Author, 146 pages, 2026)
Introduction by **Dr Ash Cohen**, with contribution by **Selamawit Gebre**. Publisher's blurb: "The Two-State Solution is dead. The era of "The Logic of Possession" has begun. As the Middle East enters a volatile new decade (2025-2035), the map of the region is being redrawn—not by diplomacy, but by force, shadow alliances, and transactional power. Greater Israel offers the most comprehensive, unflinching, and up-to-the-minute analysis of the ideology that is reshaping the world: the vision of Eretz Israel HaShlema. Far from a fringe utopia, the concept of "Greater Israel" has evolved into a sophisticated state praxis. In this groundbreaking work, Kenji Tanaka deconstructs the mechanisms transforming a biblical promise into a geopolitical reality. From the dust of the 1967 War to the high-tech surveillance of the 2020s, this book traces the relentless march toward annexation."

**Ahmed H. Tannira**

***Foreign Aid to the Gaza Strip between Trusteeship and De-development***
(London: Anthem Press, 209 pages, 2021)
Review from the Amazon UK website: "Ahmed Tannira analyses the way that aid to the Gaza Strip perpetuates a status quo defined by Israel. The uncomfortable implication of this book is that UK, EU and US taxpayers are complicit in an authoritarian relationship that reconstructs an entire society in accordance with the notion that Palestinians are unable to make decisions on their own." — Patricia Sellick, Associate Professor, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University

***Foreign Aid as an Instrument of Control and De-development: The Case of the Gaza Strip***
(PhD thesis, Coventry University, 2018)

**Izzat Tannous** (1896-1972; Head of the Palestine Information Centre aka the Arab Centre, in London, from 1937; later representative of the [Palestinian] Arab Higher Committee at the UN)

***The Palestinians: A Detailed Documented Eyewitness History of Palestine under British Mandate*** [aka, ***The Palestinians: Eyewitness History of Palestine under the Mandate: The Origins of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***]
(New York City: IGT Co., 779 pages, 1988)

***Jewish Atrocities against the Palestinians***
(The Truth at Last, ca. 1970s)

***The Expulsion of the Palestine Arabs from Their Homeland – A Dark Page in Jewish History***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 28 pages, 1961)

***Towards a Better Understanding between the Arab World and the United States***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 14 pages, 1960)

***Tension and Peace in the Middle East…an Account of the Tragedy of the Holy Land***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 40 pages, 1957)

***Persecution of the Arabs in "Israel" – Facts that Every American Should Know about the Tragedy of the Holy Land***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office & Beirut: Arab Palestine Office, 24 pages 1956)

**Professor Guillaume** (possibly with Izzat Tannous' involvement): ***Zionism and the Bible***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 6 pages, 1956)

***The Christian West and the Arab World***
(New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 12 pages, 1952)

***Palestine – The Way to Peace***
(London: The Arab Centre, 12pages, ca. 1939)

**Izzat Tannous, Jamaal Husseini, Shibly Jamal** & **Emile Ghory**: ***The Arab Case – Statement by the Palestine Arab Delegation***
(London: Militant Christian Patriots [British fascist organisation], 1936)

**Aaron J. Hahn Tapper** & **Mira Sucharov**

***Social Justine and Israel: Foundational and Contemporary Debates***
(University of Toronto Press, 275 pages, 1019)
Contents: Part I. Foundational Debates. Narratives – Competing Narratives and Social Justice / Alan Dowty – Six Useful Pasts / George E. Bisharat – Beyond Two Sides / Samia Shoman – Self-determination – Identity-Based States and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict / Brent E. Sasley – The

Right to National Self-determination and Israel/Palestine / Ran Greenstein – Considering Rights and Self-determination in Light of Injustice and Unequal Power / Thea Renda Abu El-Haj – Settler-Colonialism – Interrogating the Limits of the Settler-Colonialist Paradigm / Sam Fleischacker – Israel in One Century–From a Colonial Project to a Complex Reality / As'ad Ghanem and Tariq Khateeb – International Law – International Law and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Closer to Power than Justice / Michael Lynk – International Law and Fifty Years of Occupation / Lisa Hajjar – Israel's Compliance with the Rule of Law: Settlements, Security, Defense Operations, and Religious Freedom / Miriam F. Elman – Part II. Contemporary Debates. Refugees and Displacement – Navigating the Palestinian Refugee Issue: An Insider's Guide / Roula El-Rifai – Are Jews Displaced from Arab Countries 'Refugees' ? / Shayna Zamkanei – The Bedouin Struggle over Land in Palestine/Israel: Males of the Nakba Generation Narrate Their Attachment to Land / Safa Aburabia – Apartheid – Does Israel Function as an Apartheid State? Critically Engaging the Complexities of the Apartheid Debate in Palestine/Israel / Oren Kroll-Zeldin – Israel and Palestine: Occupation Not Apartheid / Zeina M. Barakat and Mohammed S. Dajani Daoudi – Intersectional Alliances – Black-Palestinian Solidarity: Towards an Intersectionality of Struggles / Joey Ayoub – Cultural Commonalities, Colonial Divisions: On Sources of Solidarity between Palestinians and Jews from the Middle East / Aziza Khazzoom – Alternate Bipolarity: How Israel Found Itself on the Wrong Side of the Global Divide / Yousef Munayyer – BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) – BDS: A Diverse Movement in Support of Human Rights / Tom Pessah – BDS: Binaries, Divisions, and Silencing / Rachel Fish – The Right to Boycott Is Non-negotiable / Amjad Iraqi.

**Jamie Tarabay** (international news journalist in Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Israel, the Occupied West Bank, Gaza, Iraq, and Cairo)

***A Crazy Occupation: Eyewitness to the Intifada***
(Allen & Unwin, 2005)

**Mohammad Tarbush** (Deutsche Bank, UBS, *Le Monde*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*)

***My Palestine: An Impossible Exile***
(Haus Publishing, 352 pages, 2024)
Autobiography, critical of Yassir Arafat.

***Reflections of a Palestinian***
(Washington DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 97 pages, 1986)
Collection of articles and letters written between May 1971 and October 1985.

***Palestine or Israel?!***
(Durham: author, 20 pages, illustrated, 1970)

**Alaa Tartir** (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), **Timothy Seidel** (Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonberg), and **Tariq Dana** (Doha Institute for Graduate Studies), editors

***Resisting Domination in Palestine: Mechanisms and Techniques of Control, Coloniality and Settler Colonialism***
(IB Tauris, 248 pages, 2024)
Contents: 1. Resisting Domination in Palestine, by Timothy Seidel, Tariq Dana, and Alaa Tartir; 2. Elimination by Other Means: Colonial Autonomy and Indirect Colonial Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, by Tariq Dana; 3. The Bureaucracy of Mortality: The Structural Violence of Medical Permits for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, by Yara M. Asi; 4. Israeli Online Surveillance Regime: Digital Colonization in Practice, by Nijmeh Ali; 5. The Political Economy of Education and Technology: A Focus on the Lived Experiences of Palestinian Digital Freelancers, by We'am Hamdan; 6. Dislocating Development: Palestinians in Israeli International Aid Imaginaries in the 1950s and 1960s, by Hebatalla Taha; 7. Banking in/on the Occupation, by Colin Powers; 8. The

Palestinian Authority: The Fiscal Contract and Structural Constraints, by Anas Iqtait; 10. Settler Colonial Violence and Indigenous Struggle: Land, Resistance, and Refusal in Masafer Yatta, by Timothy Seidel and Federica Stagni; 11. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, Academic Censorship and the Politics of Settler Colonial Erasure, by Somdeep Sen; 12. Liberal Packaging and Colonial Approaches: Problematizing Western Intervention in Palestine, by Jeremy Wildeman; 13. Palestinian Popular Education Post-Oslo, by Melanie Meinzer

**Lana Tatour** (University of New South Wales)

As co-editor, with **Ronit Lentin** (Trinity College Dublin): ***Race and the Question of Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 342 pages, 2025)
Contributors: **Lana Tatour** – Introduction, **Ronit Lentin** – *Zionist Racialized Sexual Politics and Palestinian Refusal,* **Yasmeen Abu-Laban** – *The Racial Hierarchy of Refugees*, **Seraj Assi** and **Abigail B. Bakan** – *The Invention of the 'Bedouin Race'*, **Zvi Ben-Dor Benite** – *Proletarianization of the Mizrahim*, **Neve Gordon** and **Yinon Cohen** – *Race and Space in Israel/Palestine*, **Noura Erakat** – *Zionism as a Form of Racism*, **Michael R. Fischbach** – *Black-Palestinian Solidarity and the Global Color Line*, **Alana Lentin** – *Antisemitism and the Proxification of Antiracism*, **David Palumbo-Liu** – *Martin Luther King* [Jr.] *and the Struggle for Palestinian Rights*, **John Reynolds** – *Apartheid without Race*, **Kieron Turner** – *Racial Capitalism and Militarized Occupation.*

***Traces of Racial Exception: Racializing Israeli Settler Colonialism***
(Bloomsbury, 2018)

**Gadi Taub** (Hebrew University)

***The Settlers: The Struggle over the Meaning of Zionism***
(Yale University Press, 2010)
Gush Emunim focus, the evolution of the right wing settler movement. Contemporary, messianic, right wing religious settlers, perched as they are in in the Occupied Territories, are depicted as unable to accept mainstream Zionism. Includes the establishment of the Yesha Council, the organisation of Jewish settlements.

**Raymonda Hawa Tawil** (Palestinian publisher, journalist and poet, aka **Tawil Hawa** aka **Hawwa el-Taweel**, "the Lioness of Nablus"; Yasser Arafat's mother-in-law)

***My Home, My Prison***
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980 / Zed Books, 265 pages, 1983)
Details Palestinian resistance movements. Author was born in Acre, lived in Nablus and then in Ramallah. In this book she tells of visiting her home city after 1967: "I reached the street where I had lived as a child. Suddenly I had to see my old house. I hurried to the familiar door and knocked furiously... but there was no reply. I slumped down on the steps, sobbing helplessly. As I sat there, a group of tourists suddenly appeared, pushing and waving to buy tickets. My old home had been turned into a museum."

**Abi Taylor** (Palestine Solidarity Campaign) and **Hamza Hamouchene** (Transnational Institute), editors

***Towards Palestinian Liberation: Global Perspectives on Anti-Colonial Resistance and Solidarity***
(Daraja Press, 410 pages, 2026)
Contents: Foreword by **Karma Nabulsi**. **Adam Hanieh**: *Framing Palestine: Israel, the Gulf States and American Power in the Middle East* / **Wael Omar**: *Palestine in a World of Struggle: The Role of Palestinians in Third World Solidarity* / **Asmaa Ashraf** and **Vijay Kalinjivadi**: *Sustainability Fantasies – Genocidal Realities: Palestine Against an Eco-Apartheid World* / **Arun Kundnani**: *Out-Organise the Enemy! Eqbal Ahmad and the Liberation of Palestine* / **Kribsoo Diallo**: *African Attitudes to, and Solidarity with, Palestine from the 1940s to Israel's Genocide in Gaza* / **Muzon Alneel**: *Failing Palestine by Failing the Sudanese Revolution: lessons from the Intersections of Sudan and Palestine* / ***Nihal El Aosor***: *The Condition for Freedom is for the Egyptian Masses to Take to the Street – Egypt's Centrality for the Struggle for Palestine* / **Hamza Hamouchene**: *Vietnam, Algeria.*

*Palestine: Passing on the Torch of the Anti-Colonial Struggle* / **Zhang Sheng**: *The Global Anti-Imperialism to the Dandelion Fighters: China's Solidarity with Palestine from 1950 to 2025* / **Achin Vanaik**: *India, Israel, Palestine: New Equations Demand New Solidarities* / **Maria Landi**: *Yala, Yalla, Abya Yala: Reaching Out to Palestine from Latin America in Times of Genocide* / **Andressa Oliviera Soares**: *From the Favelas and Rural Brazil to Gaza: How Militarism and Greenwashing Shape Solidarity with Palestine and Resistance in Brazil* / **Katsi'tsakwas Ellen Gabriel**: *From Turtle Island to Palestine: Resisting Settler Colonialism and Genocide.* Afterword by **Rafeef Ziadah**.

**Alan R. (Ros) Taylor**

***The Zionist Mind: The Origins and Development of Zionist Thought***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973)

***Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 118 pages, 1970)
Reprint of earlier edition by Philosophical Library, New York, 1959 and Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961.

**Jim Taylor**

***Pearl Harbour II: The True Story of the Sneak Attack by Israel on the USS Liberty, June 8, 1967***
(Regency Press, 1980)

**Joshua Teitelbaum**

***The Eighteenth Session of the Palestine National Council: Reunification, at What Expense?***
(London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1987)

**Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum**

***Jewish Anti-Zionism as Political Theology: The Major Writings of Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum***
(University of California Press, 2026)
Translated by **Shaul Magid**. Publisher's blurb: "Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum of Satmar, one of the most celebrated Hasidic masters of the twentieth century, is known not only for founding the world's largest Hasidic dynasty, but also for his strongly held anti-Zionist views. His work articulates a Jewish political theology against Zionism built on the foundations of traditional Jewish sources, and its influence remains strong within the ultra-Orthodox Satmar community and beyond. Dense with references to rabbinic, medieval, and modern sources, Teitelbaum's writing is notoriously challenging even for scholars of Torah to parse. In this volume, Shaul Magid provides a richly annotated translation of selections from the books *Vayoel Moshe* and *'Al Ha-Geulah ve 'al Ha-Temurah*, making Teitelbaum's major political writings accessible to English-speaking readers for the first time." Available as a free download: www.luminosoa.org

**Roselle Tekiner, Samir Abed-Rabbo** & **Norton Mezvinsky**, editors

***Anti-Zionism: Analytical Reflections***
(Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 358 pages, 1988)
Essays written as a tribute to Rabbi Elmer Berger. Contains Berger's own essay, *Zionist Ideology: Obstacle to Peace*, and pieces by Israel Shahak, Sally and W. Thomas Mallison, Naseer Aruri, Roselle Tekiner, Shaw J. Dallal, Benjamin M. Joseph, Cheryl A. Rubenberg, Ruth W. Mouly, and Norton Mezvinsky.
Publisher's blurb: "This collection of essays challenges the conventional wisdom that Israel is a peace loving democracy and the perception that the continuing state of Middle East hostilities is due to intransigent Palestinians and rigid hostility of Israel's arab neighbors. The authors argue that Zionism is a principal obstacle to peace. Roselle Tekiner received academic degrees from the University of Chicago (BA), Columbia University (MA), and the City of New York Graduate Center (Ph.D), and taught at

Hunter College, Fairleigh Dickinson University, New College, and Eckerd College. She lived in New York for much of her adult life with her first husband, Sami Tekiner, an immigrant from Turkey who sparked her interest in Turkish society and culture. She and Sami owned the Bremen House on East 86th Street and the German News Company. In 1973, Roselle Tekiner moved to Sarasota, Florida, where she met Rabbi Elmer Berger, a leader in the U.S. anti-Zionist movement. Berger, who became her second husband, channeled her interest in the Middle East toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She and Berger, champions of Palestinian rights, wrote extensively on citizenship and nationality in Israel. Their scholarly papers and correspondence are archived in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. Roselle Tekiner's life is chronicled in her memoir, Go Laughing. Yasser Abed Rabbo also known by his kunya, Abu Bashar (born 1944) is a Palestinian politician and a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) Executive Committee. Born in Jaffa in 1945, Abed Rabbo became a Palestinian refugee as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. He later attended the American University in Cairo where he graduated with an MA in economics and political science. Leftist activism and the PLO Yasser Abed Rabbo started his political career in the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM), a pan-Arabist organization. When the Palestinian branch of the ANM evolved in 1967 into the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), he became one of its leaders. Norton Mezvinsky (born 1932) is an American historian, professor, and author. He is a Distinguished University Professor, Emeritus, Central Connecticut State University, and is the president of the International Council for Middle East Studies, an academic think tank in Washington, D. C. He has written numerous published books, articles, and book reviews that deal with various aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict and Zionism."

**Roselle Tekiner**, **Rabi Elmer Berger**, and **Louis A. DeCaro**
***American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism -Report no 50***
(New York City: American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, 140 pages, 1985)

**Shibley Telhami** (University of Massachusetts, University of Maryland; Arab Center, Washington DC)
Co-author with **Daniel C. Kurtzer, Scott B Lazensky, William B. Quandt, and Steven L. Spiegel**
***Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East***
(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 191 pages, 2008)

Co-author with **Lawrence R. Velte**
***The Arab-Israeli Peace Process: Assessing the Costs of Failure***
Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College, 1997)
Edited by **Stephen C. Pelletiere**.

***U.S. Policy in the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 29 pages, 1997)

***The Camp David Accords: A Case of International Bargaining***
(Washington DC: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, 39 pages, 1992)

**H.W.V.** [**Harold William Vazeille**] **Temperley**, editor
***A History of the Peace Conference of Paris***
(Henry Frowde / Hodder & Stoughton / British Institute of International Affairs, six volumes, 1920-1924; republished Oxford University Press, 1969)
"Before Faisal's forces had penetrated beyond the Beqa'a we communicated to certain representative Syrians in Cairo an assurance that, subject to unspecified interests of France, Great Britain would recognize Arab sovereignty in all places liberated by Arab (i.e. Sharifian) arms during the War."

**Sir Richard Temple**

***The Travels of Richard Bell (and John Campbell) in the East Indies, Persia, and Palestine, 1654-1670***
(Bombay: British India Press, Cyculla, 68 pages, 1908)

***Palestine Illustrated***
(W.H. Allen & Co, 296 pages, with 33 plates (some in colour) and 4 maps, 1888)

***Cosmopolitan Essays***
(Chapman, 508 pages, 1886)
Contains one chapter, 'Scenes & Sites in Palestine'.z

**Janice J. Terry** (Marietta College, Ohio; Eastern Michigan University)
***William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI-WWII***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015)
Subject knew TE Lawrence, attended the Versailles Peace Conference, the King-Crane Commission and the UN Conference in San Francisco.

***US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Role of Lobbies and Special Interest Groups***
(Pluto Press, 2005)
Publisher's blurb: "Millions of dollars are spent every year by companies and special interest groups attempting to influence government policy. They work behind the scenes, lobbying politicians to represent their interests. From tobacco companies, to energy companies, from anti-abortion campaigners to civil rights campaigners, the list is vast. And nowhere is their influence more keenly felt than on the issue of the Middle East. Israel is America's key ally in the Middle East, and helps maintain US dominance in the region. This book shows how pro-Israeli lobbyists and domestic interest groups have been hugely successful in creating government and financial support for Israel. By contrast, Arab-American groups and Arab governments have had less success putting forward their agendas. Janice J. Terry shows how special interest groups work, and why certain lobbying techniques are more effective than others. She sets this within the wider cultural context, showing how the US media — and the general public — view the Middle East. To explain how lobbies work, Terry draws on case studies including the Sinai accords and Camp David under Presidents Ford and Carter, the Conflict between Greek and Turkish lobbies over Cyprus, and the major campaign against the Arab boycott. Making use of primary sources, and unpublished material from various presidential libraries, this is a fascinating expose of the role that lobby groups really play in determining US foreign policy in the Middle East. It will be of interest to students of American politics, and Middle East studies."

**Janice J. Terry**, **William W. Haddad** and **Ghada H. Talhami**, co-editors
***The June 1967 War after Three Decades***
(Washington DC: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 215 pages, 1999)
Contents: Fighting the June 1967 War / William W. Haddad – From June 1967 to June 1997: learning from our mistakes / Clovis Maksoud – A year of discovery / Fouad Moughrabi – An interview / Sadik al-Azm – Is the peace process a process for peace? A retrospective analysis of Oslo / Elaine C. Hagopian – The U.S. and the Aarurirabs: a woeful history / Naseer Aruri – The United Nations and Palestine: partition and its aftermath / Phyllis Bennis – The culture of resistance: the 1967 war in the context of the Palestinian struggle / Jamal R. Nassar – Finding the lost agenda in Jerusalem: a Jewish meditation on the 1967 war / Marc H. Ellis – Re-writing history: the Jewish claim to hebron / Ghada Karmi –The power of remembrance: Palestinians record their history / Ghada H. Talhami – Selected sources in English on the 1967 war / Janice J. Terry – Reflections on the Arab-Israeli conflict: its past and its future / Edward W. Said.

As co-editor, with **Abdeen Jabara**:
***The Arab World from Nationalism to Revolution***
(Wilmette, Illinois, 208 pages, 1971)

Essays presented at the third annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 29 October – 1 November 1970.

**Kennan Lee Teslik**

***Congress, the Executive Branch, and Special Interests: The American Response to the Arab Boycott of Israel***
(Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982)
Chapters: Introduction; Domestic Politics and the Formulation of American Middle East Policy: The Backdrop to the Anti-Boycott Debate; The Battle Over Anti-Boycott Legislation Takes Shape: 1974-1975; Congress Versus the Executive Branch:1976; Interest Group Politics and the Enactment of Anti-Boycott Legislation:1977; Conclusion; Appendix: The Export Administration Amendments of 1977; Bibliographical Essay and Index.

**Mark A. Tessler**

***A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Indiana University Press, 1040 pages, 2009)
Includes coverage of the Second Intifada. See also Ann Mosely Lesch and Robert O. Freedman

***Arabs in Israel***
(Hanover, New Hampshire: American Universities Field Staff, 25 pages, 1980)

**Shabtai Teveth**

***Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust***
(Harcourt Brace & Co, 310 pages, 1996)

***Ben-Gurion's Spy: The Story of the Political Scandal that Shaped Modern Israel***
(Columbia University Press, 310 pages, 1996)
Benjamin Givly, subject.

***The Evolution of "Transfer" in Zionist Thinking***
(Tel Aviv University, 59 pages, 1989)
Transfers of both Jews and Palestinians.

***Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground, 1886-1948***
(Houghton Mifflin, 967 pages, 1987)

***Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs: From Peace to War***
(Oxford University Press, 234 pages, 1985)

***Moshe Dayan***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 373 pages, 1972)
Translated from Hebrew by **Leah Zinder** and **David Zinder**.

***The Cursed Blessing: The Story of Israel's Occupation of the West Bank***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 372 pages, 1969)

***The Tanks of Tammuz***
(Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 290 pages, 1968)

**Sybilla G. Thicknesse**

***Arab Refugees: A Survey of Resettlement Possibilities***
(Royal Institute for International Affairs [aka Chatham House, today], 1949)

**Baylis Thomas**

***How Israel Was Won: A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Lexington Books, 1999)
A strictly political and military analysis of Zionist successes.

**Gordon Thomas**

***Gideon's Spies: The Secret History of the Mossad***
(St. Martin's Griffin, seventh edition, 832 pages, 2015)

**Lowell Thomas** (American writer, broadcaster, and television stations owner)

***With Lawrence in Arabia***
(Hutchinson & Col, 317 pages, 1930)
Work that inspired the popular David Lean-directed feature film, *Lawrence of Arabia*.

**Skye Arundhati Thomas**, editor

***Palestine is Everywhere***
(Silver Press / TBA21, 192 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "*Palestine is Everywhere* is an anthology of new writing brilliantly assembled by Skye Arundhati Thomas and Edwin Nasr which features, among essays, poetry, photography and reportage, letters from prison written by PalFest author Alaa Abd el-Fattah – who has just been released after twelve years." Contributors: contributions from Alaa Abd El-Fattah, Nasser Abourahme, Amal Al-Nakhala, Muhammad Al-Zaqzouq, Maisara Baroud, Ahmed Bassiouny, Houria Bouteldja, Anees Ghanima, Sahar Khalifeh, Laleh Khalili, Lujayn, Mira Mattar, Lina Meruane, Mohammed Mhawish, Nahil Mohana, Rahul Rao, Nasser Rabah, Adam Rouhana, Ahmad Zaghmouri.

**Elizabeth F. Thompson** (University of Virginia; American University)

***How the West Stole Democracy from the Arabs: The Syrian Arab Contress of 1920 and the Destruction of its Historic Liberal-Islamic Alliance***
(Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020)
1918-1920, the Damascus government ignored by the Great War victors.

***Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon***
(Columbia University Press, 2000)

Essay in **Ethan B. Katz, Lisa Moses leff, Mud S. Mandel** editors: ***Colonialism and the Jews***
(Indiana University Press, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "The lively essays collected here explore colonial history, culture, and thought as it intersects with Jewish studies. Connecting the Jewish experience with colonialism to mobility and exchange, diaspora, internationalism, racial discrimination, and Zionism, the volume presents the work of Jewish historians who recognize the challenge that colonialism brings to their work and sheds light on the diverse topics that reflect the myriad ways that Jews engaged with empire in modern times. Taken together, these essays reveal the interpretive power of the "Imperial Turn" and present a rethinking of the history of Jews in colonial societies in light of postcolonial critiques and destabilized categories of analysis. A provocative discussion forum about Zionism as colonialism is also included." Includes: **Tara Zahra**: *Zionism, Emigration and East European Colonialism*; David Feldman: *Zionism and the British Labour Party*; **Elizabeth F. Thompson**: *Moving Zionism to Asia – Texts and Tactics of Colonial Settlement, 1917-1921*; **Derek J. Penslar**: *Is Zionism a Colonial Movement?*

**Gardner Thompson**

***Legacy of Empire: Britain, Zionism and the Creation of Israel***

(Saqi Books, 2020)

Alan Waddams' blurb: "This is an excellent clear analysis of Britain's role in the creation of Israel. Starting with the founding of the Zionist movement in the 1870s, Gardner Thompson examines how it seeped into the mainstream of British political thinking, and its gradual acceptance by the British establishment. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire the author examines in detail Britain's enduring commitment to Zionism, and its active, though often surreptitious, support against the interests of the original inhabitants of Palestine. Britain's legacy has been to allow the successful establishment of Israel and to be responsible for the effective destruction of the idea of a Palestinian state."

**Thomas L. Thompson** (Theology professor, University of Copenhagen)

***Biblical Narrative and Palestine's History***

(Routledge, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "Modern biblical scholarship's commitment to the historical-critical method in its efforts to write a history of Israel has created the central and unavoidable problem of writing an objective and critical history of Palestine through the biblical literature with the methods of Biblical Archaeology. 'Biblical Narrative and Palestine's History' brings together key essays on historical method and the archaeology and history of Palestine. The essays employ comparative and formalistic techniques to illuminate the allegorical and mythical in Old Testament narrative traditions from Genesis to Nehemiah. In so doing, the volume presents a detailed review of central and radical changes in both our understanding of biblical traditions and the archaeology and history of Palestine. The study offers an analysis of Biblical narrative as rooted in ancient Near Eastern literature since the Bronze Age."

**Ellen Kolban Thorbecke**

***Promised Land***

(New York City & London: Harper and Brothers, 1947)

Period Zionist propaganda, situated at the end of the British Mandate, beautifully illustrated in photographs, watercolour, ink and pencil. Book hails the exclusively Jewish progress, art, and socialism brought to Palestine by Jewish-limited community activity through settlement expansion.

**Teresa Thornhill**

*The Curtain Maker of Beirut: Conversations with the Lebanese*

(Berkshire Academy Press, 2011)

Post-civil war analysis-journalism-social documentation by a well-travelled writer with open ears. Aside from unpacking thoughts of the residents of the Bourj al-Barajneh Camp, the book provides rare insights into the Lebanese life as it emerged from the war.

***Making Women Talk: Interrogation of Palestinian Women Detainees by the Israeli General Security Services***

(Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights, 1992)

**Merle Thorpe, Jr.**

***Prescription for Conflict: Israel's West Bank Settlement Policy***

(Washington DC: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984)

With foreword by **Amnon Kapeliuk**; introduction by **Simha Flapan**

**Abdul Latif Tibawi**

***Second Critique of English-Speaking Orientalists and Their Approach to Islam and the Arabs***

(London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 54 pages, 1979)
Tangential to earlier, period-focused title.

***The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem: Origins, History and Usurpation by Israel***
(London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 64 pages, 1978)
Includes maps and Arabic documents.

***Anglo-Arab relations and the Question of Palestine, 1914-1921***
(London: Luzac, 523 pages, 1977)
Focuses on broken promises of the British.

***Jerusalem: It's Place in Islam and Arab History***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 45 pages, 1969)

***A Modern History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine***
(Macmillan, 441 pages, 1969)

***Russian Cultural Penetration of Syria-Palestine in the Nineteenth Century***
(London: Royal Central Asian Society, 32 pages, 1966)

***Englial-Speaking Orientalists: A Critique of Their Approach to Islam and Arab Nationalism***
(London: Luzac, 38 pages, 1964)

***British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1906: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise***
(Oxford University Press, 280 pages, 1961)

***Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration***
(Luzac & Co, 282 pages, 1956)

**Virginia Tilley** (Southern Illinois University)

As co-editor, with Richard Falk, former UN human rights investigator for the Palestinian Territories
***Israeli Practices Towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid – ESCWA Report: Palestine and the Israeli Occupation, Issue No. 1***
(Beirut: United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, 74 pages, 2017)
Report withdrawn:
https://web.archive.org/web/20170316054753/https://www.unescwa.org/sites/www.unescwa.org/files/publications/files/israeli-practices-palestinian-people-apartheid-occupation-english.pdf

As editor: ***Beyond Occupation: Apartheid, Colonialism and International Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Pluto Press, 2012)
Contributors include: Shane Darcy, Daphna Golan (Director, Minerva Centre for Human Rights, Hebrew University – Jerusalem), Hassan Jabareen (Founding Director, Adala Legal Rights Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel), Shawan Jabareen (Director, Al-Haq), Michael Kearney (University of Sussex), Gilbert Marcus (Johannesburg lawyer), Max du Plessis (University of Durban), John Reynolds (Al-Haq & Maynooth University), Rina Rosenberg (Advocacy Director, Adala Legal Rights Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel), Iain Scobbie (School of Law, SOAS), Michael Sfard (Tel Aviv lawyer)

***The One-State Solution: A Breakthrough for Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Deadlock***
(Manchester University Press/University of Michigan Press, 288 pages, 2005, 2010)
Includes 16 maps.

**Jacobo Timerman**

***The Longest War***
(Chatto & Windus, 160 pages, 1982)
Israel's intervention in Lebanon; translated from Spanish.

***The Times***
***A Special Kind of State: Israel and the London 'Times'***
Beirut: Hermon books, 73 pages, 1970)
Reportage from the *Times,* with letters from the public and sitting MPs.

**Ron Tira**
***The Nature of War: Conflicting Paradigms and Israeli Military Effectiveness***
(Sussex Academic Press, 146 pages, 2010)
Includes the second Lebanon war and Operation Cast Lead in Gaza.

**Edward N. Tivnan** (New York journalist)
***The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy***
(Simon & Schuster, 1987)
Includes focus on media agenda setting and AIPAC representing American Jews as neo-conservatives.

**Titus Tobler** (Swiss doctor and traveller; 1806-1877)
***Bethlehem in Palastina: The 1840s Travelogue of a Visitor to the Holy Land***
(Nomad Publishing, 2022)
First English translation, by **Michelle Standley**, with foreword by **Khalil Shokeh** & **Maxim Sansour**.

**Seth Tobocman** (Jewish-American from Cleveland)
***Portraits of Israelis and Palestinians: For My Parents***
(Brooklyn: Soft Skull Press, 2003)
Author's travelogue charcoal illustrations and commentary; introduction by Eric Drooker.

**Shmuel Toledano**
***Jewish-Arab Relations during the Yom Kipper War***
(Hebrew University Jerusalem, 9 pages, 1974)

***The Israeli Arabs: Achievements and Perplexities***
(Tel Aviv: World Labour Zionist Movement, 20 pages, 1974)zander

**Samuel Tolkowsky** aka **Shmuel Tolkowsky** (Antwerp-born Israeli diplomat, founder of the Jewish Foundation Fund)
***The Citrus Industry in 1934-1935***
(Jaffa: M. Shoham Press, 27 pages, 1935)

***The History of the Cultivation of Citrus Fruits in Palestine***
(Jerusalem: unidentified publisher, 12 pages,1930)

***The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa***
(Routledge & Sons, 196 pages, 1924)

***The Jewish Resettlement of Palestine: Address Delivered at the Annual Conference of the English Zionist Federation on February 3rd, 1918***

(London: English Zionist Federation, 11 pages, 1918)

***The Jewish Colonisation in Palestine***
(Zionist Organisation, London Bureau, 10 pages, 1918 / Legare Street Press, 2022)

***Achievements and Prospects in Palestine***
(London: English Zionist Federation, 20 pages, 1917)

**Sandy Tolin**
***The Lemon Tree: An Arab, a Jew, and the Heart of the Middle East***
(Bloomsbury, 2007)

**Jason Tomes**
***Balfour and Foreign Policy: The International Thought of a Conservative Statesman***
(Cambridge University Press, 1997)
Describes Balfour as anti-Jewish.

**John [J.C.] Tordai** (photographer)
***A People Called Palestine***
(Dewi Lewis Publishing, 2001)
With text by **Graham Usher**.

***Into the Promised Land***
(Manchester: Cornerhouse Publications, 1991)
With introduction by Harvey Morris (Foreign Editor, *The Independent*)

**Khalil Totah**
***Turbulent Times in Palestine: The Diaries of Khalil Totah, 1866-1955***
(Jerusalem & Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies/PASSIA, 384 pages, 2009)
Edited by **Thomas M. Ricks**. Includes testimony before the 1936-1937 Palestine Royal Commission and the 1946 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

**Jamil I. Toubbeh**
***Day of the Long Night: A Palestinian Refugee Remembers the Nakba***
(Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co, 1998)
Christian Palestinian's account.

**Emile Touma**
***About the Idea of a Palestinian State***
(New York: New Outlook Publishers, 15 pages, 1970)

**Patricia Toye** & **Angela Seay**, editors
***Israel: Boundary Disputes with Arab neighbours, 1946-1964***
(Slough: Archive Editions, 1995)

**Patricia Toye**, editor
***Palestine Boundaries, 1883-1947***
(Slough: Archive Editions, 1989)

With foreword by JC Hurewitz. In 4 volumes, with reproductions of many vintage typed and hand-written documents from the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence (London). Volume 1: Palestine-Egypt, 825 pages; Volume 2: Palestine-Syria Part 1, 738 pages; Volume 3: Palestine-Syria Part 2; Volume 4: 15 folding maps.

**Arnold J [Joseph] Toynbee** (LSE, King's College)
***Jerusalem in Danger – From Israel's Plans***
(CAABU/Council for the Advancement of Arab British Understanding, 1pp, 1971)

***Acquaintances***
(Oxford University Press, 1967)
Account of **Howard Sweetser Bliss** as voice for Arab interests at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Bliss was then the second president of the Syrian Protestant College aka American University Beirut.

***Israel and World Public Opinion***
(UAR/United Arab Republic Press Bureau, 16pp, 1961)

**Fawwaz Trabouli** and **Fawwaz Tarabulsi**
***A History of Modern Lebanon***
(Pluto Pres, 306 pages, 2007, 2012)

**Hannah Trager** aka **Hannah Barnett-Trager** (1870-1943)
***Pioneers in Palestine: Stories of One of the First Settlers in Petach Tikva***
(Routledge 2019, reprint of 2013 edition)

Publisher's blurb: "Mrs Trager's book, while containing all these questions in embryonic shape, for the stimulation of the thinker, is yet written with a simplicity and charm that should make it a favourite reading-book: a genre of literature of which the Anglo-Jewish community possesses as yet only the Apples and honey of Mrs Redcliffe Salaman. Christians should be equally entranced by this picture of the latest development of the people whom they first met in the Bible. The present book needs to be supplemented by one giving a comprehensive survey of things as they are to-day in Palestine."

**Daphne Trevor**
***Under the White Paper: Some Aspects of British Administration in Palestine from 1939-1947***
(Jerusalem Press, 1948 / Munchen: Kraus International Publications, 1980)

**S. Ilan Troen** (Ben-Gurion University; Brandeis University)
***Israel/Palestine in World Religions: Whose Promised Land?***
(Springer Cham, 250 pages, 2024)
Topics include the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine and possession & dispossession through labour and purchace.

**S. Ilan Troen** & **Noah Lucas**, editors
***Israel: The First Decade of Independence***
(State University of New York Press, 1995)
Contains **Ilan Pappe**: *An Uneasy Coexistence: Arabs and Jews in the First Decade of Statehood*; **Alina Korn**: *Crime and Law Enforcement in the Israeli Arab Population un the Military Government, 1948-1966*.

**Gil Troy** (McGill University)

***To resist the Academic Intifada: letters to My Students on Defending the Zionist Dream***
(New York City: Wicked Son Press/Simon & Schuster, 266 pages, 2024)
Focus includes the American public opinion on Zionism and the Jewish State.

***Moynihan's Moment: America's Fight against Zionism as Racism***
(Oxford University Press, 357 pages, 2013)

**Harry S. Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace** [sic] (Hebrew University of Jerusalem):

**Ayal Ben-Ari**: ***From Checkpoints to Flow-Points – Sites of Friction between the Israeli Defense Forces and Palestinians***
(HSTCAP, 2005)

**Yehoshua Ben-Arieh**: ***Trilateral Land Exchange between Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Egypt – A Solution for Promoting Peace between Israel and the PA***
(HSTCAP, 2004)

**Adi Brender**: ***Does Municipal Segregation Alleviate the Economic Disadvantage of Israeli Arabs? Local Tax Collection as an Indicator***
(HSTCAP, 2007)

**Aziz Haidar**: ***The Arab Labor Force in Israel – From Felah'im to Foreign Workers***
(HSTCAP, 2008)

**Aziz Haidar**: ***On the Margins – The Arab Population in the Israeli Economy***
(HSTCAP, 192 pages, 1995)

**Aziz Haidar**: ***Technical-Vocational Education in the Arab Sector***
(Tel Aviv: International Centre for Peace in the Middle East [possibly HSTCAP], 1985)

**Hayiel Hino**: ***The Effects of Economic and Social-Cultural Factors on Retail Modernization – The Case of the Arab-Israeli Community***
(HSTCAP, 2007)

**Jad Issac**, editor: ***Water and Peace in the Middle East – 1st Israeli-Palestinian International Academic Conference on Water***
(HSTCAP, Elsevier, 1994)
Conference papers.

**Asher Kaufman**: ***The Shebaa Farms – A Case Study of Border Dynamics in the Middle East***
(HSTCAP, 2002)
Hezbollah relevance.

**Ephraim Kleiman**: ***Jewish and Palestinian Diaspora Attitudes to Philanthropy and Investment: Lessons from Israel's Experience***
(HSTCAP, 1996)

**Ruth Klinov** : ***Do Arab and Jewish Markets within Israel Converge? A Case Study of Fruit and Vegetables, 1993-2004***
(HSTCAP, 2007)

**Jacob M. Landau**: ***The "Young Turks" and Zionism – Some Comments***
(HSTCAP, ca. 1980s)

**Keren Manor-Tamam**: ***Images in Times of Conflict – Al-Aqsa Intifada as Reflected in Palestinian and Israeli Caricatures***
(HSTCAP, 2003)

**Kobi Michael** & **David Kellen**, editors: ***Stabilizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict – Considerations for a Multinational Peace Support Operation***
(HSTCAP, 2007)

**Kobi Michael**: ***Israeli-Palestinian Joint Patrols in Gaza, 1994-1996***
(HSTCAP, 2004)

**Dahlia Moore** & **Salem Aweiss**: ***Social Identities of Young Jews, Arabs and Palestinians***
(HSTCAP, 2001)

**Shlomo Sitton**: ***Israel Literature on Arab Economies, 1967-1994 – with Particular Reference to the Economics of Peace***
(HSTCAP, 1994)

**Leah Tsemel** & **Ingrid Gassner-Jaradat**
***The Trap is Closing on Palestinian Jerusalemites: Israel's Demographic Policies in east Jerusalem from the 1967 Annexation to the Eve of the Final Status Negotiations***
(Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1996)

**Enzo Traverso**
***Gaza Faces History***
(London: Footnote Press, 86 pages, 2024)
A wide-ranging essay, translated by **Willard Wood**. Considers that the "civil religion" of Holocaust memory.

**Barbara Tuchman**
***Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour***
(New York University Press, 1956 / later editions via Macmillan, Phoenix)

**Judith E. Tucker**
***Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law***
(Cambridge University Press, 255 pages, 2008)

***In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine***
(University of California Press, 235 pages, 2000)
Publisher's blurb: "In an rewarding new study, Tucker explores the way in which Islamic legal thinkers understood Islam as it related to women and gender roles. In seventeenth and eighteenth century Syria and Palestine, Muslim legal thinkers gave considerable attention to women's roles in society, and Tucker shows how fatwas, or legal opinions, greatly influenced these roles. She challenges prevailing views on Islam and gender, revealing Islamic law to have been more fluid and flexible than previously thought. Although the legal system had a consistent patriarchal orientation, it was modulated by sensitivities to the practical needs of women, men, and children. In her comprehensive overview of a field long neglected by scholars, Tucker deepens our understanding of how societies, including our own, construct gender roles."

As co-editor, with **Margaret L. Meriweather**: ***A Social History of Women & Gender in the Modern Middle East***
(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 220 pages, 1998/Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 233 pages, 1999)

Contents: A woman without her distaff: gender, works, and handicraft production in colonial North Africa. Making Algeria French, c.1830-1930 ; Algerian women and handicraft production: resurrection or reinvention ; Tunisia: male and female producers in city, town, and countryside ; From artisan to wage laborer, c.1881-1956 / Julia Clancy-Smith – Modernization, the state, and the family in Middle East women's studies. Nineteenth-century ; Twentieth-century ; Conclusion / Mervat F. Hatem – The Other awakening: the emergence of women's movements in the modern Middle East, 1900-1940. History, poliics, and gender ; History of the movements ; Conclusion / Ellen L. Fleischmann – Debating Islamic family law: legal texts and social practices. Shifting positions and perspectives ; "Classical Islamic law": new sources, new perspectives ; Family law reform: the state, the law, and gendered citizenship ; Legal reform and social change ; Conclusion / Annelies Moors – Gender and religion in the Middle East and South Asia: women's voices rising. Gender and Islam before 1979 ; Recent developments influencing gender and Islam dynamics ; Women's raising stances ; Gender and Islam: women's accommodating resistance ; Conclusion / Mary Elaine Hegland.

With **Guity Nashat**: ***Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History***
(Indiana University Press, 160 pages, 1999)
Contents: **Guity Nashat**: *Women in the Middle east: 8000 BCE-CE1800*; **Judith E. Tucker**: *Women in the MIDDLE East and North Africa: the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.*

With **Ramla Khalidi**: ***Woman's Rights in the Arab World***
(Washington DC: Middle East Research & Information Project, 8 pages, 1994)

As editor: ***Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers***
(Indiana University Press, 264 pages, 1993)
Contents: Women's issues in modern Islamic thought / Barbara F. Stowasser – Toward the development of post-Islamist and post-nationalist feminist discourses in the Middle East / Mervat Hatem – Authenticity and gender: the presentation of culture / Julie M. Peteet – Women and economic change in nineteenth-century Syria: the case of Aleppo / Margaret L. Meriwether – Getting it together: Baladi Egyptian businesswomen / Evelyn Aleene Early – Palestinian women under Israeli occupation: implications for development / Souad Dajani – Independent women: more than a century of feminism in Egypt / Margot Badran – Transforming culture or fostering second-hand consciousness?: Women's front organizations and revolutionary parties – the Sudan case – Sondra Hale – Palestinian women and politics in Lebanon / Rosemary Sayrigh – The Arab family in history: "otherness" and the study of the family / Judith E. Tucker – Changing gender relations in a Moroccan town / Susan Schaefer Davis – Rebellion, maturity, and the social context: Arab women's special contribution to literature / Evelyne Accad.

**Elias H. Tuma** & **Haim Darin-Drabkin**
***The Economic Case for Palestine***
(Routledge, 1978, 2014, 2016)
The book is set in the context of the general theory of the economic feasibility of small nation states and the economic analysis is illustrated by comparison and contrast between countries from various regions and periods. The authors look in turn at appropriate boundaries for a Palestinian state, the people and land that will constitute it, the potential of the economy in terms of income, employment and investment, and also the Palestinian state within the regional context and the implications of making the Palestinian economy a part of the larger region of the Middle East.

**Fadwa Tuqan**
***A Mountainous Journey: An Autobiography***

(Women's Press / St Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 1990)"
Translated by **Olive E. Kenny**; with **Naomi Shihab Nye** (poetry); edited by **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**;
"The evolution of the veil in Nablus was slow compared to Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa…Nablus remained a bigoted city, clinging to the old traditions in which social change was not easily effected." 1947: "The (Communist) League of National Freedom in Palestine had decided to accept the resolution of partition."

**Fawaz Turki**

***Soul in Exile: Lives of a Palestinian Revolutionary***
(Monthly Review Press, 1988)

***The Disinherited – Journal of a Palestinian Exile***
(Monthly Review Press, 1972, 1974; 2nd edition has an epilogue)

**Lucjan Turkowski**

***Peasant Agriculture in the Jerusalem Hills***
(Routledge, 306 pages, 2026)
Edited by **Carol Palmer** (Council for British Research in the Levant/CBRL). Illustrations by **Nigel F. Hepper**. Publisher's blurb: "Lucjan Turkowski's first-hand account of peasant life in 1940s British Mandate Palestine explores farming, food, language and craft production. He examines cultivated crops, the role of animals and the division of labour, highlighting its material culture in a vivid portrait of rural life. While preserving Turkowski's original ethnographic and agricultural research, this book offers a rare historical, botanical and anthropological resource. Rich with first-hand observations, Turkowski's work provides scholars and general readers with valuable insights into Palestinian peasant life near Jerusalem in the 1940s. His meticulous fieldwork records farming, food, language, agricultural tools and household utensils, exploring the long-term effects of Ottoman land reforms and the introduction of new crops. Original drawings and period photographs collected in Jerusalem illustrate this volume. This book opens with two introductory chapters by editor Carol Palmer, who situates Turkowski within his historical and intellectual context and highlights his ambition to document peasant material culture and its integration into Palestinian life. The main text comprises eight translated chapters of Turkowski's writing, followed by bibliographical annexes. This volume deepens understanding of rural life amid shifting political and economic forces, contributing to studies of resilience, agriculture and cultural continuity. This book is a fundamental resource for scholars in Levantine and Palestine studies, linguistics, anthropology, ethnography, archaeology and agricultural history. It also contributes to an understanding of the region's historiography and the changing academic approaches to Palestine. For those connected to the communities described, it offers a tangible link to the past and shows how carefully gathered knowledge can preserve cultural memory and bring lived experience into view.

**Leslie A. Turnberg** (Lord Turnberg, gastroenterologist)

***Beyond the Balfour Declaration: The 100-Year for Israeli-Palestinian Peace***
(Biteback Publications, 2017)

**Eric Engel Tuten** (University of Utah)

***Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Tuten shows how the Jewish National Fund (JNF) proved to be flexible in its fundraising to obtain its land-purchase objectives during the Second World War. He provides a detailed examination of the Jewish National Fund's internal development and analyses the relationship between

JNF's finances and land purchase priorities. A valuable addition to recent re-evaluations of Israeli history and institutions, this book will be of interest to those researching Palestinian history, Jewish and Israeli history and the history of the modern Middle East."

**Odd Karsten Tveit**

***Goodbye Lebanon: Israel's First Defeat***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 421 pages, 2013)
Translated from Norwegian by **Peter Scott-Hansen**.

***Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2011)
Translated from Norwegian by **Peter-Scott-Hansen**. Publisher's blurb: "Anna's House tells the story of a young Norwegian girl whose family emigrated to America mid-19th century. Through willpower and iron determination she overcame personal tragedy, leaving America to establish a unique religious community in Jerusalem, the American Colony. Over the decades, members of the colony witnessed at first hand the shaping of today's Middle East. Anna's House is a gripping tale of personal struggles in a politically turbulent corner of the world."

**Mark Twain**

***Innocents Abroad*** (numerous editions, since 1869)
Intendedly humorous travelogue that was taken out of context by later generations of ignorant Zionists to 'prove' no Arab society having existed in Palestine.

**Warwick P.N. Tyler** (Massey University, New Zealand)

***State Lands and Rural Development in Mandatory Palestine, 1920-1948***
(Sussex University Press, 2001)
Publisher's blurb: "The League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine imposed two duties on Britain as the administering power with regard to land: to closely settle Jews on state and waste lands (Article 6), and to promote closer settlement, intensive cultivation and rural development in the interests of all the people of Palestine (Article 11). Britain's failure to live up to Jewish expectations in these two areas provoked and sustained Zionist complaint throughout the entire period of the Mandate. This book examines British pledges and performance; Jewish hopes, disappointments and achievements; and Arab opposition and loss. Based on original research at British, Israeli and Zionist archives, this book also discusses the problems that needed to be addressed in order to revitalize the rural sector in Palestine and assesses the impact of British initiatives and Jewish land acquisition, settlement and example on Arab rural society and agriculture."

**Ole Fr. Ugland**, editor

***Difficult Past, Uncertain Future: Living Conditions Among Palestinian Refugees in Camps and Gatherings in Lebanon***
(Oslo: FAFO, 2003)

**Kristian Coates Ulrichsen** (Arab Center, Washington DC; Rice University)

***The First World War in the Middle East***
(Hurst, 552 pages, 2014)

***The Logistics and Politics of the British Campaigns in the Middle East, 1914-1922***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 262 pages, 2011)

**United Against Torture** & **Anna-Lena Svensson-McCarthy**

***Torture and Ill-Treatment in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory: An Analysis of Israel's Compliance with the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment***
(Jerusalem: United Against Torture / Ramallah: Yuval Publications, 64 pages, 2008)

**UK Parliament: Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Democrat Middle East Councils**
***Right of Return: Joint Parliamentary Middle East Councils Commission of Enquiry – Palestinian Refugees***
(author bodies, 2001)

**United Nations – George J. Tomeh, Regina S. Sharif, Michael Simpson, Jody Boudreault, Katherine LaRivière, Ida Audeh**, editors
***United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1998***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009)
Five-volume set of all the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, but also those of all the subsidiary organizations and specialized agencies that have dealt with the various manifestations of these issues. Each includes a subject guide and a chronological listing of the resolutions by agency of issue. A cumulative index follows Volume III; Volumes IV and V contain their own index. In addition to the voting lists that follow each resolution, all five volumes include as appendices Security Council and General Assembly voting tables, enabling the reader to trace votes for any given resolution as well as voting patterns over the years of individual member states.

**United Nations Works and Relief Agency (UNRWA)**
**Catherine Collona**: ***Independent Review of Mechanisms and Procedures to Ensure Adherence by UNRWA to the Humanitarian Principle of Neutrality***
(author, 53 pages, 2024)

***Trade and Development in the State of Palestine Through a Gender Lens***
(New York City: United Nations, PDF publication of 49 pages, 2023)

**Palestinian Return Centre**, **Pietro Stefanini**, editors: ***UNRWA at 70: Palestinian Refugees in Context***
(Palestinian Return Centre & Al Jazeera, 96 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book grew out of a one-day conference hosted in 2019 at the British Library in London, organised by the Palestinian Return Centre with the collaboration of the Al Jazeera Centre for Studies and the European Centre for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter. The exile of Palestinian refugees remains at the heart of the Palestinian struggle for justice and liberation. UNRWA at 70 engages the themes surrounding this UN Agency and Palestinians beyond the logics of humanitarianism. The book brings together scholars from Palestine and Israel, Lebanon, Qatar, the UK, Canada and elsewhere, who specialise in the fields of politics, history, sociology and law, and are renowned for producing critical research on the Arab region and in particular on the displacement of Palestinians. This project follows previous co-published books by the Palestinian Return Centre and the Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, which include World War I Impact on Palestine: A Hundred Year legacy (2016) and Palestinian Refugees in the Arab World: Realities & Prospects (2015). Editor: The Palestinian Return Centre Authors: **Karen Abu Zayd**, **Francesca Albanese**, **Sari Hanafi**, **Anne Irfan**, **Johnny Mansour**, **Sophie Richter-Devroe**, **Ilan Pappe**, **Terry Rempel**."

***Managing Quality in Palestine: A Directory of Services for SMEs***
(New York City: United Nations, 60 pages, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Companion guide and supplement to the publication, Export Quality Management: A guide for small and medium-sized enterprises, country adaptation for the State of Palestine. This publication provides an overview of the country's national quality infrastructure that includes food safety

and animal and plant health; it also provides contacts of quality-related service providers in the State of Palestine."

**Silvia Masiero**: ***The Palestinian Dilemma: A View on UNRWA's Work in the West Bank***
(Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012)

***Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East: 1 January-31 December 2009***
(UNRWA, 2010)

***Financial Report and Audited Financial Statements for the Biennium ended 31 December 2009 and Report of the Board of Auditors***
(UNRWA, 2010)

**Issam Nassar & Rasha Salti**, editors: ***I Would Have Smiled – Photographing the Palestinian Refugee Experience***
(Jerusalem: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009)
All images from UNRWA.

***The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Establishment of UNRWA, 1949-2009: Poll of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon and Syria***
(Palestinian Return Centre, 2009)

***The European Commission and UNRWA: Improving the Lives of Palestine Refugees***
(UNRWA, 2007)

***The Question of Palestine and the United Nations***
(New York City: United Nations, 112 pages, 2004; revised edition, 128 pages, 2008)

**Mos Gröndalh** (photography), **Hanan Ashwari** (foreword); **Peter Hansen** (introduction): ***In Hope and Despair ~ Life in the Palestinian Refugee Camps***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2003)
UNRWA

**Avi Becker:** ***UNRWA, Terror and the Refugee Conundrum ~ Perpetuating the Misery***
(Jerusalem: Institute of the World Jewish Congress, 2003)
A Zionist take on the agency.

**David B. Gootnick:** ***Department of State and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency Actions to Implement Section 301I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1981***
(Washington DC: US General Accounting Office, 2003)

***UNRWA Around the Clock***
(Gaza: UNRWA, 1998)

***The Long Journey: 45 Years Retrospective***
(New York City: UNRWA, 88 pages, 1996)
Photographic album.

***The Long Journey: Palestine Refugees and UNRWA***
(UNRWA, ca. 1995)
Photographic portfolio of the Agency's work, with text.

***Teaching about Palestine***
(New York City: United Nations, 36 pages, 1992)

***Convention between the European Economic Community and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees Concerning Aid to Refugees in the Countries of the Near East, Brussels***
(Various editions, assumed annual but these confirmed: 4 June 1987; 25 January 1983; 17 February 1982; 21 May 1980; 21 December 1978; 20 July, 1976; 6 November 1973; 19 October 1973 & 3 October 1974; 7 October 1974; 17 July 1994 ~ EEC ' HMSO, 1991)

**Milton Viorst:** ***Reaching for the Olive Branch ~ UNRWA and Peace in the Middle East***
(Washington DC: Middle East Institute / Indiana University Press, 62 pages, 1989)

***UNRWA***
(Vienna International Centre / UNRWA, ca. 1985)

***UNRWA ~ A Brief History, 1950-1982***
(United Nations, 1983)

***In the Service of Palestinian Refugees, 1982-1983***
(Paris: UNESCO, 50 pages, 1983)

***Health for Palestine Refugees ~ Two Decades of World Concern***
(Beirut: UNRWA, 1972)

***UNRWA/UNESCO Educational Services for Palestine Refugees***
(UNRWA, ca. 1971)

**Edward H. Buehrig:** ***The UN and the Palestinian Refugees: A Study in Nonterritorial Administration***
(Indiana University Press, 1971)
UNRWA

***Twice in a Lifetime***
(UNRWA, 1968)

***Refugee Stamp Plan: Report on the Initiative Taken by the Two United Nations Refugee Agencies***
(Geneva: UNRWA, 1962)

**Heinz R. Hink** and **Kent Pillsbury**: ***The UNRWA School System and the Palestine Arab Refugee Problem***
(Arizona State University Bureau of Government Research, 26 pages, 1962)

***UNRWA Reviews: A Background Information Series***
(Beirut: UNRWA, 1950-1962)

***UNRWA and the Palestine Refugees: What It Is, What It Does, Who They Are, Where They Are***
(unconfirmed, 16 pages, 1959)

**Robert Faherty**: ***In Human Terms: The 1959 Story of the UNRWA-UNESCO Arab Refugee Schools***
(Paris: UNESCO, 79 pages, 1959)

***UNRWA in Pictures***
(Beirut, UNRWA, ca. 1958)

***Jordan Valley Agricultural Economic Survey***
(UNRWA, 1954)

**United Nations** – Countless UN publications, both under the UNRWA and the larger body, such as:

**Ardi Amseis**: ***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine: Rule of Law and the Structure of International Legal Subalternity*** Cambridge University Press, 312 pages, 2024; 277 pages, 2023; also PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 2019)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine : Africa solidarity with the Palestinian people for the achievement of their inalienable rights, including the sovereignty and independence of the State of Palestine : United Nations Conference Centre, Addis Ababa, 29 and 30 April 2013***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 32 pages, 2013)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine: The Role of Youth and Women in the Peaceful Resolution of the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 45 pages, 2012)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine: The Question of the Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli Prisons and Detention Facilities: Legal and Political Implications***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 40 pages, 2012)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine : the Urgency of Addressing the Plight of Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli Prisons and Detention Facilities : United Nations Office at Vienna, 7 and 8 March 2011***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 31 pages, 2011)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine, United Nations Office at Geneva, 22 And 23 July 2009***
(26 pages, 2010)

***United Nations African Meeting on the Question of Palestine: Strengthening the Support by African States for a Just and Lasting Solution to the Question of Jerusalem: Rabat, Morocco, 1-2 July 2010***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 38 pages, 2010)

***United Nations Asian and Pacific Meeting on the Question of Palestine: Strengthening International Consensus on the Urgency of a Two-State Solutions: Jakarta, 8 and 9 June 2009***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 27 pages, 2009)

***The Question of Palestine and the United Nations***
(United Nations Department of Public Information, 117 pages, 2008)

***United Nations African Meeting on the Question of Palestine: Pretoria, 9 and 10 April 2007***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 28 pages, 2007)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine: Implementing the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory – United Nations Office at Geneva, 8-9 March 2005***
(United Nations, 121 pages, 2005)

***United Nations Latin American and Caribbean Meeting on the Question of Palestine : Caracas, 13-14 December 2005***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 31pages, 2005)

***United Nations meeting for Asia and the Pacific on the question of Palestine, Beijing, 16-17 December 2003***
(United Nations, 33 pages, 2004)

***United Nations International Meeting in Support of a Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Establishment of Peace in the Middle East, Cape Town, 1 July 2004***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 17 pages, 2004)

***United Nations meeting for Asia and the Pacific on the question of Palestine, Beijing, 16-17 December 2003***
(United Nations Department of Public Information, 33 pages, 2003)

***United Nations International Meeting in Support of a Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Establishment of peace in the Middle East : Nicosia 16 and 17 April 2002***
(Geneva: United Nations, 27 pages, 2002)

***United Nations Latin American and Caribbean Meeting on the Question of Palestine, Havana, 12-14 June 2001***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 27 pages, 2001)

***United Nations International Meeting on the Question of Palestine: "The Road to Israeli Palestinian Peace, Madrid, 17-18 July 2001***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 25 or 27 pages, 2001)

***United Nations International Meeting in Support of a Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Establishment of Peace in the Middle East, Athens, 23 and 24 May 2000***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 24 pages, 2000)

***United Nations International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine: Cairo, 25-26 April, 1998***
(United Nations, 16 pages, 1998)

***United Nations Latin American and Caribbean Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine : Santiago, Chile, 26-29 May 1998***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 22 pages, 1998)

***United Nations Asian Seminar and the NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Jakarta, 4-7 May 1987***
(United Nations, 22 pages, 1997)

***United Nations international NGO meeting and European NGO symposium on the question of Palestine: Palais des Nations, Geneva 2-4 September 1996***
(United Nations, 30 pages, 1997)

***The United Nations and the Non-Governmental Organization Activities on the Question of Palestine***
(United nations Division for Palestine Rights, 15 pages, 1995)

***United Nations Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine for Latin America and the Caribbean, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 20-23 March 1995***
(United nations Division for Palestine Rights, 34 pages, 1995)

***United Nations International NGO meeting and European NGO Symposium on the question of Palestine, Vienna, 29 August - 1 September, 1995***
(United Nations Division for Palestine Rights, 34 pages, 1995)

***United Nations International NGO Meeting and European NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine : 29 August-1 September 1994, Palais des Nations, Geneva***
(United Nations, 29 pages, 1994)

***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations Department of Public Information, 12 pages, 2000; 20 pages, 2005; 40 pages, 1994)

***United Nations African Seminar and NGO symposium on the question of Palestine, Dakar, Senegal 30 August-3 September 1993***
(United Nations, 41 pages, ca. 1994)

***Seventh United Nations European NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Austria Centre, Vienna, 23-24 August 1994 – Report on Workshop 1: Palestinian National and Human Rights***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 3 pages, ca. 1994)

***Sixth United Nations Asian Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Twenty-Ninth United Nations Seminar) and Fourth United Nations Asia NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, Nicosia, Cyprus, 2-24 January 1992)***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 57 pages, 1992)

UN-related: ***Supplement to Survey of Palestine: Notes Compiled for the Information of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 153 pages, 1991)
Reprint of the 1947 report.

***The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem, 1917-1988***
(New York City: United Nations, 287 pages, 1990)
Part 1, published in 1978; Part 2, published in 1979, Part 4, published in 1984, Part 4, added to in 1990. Topics include the League of Nations Mandates, including Palestine; "The Jewish National Home;" Palestinian Resistance; and partition plans.

***Adnad Shqueir: Seventh United Nations International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine : Palais des Nations, Geneva, 29-31 August, 1990 : Workshop I : The Livestock Production Sector in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Present Situation and Future Prospects***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 24 pages, 1991)

***The United Nations & The Question of Palestine***
(United Nations Department of Public Information, 57 pages, 1990)

***Twenty-seventh United Nations Regional Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Seventh North American Regional Seminar) : Theme : Peace and Kustice for the Palestinian people : an Imperative for the 1990's, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 25-26 June, 1990***
(United Nations, 27 pages, ca. 1990)

***Twenty-fourth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Regional Seminar), 5-9 February 1990 and First United Nations Latin American and Caribbean Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, 5-8 February 1990, Buenos Aires***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 56 pages, 1990)

***The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people : Twenty-third United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Sixth Asian Regional Seminar), 18-22 December 1989 and Third United Nations Asian Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights, 50 pages, 1990)

***No Voice is Louder than the Voice of the Uprising***
(Nicosia: Ibal Publishing, 278 pages, 1989)
Includes Call no. 1 (8 January 1988) through Call no. 47 (15 October 1989), and the Palestinian Declaration of Independence.

***The United Nations and Non-Governmental Organization Activities on the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations, 60 pages, 1987; 34 pages, 1985)

***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine – Essays***
(assumed United Nations, 96 pages, 1983)
Contents: The Palestinian rights and the United Nations / M.O. Beshier -- The implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine / Henry Cattan -- United Nations recognition of Palestinian rights determines their legitimacy / Bala Muhammad -- The United Nations and the national rights of the people of Palestine / W. Thomas Mallison -- The role of the United Nations in the question of Palestine / Charlotte M. Teuber -- The influence of the media and the role of the United Nations on the question of Palestine / V.J. Gauci -- The role of the United Nations Organization in the search for effective measures to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their rights / Marcel Dinu -- The role of the United Nations and the search for effective measures to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise its rights / Giancarlo Pajetta -- Legal aspects of the United Nations responsibility for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people / Ingo Schoenfelder.

***"The Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: Proceedings of the First and Second United Nations Seminars on the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations, 407 pages, ca. 1981)

***The Right of Return of the Palestinian People***
(1979)

***WT and SV Mallison: An International Law Analysis of the Major United Nations Resolutions Concerning the Palestine Question***
(United Nations, 1979)

***The United Nations and the Question of Palestine***
(United Nations/Arab Information Center, 11 pages, ca. 1975)

**Yasser Arafat**: ***Address to the 29th Session, United Nations General Assembly, November 13, 1974***
(38 pages, 1974)

***UNRWA Reviews: A Background Information Series***
(Beirut: UNRWA' at least five volumes; December 1948-December 1962)

***Statistical Summary for Palestine Refugees in the Near East***
(Beirut: UNRWA, 1958)

***The Arab Refugee Problem and How it Can be Solved: Proposals Submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, December, 1951***
(1951)

***Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question***
(21 pages, in English and French, 29 November 1947)

***Report of the New Zealand Delegation to the Special Session of the General Assembly Called to Constitute and Construct a Special Committee to Prepare for the Consideration of the Question of Palestine, 28 April – 15 May 1947***
(New Zealand Department of External Affairs, 47 pages, 1947)

**United Palestine Appeal**

**Werner Feilchenfeld**: ***Report on Jewish Palestine and World Trade***
(New York City: UPA, 12 pages, 1948)

**Robert Nathan**: ***An Economist Looks at Palestine***
(New York City: UPA, 19 pages, ca. 1947)

***The U.P.A. Story***
(London: UPA, ca. 1945)

**George Stefansky**: ***Does the Refugee Have a Future – An Analysis of the Position of Homeless Jews in the Postwar World***
(New York City: UPA, 103 pages, 1945)
With preface by **James G. McDonald**.

***Foundation Stones of Palestine's Upbuilding***
(London: UPA, 35 pages, 1945)

**Abba Hillel Silver**: ***"Advance on All Fronts!" An Address Delivered at the 1943 National Conference for Palestine***
*(New York City: UPA, 15 pages, 1943)*

***The Refugee Problem and the Absorptive Capacity of Palestine: A Memorandum Submitted to the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees***
(New York City: UPA, 32 pages, ca. 1940)

***Graphic Facts on Jewish National Rebuilding Achievements in Palestine***
(New York City: UPA, 13 pages, 1936)

***In the Scales of History: A Brief Account of the Rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine***
(New York City: UPA, 11 pages, ca. 1935)

***Palestine, Land of Jewish Immigration and Colonization***
(New York City: UPA, 32 pages, 1926)
With illustrations of farmers; "Help the wanderer back to his own soil!"

**United States Congress**

***Establishment of a National Home in Palestine – Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Congress, Second Session, on House Congress Resolution 52, Expressing Satisfaction at the Re-Creation of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish Race – April 18, 19, 10, and 21, 1922***
(Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 170 pages, 1922)
Digitised version online via HathiTrust:
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044075190645&seq=5

**Melvin L. Urofsky**

***American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust***
(Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975; University of Nebraska Press, 1995)

Shows American Jewish funding as key to the pre-Israel Zionist project. As noted by **Janice Terry**'s ***William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI-WWII*** (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015): "The King-Crane report reached the White House a day before Wilson's collapse, and fortunately for all concerned its recommendations were kept secret until 1922."

**Graham Usher** (foreign correspondent, married to longtime BBC Middle East/UN correspondent Barbara Plett Usher)

***Dispatches from Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process***
(Pluto Press, 197 pages, 1999)
Includes focus on Hizbollah/Hezbollah, binationalism, and interviews with Marwan Barghouti, Azmi Bishara, Ibrahim Ghoshah, Yossi Beilin, Rabbi Aryeh Deri, and Ilan Pappe.

***Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Independence after Oslo***
(Pluto Press, 1995)

**Gerry Van Tonder**

***Irgun: Revisionist Zionism, 1931-1948***
(Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2019)

**Campaign to Free Morachai Vanunu**

***Voices for Vanunu – Papers from the International Conference, Tel Aviv, October 1997***
(London: CFMV, 1997)
Symposium, Tangential to Palestine:
Contributors include: Susannah York, Prof Joseph Rotblat, Meir Vanunu, Peter Hounam, Frank Barnaby, Fredrik Herrermehl, Dr Ruhama Marton, Judge Amadeo Postiglione, Dr Hugh DeWitt, Daniel Elsberg, Vil Yaroshinskaya, Dr Yehuda Melzer, Thomas B. Cochran, Dr Amzi Bishara, Patti Browning, Rabby Philip Bentley, Marwan Darweish, Avigdor Feldman.

**Brian Van Arkadie** (editor)

***Benefits and Burdens: A Report on the West Bank and Gaza Strip Economies since 1967***
(New York City: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 164 pages, 1967)
With a prologue by **Larry L. Fabian**.

**Pierre Van Paassen** (Dutch-Canadian-American journalist; influential early non-Jewish Zionist)

***Jerusalem Calling!***
(New York City: Dial Press, 1950)

***Palestine: Land of Israel***
(Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1948)
Van Paassen introduction only; book of photographs by Herbert S. Sonnenfeld.

***The Forgotten Ally***
(New York City: Dial Press, 1943) / Lucknow Books, 2016)

Edited by **H. David Kirk** and **Ed Ehgrave**: ***Israel: Democracy's Neglected Ally, 1943 to the Present***
(Brentwood Bay, British Columbia: Ben-Simon Publications, 2002)

***That Day Alone***
(Michael Joseph, 1943)

***Drums in Israel***
(Johannesburg: Newzo Press, 16 pages, 1943)

***The Battle for Jerusalem***
(New York City: American Friends of a Jewish Palestine, 24 pages, 1941)

***The Time is Now!***
(Angus & Robertson, 86 pages, 1941)

**Various authors**

***The Palestine Yearbook of International Law Volume 12, 2002-2003***
(Leiden: Martinua Nijhoff & Birzeit University Institute of Law, 642 pages, 2005)

**Mona Rishmawi:** ***Administrative Detention in International Law: The Case of the Israeli Occupied West Bank and Gaza***
(offprint from the *Palestine Yearbook of International Law*, Volume 5, 45 pages, 1989)

***The Palestine Yearbook of International Law***
(Safat, Kuwait & Nicosia, Cyprus: Al-Shaybani Society of International Law, 1984-1988)
Volumes 1-10, 1984-1999.

**Various authors**

***Like Roses in the Wind: Self Portraits & Thoughts***
(Beirut: Ghassan Kanafani Cultural Foundation, 2003)
Bilingual children's book: "Through Cortas' eyes we experience life in Lebanon under the oppressive French mandate, and her desire to forge an Arab identity based on religious tolerance. We learn of her dedication to the education of women, and the difficulties that she overcomes to become the principal of a school in Lebanon. And in final, heartbreaking detail, we watch as her world becomes rent by the "Palestine question," Western interference, and civil war." Not to be confused with the Rimal Publications book of Palestinian children's art, of the same title.

**Various Authors: British Refugee Council, Christian Aid, OXFAM, Quaker Peace & Service, Save the Children Fund, United Nations Association International Service, War on Want, World University Service**

***The Denial of Education to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip ~ A Joint Statement***
(Author organisations: 4 pages, May 1989)

**Lorenzo Veracini** (Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne; Editor of the journal *Settler Colonial Studies*)

***The World Turned Inside Out: Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea***
(Verso Books, 337 pages, 2021)
Tangential to Palestine.

***The Settler Colonial Present***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 160 pages, 2015)

***Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

***Israel and Settler Society***
(Pluto Press, 154 pages, 2006)
Comparisons of Apartheid Israel with other settler-colonial examples.

**Mayir Vereté** (Hebrew University)

***From Palmerston to Balfour: Collected Essays of Mayir Vereté***
(Frank Cass, 1992)
Argues that protection of the Suez Canal was Britain's motivation for the occupation of Palestine, not the Zionists: "had there been no Zionists in those days the British would have had to invent them."

***Kitchen, Grey and the Question of Palestine, 1915-1916***
(offprint from *Middle East ern Studies,* Vol. 9 No. 2, May 1973)

***Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?***
(offprint from the *English Historical Review,* Vol. 85, no. 335, 1970)

***The Balfour Declaration and its Makers***
(Frank Cass, 1967)

***Zionist-Arab British Relations and the Inter-Allied Peace Commission, 1919***
(Jerusalem, publisher unidentified, 1967; reprinted from *Zion – Quarterly for Research in Jewish History,* Vol. 32, nos. 1-2, 1967)

**Bertha Spafford Vester** (b.1878;

***Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881-1949***
(Evans Brothers, 1951 / Jerusalem: Ariel Publsihing, 1988 / Ramsay Press, 2007)
Jerusalem nurse/doctor, radical Presbyterian, who was made an honorary member the Adwan Bedouin community. Recruited by Ismail Bey Husseini, to direct the Moslem Girls School in the Old City; she held that role until her marriage in 1904.

**P.J. (Panayiotis Jarasimof) Vatikiotis** (Born Jerusalem 1928, SOAS)

***The Middle East – From End of Empire to the Cold War***
(Routledge, 1997)

***Among Arabs and Jews: A Personal Experience, 1936-1990***
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991)

***Arab and Regional Politics in the Middle East***
(Croom Helm, 1984)

**Matthew Vickery** (British Research Council in the Levant and writer for Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye)

***Employing the Enemy: The Story of Palestinian Labourers on Israeli Settlements***
(Zed Books, 2017)
Ghada Karmi: "The story of Palestinian workers in Israeli settlements is not well known. This book tells it with candour and vividness. Essential reading for those who want to understand the true extent of Israel's domination of the Palestinians."

***Implications of Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) for the Social Scientific Study of the Contemporary Middle East***
(GRIN Verlag, 36 pages, 2013)

**Barbara Victor**

***Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers***
(Robinson / Constable & Robinson, 2004)

Histories for the first six female bombers, plus those who failed.

***A Voice of Reason – Hanan Ashrawi and Peace in the Middle East***
(Harcourt Brace, 1994)
Anglican Christian who was the first woman elected to the Palestinian National Council; also published as *Hanan Ashwari: A Passion for Peace* (Fourth Estate, 1995).

**Rebecca Vilkomerson** (Jewish Voice for Peace) and **Rabbi Alissa Wise**
***Solidarity is the Political Version of Love: Lessons from Jewish Anti-Zionist Organising***
(Haymarket Books, 344 pages, 2024)
With a foreword by **Omar Barghouti** and an afterword by **Stefanie Fox**. Publisher's blurb: "In this book, two key leaders and former staff of Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) —Rebecca Vilkomerson and Rabbi Alissa Wise—focus on the important role of anti-Zionist Jewish organizing within the broader Palestine solidarity movement, reflecting on their decade of leadership of JVP and drawing lessons especially relevant to those organizing from a position of solidarity. Against the backdrop of rapid and often devastating political developments, they explore how JVP grew larger as the organization shifted to the left and helped to alter the public narrative about Palestinian liberation, while also navigating the tensions of organization-building and creating a space for Judaism liberated from Zionism. Their insights help contextualize the intense suppression of activism for Palestinian freedom, while illuminating the roots of today's flourishing Jewish solidarity with Palestinians worldwide. In addressing their shortcomings and failures no less than their inspiring successes, Vilkomerson and Wise deliver an account of JVP's organizing during the 2010s that offers crucial strategic lessons for anyone engaging in the collective work of building organizations and fighting for justice as our movements evolve over time."

**Milton Viorst** (Rutgers, Harvard & Columbia Universities, many newspapers and magazines)
***What Shall I Do with this People? Jews and the Fractious Politics of Judaism***
(The Free Press, 2002)

***UNRWA and Peace in the Middle East*** aka ***Reaching for the Olive Branch***
(Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 1984 / Indiana University Press, 1989)

**David Vital**
***Zionism: The Crucial Phase***
(Clarendon, 1987)

***Zionism: The Formative Years***
(Clarendon, 1982)

***The Origins of Zionism***
(Clarendon, 1975, 1980)

**Major-General Carl von Horn**
***Soldiering for Peace: An Account of Five Years Service with the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces***
(London: Cassell, 402 pages, 1966; New York City: David McKay Publishing, 1967)
Focus on the United Nations Armed Forces in Palestine, Zaire, Yemen and the Democratic Republic of Congo

**Carl Hermann Voss**

***Answers on the Palestine Question***

(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 1949)
Available digitally via the Hathi Trust Digital Library.

**Hilde Hendriksen Waage**

***Peacemaking is a Risky Business: Norway's Role in the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1993-1996***

(Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 2004)

**Donald E. Wagner** aka **Don Wagner**

***No Place Left to Go: Why Palestine Matters***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 288 pages, 2026)
With contributions from **Phyllis Bennis** and **William J. Barber**. Preface by **Rev. Wendell Griffen** and foreword by **Rev. Munther Isaac**. Publisher's blurb: "Israel's genocidal war on the Gaza Strip has raised global concern over the capacity of International law to bring the perpetrators to justice and accountability for war crimes. *No Place Left to Go* is a tour de force of one man's metamorphosis from Christian zionism to a series of personal encounters with Palestinians—in Chicago, Beirut, and Jerusalem—including Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the Sabra' & Shatila massacre, and the initial hope inspired by the First Intifada of 1987-93.
After serving for five years as a pastor in a remarkable Black church, Donald Wagner comes to fully understand the original sin of racism. As his journey continues, he encounters another marginalized people—the Palestinians—and witnesses their struggle for justice and equality. Touched by their resilience and fight against injustice, he leaves the pastorate to assume full time work as an advocate for Palestinian political and human rights. The memoir begins in mid-September 1982, with a gut-wrenching day interviewing survivors of the Sabra-Shatila massacre in Lebanon, as they wept and waited for the bodies of family members to be pulled from the rubble. Donald Wagner's conversation with the local Imam ended with a challenge: 'You must return home and tell what you have seen. This is all we ask. Go back and tell the truth.' The memoir touches on history and includes a timely political analysis—from the Nakba to the genocide in Gaza. In it, Donald Wagner describes Israel's continued colonization and destruction of Palestinian lives and chronicles his involvement in a grassroots movement of resistance that demands justice based on full equality, an end to the Israeli military occupation and settler colonization project, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and full political rights for the Palestinian people. Filled with stories—some humorous and some shocking—as well as encounters with people of every race, gender, and religious affiliation working below the radar, this book will inspire, challenge, and offer a narrative that envisions a transformed "unholy land," where justice, liberation, and equality for all is the reality for every citizen."

***Glory to God in the Lowest: Journeys to an Unholy Land***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 288, 2022)
With foreword by **Rev Dr William J. Barber II** & **Phyllis Bennis**. Publisher's blurb: "After serving for five years as a pastor in a remarkable Black church, Donald Wagner comes to fully understand the original sin of racism. As his journey continues, he encounters another marginalized people—the Palestinians—and witnesses their struggle for justice and equality. Touched by their resilience and fight against injustice, he leaves the pastorate to assume full time work as an advocate for Palestinian political and human rights. The memoir begins in mid-September 1982, with a gut-wrenching day interviewing survivors of the Sabra-Shatila massacre in Lebanon, as they wept and waited for the bodies of family members to be pulled from the rubble. Donald Wagner's conversation with the local Imam ended with a challenge: "You must return home and tell what you have seen. This is all we ask. Go back and tell the truth."The memoir touches on history and includes political analysis and theological reflection. In it, Donald Wagner describes Israel's continued colonization and destruction of Palestinian lives and chronicles his involvement in a grassroots movement of resistance that demands justice based on full equality, an end to the Israeli

military occupation and settler colonization project, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and full political rights for the Palestinian people."

***Dying in the Land of Promise: Palestine and Palestinian Christianity from the Pentecost to 2000***
(Melisende, 280 pages, 2001, 2003 / 2nd ed. Fox Publications, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "Dying in the Land of Promise presents the reader with two simultaneous narratives, the dominant of which is the story of Palestinian Christianity. The narrative is set within the context of Palestine's changing political and religious history. Gradually the secondary narrative overtakes the Christian narrative, particularly during the last 125 years with the rise of nationalism, Zionism, the triumph of Israel, and the dramatic decline of Palestinian Christianity in the Holy Land. Written for the non-specialist and geared towards a Western audience, the volume challenges traditional assumptions articulated in the mainstream media concerning the Christians of Palestine and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The history of Palestinian Christianity is tragic and inspiring as it calls for a profound and immediate response from Western Christians and all concerned friends to a community that is truly an endangered species in the 'land of promise', given the present rates of emigration, economic blight, and an all too delayed resolution to the political conflict in the Holy Land today."

***Anxious for Armageddon: A Call to Partnership for Middle East and Western Christians***
(Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1996)
With foreword by **Elias Chacour**.

As co-editor, with **Walter T. Davis**: ***Zionism and the Quest for Peace in the Holy Land***
(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014)

**Don Wagner** & **Dan O'Neill**
***Peace or Armageddon? The Unfolding Drama of the Middle East Accord***
(Marshall Pickering, 1993 / HarperCollins, 1994)

**David Waines** (with foreword by **Maxime Rodinson**)
***The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine, 1897-1971***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina University Press International, 1971) –
Updated as: *A Sentence of Exile – The Palestine Israel Conflict, 1877-1977* (Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press, 1977)

**Simon A. Waldman** (Kings College, London)
***Anglo-American Diplomacy and the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1948-1951***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
This volume examines British and US attitudes towards the means and mechanisms for the facilitation of an Arab-Israeli reconciliation, focusing specifically on the refugee factor in diplomatic initiatives. It explains why Britain and the US were unable to reconcile the local parties to an agreement on the future of the Palestinian refugees.

**Philip Walker**
***Behind the Lawrence Legend: The Forgotten Few Who Shaped the Arab Revolt***
(Oxford University Press, 284 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "T. E. Lawrence became world-famous as "Lawrence of Arabia" after helping Sherif Hussein of Mecca gain independence from Turkey during the Arab Revolt of 1916-18. His achievements, however, would have been impossible without the unsung efforts of a forgotten band of fellow officers and spies. This groundbreaking account by Philip Walker

interweaves the compelling stories of Colonel Cyril Wilson and a colorful supporting cast with the narrative of Lawrence and the desert campaign. These men's lost tales provide a remarkable and fresh perspective on Lawrence and the Arab Revolt. While Lawrence and others blew up trains in the desert, Wilson and his men carried out their shadowy intelligence and diplomatic work. His deputies rooted out anti-British soldiers who were trying to sabotage the revolt. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Lionel Gray, a cipher officer, provided a gateway into unknown aspects of the revolt through his previously unpublished photographs and eyewitness writings. Wilson's crucial influence underpinned all these missions and steadied the revolt on a number of occasions when it could have collapsed. Without Wilson and his circle there would have been no "Lawrence of Arabia." Wilson's band mostly fell through the cracks of history into obscurity. Behind the Lawrence Legend reveals their vital impact and puts Lawrence's efforts into context, helping to set the record straight for one of the most beguiling and iconic characters of the twentieth century."

**Tim Wallace-Murphy**

***Genesis of a Tragedy: A Brief History of the Palestinian People***

(Grave Distractions Publications, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Tim Wallace-Murphy is an author and lecturer who has written twelve previous books on a variety of historical and spiritual themes. As a young idealist of Jewish extraction, steeped in military history, he was completely taken in by the mythology surrounding the foundation of the state of Israel. It was romantic, dramatic, appealing, and so professionally and pervasively promoted that he went for it hook, line and sinker. Truth did not even begin to impinge on this fantasy until after the bombing of Beirut and the TV news broadcasts about the massacres at Sabra and Shatilla. Then he began to search for the truth. Tim is no stranger to contentious issues and he tackles the controversial subject of Israeli/Palestinian history with deep and penetrating research and then lets the facts speak for themselves. The long catalogue of atrocities committed against the Palestinians are largely founded on official Israeli sources, government documents, Hagganah archives and the memoirs and diaries of a variety of Israeli politicians and generals. On reading the resulting narrative, the mythology that was created to describe the birth of Israel vanishes like snow on a hot shovel and the powerful and all pervasive litany of lies promulgated by successive Israel governments and their supporters are exposed as the distorted lying propaganda that it really is. Israel has become the experts at blaming the victims of the persecution it has conducted for over 70 years."

**John & Janet Wallach**

***The New Palestinians: The Emerging Generation of Leaders***

(Prima Publishing, 1992)

Includes Zionist descriptions of Ziad Abu Zayyed, Hannan Ashrawi, and Zahira Kamal.

**Yair Wallach**

***A City in Fragments: Urban Text in Modern Jerusalem***

(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2020)

Contents: Stone: Arabic in the age of Ottomanism – Dog: the Zionification of Hebrew – Gold: text and value – Paper: banknotes and the colonial dictionary – Ceramic: the British street-naming campaign – Wall: Hebrew graffiti on the Western Wall – Cloth: the banners of Nabi Musa – Cardboard: visiting cards and identification papers.

***Readings in Conflict: Public Texts in Modern Jerusalem, 1858-1948***

(thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 275 pages, 2008)

**Archie (Archibald) G. Walls**

***Geometry and Architecture in Islamic Jerusalem: a Study of the Ashrafiyya***

(Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion Press, 207 pages, 1990)

With **Amal Abul-Hajj**: ***Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: A Handlist and Maps***
(World of Islam Festival Trust, 43 pages, 1980)
Focus on the Esplanade and the Terrace, the Dome of the Rock, and the Mosque of the Haram, with maps.

**Kitty Warnock** (Birzeit University lecturer and NGO consultant)
***Land Before Honour: Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories***
(Macmillan, 1990)
Based on interviews with women of all ages, with a focus on agriculture, education, political action, expectation of marriage, and ideologies.

**Manfred Waserman** and **Samuel S. Kottek**, editors
***Health and Disease in the Holy Land: Studies in the History and Sociology of Medicine from Ancient Times to the Present***
(Lewiston, New York/Queenston, Ontario/Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 489 pages, 1996)
Contents: 1. Introduction / Samuel S. Kottek / Manfred Waserman – 2. Paleopathology in the Middle East / Baruch Arensburg / Marcus S. Goldstein – 3. Hygiene and Health Care in the Bible / Samuel S. Kottek – 4. Public Health in the Holy Land: Classical Influence and its Legacy / Stephen T. Newmyer – 5. Health and Healing in Medieval Muslim Palestine / Felix Klein-Franke – 6. Disease to Death during the Crusades / Bernard J. Ficarra – 7. Medicine in the Crusaders' Kingdom of Jerusalem / Eran Dolev – 8. Pilgrims, Crusades and Plagues / Stephen R. Ell – 9. **Ottoman Palestine (1516-1800): Health, Disease, and Historical Sources** / **Amy Singer** – 10. Sir Moses Montefiore and Medical Philanthropy in the Holy Land / Amalie M. Kass – 11. Hospitals and European Colonial Policies in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries / Norbert Schwake – 12. Henrietta Szold: American Progressivism, Zionism, and Modern Public Health / Manfred Waserman – 13. **British Public Health Policy in Palestine, 1918-1947** / **Nira Reiss** – 14. Kupat Holim and Jewish Health Services during the Mandate / Shifra Shvarts – 15. Hadassah Medical Organization: Critical Years, 1928-1951: Oral History Interviews with Dr. Eli Davis / Manfred Waserman – 16. Conquest of Malaria / Manfred Waserman / Yehuda Neumark – 17. **Judea-Samaria and Gaza: Twenty-Five Years of Changing Health, 1967-1992** / **Theodore H. Tulchinsky** – 18. Health and Disease in Israel, 1948-1994 / A. Michael Davies.

**Bernard Wasserstein**
***Israel and Palestine: Why They Fight and Can They Stop?***
(Profile, 2003)

***Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City***
(Profile, 2001)

***Herbert Samuel: A Political Life***
(Clarendon Press, 1992)

***The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict, 1917-1929***
(Blackwell, 1991) References JMN Jeffries. Notes the conflict of approach between officials in Palestine and Westminster.

**David Watkins** (MP 1966-1983; Director of CAABU, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, from 1983-)
***Palestine: An Inescapable Duty***
(Alhani International Books, 1992)
Mainly a compilation of papers, articles and speeches made for CAABU.

***The World and Palestine***
(Labour Middle East Council, 1980)

**Lieut.-General Sir Archibald P. Wavell**
***The Palestine Campaigns***
(Constable, 1941)
Military conquest history during World War 1, including the Sinai, the Suez Canal, Gaza, Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo.

**Gideon Weigert** (1919-2001; the first Jewish graduate from the Arab National College; journalist for the *Palestine Post* and after the 'Six Day War' he focused on the Occupied Territories. In 1970, he spoke before the UN Committee on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, despite the official Israeli boycott of it)
***My Life with the Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: Yuval Press, 2nd edition, 103 pages, 1997)

With **Richard Yaffe**, **Dov Barnir**, and **Egon Friedler**: ***Israel Horizons for Zionism, Socialism and the Kinship of All Peoples***
(New York City: Israel Horizons, 1981)

***Flourishing Deserts: The 'Green Revolution' in the Gaza Strip***
(Jerusalem: author, 67pages, 1977)

***Where Doctors Meet: Arab-Israel Medical Cooperation***
(Jerusalem: author, 51pages, 1976)

***Housing for East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: author, 8 pages, 1975)
In English and Arabic.

***Ploughing New Fields: The Story of West Bank Farmers, 1970-1975***
(Jerusalem: author, 31 pages, 1975)

***They Will Never Look Back: Gaza Refugees Rehabilitate Themselves***
(Jerusalem: author, 1975)

***What the Palestinians Say***
(Jerusalem: author, 40 pages, 1974)

***Israel's Arabs at a Turning Point***
(Jerusalem: author, 15 pages, 1974)

***Israel's Presence in East Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: author, 157 pages, 1973)

***Arabs and Israelis: A Life Together***
(Jerusalem: author, 103 pages, 1973)

***Life under Israel Occupation***
(Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post Press/author, 36 pages, 1971)

***Human Rights in the Israeli Administered Territories***
(Jerusalem: Israel Communications, ca. 1971)

***Whoso Killeth a Believer***
(Jerusalem: Israel Communications, 48 pages, ca. 1971-72)

***Eye Witness: The Testimony of Gideon Weigert before the United Nations Special Committee to Investigate the Practices Affecting Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories***
(Jerusalem: Israeli Academic Committee on the Middle East, 22 pages, 1970)

***Days and Nights in the Old City: Sketches of Arab Life in Jerusalem***
(Tel Aviv: Olympia, 64 pages, ca. 1946)

**J.H.H. Weiler**

***Israel and the Creation of a Palestinian State: A European Perspective***
(Croom Helm, 1985, Routledge, 174 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "To many outside observers of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there would appear to be one eminently sensible solution: in exchange for recognition and adequate security guarantees, Israel should return the West Bank and the Gaza strip, subject to minor boundary modifications, to the Palestinians (led by a moderate PLO). The Palestinians would then exercise their right to self-determination and establish an independent state with or without a link to Jordan. And yet, this solution has found favor neither with successive Israeli governments nor with the PLO. First published in 1985, *Israel and the Creation of a Palestinian State* (now with a new preface by the author) analyses the reasons for the rejection of this solution by the protagonists. It then sets up a vision of a possible solution which, by taking account of the subjective fears and aspirations of the parties, may be regarded as more feasible. The author's vision draws inspiration from the experience of reconstructing a new transnational order in Europe after the ravages of the Second World War. The underlying theme focuses on the limitations of the purely national context as a framework for resolving the current political problems of the Israeli-Palestinian dilemma."

**Alex Weingrad** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

***The New Israelis: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism***
(Cambridge University Press, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Following successive immigration waves, the military occupation of the West Bank and the emergence of a high-tech based economy, Israeli society has become increasingly complex and divided. In this timely study, Alex Weingrod utilizes ground-breaking ethnographic research to unpack Israel's diverse communities and cultures, arguing that there are several different versions of "being Israeli" that influence and contest with one another. Covering a fascinating range of topics from shifting ethnic group identities to the reinvented Hebrew language and Israeli popular music, Weingrod discusses minority groups including Ethiopian Israelis, the LGBTQ community, migrant workers and the growing, changing Ultra-Orthodox haredi communities alongside Israeli Palestinians who are marginalized and yet resilient. Culminating in an analysis of the unprecedented 2023 political-cultural schism that divided the society between supporters and protesting opponents of government legislation, Weingrod brings the discussion of Israeli divisions, discontents, and paradoxes up to date."

**Nathan Weinstock**

***Zionism: False Messiah***
(Paris: François Maspero, 1969; Ink Link, 1979, contains interview with **Moshe Machover**; Pluto 1987)
Translated from the French by **Alan Adler**; Belgian author's classic work that questioned the motives of Mandate-era Zionists; he since turned his back on anti-Zionism and reportedly regretted this book.

**Alison Weir** (Council for the National Interest; Director of If Americans Knew)

***Against Our Better Judgement: The Hidden History of How the United States was Used to Create Israel***

(CreateSpace, 2014)

An excellent, concise unpacking of American Zionism's behind-the-scenes manoeuvrings for their cause. American Zionists, individually and collectively, are still the ones who matter and in this book they're shown to have achieved their goal, against any and all opposition, within and outside of Washington. This briskly compact yet rich read runs 241pp, and the endnotes start on page 94, so careful has the historian been to back everything up.

**Robert G. Weisbord**

***African Zion: An Attempt to Establish a Jewish Colony in the East Africa Protectorate, 1903-1905***

(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968)

**David Weisburd** (criminologist)

***Jewish Settler Violence: Deviance as Social Reaction***

(Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989)

Gush Emunim focus.

**Yfaat Weiss** (Haifa University)

***A Confiscated Memory: Wadi Sahib and Haifa's Lost Heritage***

(Columbia University Press, 2012)

Publisher's blurb: "…the story of an Arab neighborhood in Haifa that later acquired iconic status in Israeli memory. In the summer of 1959, Jewish immigrants from Morocco rioted against local and national Israeli authorities of European origin. The protests of Wadi Salib generated for the first time a kind of political awareness of an existing ethnic discrimination among Israeli Jews. However, before that, Wadi Salib existed as an impoverished Arab neighborhood. The war of 1948 displaced its residents, even though the presence of the absentees and the Arab name still linger. Weiss investigates the erasure of Wadi Salib's Arab heritage and its emergence as an Israeli site of memory. At the core of her quest lies the concept of property, as she merges the constraints of former Arab ownership with requirements and restrictions pertaining to urban development and the emergence of its entangled memory. Establishing an association between Wadi Salib's Arab refugees and subsequent Moroccan evacuees, Weiss allegorizes the Israeli amnesia about both eventual stories–that of the former Arab inhabitants and that of the riots of 1959, occurring at different times but in one place. Describing each in detail, Weiss uncovers a complex, multilayered, and hidden history. Through her sensitive reading of events, she offers uncommon perspective on the personal and political making of Israeli belonging." See also: Mahmoud Yazbak

**Yfaat Weiss** (Haifa University) and **Daniel Levy** (State University of New York at Stony Brook), editors

***Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Immigration***

(Berghahn Books, 2002)

Publisher's blurb: "In contrast to most other countries, both Germany and Israel have descent-based concepts of nationhood and have granted members of their nation (ethnic Germans and Jews) who wish to immigrate automatic access to their respective citizenship privileges. Therefore these two countries lend themselves well to comparative analysis of the integration process of immigrant groups, who are formally part of the collective "self" but increasingly transformed into "others." This volume offers rich empirical and theoretical material involving historical developments, demographic changes, sociological problems, anthropological insights, and political implications. Focusing on the three dimensions of citizenship: sovereignty and control, the allocation of social and political rights, and questions of national identity, the essays bring to light the elements that are distinctive for either society but also point to

similarities that owe as much to nation-specific characteristics as to evolving patterns of global migration."

**Rabbi Yisroel Dovid Weiss**

***Judaism: An Alternative to Zionism***

(Islamic Human Rights Commission, 1 pages, 2002)

**Yosef Weitz** (Head Office of the Jewish National Fund/JNF)

***Report from the Negeb***

(Tel Aviv: off-print from *Palestine & Middle East*, 28 pages, ca 1947)
Held at the Wiener Holocaust Library, London)

**Abraham [Abie] Weizfeld**

***Sabra & Shatila***

(Ottawa: Jerusalem International Publishing House, 1984 / Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse / Alliance of Concerned Jewish Canadians, revised edition, 2009)
Written with co-operation of the Palestine Information Office, Ottawa. Includes the Israeli Commission of Inquiry reports.

***The End of Zionism and the Liberation of the Jewish People***

(author, 2009; http://www.bookmasters.com/clarity/b0006.htm)

**Chaim Weizmann** (a sampling of titles)

***Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann***

(Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America / London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949)
Subject's spoken thoughts to Palestinians in 1917, as noted by William Hale in: **Janice Terry**: ***William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI-WWII*** (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015):
"The eyes of…scattered people in every corner of the globe are now fixed on Palestine…and the Jewish Communities of the West are not without influence in the counsels of the nations."

Edited by **Barnet Litvinoff**: ***The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann***

(Rutgers University, Transaction Books, Oxford University Press; 22 volumes from 1968-1979)

***What is Zionism?***

(London: Zionist Organisation, 1918)

**Lynn Welchman** (SOAS, University of London; author has written extensively on women's rights and Islamic family law, of wider focus than the Palestinian community)

***Al-Haq: A Global History of the First Palestinian Human Rights Organization***

(University of California Press, 313 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Established in Ramallah in 1979, al-Haq was the first Palestinian human rights organization and one of the first such organizations in the Arab world. This inside history explores how al-Haq initiated methodologies in law and practice that were ahead of their time and to which can be traced the origins of many strands of human rights work in Palestine and elsewhere today. It looks at the founders of this internationally recognized organization, its staffers, its work, and its legacy. Al-Haq's history answers important questions, such as: Why would one set up a human rights organization under military occupation? How would one go about promoting the rule of law in a Palestinian society deleteriously served by the law and with every reason to distrust those charged with implementing its protections? How would one go about educating overseas allies and activating international law in defense of Palestinian rights? This revelatory story speaks to the practice of local human rights

organizations and their impact on international groups." Note: Open access: https://luminosoa.org/site/books/m/10.1525/luminos.102/

As co-editor with **Sara Hossain**: ***"Honour": Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence against Women*** (Zed Books, 399 pages, 2005)
Contents: United Nations, approaches to 'crimes of honour' / Jane Connors – 'Crimes of honour', value and meaning / Purna Sen – The role of 'community discourse' in combating 'crimes of honour': preliminary assessment and prospects / Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im – 'Honour killings' and the law in Pakistan / Sohail Akbar Warraich – Murders of women in Lebanon: 'crimes of honour' between reality and the law / Danielle Hoyek, Rafif Rida Sidawi, and Amira Abou Mrad – 'Crimes of honour' as violence against women in Egypt / Centre for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance – Researching women's victimisation in Palestine: a socio-legal analysis / Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian – Culture, national minority, and the state: working against the 'crime of family honour' within the Palestinian community in Israel / Aida Touma-Sliman – Changing the rules? Developments on 'crimes of honour' in Jordan / Reem Abu Hassan and Lynn Welchman – Honour-based violence among the Kurds: the case of Iraqi Kurdistan / Nazand Begikhani – 'Crimes of honour' in the Italian penal code: an analysis of history and reform / Maria Gabriella Bettiga-Boukerbout – The 'legitimate defence of honour', or murder with impunity? A critical study of legislation and case law in Latin America / Silvia Pimentel, Valéria Pandjiarjian, and Juliana Belloque – 'There is no "honour" in domestic violence, only shame!" Women's struggles against 'honour' crimes in the UK / Hannana Siddiqui – Of consent and contradiction: forced marriages in Bangladesh / Dina M. Siddiqi – From fathers to husbands: of love, death, and marriage in North India / Uma Chakravarti – Tackling forced marriages in the Nordic countries: between women's rights and immigration control / Anja Bredal.

***Beyond the Code: Muslim Family Law and the Shari'a Judiciary in the Palestinian West Bank***
(Kluwer Law International, 2000)
Publisher's summary: "Legal issues of personal status – including those implicating women's rights – continue to be a focal area of shari'a judicial practice in the Muslim world. Changing ideas of marriage, relations between the spouses, divorce, and the rights of divorcees and widows challenge the courts around the Arab world. In this context, the areas that came under the Palestinian Authority in 1994 command particular attention: the particular political and socio-economic circumstances that surround Palestine's progress toward full statehood have created a remarkable crucible for the synthesis of a new family law in the Arab world. This rigorous study of the interpretation and application of personal status law in the Palestinian West Bank (and to a lesser extent in the Gaza Strip) is the most extensive yet attempted. It presents a systematic analysis of the application of Islamic family law in nearly 10,000 marriage contracts, 1000 deeds of talaq (unilateral divorce) or khul' (divorce with renunciation), and 2000 judicial rulings over a time span that includes Jordanian rule and Israeli military occupation, updating this with material from the beginning of the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. Taken into account are the sources of law used in the shari'a courts of the West Bank: the successive codes of family law (the Jordanian Law of Personal Status 1976 and its predecessor the Jordanian Law of Family Rights 1951), and traditional Hanafi rules and texts, along with commentaries by prominent contemporary shari'a scholars and Appeal Court decisions – as well as the amendments and modifications being sought by civil society actors (notably women's groups) in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as in Jordan."

***A Thousand and One Homes: Israel's Demolition and Sealing of Houses in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
(Ramallah: Al-Haq, 140 pages, 1993)

***The Islamic Law of Marriage and Divorce in the Israeli-Occupied West Bank***
(PhD Thesis, University of London 1992)
Available via EthOS: https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.387921/

**Ian Wellens**

***A History of Palestine in Five Fruits***

(author, 2026)

The story of Palestine and its people, from the 1880s to the present. Publisher's blurb: "Born out of twenty years reading and thinking, this unique book is partly a streamlined history homing in on the core issues of the Palestine/Israel problem, partly a poetic reflection on place and people, partly an impassioned cry for justice. By weaving these three things together in one text, Ian Wellens has created something genuinely new. On the one hand, it works for newcomers to the issues: here they will find the story and the basic issues laid out with great clarity. It does more, however, via its five 'fruit sections', which zoom in on details and events in a way which illuminate the history whilst also breaking up the narrative. These are also the parts of the book where imagination is brought to bear, together with the emotional response and moral perspective which the Palestinian story surely deserves."

**Stephan E.C. Wendehorst**

***British Jewry, Zionism, and the Jewish State, 1936-1956***

(Oxford University Press, 2012)

Includes, as Thomas Suarez notes, the Haganah's recruiting stations (1948), even a secret one in Marks & Spencer, p.263. Takes the stance of criticising "British obstruction of Jewish state-and-nation-building in Palestine."

**Grace Wermenbol** (Middle East Institute)

***A Tale of Two Narratives: The Holocaust, the Nakba, and the Israeli-Palestinian Battle of Memories***

(Cambridge University Press, 2021)

**David A Wesley**

***State Practices and Zionist Strategies: Shaping Economic Development in Arab Towns in Israel***

(Oxford & New York City: Berghahn, 275 pages, 2013)

Topics include the Zipporit Industrial Area and the experience of land loss.

**West Bank Data Project**

**Simcha Bahiri**: ***Industrialization in the West Bank and Gaza***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987)

**Eyal Benvenisti**: ***Legal Dualism: The Absorption of the Occupied Territories into Israel***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990)

**Meron Benvenisti**: ***The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies***

(Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1984/1987)

**Usamah Halabi** & **Aron Turner**: ***Land Alienation in the West Bank: A Legal and Spatial Analysis***

(Jerusalem: West Bank Data Project, 1985)

**David Grossman**: ***The Jewish and Arab Settlements in the Tulkarm Sub-District***

(Jerusalem, 1985)

**Dr David Kahan**: ***Agriculture and Water Resources in the West Bank and Gaza, 1967-1987***

(Jerusalem Post, 1987)

**Michael Romann**: ***Jewish Kiriyat Arba versus Hebron***

(Jerusalem Post, 1986)

**Sumner Welles** (Under-Secretary of State to President Franklin D. Roosevelt)

***We Need Not Fail***
(Houghton Mifflin, 1948)

***Palestine's Rightful Destiny***
(New York City: American Christian Palestine Committee, 16 pages, 1946)
Address at the Maryland Christian Conference on Palestine, 14 May 1946, including the recent recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.

**Brian Whitaker** (extensively-travelled former *Guardian* Middle East journalist)

***Unspeakable Love: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Middle East***
(2nd ed., Al Saqi Books, 2011)

**Freda White** (the anti-war League of Nations Union)

***Palestine*** – chapter 7 in ***Mandates*** (Jonathan Cape, 1926)
Held at Cambridge and Exeter Universities

**Patrick White** (Catholic Order of the Le La Salle Brothers; Bethlehem University; correspondent for *The Tablet* and *The Washington Middle East Review*)

***Mourning in Bethlehem: The Impact of the Gulf War on Palestinian Society***
(Leominster: Gracewing Publishing, 1992)
Journalism, Christmas 1989-Christmas 1991.

***Children of Bethlehem: Innocents in the Storm*** aka ***Children of Bethlehem: Witnessing the Intifada***
(Leominster: Gracewing Publishing, 1989 / 1992)

***Let Us Be Free: A Narrative Before and During the Intifada***
(Clifton, New Jersey: Kingston Press, 1989)

**Who Profits** (Tel Aviv NGO)

***Financing Land Grab: The Direct Involvement of Israeli Banks in the Israeli Settlement Enterprise***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits, 90 pages, 2017)

***Greenwashing the Naqab: The Israeli Industry of Solar Energy***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits, 21 pages, 2017)

***Private Security Companies and the Israeli Occupation***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits, 46 pages, 2016)

***Made in Israel: Agricultural Exports from Occupied Territories***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits/Coalition of Women for Peace, 112 pages, 2014)

***Facts on the Ground: Heavy Engineering Machinery and the Israeli Occupation***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits, 78 pages, 2014)

***Captive Economy: The Pharmaceutical Industry and the Israeli Occupation***
(Tel Aviv: Who Profits, 70 pages, 2012)

**George Napier Whittingham**

***The Home of Fadeless Splendour, or, Palestine of Today***
(Hutchinson & Co., 360 pages, 1921)
With colour plates and maps.

**Keith W. Whitelam** (University of Stirling, University of Sheffield)

Edited by **Emanuel Pfoh**: ***Revealing the History of Ancient Palestine: Changing Perspectives***
(Routledge, 334 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "This volume is part of the *Changing Perspectives* sub-series, which is constituted by anthologies of articles by world-renowned biblical scholars and historians that have made an impact on the field and changed its course during the last decades. This volume offers a collection of seminal essays by Keith Whitelam on the early history of ancient Palestine and the origins and emergence of Israel. Collected together in one volume for the first time, and featuring one unpublished article, this volume will be of interest to biblical and ancient Near Eastern scholars interested in the politics of historical representation but also on critical ways of constructing the history of ancient Palestine."

***Rhythms of Time: Reconnecting Palestine's Past***
(BenBlackBooks, 124 pages, 2013)

With **Emanuel Pfoh**: ***The Politics of Israel's Past: The Bible, Archaeology and Nation-Building***
(Sheffield Phoenix Press, 270 pages, 2013)

***The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History***
(Routledge, 479 pages, 1996)

Publisher's blurb: "The Invention of Ancient Israel shows how the history of ancient Palestine has been obscured by the search for Israel. Keith W. Whitelam argues that ancient Israel has been invented by scholars in the image of a European nation state. He explores the theological and political assumptions which have shaped research into ancient Israel by Biblical scholars, and contributed to the vast network of scholarship which Said identified as 'Orientalist discourse' Keith W. Whitelam's groundbreaking study argues that Biblical scholars, through their traditional view of this region, have contributed to dispossession of both a Palestinian land and a Palestinian past. This is important reading for historians, biblical specialists, social anthropologists and all those who are interested in the history of ancient Israel and Palestine." Contents: 1. Partial Texts and Fractured Histories; Partial Texts; Imagining Ancient Israel and the Politics of the Past; Fractured Histories; 2. Denying Space and Time to Palestinian History; Introduction; The Denial of Palestinian Space; Denying Time to Palestinian History; 3. Inventing Ancient Israel; The Search for Ancient Israel; Claiming Palestine 1: Immigration into Palestine; Claiming Palestine 2: The Conquest of Palestine; Claiming Palestine 3: The Struggle within PalestineConclusion; 4. The Creation of an Israelite State; Creating a State: Claiming the Past; Imagining an Ancient Israelite State; Questioning the Israelite State; Challenging the Davidic Empire; Conclusion: Freeing Palestinian History; 5. The Continuing Search; Introduction; The Archaeology of Early Israel; The Recent Search for Ancient Israel; Conclusion; 6. Reclaiming Palestinian History; Representing the History of Palestine; Reclaiming Palestinian History; Locating Palestinian History.

***The Just King: Monarchical Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel***
(Sheffield: JSOT Press, 320 pages, 1979)

**Livia Wick** (American University Beirut)

***Samud: Birth, Oral History, and Persisting in Palestine***

(Syracuse University Press, 200 or 216 pages, 2022/2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Wick's powerful ethnography opens a window onto the lives of Palestinians, exploring specifically the experience of giving birth. Drawing upon oral histories, Wick follows the stories of mothers, nurses, and midwives in villages and refugee camps. She maps the ways in which individuals narrate and experience birth, calling attention to the genre and form of these stories."

**Suzy Wighton**
***One Day at a Time: Diaries from a Palestinian Camp***
(Hutchinson, 1990)
Glaswegian nurse in Bourj Al-Barajneh camp [Lebanon] notes Palestinian stories during the 'mid-1980s 'War of the Camps.'

**Nahum Wilbuschewitsch**
***The Industrial Development of Palestine***
(London: World Zionist Organisation, Trade and Industry Department/National Liberal Club, 54 pages, 1920)

**Einat Wilf** (former MK in association with Shimon Peres and Arial Sharon, service in Unit 8200) and **Adi Schwartz**
***The War of Return: How Western Indulgence of the Palestinian Dream has Obstructed the Path to Peace***
(New York City: All Points Books, 2020)
Translated by **Eylon Levy**. Topics include UNRWA and criticism of the Palestinian right of return as a call for the destruction of the Jewish state.

**Hugh Wilford**
***America's Great Game: The CIA's Secret Arabists and the Shaping of the Modern Middle East***
(Basic Books, 342 pages, 2013)
Focus from 1916, pre-CIA, to 1957.

**Robert Louis Wilken**
***The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought***
(Yale University Press, 374 pages, 1992, 1994)

**Paul Wilkinson**, editor
***British Perspectives on Terrorism***
(Macmillan, 1981 / Routledge, 2015)
Includes **F.E.C. (Frank) Gregory**: ***The British Police and Terrorism***.

**Hugh Williams** aka **H.M. Williams**
***Israel: The Past, the Present and the Plan for the Future***
(Swindon: St. Edward's Press, 30 pages, 2025)
Privately published, Christian-focused, history from Abraham (1900 BC), to the future Antichrist and the Second Coming.

**Ian Williams**
***Untold: The Real Story of the United Nations in Peace and War***
(Just World Books, 2017)

**[Lt Col] Richard [Barton] Williams-Thompson**

***The Palestine Problem: An Eye Witness Exposition of the Problem Explaining the Pros and Cons of the Arab & Jewish Cases Clearly Set Out Against Their Historical Political & Religious Backgrounds***

(Andrew Melrose Ltd, 1947).

**Bill Williamson** (Durham University)

***Lifeworlds and Change in Palestinian Education: Liberating Learning***

(Routledge, 168 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "This timely volume critically assesses the state of education in Palestine, re-framing the discourse on Israel-Palestine through the lens of education and arguing for a paradigm shift in the way education in the region is studied, managed and experienced. Foregrounding the voices, commentaries and reflections of Palestinians as well as touching on differing elements of educational experience that define Palestinian identities, the book highlights that educational change in Palestine is inseparable from the need to change the politics and understanding of education in western societies. Chapters introduce the holistic concept of the lifeworld curriculum which proposes the idea that education cannot be conceived solely in relation to physical, educational spaces but in addition should acknowledge the conceptual spaces of civil society, communities and the world of work (the basic structures of Palestinian lives) in order to reinforce the idea that circumstances teach. Ultimately challenging western educators to rethink their approaches to education and learning in order to build a stronger global platform for human rights, democratic engagement and justice, this book will be of value to scholars, researchers and postgraduate students in international and comparative education, multicultural education and educational change and reform more broadly."

***Place is the Passion: Reframing the Israel-Palestine Conflict***

(West Wickham: Radical Read Publications, 158 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb|: "Israel relies for its survival on its lucrative arms trade and American military support. Meanwhile, the Palestinians suffer poverty and destitution as an occupied nation. Indeed, without vast international financial support the Palestinians would face starvation. Any solution is impossible while Israel pursues an aggressive program of settlement expansion and ethnic cleansing. The author draws extensively on Jewish sources to prove Israel is on the wrong track. He looks beyond the moribund two state solution, which he likens to Apartheid, to show there is a better future achievable for both peoples: one that is secular, democratic, bi-national, culturally vibrant and economically successful."

**Rachel Beckles Willson** (Royal Holloway historian and player-researcher of the oud)

***The Oud: An Illustrated History***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 256 pages, 2023)

Focus includes the worldwide cultural spread of the instrument, beyond Palestine and the Arab sphere, the variety of construction, and the diversity of repertoire.

***Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West***

(Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Includes a damning gaze upon the culturally and socially divisive intent of the Mandate Government. See also: Wasif Jawhariyyeh; oudmigrations.com

**E.M. Wilson** aka **Evan M. Wilson** (US Foreign Service officer, in charge of the State Department's Palestine Desk, 1943-1947. NOTE: Numerous telegrams and airgrams by the author to the State Department, 1965-1967 are held by various British universities)

***A Calculated Risk: The US Decision to Recognize Israel***

(New York: Clerisy Press, 393 pages, 2008)

With a foreword by **William B. Quandt**. Contents: Ch 1 The Biltmore Program Calls for a Jewish State; Ch 2 The United States Finds a Policy; Ch 3 Palestine Becomes a Political Issue; Ch 4 Roosevelt's Last Months; Ch 5 President Truman and the 100,000 Jews; Ch 6 The Abortive Attempt at Anglo-American Cooperation; Ch 7 Bridging the Gap: London Conference Breaks Down; Ch 8 Palestine Before the United Nations; Ch 9 The State of Israel Is Born

***Decision on Palestine: How the US Came to Recognize Israel***
(Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 244 pages, 1979)

**Major RD (Ronald Dare) Wilson** (Royal Northumberland Fusiliers) 351, 366, 381-2, 384, 398… 401
***Cordon and Search with 6th Airborne Division in Palestine, 1945-1948***
(Aldershot: Gale & Polden, 1949 / Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2008)
Includes focus on terrorist murder by the Stern Gang and the British Mandatory protection of the eastern part of the UNSCOP Arab area, 1947.

**Mary C. Wilson** aka **Mary Christina Wilson**
***King Abdullah, Britain, and the Making of Jordan***
(Cambridge University Press, 289 pages, 1987)
Focus included the 1930s Arab/Palestinian Revolt and the creation of Transjordan.

***King Abdullah of Jordan: A Political Biography***
(thesis, University of Oxford, 409 pages, 1983)

**Rodney Wilson**
***The Palestinian Economy and International Trade***
(University of Durham Centre for Middle eastern and Islamic Studies, 1994)

**Gidon Windecker** (Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation; German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
***Between Jabal 'Amil, Karbala and Jerusalem: The Lebanese Shi'a and the Struggle for Palestine***
(Springer Cham, 209 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "This book tells the story of the Lebanese Shi'a and their development from a marginalized, discriminated minority to a highly politicized community that has given birth to Hezbollah, one of the most powerful paramilitary forces in the contemporary Middle East. It explores the Arab-Israeli conflict through the lens of Shi'a intellectuals and scholars from South Lebanon, and chronologically reflects on trending perceptions of Palestine, the Zionist movement, and the Jewish community in Lebanon. The monograph illustrates how Zionism and the establishment of Israel played a decisive role in the intellectual revival of early Muslim perceptions of Jews. It demonstrates how political conflicts after 1948 have impacted the work of scholars such as Musa as-Sadr and Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, and have triggered the formation of social and Islamist movements. It also shows how Hezbollah's leaders have used religious sources and Western anti-Jewish narratives to construct a deep-rooted ideology to support their struggle for South Lebanon and Palestine. The combination of social needs, religious beliefs and political interests forms the core of the analysis. This text appeals to students and researchers working within the convergence of politics and Middle Eastern religions."

**E. Mark Windle**
***The Hundred Year Hunger: A Time line of Food Insecurity and Malnutrition in Gaza***
(Author, 2025)
Focus from the Ottoman period to the Israeli war against Hamas.

**Helen Winternitz**

***A Season of Stones: Living in a Palestinian Village***
(Atlantic Monthly Publications, 1991)
Observation of the first Intifada.

**Ruth R. Wisse** (Harvard University)

***If I Am Not for Myself: The Liberal Betrayal of the Jews***
(New York City: Free Press, 225 pages, 1992)
Criticism of American liberals who criticise the Jewish State.

***Jews and Power***
(New York City: Nextbook/Schocken, 231 pages, 2007, 2020)

**Robert S. Wistrich**

***Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism, and Delegitimizing Israel***
(University of Nebraska Press, 2016)
Contains **Joel Fishman**: ***Anti-Zionism as a Form of Political Warfare***.

**Patrick Wolfe**

***Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event***
(Cassell, 1999)
Of tangential relevance – the focus is on Aboriginal Australia.

**Samuel R. Wolff**

***Villain or Visionary? RAS Macalister and the Archaeology of Palestine***
(Routledge, 2017, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "The author is an important but controversial figure in the history of Palestinian archaeology. This volume celebrates the centennial of the publication of his excavations at Tel Gezer (1912), conducted under the auspices of the PEF [Palestine Exploration Fund]. This excavation was the most ambitious one of its time in the land, yielding important architectural remains and thousands of artefacts, including the well-known Gezer Calendar. The contributions of several eminent scholars reflect on the man and his work, and also report on how his work influenced the understanding of the sites he excavated in Palestine, all of which are currently being re-investigated. It is also richly illustrated with images from the PEF archives. Evaluations of Macalister's work vary tremendously and are reflected here. Many learnt from him, others deplored his methods and record keeping. As one contributor puts it, 'an industrious archaeologist but an awful excavator', and a man who was both admired and intensely disliked: regarded as both a villain and a visionary. But it is generally agreed that he is a figure who cannot be ignored, and anyone interested in Palestinian archaeology will find a great deal to learn from this book."

**Marion Woolfson**

***Bassam Shak'a: Portrait of a Palestinian***
(London: Third World Centre, ca. 1981)
Expose of Israeli overt and covert harassment of the Mayor of Nablus. The Scottish (and Jewish) author, who also reported the Chinese cultural revolution for *The Times,* was sacked for her "anti-semitic" reporting of Israel's assassination attempts and semi-official condoning of fanatical groups, and she was subjected to "terrorism by telephone."

***Prophets in Babylon: Jews in the Arab World***
(Faber & Faber, 292 pages, 1980)
The rise of Zionism from Europe is seen to have placed Arab Jews at a disadvantage in countries where previously there had not been a form of anti-Jewish bigotry.

**Workers' Advocate**
***Zionism is Racism in the Service of Imperialism: Victory to the Palestinian Revolution!***
(Chicago: Marxist-Leninist Party USA, 108 pages, 1983)

**World Health Organization** – countless publications, many available via the British Library. Relevant titles include *Referral of Patients from Gaza ; Data and Commentary for 2010* (- see online publications, which include monthly updates)

**World Peace Council**
***Lebanon: Terrorism Israeli Style***
(Helsinki: World Peace Council, 15pp, 1981)

**Karim Khalaf** & **Mohammed Milhem**: ***Palestinians and Human Rights***
(Helsinki: World Peace Council, 21pp, 1979)

***The United Nations and the National Rights of the Palestinian People***
(Helsinki: World Peace Council, 21pp, 1974)

**World University Service**
***Learning the Hard Way: Palestinian Education in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Israel***
(WUS, 199 pages, 1993)

***Crisis in Palestinian Education***
(WUS, 4 pages, 1992)

***WUS Briefing: Palestinians – Education Denied***
(WUS, 16pp, 1990)
School closures in the West Bank and Gaza, December 1987-January 1989. An abridged version of *Palestinian Education: A Threat to Israel's Security? The Israeli Policy of School Closures in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, December 1987-January 1989*.

**World Zionist Organization** (hundreds of publications)
**David Niv**, editor: ***Know the Facts: A Historical Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 254 pages, 1985)
Translated by **Beth Uval**.

**Alex Zehavi**, editor: ***The Moral and Existential Dilemmas of the Israeli Soldier***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 105 pages, 1985

***Whose Homeland: Eretz Israel: Roots of the Jewish Claim***
(Jerusalem: WZO Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, 187 pages, 1978)

***Master Plan for the Development of Settlement in Judea & Samaria, 1979-1983***
(Jerusalem: WZO Department for Rural Settlement, 11 pages, 1978)

**Mordecai S. Chertoff**: ***Zionism: A Basic Reader***

(Jerusalem: WZO/Herzl Press, 92 pages, 1975)

**Bernard Lewis**: ***The Palestinians and the PLO: A Historical Approach***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 1975)
Offprint from *Commentary*, January 1975.

**Shimon Shamir**: ***Changing Arab Attitudes to the Middle East Conflict***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 1973)
Lecture given at the Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem, 27 May 1973.

**JL Talmon** aka **Jacom Beib Talmon**: ***Israel Among the Nations: Reflections on Jewish Statehood***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 26 pages, 1970)
Offprint based on piece from *Commentary*, vol. 45 no. 6.

***20 Years of Zionist Activity, 1948-1968***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 79 pages, 1968)

***What to Answer: Questions and Answers on the Six-Days War and its Consequences***
(Jerusalem: WZO, 32 pages, 1967)
Prepared by the Information Centre of the Prime Minister's Office.

**Efraim Orni**: ***Forms of Settlement***
(Jerusalem: WZO Youth and Hechalutz Department, 178 pages, 1963)

***Pioneers from the West: A History of Colonization in Israel by Settlers from the English-Speaking Countries***
(Jerusalem: WZO Youth and Hechalutz Department, 160 pages, 1953)

***Israel's First Year of Independence: Diary of Events***
(Jerusalem: WZO/Jewish Agency, 15 pages, 1949)
14 May 1948-3 May 1949.

**W. Basil Worsfold** aka **William Basil Worsfold** (barrister-historian of British colonial history)
***Palestine of the Mandate***
(London: TF Unwin, 275 pages, 1925)

**Martin Wright**, editor
***Israel and the Palestinians***
(Longmans, 1989)
Contributors include **Paul Cossali**.

**Ehud Ya'ari** aka **Ehud Yaari** [journalist for state-run Channel 1 TV] and **Zeev Schiff**
***Intifada – The Palestinian Uprising: Israel's Third Front***
(Simon & Schuster, 1990 / Touchstone, 1991)
Edited and translated by **Ina Friedman**.

***Israel's Lebanon War***
(Simon & Schuster, 1984)
Edited and translated by **Ina Friedman**.

***Strike Terror: The Story of Fatah***
(New York City: Sabra Books, 387 pages, 1970)
Translated from Hebrew by **Esther Yaari**.

**Haim Yacobi** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

***Israel and Africa: A Genealogy of Moral Geography***
(Routledge, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Israel and Africa critically examines the ways in which Africa – as a geopolitical entity – is socially manufactured, collectively imagined but also culturally denied in Israeli politics. Its unique exploration of moral geography and its comprehensive, interdisciplinary research on the two countries offers new perspectives on Israeli history and society."

***The Jewish-Arab City: Spatio-Politics in a Mixed Community***
(Routledge, 2009)

**Haim Yacobi & Erez Tzfadia**

***Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery & Identity***
(Routledge, 2011)

***Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse***
(Ashgate, 2004)

**Ya'acov Yadgar** (Oxford University)

***To be a Jewish State: Zioniam as the New Judaism***
(New York University Press, 215 pages, 2025)

***Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis: State and Politics in the Middle East***
(Cambridge University Press, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "An important and topical contribution to the field of Middle East studies, this innovative, provocative, and timely study tackles head-on the main assumptions of the foundation of Israel as a Jewish state. Theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich, Yaacov Yadgar provides a novel analysis of the interplay between Israeli nationalism and Jewish tradition, arriving at a fresh understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through its focus on internal questions about Israeli identity. By critiquing and transcending the current discourse on religion and politics in Israel, this study brings to an international audience debates within Israel that have been previously inaccessible to non-Hebrew speaking academics. Featuring discussions on Israeli jurisprudence, nation-state law, and rabbinic courts, Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis will have far-reaching implications, not only within the state of Israel but on politics, society and culture beyond its borders."

**F. Yahia** aka **Faris Yahia**

***The Palestine Question and International Law***
(Beirut: PLO Research Center, 222 pages, 1970)

**Adel H. Yahya**

***The Future of the Palestinian Refugee Issue in Final Status Negotiations: Palestinian Refugees – Their Past, Present and Future, a Policy Paper Featuring Recommendations for Negotiations in the Final Status Talks between Israel and the Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: IPCRI, 1998)
Conference publication.

**Reinhard Bernbeck**, **Arwa Badran** and **Susan Pollock**, editors: ***Reclaiming the Past for the Future: Oral History, Craft, and Archaeology – Adel Yahya in Memoriam***
(Berlin: Ex Oriente, 340 pages, 2018)
Includes a selected list of Adel Yahya's writings in English and Arabic.

**William Yale** (Standard Oil Company; US Government)

***The Near East: A Modern History***

(University of Michigan Press/London: Mayflower Press, 1958; University of Michigan Press, 1968)
Keen observer of the enacting of the British Mandate in Palestine. See also Janice J. Terry: *William Yale* (Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015)

**Chin-Chin Yap**

***Palestine in the Air: A Cultural History of Palestinian Aviation***

(IB Tauris / SOAS, 280 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "International civil aviation has been a powerful tool for the systemic disenfranchisement of Palestinian statehood, connectivity and mobility. Yet, at the same time, Palestinians have creatively appropriated aviation technologies in diverse modes of resistance. They have exploited flight's symbolic values of escape and liberation in their struggle against occupation. Using an interdisciplinary approach that draws on media studies, cultural studies, critical theory, diplomacy and history, *Palestine in the Air* examines civil aviation's political, social and cultural impact upon the Palestinian quest for sovereignty. The book makes use of an unprecedented range of aviation-related sources spanning histories, images, interviews with Palestinians, research, print and television archives, art, film, literature, poetry and even stand-up comedy. Aviation is presented here as an unconventional weapon of resistance that has gained media exposure and has had the ability to disrupt dominant narratives about Palestine. This includes, most radically, aeroplane hijackings, but also subaltern resistance movements that make use of balloons and kites, or filmmakers and researchers that use commercial drones to reclaim knowledge and agency of their environment."

With **Ai Weiwei**, **Boris Cheshirkov** and **Ryan Heath**: ***Human Flow: Stories from the Global Refugee Crisis***

(Princeton University Press, 400 pages, 2020)
Worldwide focus but includes Palestine.

**Salim Yaqub** (University of California, Santa Barbara)

***Imperfect Strangers: Americans, Arabs, and US-Middle East Relations in the 1970s***

(Cornell University Press, 464 pages, 2016)

***Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East***

(University of North Carolina Press, 377 pages, 2004)
Contents: The United States and the Arab Middle East, 1941-1956 – Birth of a doctrine, November 1956-January 1957 – Launching the doctrine, January-April 1957 – The conservative moment, March-June 1957 – The Syrian crisis, July-December 1957 – The Nasserist onslaught, January-April 1958 – The Lebanese crisis, April-July 1958 – Death of a doctrine, July 1958-December 1960.

**Rachel Yarrow**

***Conflict, Instability, and Exile: Gender and Change in Technical and Vocational Education and Training for Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon***

(Oxford University, 104 pages, 2007)
University thesis.

**Robin Yassin-Kassab**

***The Blood Between Us: Syria after the Fall of Assad***

(Saqi Books, 352 pages, 2026)
Tangential to Palestine.

With **Laila Al-Shami**: ***Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War***
(Pluto Books, 304 pages, 2018)

**Mahmoud Yazbak** & **Yafaat Weiss** (editors)
***Haifa Before and After 1948 – Narratives of a Mixed City***
(Republic of Letters / Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, 2011)
Co-authored by Palestinians and Israelis (mostly Israeli citizens), covers Haifa's architecture and its social and cultural life during the Mandate period, the Arab-Israeli competition in the oil and soap industries, the history of Arab-Jewish inter-communal relations and cohabitation, commemoration in the German Colony of Haifa, the story of two houses that represent the narrative of Palestinians in Haifa and remembrances displayed through personal accounts of the cold winter in 1950. In this remarkable project, Jews and Palestinians, write together the history and memory of the city of Haifa. Chapters: 1. Towards Mutual Historical Writing: An Introduction to the "Haifa Project" – Mahmoud Yazbak and Yfaat Weiss 2. A Tale of Two Houses – Mahmoud Yazbak and Yfaat Weiss 3. Arab-Jewish Architectural Partnership in Haifa during the Mandate Period: Qaraman and Gerstel Meet on the "Seam Line" – Waleed Karkabi and Adi Roitenberg 4. Arabs and Jews, Leisure and Gender, in Haifa's Public Spaces – Manar Hasan and Ami Ayalon 5. Commodities and Power: Edible Oil and Soap in the History of Arab-Jewish Haifa – Mustafa Abbasi and David De Vries 6. Historicizing Climate: Haifawis and Haifo'im Remembering the Winter of 1950 -Dan Rabinowitz and Johnny Mansour 7. "Eraser" and "Anti-Eraser" – Commemoration and Marginalization on the Main Street of the German Colony: The Haifa City Museum and Café Fattush – Salman Natour and Avner Giladi 8. Haifa Umm al-Gharib: Historical Notes and Memory of Inter-Communal Relations – Regev Nathansohn and Abbas Shiblak Bibliography Index About the Editors Mahmoud Yazbak is a Professor of Palestinian History, Head of the Department of Middle Eastern History at the University of Haifa. Note: This monograph is a free download, via historyandreconciliation.org

**Mahmoud Yazbak** & **Sharif Sharif**, editors)
***Nazareth History & Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference. Nazareth, July 2 – 5, 2012***
(Nazareth Academic Studies Series No. 2; Nazareth Municipality, 2013)

**Mahmoud Yazbak** & **Yfaat Weiss**
***Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914: A Muslim Town in Transition***
(Brill, 1998)
This volume offers a history of Haifa during the period of the 19th century when Europe's penetration of Palestine combined with Istanbul's centralization efforts to alter irrevocably the social fabric of the country and change its political destiny. After tracing the town's beginnings in the early 18th century, the author reconstructs from the few "sijill" volumes that have survived vital aspects of Ottoman Haifa's society and administration. A look at the town's demography is followed by an in-depth discussion of the way inter-communal relations developed after the 1864 "Vilayets" Law had brought a restructuring of the sources of elite power. The author's findings on the social status of Haifa's Muslim women adds to the picture of economic activities of the urban Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire were involved in [bookseller's description].

**Ori Yehudai** (Ohio State University)
***Leaving Zion: Jewish Emigration from Palestine and Israel after World War II***
(Cambridge University Press, 268 pages, 2020)

**Bat Ye'or**
***The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam***

(Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press / London: Associated University Presses, 444 pages, 1985)
Translated from the French by **David Maisel**, **Paul Fenton** & **David Littman**; preface by **Jacques Ellul**.

***Oriental Jewry and the Dhimmi Image in Contemporary Arab Nationalism***
(Geneva: Editions de l'Avenir, 8 pages, 1979)
From a lecture given at Jews College, London, 5 September 1978.

**Dov Yermiya (aka Dov Irmiya)**
***My War Diary: Israel in Lebanon*** aka ***Lebanon, June 5 – July 1, 1982***
(Boston: South End Press, 1983 / Pluto, 1984)
Pacifist account.

**Oren Yiftachel**
With **Ahmad Amara** & **Ismael Abu-Sa'ad**, editors : ***Indigenous (In)justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab / Negev***
(Harvard Law School, 2012)

***Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel***
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

As editor, with **Jo Little**: ***The Power of Planning: Spaces of Control and Transformation***
(Kluwer Academic, 2001)

***The Evolution of Ethnic Relations in a Mixed Region: Arabs and Jews in the Galilee, Israel***
(Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia, Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies, 1993)

***Planning a Mixed Region in Israel ; The Political Geography of Arab-Jewish Relations in the Galilee***
(Aldershot: Avebury, 1992)

**Ronen Yitzhak** (Western Galilee College, Acre)
***Abdullah Al-Tall: Arab Legion Officer***
(Sussex Academic Press, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: This book reviews al-Tall's military-political biography during the years he served as an officer in the Arab Legion and those he spent in political exile in Egypt. The purpose is to understand al-Tall's personality, his contribution to the success of the Arab Legion in the 1948 war, and his part in the assassination of King Abdullah. A thorough survey of the historic background of the founding of Jordan and the Arab Legion, the 1948 war, the rivalry between King Abdullah and King Faruq, and the Egyptian-Jordanian struggle in the 1950s and 1960s, is provided. Primary questions to be answered include: What was Abdullah al-Tall's contribution to the success of the Arab Legion during the 1948 war? Did he engage in secret contacts with the Jews during the war, while at the same time denigrating them and praising Palestinian nationality? Was he involved in the assassination of King Abdullah, or was this a Jordanian conspiracy to slander him? What were his views vis-à-vis the tumultuous events in the Middle East in the 1950-1960s? And why was he allowed return to Jordan and take part in its political life after his exile to Egypt? Ronen Yitzhak's book is based on books written by al-Tall himself and material located in Israeli archives (the IDF, Haganah and Israel state archives), as well as the UK National Archives (London). In addition memoirs of prominent persons of the time, along with newspaper reports and other general secondary material written in Arabic, Hebrew and English are utilised. This book is essential reading for anybody engaged in the history of the Middle East and Israeli-Arab conflict.

**Elise G. Young**

***Gender and Nation Building in the Middle East: The Political Economy of Health from Mandate Palestine to Refugee Camps in Jordan***
(IB Tauris, 209 pages, 2012)

***Between Daya and Doctor: A History of the Impact of Modern Nation-State Building on Health East and West of the Jordan River***
(thesis, University of Massachusetts, 227 pages, 1997)
Sections include: *Imperialism and Health – Political Implications of Malaria Eradication Campaigns in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 1919-1939*; Palestinian midwifery and refugee camp healthcare.

***Keepers of the History: Women and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(New York: Teachers College Press, 223 pages, 1992)

**Ronald J. Young**

***Missed Opportunities for Peace: US Middle East Policy, 1981-1986***
(American Friends Service Committee, 1987)

**Mona N. Younis** (Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation)

***Liberation and Democratization: The South African and Palestinian National Movements***
(University of Minnesota Press, 288 pages,1999)

**Ahmed Yousef**

***The Zionist Fingerprint on the Post-September 11 World: America's Posture Toward Terrorism, Israel, and the Muslim-Arab Community***
(United Association for Studies and Research, 2004)

**Omar Zahzah** (Sn Francisco State University)

***Terms of Servitude: Zionism, Silicon Valley, and Digital-Settler Colonialism in the Palestinian Liberation Struggle***
(Seven Stories Press/Penguin/Random House, 272 pages, 2025)
With foreword by **Steven Salaita**. Includes focus on tech platforms censoring Palestine content.

**A.B. [Antoine Benjamin] Zahlan**, editor (1928-2020; American University of Beirut and the Royal Scientific Society, Amman; also writer of fiction; married to Dr Rosemarie Said Zahlan, 1937-2007, Palestinian historian and the eldest sister of Edward Said)

***Lament for Jerusalem***
(Gilgamesh Publishing, 2011)
Church history, 7th Century.

***Ghassan Resurrected***
(Stacey International, 2006)
7th Century history.

***Lament for Jerusalem***
(Gilgamesh Publishing, 2011)
Church history, 7th Century.

***Zenobia between Reality and Legend: A Re-examination of the Life of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra*** [Syria] ***and Her Struggle with the Roman Empire and the Other Powers in the 3rd Century AD***
(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003)

***Philip the Arab: A Study in Prejudice***
(Stacey International, 2001)
Roman Emperor from Syria, 3rd Century.

***Semtimius Severus: Countdown to Death***
(Stacey International, 2000)
Edited by **Jonathan Tubb**.

***The Reconstruction of Palestine***
(Kegan Paul International / American University Beirut, 726 pages, 1997)
Compendium volume with focused areas of institutional planning and housing policies; land use and tenure; building codes.

***A Beggar at Damascus Gate***
(Sausalito, Calif.: Post-Apollo Press, c1995)

***The Arab Construction Industry: Acquiring Technological Capacity: A Study Prepared for the International Labour Office***
(Macmillan, 1990)

As editor: ***The Agricultural Sector of Jordan: Policy and Systems Studies***
(Ithaca Press, 1985

***The Arab Construction Industry***
(Croom Helm, 1984)

As editor: ***Agricultural Bibliography of Jordan, 1974-1983***
(London: Published for the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation, Amman, 1984)

As editor: ***The Arab Brain Drain: Proceedings of a Seminar Organised by the Natural Resources, Science and Technology Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia Beirut, 4-8 February 1980***
(London: Published for the United Nations for Ithaca, 1981)

As editor: ***Technology Transfer and Change in the Arab World: The Proceedings of a Seminar of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia Organized by the Natural Resources, Science and Technology Division, Beirut, 9-14 October 1977***
(Oxford: Pergamon Press, for the United Nations, 1977)
Includes contribution from **Rosemarie Zahlan**.

***Science and Higher Education in Israel***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)

***Thoughts on Arab Education with Relevance to English Secondary Education***
(Institute of Education, University of London, 1954)

**Rosemarie Said Zahlan**

***Palestine and the Gulf States: The Presence at the Table***
(Routledge, 2009)

**Safa' Zaitoun** (aka **Safa' Husayn Zaytun**)
***Sabra & Shatila: The Massacre***
(Cairo: Dar al-Fata al-Arabi, 71 pages, 1983)

**Dov S. Zakheim**
***Flight of the Lavi: Inside a US-Israeli Crisis***
(Washington DC: Brasseys, 1996)
Autobiography of and Orthodox Jewish Reagan Administration policy wonk charged with denying US funding for a highly technical war aeroplane, thus cancelling its production.

**Zahi Zalloua** (Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington)
***To Exist is a Problem: Being Black, Being Palestinian***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 256 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "In the first pages of *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. Du Bois meditates on the question, "How does it feel to be a problem?" ~ In this profound response to that question, Zahi Zalloua endeavours to think through the shared Black and Palestinian experience of being racialized as a problem. Zalloua argues that today's anti-Blackness is not a lingering feature of a regrettable past that only occasionally manifests its ugly face. Rather, anti-Blackness permeates white civil society**.** Black being stands for the anti-human, its being is barred and degraded. And while Black being denotes criminality, Palestinian being denotes terrorism – a problematic being produced by Orientalism and used to legitimize oppression. Both the Black and Palestinian are framed as existential threats that undermine the very structures of white and Zionist dominance. *To Exist as a Problem* provides a searing critique of such assumptions, arguing that Blacks and Palestinians *do* exist as a problem, but a different problem than the one dictated by the petrifying white and settler gaze. They exist as a threat because the mechanisms of structural racism make them so. In order for racism to thrive, they must be othered in the profoundest sense. In asking how a politics can be constructed in the face of this hegemony, Zalloua constructs a model of solidarity that places Black lives and Palestinian liberation at the forefront of the anti-racist struggle."

***Solidarity and the Palestinian Cause: Indigeneity, Blackness, and the Promise of Universality***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 288 pages, 2023)

***Continental Philosophy and the Palestinian Question: Beyond the Jew and the Greek***
(Bloomsbury, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "From Sartre to Levinas, continental philosophers have looked to the example of the Jew as the paradigmatic object of and model for ethical inquiry. Levinas, for example, powerfully dedicates his 1974 book *Otherwise than Being* to the victims of the Holocaust, and turns attention to the state of philosophy after Auschwitz. Such an ethics radically challenges prior notions of autonomy and comprehension-two key ideas for traditional ethical theory and, more generally, the Greek tradition. It seeks to respect the opacity of the other and avoid the dangers of hermeneutic violence. But how does such an ethics of the other translate into real, everyday life? What is at stake in thinking the other as Jew? Is the alterity of the Jew simply a counter to Greek universalism? Is a rhetoric of exceptionalism, with its unavoidable ontological residue, at odds with shifting political realities? Within this paradigm, what then becomes of the Arab or Muslim, the other of the Jew, the other of the other, so to speak? This line of ethical thought-in its desire to bear witness to past suffering and come to terms with subjectivity after Auschwitz-arguably brackets from analysis present operations of power. Would, then, a more sensitive historical approach expose the Palestinian as the other of the Israeli? Here, Zahi Zalloua offers a challenging intervention into how we configure the contemporary."

**Walter Zander**
***Where Does Israel Belong?***
(Tel Aviv: Tatzpiot, 45 pages, 1976)

Offprint from *New Outlook*, September-October 1976.

***Is This the Way? A Call to Jews***
(Victor Gollancz, 47 pages, 1948)

***Soviet Jewry, Palestine and the West***
(Victor Gollancz, 110 pages, 1947)

**Israel Zangwill** (1864-1926; British playwright; founder of the Jewish Territorial Organisation, 1905-1925, which sought an alternative settler territory than Palestine; credited with the slogan, "A land without a people for a people without a land," which he acknowledged had originated with Lord Shaftesbury)

***Speeches, Articles and Letters of Israel Zangwill***
(London: Soncino Press, 1937)
Edited by **Maurice Simon**; with foreword by **Edith Ayston Zangwill**. Many other publications.

***The Voice of Jerusalem***
(William Heinemann, 353 pages, 1920)
"…there is no Arab people living in intimate fusion with the country, utillising its resources and stamping it with a characteristic impress: there is at best an Arab encampment." [Nur Masalha, in *Expulsion of the Palestinians*] Contents: 1. Proem: the quest – 2. The voice of Jerusalem – 3. The position of Judaism – 4. Songs of the synagogue – 5. The legend of the conquering Jew – 6. Shylock and other stage Jews – 7. Language and Jewish life – 8. The territorial solution of the Jewish problem – 9. The old clo' man – 10. The mirage of the Jewish state – 11. "Our own": a cry across the Atlantic – 12. The Polish-Jewish problem – 13. The Goyim – 14. The people of the abyss – 15. Converted missioanries – 16. Two Josephs that dreamed: 1. Joseph Fels, 2. Joseph Jacobs – 17. The pillar of fire – 18. Epilogue. The majesty of Armenia.

**Isaac Zarr**

***Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel***
(New York City: Bloch Publishing, 1954)

**Beirut: al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations** – various publications with authors and editors including **Firas Abu Hilal, Hasan Ibhais, Mariam Itani, Ahmad el-Helah, Salma al-Houry, Sami al-Salahat, Muhammad Arif Zakaullah, Mohsen M. Mohammed Saleh** & **Ishtaiq Hossain**:

***The Palestinian National Authority: Studies of the Experience and Performance, 1994-2013***
(616 pages, 2019)
Available as a free download from the publisher: eng.alzaytouna.net.

**Karim El-Gendy**
***The Process of Israeli Decision Making: Mechanisms, Forces, and Influences***
(274 pages, 2019)

***The Suffering of the Palestinian Prisoners & Detainees under the Israeli Occupation***
(2011)

***The Suffering of the Palestinian Child under the Israeli Occupation***
(2010)

***The Suffering of the Palestinian Woman under the Israeli Occupation***
(2010)

***American Foreign Policy & the Muslim World***
(2009)

***Religion and Politics in America***
(2007)

***The Palestinian Strategic Reports***
(at least 2005-2010)

**Faith T. Zeadey**, editor
***Camp David: A New Balfour Declaration***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 90 pages, 1979)

**Sydney H. Zebal**
***Balfour: A Political Biography***
(Cambridge University Press, 1973)

**Dror Zeevi** aka **Dror Ze'evi**
***An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s***
(State University of New York Press, 258 pages, 1996)
Focus includes and the rise and fall of local dynasties and the "Sufi connection."

**Zeine N. Zeine**
***The Struggle for Arab Independence: Western Diplomacy and the Rise and Fall of Faisal's Kingdom in Syria***
(Beirut: Khayatt, 297 pages, 1960 / Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 2nd ed., 257 pages, 1977)
Includes coverage of Balfour in 1918 enquiring of the Foreign Office to reconcile the contradictions previously made by HM Government.

**Philip Zelikow** and **Ernest R. May & The Harvard Suez Team**
***Suez Deconstructed: An Interactive Study in Crisis, War, and Peacemaking***
(Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2018)
Contents: Part One: What to Do about Nasser's Egypt; Part One: Timeline of Public Events; Part One: Moscow; Part One: Jerusalem; Part One: Paris; Part One: London; Part One: Washington; Part One: Cairo; Observations on Part One; Part Two: What to Do about the Crisis; Part Two Timeline of Public Events; Part Two: Washington; Part Two: Cairo; Part Two: Moscow; Part Two: Paris; Part Two: Jerusalem; Part Two: London; Observations on Part Two; Part Three: What to Do about the War. Part Three: Timeline of Public EventsPart Three: Jerusalem; Part Three: Cairo; Part Three: Moscow; Part Three: Paris; Part Three: Washington; Part Three: London; Final Observations: No End of Lessons; About the Contributors; Notes; Index; Back Flap; Back Cover.

**Ido Zelkovitz** (University of Haifa)
***Students and Resistance in Palestine: Books, Guns, and Politics***
(Routledge, 2015)
Covers the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) and student political opportunities from the Nakba until the Second Intifada.

**Idith Zertal** (University of Basel)

***Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood***
(Cambridge University Press, 2005)
Translated by **Chaya Galai**; 2010 edition with foreword by Tony Judt. Author unpacks the ways the Jewish holocaust has been used by the Israeli government and society.

***From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel***
(University of California Press, 1998)

**Idith Zertal** (University of Basel) & **Akiva Eldar** (*Ha'aretz*, Al-Jazeera, and *Al Monitor*)
***Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007***
(Dvir Publishing, Hebrew edition, 2005 / New York City: Nation Books, 2007, 2009)
Translated by **Vivian Eden**.

**Yael Zerubavel**
***Desert in the Promised Land***
(Stanford University Press, 346 pages, 2018)
Focus includes the Negev Bedouins.

***Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition***
(University of Chicago Press, 340 pages, 1995)
Contents: Ch. 1. The Dynamics of Collective Remembering. Ch. 2. The Zionist Reconstruction of the Past. The Zionist Periodization of Jewish History. Exile: Suppressed Nationhood, Discredited Past. Locating the Nation: Antiquity and the National Revival. Historical Continuity/Symbolic Discontinuities. Historical Turning Points: Liminality and Transitions – pt. 2. The Birth of National Myths. Ch. 3. The Battle of Tel Hai. A New Commemorative Tradition. A Myth of New Beginning. Ch. 4. The Bar Kokhba Revolt. Dual Image and Transformed Memory. Archeological Findings and Symbolic Roots. Ch. 5. The Fall of Masada. The Rediscovery of Masada. A Myth of Fighting to the Bitter End. Masada and the Holocaust as Countermetaphors – pt. 3. Literature, Ritual, and the Invention of Tradition – Hebrew Literature and Education. Ch. 6. The Arm, the Plow, and the Gun. Tel Hai: From "History" to "Legend" The Rebirth of the Native Hebrew.

**Stephen E. Zipperstein** (UCLA, Tel-Aviv Law School, former US Federal prosecutor)
***The Legal Case for Palestine: A Critical Assessment***
(Routledge, 460 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "This book critically analyzes the Palestinian legal arguments against Israeli occupation and in favor of Palestinian statehood. For the past two decades, Palestinians have chosen to pursue their claims against the Israeli occupation through litigation at the international courts. It is therefore appropriate, the author contends, to analyze the merits of the Palestinian legal claims separately from their political claims. To do so, the book comprises five parts:

- Part I addresses the role of international law in the conflict as well as Palestinian legal framing and lawfare.
- Part II recounts the relevant legal history, including the crucial legal implications of the Oslo Accords.
- Part III analyzes Palestinian legal claims regarding the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- Part IV assesses the Palestinian legal case for statehood.
- Part V analyzes Palestinian legal claims regarding Jerusalem.

Ultimately, it is argued that the Palestinian legal case is weak even though the two-state solution continues to represent the most viable long-term *political* outcome to the conflict. Moreover, the author suggests that Palestinian leaders have repeatedly opted for conflict perpetuation through lawfare and violence, rather than conflict resolution through negotiation."

***Law and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Trials of Palestine*** aka ***Zionism, Palestinian Nationalism and the Law: 1939-1948***

(Routledge, 476 pages, 2020; Taylor & Francis, 476 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "During the British Mandate for Palestine (1922–1948), Arabs and Jews repeatedly used the law to gain leverage and influence international opinion, especially in three dramatic and largely forgotten trials involving two issues: the interplay between conflicting British promises to the Arabs and Jews during World War I, and the parties' rights and claims to the Wailing Wall. Focusing on how all three parties – Arab, Jewish, and British – used the law and the legal process to advance their objectives during the Mandate years, this volume reveals how the parties availed themselves – with varying degrees of success – of the law and the legal process. The book examines various legal arguments they proffered, and how that early tendency to resort to the law as a tool, a resource, and a weapon in the conflict has continued to this day. The research relies almost entirely on primary source documents, including transcripts of the public and secret testimony before the Shaw, Lofgren, and Peel Commissions, diaries, letters, government files, and other original sources. This study explores the origins of many of the fundamental legal arguments in the Arab–Israeli conflict that prevail to this day. Filling a gap in research, this is a key text for scholars and students interested in the Arab–Israeli conflict, Lawfare, and the Middle East."

**Zionist Organization of America**

***On to the Jewish State***
(New York City: ZOA, 4 pages, 1947)
Comic book for children, with "a message to parents", calling for membership of the ZOA. Drawn by Norman & Sol Nodel, with text by Rhoda B. Simon, and referencing the Balfour Declaration.

**Zionist Organisation** (London)

***Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation Submitted to the 15th Zionist Congress at Basle, August 30 – September 9, 1927***
(London: Zionist Organisation, 509 pages, 1927)
Contains many tables and statistical data, noting that "proceeds of the sale of this title will be donated to a Palestinian charity."

**Dr. James J. Zogby** (Founder of the American Arab Institute, Washington DC)

***20 Years After Oslo***
(pamphlet, via Amazon Kindle, 2014)

***Arab Voices: What They are Saying to Us and Why it Matters***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 248 pages, 2010; 264 pages, 2012)
Includes chapters on Palestine and Lebanon.

***What Arabs Think: Values, Beliefs, and Concerns***
(Zogby International, 102 pages, 2002)

***Palestinians, the Invisible Victims***
(American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; co-founder of the Arab American Institute; 70 pages, 1981, 2018).
Notes the difference between political, intellectual, and religious Zionism.

Report by **Jane Hunter**, co-edited with **James Zogby**: ***No Simple Proxy: Israel in Central America***
(Washington DC: Washington Middle East Associates, 113 pages, ca. 1986)

Introduction and possible editing: ***Eyewitnesses to Israel's Terror in Lebanon: Summer 1982***
(Washington DC: American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 44 pages, ca. 1982)

As co-editor, with **Jack O'Dell**: ***Afro-Americans Stand Up for Middle East Peace***

(Washington DC: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1980)

***The Carter Administration and Palestinian Rights***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 28 pages, 1977)

As editor: ***Perspectives on Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press, 84 pages, 1977)
With a foreword by **Ibrahim Abu-Lughod**.

***Zionism and the Problem of Human Rights***
(Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 44 pages, 1976)

**Zochrot** (Israeli anti-occupation tour group highlighting 1948 Nakba sites: zochrot.org) / co-authors: **Tomer Gardi, Umar al-Ghubari, Noga Kadman, Aviv gros-alan**

***Once Upon a Land*** [Omrim Yeshna Eretz]
(Zochrot, 509 pages, 2012)
Guide offering 18 tours in Palestinian neighbourhoods and villages that were ethnically cleansed in the Nakba. English content unknown. Zochrot have a lengthy *Remembering* series, mostly in Hebrew but freely downloadable, with important historical photography. See also: Yifat Gutman.

**Daniel E. Zoughbie** (University of California Berkeley)

***Indecision Points: George W. Bush and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(MIT Press, 208 pages, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Although George W. Bush memorably declared, "I'm the decider," as president he was remarkably indecisive when it came to U.S. policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. His administration's policymaking featured an ongoing clash between moderate realists and conservative hard-liners inspired by right-wing religious ideas and a vision of democracy as cure-all. Riven by these competing agendas, the Bush administration vacillated between recognizing the Palestinian right to self-determination and embracing Israeli leaders who often chose war over negotiations. Through the years, the administration erratically adopted and discarded successive approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The results of this irresolution included the stunning triumph of Hamas in the 2006 Palestinian elections, Israel's 2006 invasion of Lebanon, the 2008–2009 clash between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, and, in the end, virtually no diplomatic progress toward lasting peace. In *Indecision Points*, Daniel Zoughbie examines the major assumptions underpinning U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East during the Bush years. Was there one policy or two? Was the Bush administration truly serious about peace? In a compelling account, Zoughbie offers original insights into these and other important questions. Drawing on the author's own interviews with forty-five global leaders, including Condoleezza Rice, former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams, Kofi Annan, Colin Powell, Tom DeLay, Paul Wolfowitz, Douglas Feith, Richard Perle, Leon Panetta, Chuck Hagel, Shlomo Ben Ami, and Salam Fayyad, *Indecision Points* provides the first comprehensive history of the Bush administration's attempt to reshape political order in a 'New Middle East.'"

**Akram Zua'iter**

***The Palestine Question***
(Damascus: Palestine Arab Refugees Institution, 294 pages, 1958)
Translated from Arabic by **Musa J. Khuri**; with introduction by **Dr. As'ad Talas**.

**Wael Zuaiter** – aka **Zwaiter** (Translator, PLO representative in Italy, assassinated in London, in retribution for Munich atrocity, 1972)

***For a Palestinian: A Memorial to Wael Zuiter***

(Kegan Paul International, 1984)
Edited by **Janet Venn-Brown**, with foreword by **Yasser Arafat**. Contributors: **Rafael Alberti, Alessandrao Bausani, Bruno Cagli, Ennio Calabria, Olivier Carre, Jean Genet, Matta, Alberto Moravia, Elio Petri, Pietro Petrucci, Ugo Pirro, Ennio Polito, Maxime Rodinson, Edward W. Said, Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti,** and **Fadwa Tukan (Tuqan).** Subject was assassinated by Mossad in Rome, 1972.

**William Zukerman** (anti-Zionist)
***Voice of Dissent: Jewish Problems, 1948-1961***
(New York City: Bookman Associates, 1964)

***The Jew in Revolt: The Modern Jew in the World Crisis***
(Secker & Warburg, 1937)

**Constantine** (Qustantin) **K. Zurayk** (former Syrian Ambassador in Washington; President of Syrian University in Damascus)
***The Meaning of the Disaster***
(Beirut: Kashaf Press, 87 pages, 1948 / Beirut: Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 74 pages, 1956)
Aka ***Ma'na al-Nakba***. *Written* in 1948. Translation by **Richard Bayly Winder**; Ronit Lentin: "an early theorisation of the conquest of Palestine in settler colonial terms." Copies held at Durham University Library & Cambridge University Library. Possible summary at:
http://learnpalestine.politics.ox.ac.uk/uploads/sources/588c157cebb79.pdf

**Elia T. Zureik** (Palestinian-Canadian; Professor of Sociology, Queen's University, Ontario; Doha Institute)
***Israel's Colonial Project in Palestine: Brutal Pursuit***
(Routledge, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Colonialism has three foundational concerns – violence, territory, and population control – all of which rest on racialist discourse and practice. Placing the Zionist project in Israel/Palestine within the context of settler colonialism reveals strategies and goals behind the region's rules of governance that have included violence, repressive state laws and racialized forms of surveillance. In *Israel's Colonial Project in Palestine: Brutal Pursuit,* Elia Zureik revisits and reworks fundamental ideas that informed his first work on colonialism and Palestine three decades ago. Focusing on the means of control that are at the centre of Israel's actions toward Palestine, this book applies Michel Foucault's work on biopolitics to colonialism and to the situation in Israel/Palestine in particular. It reveals how racism plays a central role in colonialism and biopolitics, and how surveillance, in all its forms, becomes the indispensable tool of governance. It goes on to analyse territoriality in light of biopolitics, with the dispossession of indigenous people and population transfer advancing the state's agenda and justified as in the interests of national security. The book incorporates sociological, historical and postcolonial studies into an informed and original examination of the Zionist project in Palestine, from the establishment of Israel through to the actions and decisions of the present-day Israeli government. Providing new perspectives on settler colonialism informed by Foucault's theory, and with particular focus on the role played by state surveillance in controlling the Palestinian population, this book is a valuable resource for students and scholars interested in the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Colonialism."

**Elia T. Zureik** aka **Elia Zureik, David Lyon** & **Yasmeen abu-Laban**, editors
***Surveillance and Control in Palestine/Israel: Population, Territory & Power***
(Routledge, 2010-2011)
Includes the emergence of the exclusionary surveillance. Includes pieces by Anat Leibler on the Israeli Centural Bureau of Statistics, Rassem Khamaisi on land confiscation ("spatial de-Arabization"), and Stephen Graham & Nick Denes analysis of Israel's exportation of the enabling technologies. Includes

**Michael Fischbach**: *British and Zionist Data Gathering on Palestinian Arab Landownership and Population durin the Mandate*

As **Elia Zureik**: ***Palestinian Refugees and the Peace Process***
(Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 152 page, 1996)

***The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism***
(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979; Routledge, 264 pages, 2023/2024)
Publisher's blurb: "The main focus of *The Palestinians in Israel* (1979) is the position of the Arab minority in Israel, from being a majority to becoming a minority. By using the framework of internal colonialism, it provides evidence which highlights the social class transformations of the Palestinians in Israel from peasantry to proletariat, the patterns of land alienation, and the nature of inter-ethnic contacts which typify Israeli–Palestinian relations. It looks at Arab social structure in pre-1948 Palestine, discusses the Arabs as they appear in Israeli social science writings, describes the transformation of Arab class structure in Israel, and considers the politicization of Israeli Arabs"

**Elia Zureik** and **Fouad Moughrabi**, editors
***Public Opinion and the Palestine Question***
(New York City: St Martin's Press/London: Croom Helm, 206 pages, 1987; Routledge, 218 pages, 2023)

**Ronald W. Zweig**
***Britain and Palestine During the Second World War***
(Woodbridge: Boydell Press / Royal Historical Society, 1985, 1986)

**Majoob Zweiri** (Qatar University) and **Sinem Cengiz**, editors
***The Making of Contemporary Kuwait: Identity, Politics, and its Survival Strategy***
(Routledge, 2024)
Contains a section on the country's approach to the Palestinian cause.

**Majoob Zweiri** (Qatar University) and **Farah Al Qawasmi**, editors
***Contemporary Qatar: Examining State and Society***
(Springer, 245 pages, 2021)
Contains a section on the country's 'pragmatic' foreign policy in relation to the Palestinian case.

# Palestine Culture

**The Israel Defences Forces Order No. 101 (1967): REGARDING PROHIBITION OF INCITEMENT AND HOSTILE PROPAGANDA ACTIONS, forbade Palestinians to use the word "Palestine," depict or raise their flag, and make art that combined red, green, black, and white.**

See also:
The Palestinian Poster Project Archive : palestinianposterproject.org
Gallery Al-Quds (Washington DC): thejerusalemfund.org/the-gallery

**Adnan Abdelrazek**
***The Arab Architectural Renaissance in the Western Part of Occupied Jerusalem***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 112 pages, 2017)

**Farrah Abuasad, Lama Bazzari,** & **Fadi Kattan**
***Craving Palestine: Soulful Recipies & Inspiring Stories Celebrating Community and Giving Back***
(Story Farm Press, 256 pages, 2020)

**Naji [Salim] al-Ali** [Palestinian political cartoonist, assassinated in London, 1987. Compilations in Arabic, Italian, Spanish, French, German and Portuguese, but sadly under-documented in English language books. Main work 1975-1987. See also illustrations used in Nassar Ibrahim and Dr Majed Nassar: *Small Dreams – 14 Short Stories from Palestine* (Ramallah: Bailason Design, 2003); Ajil Naji al-Anezi: *An Analytical Study of the Theatre of the Syrian Playwright Saadallah Wannous, with Particular Emphasis on the Plays Written after the 1967 War* (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2006);
Andreas Qassam's university thesis, *Arab Political Cartoons: The 2006 Lebanon War:* andreasqassim.com/download/MA_thesis.pdf

***A Child in Palestine: Cartoons of Naji al-Ali***
(Verso Books, 2009)
With an introduction by **Joe Sacco**.

***Naji Al-Ali, 1985-1987***
(Atlas Books, 206 pages, 2008)
Entirely in Arabic but has many fine reproductions on good quality paper.

***International Cartoon Exhibition in Commemoration of Naji al-Ali***
(Kufa Gallery, 2003)

**Samer Al-Saber**
***A Movement's Promise: The Making of Contemporary Palestinian*** **Theatre**
(Stanford University Press, 328 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Starting in the 1970s, Palestinian theater flourished as part of a Palestinian cultural spring. In the absence of local radio, television, and uncensored journalism, theater production became the leading form of artistic expression, and Palestinian theater artists self-identified as a movement. Although resistance was not their sole function, these theater makers contributed to an active cultural resistance front. With this book, Samer Al-Saber tells the story of the Palestinian Theater Movement over nearly three decades, as they created plays and productions that articultransnational atlasated versions of Palestinian identity, critiqued social norms, celebrated and extended Palestinian cultural values, and challenged the power disparity created by the Occupation. The struggles between Palestinian theater artists and Israeli authorities form the central relationships in this history. Al-Saber juxtaposes the agency of Palestinian theater artists, in their determination to perform against immense challenges, with the power of Israeli authorities to grant or deny permission to theatrical productions. The legal structure of institutionalized censorship prevented Palestinian artists from expressing their chosen message, and the theater movement's search for permission to perform illuminates the disparity in power between the occupier and the occupied. In writing the first history of the Palestinian Theater Movement, Al-Saber amplifies necessary voices in this Palestinian cultural history, told from below."

**Farah Aboubakr**
***The Folktales of Palestine : Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling***
(IB Tauris, SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies Series, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Farah Aboubakr here analyses a selection of folktales edited, compiled and translated by Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana in *Speak, Bird, Speak Again* (1989). In addition to the folktales themselves, Muhawi and Kanaana's collection is renowned for providing readers with extensive folkloric, historical and anthropological annotations. Here, for the first time, the folktales and the compilers' work on them, are the subject of scholarly analysis. Synthesising various disciplines including memory studies, gender studies and social movement studies, Aboubakr uses the collection to understand the politics of storytelling and its impact on Palestinian identity. In particular, the book draws attention to the female storytellers who play an essential role in transmitting and preserving collective memory and culture. The book is an important step towards analysing a significant genre of Palestinian literature and will be relevant to scholars of Palestinian politics and popular culture, gender studies and memory studies, and those interested in folklore and oral literature."

**Shahd Abusalama** (Sheffield Hallam University)
***Between Reality and Documentary: A Historical Representation of Gaza Refugees in Colonial, Humanitarian and Palestinian Documentary Film***
(IB Tauris / SOAS, 256 pages, 2025)
Chapters examine various film sources throughout this period including British Pathé, newsreels, Quaker and UNRWA documentaries, and Palestinian opposition cinema. Publisher's blurb: "British Pathé is considered as a window into the wider colonial depiction of indigenous Palestinians in the British Mandate period; newsreels are examined as representations of the plight of Palestinian refugees in Gaza after Israel's proclamation and Gaza-focused humanitarian documentaries shot by the Quakers and UNRWA are compared. The final chapters trace the evolution of oppositional documentary filmmaking, from the cinema of revolution (1968-1982) to the peace deal of 1993. Through a close audio-visual and textual analysis, rooted in a historical-contextual approach, Shahd Abusalama explores the techniques

used to project emancipatory representations while highlighting shifts and variations in the imagery around Gaza refugees. In exploring the historical, ideologically fuelled, representations of Gaza and its refugees in colonial and humanitarian films, and the opposition to it, this book reaffirms the continuity of Palestinian resistance, refugees' call for return, and the importance of Gaza itself to the Palestinian struggle."

**Arin Ahmed** [interviewee], **Benjamin Ben-Eliezer** [interviewer], and Ron Rege, Jr. [illustrator]
***She Sometimes Switched to Fluent English and Occasionally Used a Few Words of Hebrew***
(San Francisco: McSweeney's, 24pp, 2004)
Transcript adapted into small comic book format. An interview conducted in Israel, June 9, 2002. Arin Ahmed was a Palestinian prisoner who had decided at the last minute not to go through with a suicide bombing, and was arrested by Israeli forces soon thereafter.

**Aida Refugee Camp**
***Aida Camp Alphabet***
(Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016)
Bilingual art collage book by children, based on Arabic alphabet.

***The Boy and the Wall***
(Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016)
Bilingual book by children at the camp.

**Salo Aizenberg**
***Postcards from the Holy Land: A Pictorial History of the Ottoman Era, 1880-1918***
(Shaker Heights, Ohio: Society of Israel Philatelists, 385 pages, 2010)
With foreword by **Alan M. Dershowitz**.

**American Palestine Exploration Society**
***Catalogue of photographs: taken expressly for the American Palestine Exploration Society, during a reconnaissance east of the Jordan in the autumn of 1875***
(New York City/Beirut: APES, 24 pages, 1876)
Digitised: http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044080997000

**Ziva Amir**
***Arabesque: Decorative Needlework from the Holy Land***
(Van Nostrand Reinhold / Israel: Masada Press, 1977)

**Suad Amiry** – See also the author's unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh University (1987): *Space, Kinship and Gender – The Social Dimension of Peasant Architecture in Palestine,* available via the British Library and university libraries.
***Peasant Architecture in Palestine: Space, Kinship and Gender***
(Ramallah: RIWAQm Centre for Architectural History, 246 pages, 2017)
RIQAQ's Monograph Series on the Architectural History of Palestine no. 20; well-illustrated with architectural plans and maps by the author, and photography by **Suad Amiry**, **Ziyah Gafić** (photographer from Sarajevo), and **Khaldun Bshara** (RIWAQ Conservation Director). Denotes the "countervailing notions…between the dominant Barghuthi clans and the subordinate *fellahin* clans," and how enforce social change transformed the local architecture. Contents: Patterns of Settlement in Rural Palestine / The Bani Zeid Sheikhdom / The Village as a Spatial Unit / Village Quarters: Social and Spacial Dimension / The Village Communal Plaza and Guest House / The Sacred Environment of Deir

Ghassaneh / Tradition and Change: The Case of the Built Environment. Note: Interview with Bshara: **seamlessterritory.org/interview-khaldun-bshara/**

***Traditional Floor Tiles in Palestine***
(Ramallah: RIWAQ, Centre for Architectural History, 2000)

With **Vera Tamari** (Birzeit University): ***The Palestinian Village Home***
(London: British Museum Publications, 48 pages, 1989)

**Nabil Anani** (widely exhibited fine artist, born Latroun, resident of Ramallah)
***The Art of Memory: Palestine, Landscape and People***
(Saqi Books, 2018)
1976-2016 paintings presented and assessed, with foreword by Mourid Barghouti and contributions by Bashir Makhoul (University of Bedfordshire), Rana Anani (Palestine Museum, Birzeit; *al-Ayyam* newspaper), Tina Sherwell (Birzeit University), Nana Shabout (University of North Texas), Lara Khalidi (Al-Quds Bard University), and Housni Alkhateeb Shehada (Levinsky College, Tel Aviv).

**Per-Olow Anderson** (photographer of war setting, b. Stockholm 1921)
***They are Human Too…A Photographic Essay on the Palestinian Arab Refugees***
(Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1957)
Multigenerational examples of Gaza refugees trying to get on with exiled life. Exceptional black & white photographs, well reproduced and described, plus camera specs, such as: "RETURN FROM NIGHT'S FISHING ~ Before sunrise, handheld Hasselblad with Ektat 80 m/m, 1/5 second at 2.8. kodak Plus X rated at ASA 400. Developed in Microphen."

**Gannit Ankori** (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
***Palestinian Art***
(Reaktion Books, 2006)
Featured artists: Sliman Mansour, Kamal Boullata, Mona Hatoum, Khalil Rabah

**Peter F. [Frederick] Anson**
***A Pilgrim Artist in Palestine***
(EP Dutton / Alexander-Ouseley, 164 pages, 1932)
Ink drawings from 1930: urban, rural, and seacoast.

**Teresa Aranguren** (Spain journalist, *Mundo Obrero* and Spanish books about Palestine) and **Sandra Barrilaro** (Spanish photographer, focusing on Palestine and the Women's Boat to Gaza flotilla, 2016) editors
***Against Erasure: A Photographic Memory of Palestine before the Nakba***
(Haymarket Books, 240 pages, 2023)
With an introduction by **Mohammed El-Kurd**. Publisher's blurb: "This book tells the story, in both English and Arabic, of a land full of people—people with families, hopes, dreams, and a deep connection to their home—before Israel's establishment in 1948, known to Palestinians as the Nakba, or "catastrophe." Denying Palestinian existence has been a fundamental premise of Zionism, which has sought not only to hide this existence but also to erase its memory. But existence leaves traces, and the imprint of the Palestine that was remains, even in the absence of those expelled from their lands. It appears in the ruins of a village whose name no longer appears in the maps, in the drawing of a lost landscape, in the lyrics of a song, or in the photographs from a family album. Co-edited by Teresa Aranguren and Sandra Barrilaro and featuring a foreword by Mohammed El-Kurd, the photographs in this book are traces of that existence that have not been erased. They are testament not to nostalgia, but to the power of resistance."

**Marcus Armstrong**

***Palestine – Black and White***

(Milton Keynes: Blue on Blue, 2014)

Photographs.

**Amira Asad** and **Rashed Al Deiri**, editors

***Lifta***

(Mexico, 237 pages, 2020)

Centred on the theme of 'Future Palestine.' Contents: Future raced to the village / **Ala Younis** – Re: Lifta / **Aau Anastas** & **Karim Kattan** – al-Khaṭṭ al-zamanī al-tārīkhī li-Qalandiyā 1948-2087 / **Wafa Hourani** – In conversation: Haifa Ladies Night / **Lena Mansour, XO, Al-Hirra Al-Sawdaa'** – To return / **Samia Halaby** – Shajarat Zaytoon / Amjad Hajyassin – In the presence of the Holy See / **Jack Persekian** – The hyena / **Wafa Alkhadra** as told to Lifta – Ilabad Eleblad Al-Balad / **Lina Meruane** – Absolution / **Leena Aboutaleb** – Birzeit University : the Future Palestine assignment / **Haneen Adi** – The house and the fig / **Nasrin Himada** – Future Palestine Currency / **Turbo** – Ilá Khālid .. al-'ā'id al-awwal alladhī mā yazāl yasīr / **Alia Al-Sabi** – Highlands / **Hani Amr**a – al-Wāqi' al-mughāyyir : Bīrzayt namūdhajan / **Faiq Mari** – Awda / **Alia Gilbert** – The garden / **Karim Kattan** – Mūsīqat al-mustaqbal / **Lina Hegazi**, **Makimakkuk**, **Muqata'a**, **Julmud** – The double-sided map doesn't want to speak, anyway / **Dima Srouji** – That's it we're done / May Shigenobu as told to Lifta – Li-natakhayyal... / **Adele Jarrar** – The woman and the girl / **Rodrigo Hasbun** – Dear lord / **Hazem Harb** – Suwwar lil-ḥurrīyah min dhākirah al-mustaqbal (riwāyah al-ghadd al-muntaẓẓir al-usrá al-Filasṭīnīyīn) / **Nihaya Aburayyan** – Past present future / **Helga Tawil-Souri** – Hallucinating normality / **Laura Tibi** – Homecoming / **Abdullah Hinda**sh & **Jenan Ismail** – That woman stole my jewelry (and other thoughts) / **Selma Dabbagh** – Ann-Tasēl restaurant / Palestine Hosting Society – The aliens / **Yazan Khalili**

**Shoroq Asad, Miras al-Azzeh**, **Mohammed al-Azza**, and **Kholoud al Ajarma** aka **Kholoud Ajarma**; foreword by **Rich Wiles**

***The Power of Culture: Photography by the New Generation of Palestinian Refugees***

(Palestine: Lajee Center Arts & Media Unit, 124 pages, 2012)

Focus on the Occupied West Bank.

**Iasmin Omar Ata**

***Mis(h)adra***

(Simon & Schuster, 2017)

Graphic novel merging Palestinians with non-Palestinians who have disabilities, in this case, Epilepsy.

**Tu̇rkkaya Ataöv**

***The Independent Personality of the Palestinians Through Their Arts***

(International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of RacialDiscrimination, 16pp pamphlet, 1981)

**Samar Attar**

***Debunking the Myths of Colonization: The Arabs and Europe***

(Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2010)

**Sylvia Auld** & **Robert Hillenbrand**, editors

***Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917 with architectural survey by Yusuf Natsheh***
(The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in co-operation with the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Jerusalem two volumes, 2000)
Contents, Vol. 1: Robert Hillenbrand: *Structure, Style and Context in the Monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Abdul-Karim Rafeq: *The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Khairiah Kasmieh: *The Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem and Their Biographies* / *Abdul-Karim* Rafeq: *The 'Ulama' of Ottoman Jerusalem (16th-18th Centuries)* / Klaus Kreiser: *The Place of Jerusalem in Ottoman Perception* / Martin Strohmeier: *Al-Kulliyya Al-Salahiyya, a Late Ottoman University in Jerusalem* / Abdul-Karim Rafeq: *Ottoman Jerusalem in the Writings of Arab Travellers* / Ernst Axel Knauf: *Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes* / Angelika Neuwirth: *Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorary Names of the City* / Michele Bernardini: *Popular and Symbolic Iconographies Related to the Haram Al-Sharif During the Ottoman Period* / Khadr Salameh: *Aspects of the Sijills of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem* / Mohammad 'Ali 'Alami: *The Waqfs of the Traditional Families of Jerusalem During the Ottoman Period* / Mahmud Atallah: *Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th-11th / 16th-17th Centuries: The Documentary Evidence* / Lawrence I. Conrad: *The Khalidi Library* / Paolo Cuneo: *The Urban Structure and Physical Organisation of Ottoman Jerusalem in the Context of Ottoman Urbanism* / Rashid I. al-Khalidi: *Intellectual Life in Late Ottoman Jerusalem* / George Hintlian: *The Commercial Life of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Ruth Victor Hummel: *Reality, Imagination and Belief: Jerusalem in 19th and Early 20th Century Photographs (1839-1917)* / Kamal F. al-'Asali: *The Cemeteries of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Kamal F. al-'Asali: *The Libraries of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Nancy Micklewright: *Costume in Ottoman Jerusalem* / Claudia Ott: *The Songs and Musical Instruments of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Vera Tamari: *Two Ottoman Ceremonial Banners in Jerusalem* / David Myers: *An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem* / Sylvia Auld: *Stars, Roses, and Interlace: Architectural Decoration in Ottoman Jerusalem* / Susal Roaf: *Life in 19th Century Jerusalem* / Beatrice St Laurent: *The Dome of the Rock: Restorations and Significance, 1540-1918* / John Carswell: *The Deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock* / Finbarr B. Flood: *The Ottoman Windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque* / James W. Allan & Marwan Abu Khalaf: *The Painted Wooden Ceiling in the Inner Ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock* / *Sharif M. Sharif: Ceiling Decoration in Jerusalem During the Late Ottoman Period, 1856-1917*/ Michael Hamilton Burgoyne: *The East Wall of the Haram Al-Sharif: A Note on its Archaeological Potential* / Mahmud Hawari: *The Citidel (Qal 'A) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview* / Martin Dow: *The Hammams of Ottoman Jerusalem* / David Myers: *Restorations to Masjid Mahd 'Isa (The Cradle of Jesus) During the Ottoman Period* / David Myers: *Al-'Imara Al-'Amira: The Charitable Foundation of Khassaki Sultan (959/1552)* / Yusuf Natsheh: *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem.* Contents, Volume 2: Yusuf Natsheh: Catalogue of Buildings / David Myers: *A Grammar of Architectural Ornament in Ottoman Jerusalem.*

**Nur Avieli**
***Food & Power: A Culinary Ethnography of Israel***
(University of California Press, 2017)
Holiday barbecues link to American culture, while Italian pizzas invoke the Mediterranean.

**George Baramki Azar**
***Palestine: A Photographic Journey***
(University of California Press, 2023)

**Ariella Azoulay** (Brown University)
***The Civil Contract of Photography***
(Zone Books / MIT, 592 pages, 2012)
Publisher's blurb: "In this compelling work, Ariella Azoulay reconsiders the political and ethical status of photography. Describing the power relations that sustain and make possible photographic meanings, Azoulay argues that anyone—even a stateless person—who addresses others through photographs or is addressed by photographs can become a member of the citizenry of photography. The civil contract of photography enables anyone to pursue political agency and resistance through photography.
Photography, Azoulay insists, cannot be understood separately from the many catastrophes of recent history. The crucial arguments of her book concern two groups with flawed or non-existent citizenship:

the Palestinian noncitizens of Israel and women in Western societies. Azoulay analyzes Israeli press photographs of violent episodes in the Occupied Territories, and interprets various photographs of women—from famous images by stop-motion photographer Eadweard Muybridge to photographs from Abu Ghraib prison. Azoulay asks this question: under what legal, political, or cultural conditions does it become possible to see and to show disaster that befalls those who can claim only incomplete or non-existent citizenship? Drawing on such key texts in the history of modern citizenship as the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* together with relevant work by Giorgio Agamben, Jean-François Lyotard, Susan Sontag, and Roland Barthes, Azoulay explores the visual field of catastrophe, injustice, and suffering in our time. Her book is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the disasters of recent history—and the consequences of how these events and their victims have been represented."

***Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography***
(Verso, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Through photography, *Civil Imagination* seeks out relations of partnership, solidarity, and sharing that come into being at the expense of sovereign powers that threaten to destroy them. Azoulay argues that the "civil" must be distinguished from the "political" as the interest that citizens have in themselves, in others, in their shared forms of coexistence, as well as in the world they create and transform. Azoulay's book sketches out a new horizon of civil living for citizens as well as subjects denied citizenship—inevitable partners in a reality they are invited to imagine anew and to reconstruct."

***From Palestine to Israel: A Photographic Record of Destruction and State Formation, 1947-1950***
(Pluto Press, 2011)
With translations by **Charles S. Kamen**. An excellent compilation if you can read small text and don't mind the mid-tone emphasis of the greyscale images, which are important nonetheless.

With **Raef Zreik**; edited by **Lesley A. Martin**: ***Testimony: Photographs by Gillian Laub***
(New York City: Aperture / London: Thames & Hudson, 2007)
Documents Israeli Palestinians. Publisher's blurb: "For the past four years, Gillian Laub has worked in Israel and Palestine, producing portraits of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Ramallah, Nablus, and other locations in the region. Testimony contains fifty of her portraits of Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs, displaced Lebanese families, and Palestinians each personally affected by the geopolitical context in which they live, and each unveiling one more essential element in the puzzle of peace for the Middle East. In some of Laub's photographs, the traces of conflict are immediately observable teenage boys without limbs; a young woman enveloped in scar tissue and a burn-recovery suit. Others are seemingly free from the disfigurements of violence. Yet in the interviews that accompany each portrait, a common thread of survival is revealed. Resilience, pride, defiance, vulnerability and most astonishing of all, optimism emerge from one statement to the next. Author David Rieff has said of Laub's work, "To consider [these] images is to be reminded not just of human cruelty and human stupidity but also of human tenacity." Two essays, one by Palestinian-Israeli civil rights lawyer Raef Zreik and one by Israeli professor Ariella Azoulay, underline the complexity of the work and the dialogue Laub hopes it will spark."

**Itab Azzam** & **Dina Mousawi**
***Syria: Recipes from Home***
(Trapeze, 2017)
Authors' research includes work with Syrian refugee women in Lebanon.

**Shirly Bahar**
***Documentary Cinema in Israel-Palestine: Performance, the Body, the Home***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 248 pages, 2023)

**Joanna Barakat** (Palestinian director of galleries in Abu Shabi, Los Angeles and London)
***Narrative Threads: Palestinian Embroidery in Contemporary Art***
(Al Saqi Books, 256 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Joanna Barakat documents and features more than 200 works by twenty-four established and emerging artists, who incorporate the motifs and symbolism of *tatreez* across diverse media – from painting, sculpture and textile to film, photography and street art. While some artists preserve traditional forms, others transform *tatreez* to explore themes of displacement, resilience and belonging. Together, their works offer a dynamic reflection on Palestinian heritage and identity. With insightful essays by leading art historians **Dr Tina Sherwell**, **Wafa Ghnaim** and **Rachel Dedman**, *Narrative Threads* reveals the power of Palestinian embroidery as a visual language that recounts the past, connects us to the present and envisions a different, hopeful future."

**Anna Ball** (Nottingham Trent University)
***Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective***
(Routledge, 2012)

**Jolien Benjamin**, **Emma Jayne-Abbots**, **Jack Fleming**, **Deborah F. Toner**, editors
***Stories on Our Plate: Recipes and Conversations***
(Editors, 104 pages, 2018)
Includes recipes by Mandana Moghaddam, Katrina Kollegaeva, Irem Aksu, Natalie Nevart Griffith, Dominique Goltinger, Jenny Phung, Emily Hadwen, Rocio Carvaljal, Shakirat Akonosho, Tamara Tahhan, Kim Wilshaw, and Ribale Sleiman Haidar.

**Fred Berk**, editor
***Ha-Rikud: The Jewish Dance***
(American Zionist Youth Foundation, 1972)
Contains Gurit Kadman: *Folk Dance in Israel*, on appropriation of Dabke for Zionist culture.

**Melten Ahiska, Akeel Bilgrami, Tuncay Bircan, Timothy Brennan, Harry Harootunian, Rashid Khalidi, Elias Khoury, Saree Makdisi, Mahmood Mamdani, JosephMassad, Ilan Pappe, Jacqueline Rose, Muge Gursoy Sokmen** & **Basak Ertur**, editors-contributors
***Waiting for the Barbarians: A Tribute to Eric Said***
(Verso, 2008)

**Golbarg Bashi**
***P is for Palestine: A Palestine Alphabet Book***
(author, 2017, 2018)
The first-ever English-language ABC story book about Palestine, told in rhymes, illustrated by **Golrokh Nafisi**.

***Counting up the Olive Tree***
(author, 2019)
A counting numbers book, illustrated by **Nabi H. Ali**.

**Nili Belkind** (researcher of Arab and bellydance music)
***Music in Conflict: Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Aesthetic Production***
(Routledge, 300 pages, 2020, 2022)
SOASA Studies in Music series. Publisher's blurb: "*Music in Conflict* studies the complex relationship of musical culture to political life in Palestine-Israel, where conflict has both shaped and claimed the

lives of Palestinians and Jews. In the context of the geography of violence that characterizes the conflict, borders and boundaries are material and social manifestations of the ways in which the production of knowledge is conditioned by political and structural violence. Ethical and aesthetic positions that shape artistic production in this context are informed by profound imbalances of power and contingent exposure to violence. Viewing expressive culture as a potent site for understanding these dynamics, the book examines the politics of sound to show how music-making reflects and forms identities, and in the process, shapes communities. The ethnography is based on fieldwork conducted in Israel and the West Bank in 2011–2012 and other excursions since then. Author has "followed the conflict" by "following the music," from concert halls to demonstrations, mixed-city community centers to Palestinian refugee camp children's clubs, alternative urban scenes and even a checkpoint. In all the different contexts presented, the monograph is thematically and theoretically underpinned by the ways in which music is used to culturally assert or reterritorialize both spatial and social boundaries in a situation of conflict."

**Tim Benson**

***Drawn to the Promised Land: A Cartoon History of Britain, Palestine and the Jews: 1917-1949***
(Halban Publishers, 236 pages, 2024)
Featuring mainstream newspaper editorial cartoons from the UK, the US, and elsewhere. Mostly of severely reduced and unsharp reproductions, but each with detailed context, plus 13-page introduction.

**Tom Bird**, editor

***Sahten – The SkatePal Cookbook***
(SkatePal, 183 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "Sahten paints a picture of the current skateboarding scene in Palestine, told in the form of a cookbook. Included recipes have been collected from various figures in Palestine's skateboarding community, supplemented by a couple of recipes from shop owners, local heroes, past volunteers, and even by Palestine's own international master chef, Sami Tamimi." Much photography on skateboarding and interviews with international skateboarders. Photographers include Emil Agerskov, Tim Bird, Reid Allen, James Holman, Anil Iltas and Sam Ashley. Contributors include Moath & Nada Qashoo (Hiba, London), Jess & Meg (What the Fattoush, London), Izzeldin Bukhari (Sacred Cuisine). Via skatepal.co.uk.

**Rawia Bishara**

***Tanoreen: Palestinian Home Cooking in Diaspora***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 256 pages, 2025)

**Bluecoat Gallery** (Liverpool)

***I Exist (In Some Way)***
(Bluecoat Gallery, Liverpool, 2013)
Includes Palestinian photographers.

**Kamal Boullata**

**Finbarr Barry Flood** (Editor)
***There Where You Are Not: Selected Writings of Kamal Boullata***
(Hirmer Verlag,2020)
This volume accumulates more than 45 articles written by the Palestinian artist, critic, and theorist Kamal Boullata (1942-2019), on topics ranging from art in Palestine, feminism and gender, language and the visual; to short appraisals of contemporaries such as Mahmoud Darwish, Rashid Hussein, and Paul Guiragossian. Before his passing, Boullata completed layout and design of this volume, but it was published posthumously.

Winner of the MEMO Palestine Book Awards, 2020.

***Palestinian Art 1850-to the Present***
(London: Saqi aka Al Saqi Books, 2009)

***Palestine Today***
(PLO Dept of Information, 1990)
9 pamphlets: My land, my home: the people of Palestine; To preserve and persevere: the women of Palestine; Inheritors of the dream: children of Palestine; Legacies that live: the culture of Palestine Precious resources: the land and water of Palestine; Outstretched hands: the international community and Palestine; Four decades of a divided land: 1948-1989; Bibliography; The Palestinian's story: facts about the Palestinians.

**Laura Boushnak**
***I Read I Write***
(Arab women's writing and photography; includes section on Gaza, 2016.

**Barbara Bowen**
***The Folklore of Palestine***
(Grand rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1940)
Includes anecdotes of "Jewish tales", Folklore of the Peasant, Folklore of the City People, Sacred rees and Plants.

**Louis Brehony** (multi-instrumentalist; writer for *Palestine Chronicle*, *Middle East Monitor*, *Arab Media and Society*; director of documentary film *Kofia: A Revolution Through Music* [2021]
***Palestinian Music in Exile: Voices of Resistance***
(American University Cairo Press, 304 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "Aa historical and contemporary study of Palestinian musicianship in exile in the Middle East, spanning half a century in disparate locations including Gaza, Turkey, Kuwait, and Egypt. Grassroots musicians emerge here as powerful actors, their stories taking center stage, offering critiques of existing conditions, and new perspectives on displacement and the transmission of Palestinian narratives, and presenting alternative visions for the future.
Louis Brehony argues that, under conditions of colonial relations and repeated displacement, the reclaiming of public space has gone hand in hand with aesthetic revolution, both broadening and traditionalizing the sounds of Palestine, and carrying messages of *sumud* (steadfastness) and resistance. Based on a decade's research in Europe and the Middle East, this timely and inspiring collection of musical ethnographies provides a rich oral history of contemporary Palestinian musicianship and encompasses a broad range of experiences of the *ghurba,* or state of exile.
Contents: Strings Of The Street: Resistance Aesthetics Of A Nation In Movement / Za'atar, Zeit, And Fairuz: Growing Up Palestinian In Kuwait: Reem Kelani's Musical Beginnings / 'Nothing Stops Tradition': Dialects Of Cultural Reinvention In Exile: Experiences Of Palestinian Instrumentalism In Bilad al-Sham / Village Dreams In Urban Gaza: A Young Girl's Musical Intifada: Music And Land In A Palestinian Socialist Household / Smashing The Pyramids: Encores Of Palestinian Radicalism In Egypt: Tamer Abu Ghazaleh, The Cairo Underground, And The Sabreen Influence / An Even Tougher Act Of Resistance': Instrumentalism In The Dakhil: Saied Silbak And The Music Of Internal Displacement / 'Ahla Ayām': The Most Beautiful Days: Tarab, al-Waṭan, And Gaza's New Generation Of Musicians / Sumud And The City: Old And New Comradeship In Istanbul: Fares Anbar, Ahmed Haddad, and The Turkish Migrant Scene.

**Martin S. Briggs** aka **Martin Shaw Briggs**
***Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine***

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 255 pages, 1924 / New York City: Da Capo Press, 255 pages, 1974)

**Benjamin Brinner**

***Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters***

(Oxford University Press, 2009)

Follows the bands Bustan Abraham and Alei Hazayit from their creation and throughout their careers, as well as the collaborative projects of Israeli artist Yair Dalal.

**Victoria Brittain**

***Love and Resistance in the Films of Mai Masri***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 144 pages, 2020)

Explores collaboration with Lebanese filmmaker Jean Chamoun. See also: MAI MASRI under PALESTINE CULTURE.

**Adam Broomberg** and **Rafael Gonzalez** (photographers) with text by **Dr. Irus Braverman**

***Anchor in the Landscape***

(Mack Books, 128 pages, 2024)

Photographers study of olive trees in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

**Martin Bunton** (University of Victoria)

***The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Very Short Introduction***

(Oxford University Press, Very Short Introduction series, 2013)

***Colonial Land Policies in Palestine, 1917-1936***

(Oxford University Press, 228 pages, 2007)

Publisher's blurb: "In this book, Martin Bunton focuses on the way in which the Palestine Mandate was part of a broader British imperial administration – a fact often masked by Jewish immigration and land purchase in Palestine. His meticulous research reveals clear links to colonial practice in India, Sudan, and Cyprus amongst other places. He argues that land officials' views on sound land management were derived from their own experiences of rural England, and that this was far more influential on the shaping of land policies than the promise of a Jewish National Home. Bunton reveals how the British were intent on preserving the status quo of Ottoman land law, which (when few Britons could read Ottoman or were well grounded in its legal codes) led to a series of translations, interpretations, and hence new applications of land law. The sense of importance the British attributed to their work surveying and registering properties and transactions, is captured in the efforts of British officials to microfilm all of their records at the height of the Second World War. Despite this however, land policies remained in flux."

**Greg Burris**

***The Palestinian Idea: Film, Media, and the Radical Imagination***

(Temple University Press, 270 pages, 2019)

Theoretical analysis, merging Black radical thought with Edward Said, with the author seeing the Palestinian struggle as one about equality, not (in)visibility.

**Kathryn KF Butler**

***"Raise Your Keffiyeh" – Headdress as a Lens for Understanding the Arab Revolt in Mandatory Palestine, 1936-1939***

(Clemson University thesis, 112 pages, 2025)

Free download: https://open.clemson.edu/all_theses/4528/ - Abstract: "In the fall of 1938, approaching the apex of the most intensive period of violence during the Arab Revolt against the British

government in Mandatory Palestine (1936-1939), a seemingly unassuming change occurred for Arab men in cities throughout the region: they donned a new headdress. Sartorial shifts in the early post-Ottoman period were not unique to Palestine. During the Interwar period, changes in male headgear occurred throughout the greater Middle East in Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran, Syria and Iraq, to name a few. These transformations of dress signaled a shift in something either societal or political and oftentimes both. I argue that the headdress introduced to townsmen in 1938 Mandatory Palestine, the *keffiyeh*, acts as a new lens for understanding Arab male expressions of nationalism, resistance and class consciousness during the Revolt. I aim to accomplish this by examining how historians have understood the Revolt, modernity and nationalism and the relationship between clothing and nationalist identity in order to establish a framework for how we might begin to view these sartorial shifts. Furthermore, I seek to trace the fragmented history of male headgear as expressions of modernity and nationalism in the greater Middle East during the Interwar era to demonstrate the interconnected nature of culture and thought in the region."

**Umayyah Cable**
***Mainstreaming Palestine: Cinematic Activism and Solidarity Politics in the United States***
(University of Minnesota Press, 272 pages, 2025)

**Wayne Campbell** aka **Wayne 'Wacfoo' Campbell**
***0710 Year One: A Celebration of Demonstration***
(Author/ Celebration of Demonstration gallery Brixton, 2024)
Photographic documentation of Palestine activism in London.

**Reem Charif**, **Mohamad Hafeda**, and **Joumana al Jabri**, editors; main text by **Rola Riachi** and **Lara Semaan**
***Creative Refuge: Art-Based Research Workshops with Children in Palestinian Refugee Camps***
(Assumed Beirut: Tadween Publishing, 297 pages, 2014)
Bilingual, Arabic-English. Document of Denmark design company Febrik's three community art-based research workshops with children in Burj al-Barajned Refugee Camp, Beirut.

**Elena Cheah**
***An Orchestra Beyond Borders: Voices of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra***
(Verso, 2009)
Story of the ensemble founded by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said in 1999.

**Iqra Shagufta Cheema** and **Stefanie Van de Peer**
***ReFocus: The Films of Annemarie Jacir***
(Edinburgh University Press, 176 pages, 2023/2025)
Publisher's blurb: "A transnational, feminist approach to the oeuvre of Palestinian director Annemarie Jacir."

***Craftsman and Designer Exhibition***
(Oxford University, 5th annual exhibition,1956)
Includes **Violet Barbour**: *Muslim Embroideries* / **Grace Crowfoot**: *The Embroidery of Ramallah* /

**Grace Mary Crowfoot (GM Crowfoot)**
With **John Winter Crowfoot** & **Kathleen M. Kenyon**: ***The Objects from Samaria***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957)

With **John Winter Crowfoot**: ***Early Ivories from Samaria***
(Palestine Exploration Fund, 1938)

With **Louise Baldensperger**: ***From Cedar to Hyssop: A Study in the Folklore of Plants in Palestine***
(Sheldon Press, 1932)

**Hamid Dabashi** (Professor of Iranian Studies and Comparative Literature at Columbia University)
***After Savagery: Gaza, Genocide, and the Illusion of Western Civilization***
(Haymarket Books, 304 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Written during a genocide, *After Savagery* reveals the ethical bankruptcy of "Western philosophy" and how it undergirds the erasure of the colonized. The death toll in Gaza continues to rise—a cold, lifeless number representing entire communities crushed under the weight of settler colonialism. What remains of the theories we use to understand our world? With lyrical and lucid fury, Hamid Dabashi exposes the racist roots of Western philosophy, demanding that readers overcome its pernicious phantom of relevance. Rather than perceiving "the West" as giving carte blanche to Israel, Dabashi insists that Israel must be understood as its quintessence. If Israel is the West and the West is Israel, then Palestine is the world and the world is Palestine. Holding to glimmers from revolutionary works of literature and film, Dabashi argues, in grief and love, that the wretched of the earth need poetry after barbarism—and that Palestine is the site of a liberated imagination."

As editor: ***Dreams of a Nation: On Palestinian Cinema***
(Verso Books, 2007)
With a preface by **Edward Said**. Contributors include **Joseph Massad** (Palestinian cinema in the liberation struggle), **Michel Khleifi** (on his own work), **Bashir Abu-Manneh** (on the work of Michel Khleifi), **Ella Shohat** (representations of gender), **Hamid Dabashi** (on Elia Suleiman), **Anne-Marie Jacir** (on curating a Palestinian film festival in New York City) and **Nizar Hassan** (on film classification).

**Christaine Dabdoub-Nasser** (Centre for Cultural Heritage Preservation Bethlehem)
***Classic Palestinian Cookery*** aka ***Classic Palestinian Cuisine***
(Saqi Books, 224 pages, 2000, 2008, 2026)
See also: **Palestine Fiction**.

**Jonathan Daitch**
***Acting Out: Voices from the Theatre in Palestine***
(Nomad Publishing, 230 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "A book of texts and photographs presenting most of the professional and semi-professional theatres in Palestine and Palestinian theatres in Israel. Texts based on interviews by Jonathan Daitch in 2015, '16, and '17 of 50 actors, directors, and others directly involved in each of 26 theatres and theatre groups are accompanied by photographs by Daitch and others. This format gives Palestinians involved in the theatre a stage on which to talk about their theatres and their lives in the theatre, and to present in their own words Palestinian culture and theatre to a broad audience. They do this with very powerful and moving personal statements, thus achieving one of the major purposes of this book: to help people to see Palestinian theatre as a creative artistic phenomenon, not only as a militant one.

**Rachel Dedman** (Curator of Contemporary Art from the Middle East, V&A Museum)
***Stitching the Intifada: Embroidery and Resistance in Palestine***
(Norwich: Common Threads Press, 77 pages, 2024

***New Approaches to Palestinian Embroidery***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 341 pages, 2018)
Exhibition catalogue; with contributions by Kristine Khouri, Tina Sherwell, Kristen Schied, Tania Tamari Nasir, and Chiara de Cesari.

***At the Seams: A Political History of Palestinian Embroidery***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 303 pages, 2016)
Exhibition catalogue.

**Annalys de Vet**

***Subjective Atlas of Palestine***
(Rotterdam: 010 Publishing, 159 pages, 2007)
Back cover: "The Dutch designer Annelys de Vet invited Palestinian artists, photographers and designers to map their country as they see it ... the contributions give an entirely different angle on a nation in occupied territory." Contents: A quest for normalcy / **Hassan Khader** – On this earth / **Mahmoud Darwish** – Maps of Palestine / My Palestine / **Inass Yassin** – Art school drawings after four years in Nablus / **Hafez Omar** – Good morning Palestine / **Hosni Radwan** – This week in Palestine – Cultural events April 2007 / This week in Palestine – A normal day in the Cultural Palace, Ramallah / **Sami Shana'ah** – A Palestinian music collection / **Reem Fadda** – Well informed / **Majd Abdel Hamid** – Daily reflections on the news / **Baha Boukhari** – In the absence of a currency / **Shuruq Harb** – Imagining a currency / **Hosni Radwan** – The yellow cabs of Palestine / **Majd Abdel Hamid** – Colour correction / **Yazan Khalili** – Clean Ramallah / **Majd Abdel Hamid** & **Rudy J. Luijters** – Twelve ways to eat chickpeas / **Suleiman Mansour** – A user's guide to Argeelah ; Selection of Argeelah designs / **Munther Jaber** – Smoke / **Mamoun Shrietch** – What better time than Christmas to discuss the pos–ive sides of life / **Khaled Jarrar** – Children in Gaza trying to play in the world's largest prison / **Shareef Sarhan** – The creation of the Palestinians / **Khaled Jarrar** – Palestinian floor tiles – Palestinian dress #1 ; Palestinian dress #2 / **Mohanad Yaqubi** – The flowering heritage of Palestine / Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre ; Beautiful Palestine ; Beautiful Palestine, still under occupation / **Majdi Hadid** – Architectural possibilities for the wall ; Fragmentation of the wall / Senan Abdelqader Architects (**Senan Abdelqader**, **Inas Moussa**) – The extremities of Ramallah / **Majd Abdel Hamid** – Signs for what's usually prohibited, but not in Palestine / **Sami Shana'ah** – New road signs for Palestine / **Maissoon Sharkawi** – At the checkpoint / **Khaled Jarrar** – Documents that I needed to travel outside Palestine / **Majdi Hadid** – My father's Palestinian nationality ; My own house where I cannot be / **Baha Boukhari** – 59 years of occupation / **Basel Al Maqousi** – Palestinian refugees in the world / **Awatef Rumiyah** – A lifeline to my bother / **Abed Al Jubeh** – Letter from prisoner Mohammed ; Letter from prisoner Ahmad ; Letter from prisoner Ali ; Letter to prisoner Abu Salah / **Tayseer Barakat** – No news from Palestine / **khaled Hourani** – New flags for Palestine.

**Marcello Di Cintio** (Canadian journalist)

***Pay No Heed to Rockets: Palestine in the Present Tense***
(Saqi Books, 2018)
A lyrical travelogue of the author's meetings with Palestinian writers, poets, librarians, booksellers, readers and literary salon hosts.

**Norman J. Collins**

***Palestine Mandate Issues, 1921-1948: The Crown Agents Requisition Books***
(New York City: Society of Israel Philatelists Educational Fund, 52 pages, 1987)
Postage stamps during the British Mandate.

**Ilan Danjoux** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
***Political Cartoons and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***
(Manchester University Press, 144 pages, 2015)
Research based on 1,200 political cartoons ~ 125 of them included in this book.

**Anthony Dawton**, **Jim McFarlane**, and **Giuseppi Aquili** (photography)
***Ten Days in Gaza***
(Hood Books, 240 pages, 2024)
Mostly black & white photographs from 2010, a project organised by Save the Children NGO.

**Guy Delisle**
***Jerusalem: Chronicles from the Holy City***
(Jonathan Cape, 336 pages, 2012)
Graphic non-fiction.

**Taylor Downing**
***Palestine on Film***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding/CAABU & The London Arab-British Centre, 17 pages, 1979)

**Muna Abu Eid**
***Mahmoud Darwish: Literature and the Politics of Palestinian Identity***
(IB Tauris 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "Mahmoud Darwish is the poet laureate of the Palestinian national struggle. His poems resonate across the entire Arab world and, more than any other single figure perhaps since the death of Yasser Arafat, he represents a unifying figurehead for Palestinian national aspirations. In this, the first comprehensive biography of Darwish in English, Muna Abu Eid examines the poet's intellectual status on two fronts – both national and public – and offers a critical assessment of Darwish's national and political life. Based on Darwish's own writings and interviews with people who worked with him and situating Darwish's poetry within the wider context of Palestinian struggles inside Israel, this book explores the influence of Darwish's life and work in the Palestinian territories and in the diaspora: from the destruction of his Galilee village and displacement of his family during the 1948 Nakba; to his return and 'infiltration' back into the homeland and the struggle for survival inside Israel; to his internal and external exiles in Haifa, Moscow, Cairo, Beirut, Tunisia, Paris and even Ramallah."

**Tor Eigeland** [photography]
***Exodus, 1967 – The Story of Arab Refugees***
(Beirut: Friends of the Arab Refugees, 24pp, 1967)
Numerous full page photographs of Arab refugees from the Six Day War.

**Ami Elad-Bouskila**
***Modern Palestinian Literature and Culture***
(Frank Cass, 1999 / Routledge, 2013)
Focus on literature, rather than other arts, with welcome stopping points, such as "Where do Israeli-Arab Writers Publish / Write About?" Includes the quest for Palestinian identity within Israel, choices of language, the literature of the first Intifada, Jerusalem, and numerous authors such as Emile Habibi.

**Azza El Hassan** (filmmaker; founder of The Void Project ~ thevoidproject.org )

***The Afterlife of Palestinian Images: Visual Remains and the Archive of Disappearance***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "This book explores the re-use and re-appropriation of photos, film and media equipment that have survived looting and destruction, objects which become a constant reminder of what was and what has been lost. El Hassan goes beyond using these visual remains as simple evidence, demonstrating how artistic engagement can reconfigure them into new narratives and establish a renewed sense of cultural identity. While previous research has explored why colonial structures practice native archive plundering, as well as into how a culture reckons with the absence of archival records, this book uniquely addresses how plundered cultures relate to the actual remains of their archives."

**Leila El Khalidi**
***The Art of Palestinian Embroidery***
(London: Saqi Books, 175 pages, 1999)
Contents: pt. I. Prototypes of Palestinian Embroidery. 1. Cross-cultural Factors: Chronology with an Emphasis on the Use of Silk Thread in Palestinian Cross-stitch Embroidery. 2. Migration of Symbols. 3. Geographical Divisions in Pre-1948 Palestine – pt. II. Traditional Costume up to 1948. 4. Pageantry in Costume. 5. Embroidery as a Folk Art. 6. Developments in Embroidery Skills – pt. III. Motifs in Cross-stitch Work up to 1948. 7. The Origins of Cross-stitch Motifs. 8. Motif Selection. 9. Folk Appellation – A Charted Language.

**Joseph R. Farag** (University of Minnesota; contributor to the *Journal of Arabic Literature*)
***Politics and Palestinian Literature in Exile: Gender, Aesthetics and Resistance in the Short Story***
(IB Tauris & University of Texas Press, SOAS Centre for Palestine Studies Series, 2016)
Part of SOAS Palestine Studies series. Drawing from the works of Samira Azzam, Ghassan Kanafani and Ibrahim Nasrallah, Farag traces developments in the short story as they relate to the pivotal events of what the Palestinians call the Nakba ('catastrophe'), Naksa ('defeat') and First Intifada ('uprising').

**Samih K. Farsoun**
***Culture and Customs of the Palestinians***
(Greenwood Press, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we live in a time of globalization and free trade. Nevertheless, seventy new border walls have been built in this period—put together, they would cover the total circumference of the Earth. While governments offer manifold justifications for building these separation barriers, they invariably attract the attention of artists. Is it merely the lure of transgression, however, that attracts them—or is there a deeper significance in the artistic encounter with border walls? And which artistic strategies do these artists employ to approach them? In order to address these questions, Elisa Ganivet revisits the history of border wall aesthetics and compares more recent border-related works by 100 artists, including Joseph Beuys (Berlin), Banksy (Israel-Palestine), and Frida Kahlo (Mexico-US). Through art and thus beyond art, we understand the flaws and shortcomings of supposedly well-oiled systems. With a preface by Élisabeth Vallet."

With **Elaine Hagopian**
***South Lebanon***
Detroit: AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 38 pages, 1978)

**Katharina Galor** (Brown University) & **Sa'ed Atshan** (Emory University/Swarthmore College/UCLA, co-editors
***Reel Gender: Palestinian and Israeli Cinema***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 240 pages, expected 2022)

**Elisa Ganivet**

***Border Wall Aesthetics: Artworks in Border Spaces***
(Columbia University Press, 250 pages, 2020/2021)
Includes such artists as Banksy in Palestine, Frida Kahlo in Mexico, and Joseph Beuys in Berlin. With preface by **Elisabeth Vallet**.

**Nurith Gertz** & **George Khleifi**

***Palestinian Cinema: Landscape, Trauma and Memory***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2008)
Publisher's blurb: "Although in recent years, the entire world has been increasingly concerned with the Middle East and Israeli-Palestinian relationship, there are few truly reliable sources of information regarding Palestinian society and culture, either concerning its relationship with Israeli society, its position between east and west or its stances in times of war and peace. One of the best sources for understanding Palestinian culture is its cinema which has devoted itself to serving the national struggle. In this book, two scholars – an Israeli and a Palestinian – in a rare and welcome collaboration, follow the development of Palestinian cinema, commenting on its response to political and social transformations. They discover that the more the social, political and economic conditions worsen and chaos and pain prevail, the more Palestinian cinema becomes involved with the national struggle. As expected, Palestinian cinema has unfolded its national narrative against the Israeli narrative, which tried to silence it."

**Siham N. Abu-Ghazaleh** (Studied anthropology at Yarmouk University in Jordan, psychology at Kuwait University, and political science at Darmouth College; Head Palestinian Cultural Society in Jordan; consultant at the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research)

***Sew to Speak: A Woman's Journey to Preserving Palestinian Identity***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2021)
This documents the General Union of Palestinian Women's efforts to preserve the heritage of Palestinian national costume.

**Wafa Ghnaim**

***Tatreez and Tea Embroidery and Storytelling in the Palestinian Diaspora***
(author, 2016)
Monograph published only in digital form. Contents include: 27 design patterns total, including six complete sets of patterns to create a full traditional dress (chest, sleeve and panel); Seven organic family tea recipes passed on through generations of Palestinian women; Detailed traditional Palestinian embroidery technique and rare northern Palestinian Arabic craft terminology; Complete guide to the techniques, meanings and origins of each embroidery thread stitch and color; Guidance and instructions detailed enough for inexperienced embroiderers, and inspiration ideas for those with needlework experience; Design histories and meanings of traditional and popular Palestinian embroidery designs in the diapora, including *The Missiles, The Birds, The Snakes, The Ducks, The Scorpions, The Story of Cleopatra, The Gardens* and *The Wheat Harvest.*

With **Taita Leila**: ***Palestinian Embroidery***
(author, 16 pages, ca. 2018)

**Shimon Gibson**

***Jerusalem in Original Photographs, 1850-1920: Photographs from the Archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund***
(Stacey International, 2003)

**Terri Ginsberg** (American University in Cairo)

***Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle: Towards a Critical Analytic of Palestine Solidarity Film***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book offers a much-needed focus on Palestine solidarity films, supplying a critical theoretical framework whose intellectual thrust is rooted in the challenges facing scholars censored for attempting to rectify and reverse the silencing of a subject matter about which much of the world would remain uninformed without cinematic and televisual mediation. Its innovative focus on Palestine *solidarity* films spans a selected array of works which began to emerge during the 1970s, made by directors located outside Palestine/Israel who professed support for Palestinian liberation. *Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle* 826ravelle Palestine solidarity films hailing from countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, Egypt, Iran, Palestine/Israel, Mexico, and the United States. *Visualizing the Palestinian Struggle* is an effort to insist, constructively, upon a rectification and reversal of the glaring and disproportionate minimization and distortion of discourse critical of Zionism and Israeli policy in the cinematic and televisual public sphere."

**Sarah Graham-Brown**
***Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography in the Middle East, 1860-1950***
(Quartet Books, 1988)

***Palestinians and Their Society, 1880-1946: A Photographic Essay***
(Quartet Books, 1980)

**Hilma [Natalia] Granqvist** [1890-1972]
***Portrait of a Palestinian Village ; The Photographs of Hilma Granqvist***
(London Third World Centre, 1981)
Edited by **Karen Seger**, with a foreword by **Shelagh Weir**.

***Muslim Death and Burial***
(Helsinki, 1965)

***Child Problems Among the Arabs: A Study of a Muhammadan Village in Palestine***
(Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1950)

***Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: A Study of a Muhammadan Village in Palestine***
(Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1947)

***Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village***
(Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Part 1 – 1931, Part 2 – 1935)

**Rev. Harvey B. Greene**
***Pressed Flowers from the Holy Land: Flowers Gathered and Pressed in Palestine*** aka ***Wild Flowers in Palestine***
(Lowell, Massachusetts: author, 31 pages, 1896; London: Arnold, ca. 1900)
Introductions by **Rev. Smith Baker** and **Hon. Selah Merrill**, U.S. Consul at Jerusalem, Palestine.

**Robert John Grigg**
***The Images of the Palestinian Flasks as Possible Evidence of the Monumental Decoration of Palestinian Martyria***
(likely a university thesis, 306 pages, 1977)
Held at either the British Museum Library or the British Library.

**Karl Gröber**

***Palestine and Syria: the Country, the People, and the Landscape***
(New York: Via-Lens Publications, 192 pages, 1926)
Photographic book. "Thew majority of the photographs in this book were taken by Dr. Karl Gröber, Munich, and by Lehnert & Landrock, Cairo."

***Picturesque Palestine, Arabia and Syria: the Country, the People and the Landscape***
(London: Jarrolds, 304 pages, 1925)

**Mia Gröndahl** (photographer)
***Gaza Graffiti: Messages of Love and Politics***
(Thames & Hudson, 2013)
With **Gösta Flemming**.

***The Dream of Jerusalem: Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers***
(Stockholm: Journal Publishers, 2005)

***In Hope and Despair: Life in the Palestinian Refugee Camps***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2003)
Photographic survey, with foreword by Hanan Ashrawi and introduction by **Peter Hansen**.

**Mia Gröndahl** (photography) and **Diala Khasawneh** (research and text)
***Memoirs Engraved in Stone: Palestinian Urban Mansions***
(Ramallah: Riwaq Centre for Architectural Conservation / Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2001; Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 157 pages, 2002)
With drawings by **Firas Rahhal** and foreword by **Suad Amiry**. Homes built mainly 1920s-1930s and designed by architects, rather than village homes that were built communally to traditional standards. Note from RIQAW, not in the book: "The adopted Palestinian Heritage Law of 2018, which was issued by the Palestinian president, protects buildings that were constructed prior to 1917. However, listings, classifications, policies, and by-laws are required by the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities to protect later constructions. This makes the more modern architecture in Palestine vulnerable and prey to destruction and replacement with newer and larger buildings. This practically turned out villages and towns, especially after the Oslo Agreement (1993), and the huge urbanisation boom accompanying it, into jungles of reinforced concrete structures and imported curtain glass facades."

**Khadijeh Habashneh** (documentary filmmaker; founding member of the General Union of Palestinian Women/GUPW, 1980-2009)
***Knights of Cinema: The Story of the Palestine Film Unit***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 221 pages, 2023)
Translated by **Nadine Fattaleh**. Publisher's blurb: "This book consists of an account of the creation of the Palestine Film Unit (PFU) and its founding members, from the photography department in the early years of the Palestinian revolution (1967-1968), to its evolution in the mid-1970's into the Palestinian Cinema Institution. Khadijeh Habashneh weaves her own memories into excerpts from letters and other communications of survivors, friends and PFU family members, with writings by scholars who analyzed the work and the contributions of this remarkable film movement (from the late 1960's to early 1980's). As such it offers a unique perspective on this aspect of Palestine film history that ended in the loss of its archive in the mid 1980's, providing details that have not been previously published in English."

**Laila El-Haddad** & **Maggie Schmitt**
***The Gaza Kitchen: A Palestinian Culinary Journey***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2013)
This particular Palestinian pantry features over 100, well illustrated recipes, and local history too.

**El Hakawati**

***The Story of the Eye and the Tooth***
(Glasgow: West of Scotland Friends of Palestine, 16 pages, 1986)
As presented by the Mitchell Theatre, Glasgow.

**Samia Halaby**

With historian **Salman Abu-Sitta**: ***Drawing the Kafr Massacre***
(The Netherlands: Schlit Publishing, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "The 1956 Kafr Qasem massacre was carried out by the Israeli Border Police under cover of the tripartite attack on Egypt by England, France, and Israel. Two other massacres took place during the ensuing days in the cities of Rafah and Khan Younis, where 111 and 275 Palestinian civilians were slaughtered by Israeli troops on their way to Egypt, respectively. In Kafr Qasem, an artifice was created to provide a fig-leaf excuse for the killing of innocent people — a curfew announced less than a half an hour before it was implemented. Workers returning home, tired and hungry, unaware of the curfew, were cold-bloodedly shot dead by members of the Israeli Border Police. Based on interviews with survivors, Samia Halaby created a set of documentary drawings on the subject. The emotions of anger and fear leap from every page of this book, enabling the reader to bear witness to the terrible suffering endured by the inhabitants of this small Palestinian village."

***Samia Halaby: Five Decades of Painting and Innovation***
(Damascus: Ayyam Gallery, 2010 / Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2014)
With text by **Maymanah Farhat**.

***Samia Halaby***
(Beirut, Lebanon: Fine Arts Publishing, 2006)
With introduction by **Inea Bushnaq**.

**Malu Halasa** (Literary Editor at *Markaz Review*) and **Jordan Elgrably**, editors

***Sumud: A New Palestinian Reader: Essays, Memoir, Fiction, Poetry, and Art from the Markaz Review***
(Seven Stories Press, 400 pages, 2025)
Foreword by **Saleem Haddad**. Contents include: Dispatches from Hossam Madhoun, co-founder of Gaza's Theatre for Everybody, as he survives the post-October 2023 war on Gaza; Novelist Ahmed Masoud with "Application 39," a sci-fi short story about a Dystopian bid for the Olympics; Sara Roy and Ivar Ekeland with "The New Politics of Exclusion: Gaza as Prologue," an analysis of Israel's divide and conquer policies of fragmentation; Ilan Pappé with a review of Tahrir Hamdi's book, *Imagining Palestine*, in which he unpacks the relationship between culture and resistance; Lina Mounzer with "Palestine and the Unspeakable," an offering on the language used to dehumanize Palestinians; poetry by the next generation of poets who have inherited the mantle of the late Mahmoud Darwish (1941–2008).

**Jamil Harb** and **Munir Anis Naser**

***A Garden among the Hills: The Floral Heritage of Palestine***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 179pages, 2019)
Exhibition catalogue on the floral variety of the museum's gardens.

**Azza Harras** (Royal Military College of Canada)

***Theatre and the Israel-Palestine Conflict: Identity, Resistance and Contested Narratives***
(IB Tauris, 232 pages, 2025)
Employs postcolonial theory to analyse a diverse array of theatrical works by Israeli, Palestinian, and Western playwrights.

**Rachel S. Harris** & **Ranen Omer-Sherman**, editors
***Narratives of Dissent: War in Contemporary Israeli Arts and Culture***
(Wayne State University Press, 2013)

**Hanan Ghosheh Al-Hassan**
***Palestinian Folk Dresses: Traditional and Modern***
(Amman: Family Care Society, 128 pages, 1997)

**Iris Hassid**
***A Place of Our Own***
(Amsterdam: Sacristy Publishing, 168 pages, 2020)
Tel Aviv-based photographer follows four young Palestinian women, citizens of Israel, attending Tel-Aviv University. Publisher's blurb: "Engaging in spontaneous, pleasurable, and often thought-provoking conversations, Iris Hassid photographed **Samar** (a fresh graduate from film school) from Nazareth, her cousin **Saja** (studying psychology) also from Nazareth, **Majdoleen** (studying architecture) from Kafr Kanna, and **Aya** (studying social work and gender studies), from Kafr Qara. One can see bits of these conversations in the book. "It was refreshing to hear Arabic being spoken in my neighborhood by a new generation of young and self-confident women, so different from how they are portrayed in the media. Why do we label people by their languages, names, accents, looks, and nationalities?" The presence of these young women in Ramat Aviv fascinated **Iris Hassid**, who lives right around the corner from Tel Aviv University, so it made sense to engage. "This project does not claim to faithfully document the lives of these women, nor does it pretend to show 'true' moments. It should be seen as a collaboration between them and me. The outcome of the project is as refreshing, remarkable, and hopeful as it is unclear. "I gained their trust as we learned more about each other. Bit by bit I witnessed more intimate parts of their lives and I also met their families back home. This long and intimate collaboration made me question the place I live in, the historical narrative, the identity and symbols we inherited on both sides. It has revealed a complex and new reality. I often think about their futures and about the future of this country."

**Mona Hatoum** (Internationally known Palestinian artist born in Lebanon); Numerous exhibition catalogues, such as:
***Mona Hatoum: Terra Infirma***
(Houston: Menil Collection, 191 pages, 2017)
With essays by **Anna C. Chave**, **Adania Shibli**, and **Rebecca Solnit**.

***Mona Hatoum***
(Phaidon Press, 159 pages, 1997 / 238 pages, 2016)
Contents: Interview. Michael Archer in conversation with Mona Hartoum – Survey. Itinerary / Guy Brett – Focus. Recollection / Catherine de Zegher – Artist's choice. For a discovery of a zone of images, 1957 / Piero Manzoni – Reflections on exile, 1984 / Edward Said – Artist's writings. Proposal for New Contemporaries : Waterworks, 1981 ; Slade School of Art : Waterworks, 1981 ; Look no body!, 1981 ; Do-it, home version, 1996 ; Under siege, 1983 ; Interview with Sara Diamond, 1987 ; Interview with Claudia Spinelli, 1996 ; Interview with Janine Antoni, 19998 ; Interview with Jo Glencross, 1999 ; Interview with Chiara Bertola, 2014 / [Mona Hartoum] – Dichotomies of belonging / Nancy Spector – Chronology.

***You are Still Here / Hâlâ buradasın***
(Istanbul: Arter, 2012)

**Honey Luard**, editor/curator: ***Mona Hatoum: Remains to be Seen***

(London: White Cube, 111 pages, 2019)
Contains essay by **Fiona Bradley**: *"Fire, Corpus, Body, House" – Mona Hatoum's Work of Unrest.*

**Michelle White, Anna C. Chave, Adania Shibli,** & **Rebecca Solnit**, authors: ***Mona Hatoum: Terra Firma***
(Yale University Press, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "The work of London-based artist Mona Hatoum (b. 1952) addresses the growing unease of an ever-expanding world that is as technologically networked as it is fractured by war and exile. Best known for sculptures that transform domestic objects such as kitchen utensils or cribs into things strange and threatening, Hatoum conducts 830ravelled830ist investigations of the body, politics, and gender that express a powerful and pervasive sense of precariousness. Her works are never simple and often elicit conflicting emotions, such as fascination and fear, desire and revulsion. This copiously illustrated presentation of Hatoum's oeuvre offers critical and art historical essays by Michelle White and Anna C. Chave and imaginative texts by Rebecca Solnit and Adania Shibli, which contextualize the artist's work and its relationship to Surrealism, Minimalism, feminism, and politics. With extensive discussions on a selection of significant sculptures and installations, some of which are previously unpublished, *Mona Hatoum: Terra Infirma* provides an insightful look at one of the most exciting and influential artists working today."

**Laura Steward Heon**, editor: ***Mona Hatoum: Domestic Disturbance***
(North Adams, Massachusetts: MASS MoCA, 74 pages, 2001)
Contains interviews by **Janine Antoni** and **Jo Glencross**.

***Mona Hatoum: The Entire World is a Foreign Land***
(Tate Gallery, 44 pages, 2000)
Contains essays by **Edward W. Said** and **Sheena Wagstaff**.

***Mona Hatoum***
(Chicago: Institute for Contemporary Art, 1997), with essays by **Jessica Morgan** & **Dan Cameron**.

***Mona Hatoum***
(Centre Georges Pompidou, 1994)

***Mona Hatoum: New Installations, 1990-1992***
(London: Mario Flecha Gallery / Cardiff: Chapter Arts Centre, 7 pages, 1992)
Includes and essay by **Guy Brett**.

***Roadworks: Rasheed Araeen, Marc Elmes, Mona Hatoum, John Hewitt, Kasia Januszko, Roland Miller***
(London: Routine Art Co., 20 pages, 1985)
Exhibition at the Brixton Art Gallery.

**HeART of Gaza Project**
***We Write Our Tale Before the End***
(Cambridge: HeAR0054 of Gaza Project, 184 pages, 2025)
Coloured pencil drawings by Gaza children during the Jewish State's genocide of the region, many of whom died before publication. Works had previously be on exhibition in Cambridge. Compiled by Mohammed Timraz, Cathy Dunbar and Jannie Brightman.

**Jennifer Heath**, editor
***"The Map is Not the Territory: Parallel Paths – Palestinian, Native Americans, Irish***
(Boulder, Colorado: Baksun Books & Arts, (2015)

Book accompanying the touring art exhibition, with themes of maps, walls, resistance, food, identity, diaspora and persistence. Includes essays by Aisling B. Cormack, Valeria Behiery, Phoembe Farris, Farah Mébarki, Germán Gil-Curiel, John Halaka, Valentin Lopez, Rawan Arar, and Nessa Cronin.

**Isabelle Hesse** (University of Sydney)

***Reimagining Israel and Palestine in Contemporary British and German Culture***
(Edinburgh University Press, 216 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Isabelle Hesse identifies an important relational turn in British and German literature, TV drama, and film published and produced since the First Palestinian Intifada (1987-1993). This turn manifests itself on two levels: one, in representing Israeli and Palestinian histories and narratives as connected rather than separate, and two, by emphasising the links between the current situation in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the roles that the United Kingdom and Germany have played historically, and continue to play, in the region. This relational turn constitutes a significant shift in representations of Israel and Palestine in British and German culture as these depictions move beyond an engagement with the Holocaust and Jewish suffering at the expense of Palestinian suffering and indicate a willingness to represent and acknowledge British and German involvement in Israeli and Palestinian politics"

**Robert Hillenbrand** (University of Edinburgh)

***The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem: An Introduction***
(Altajir World of Islam Trust, 128 pages, 2002)

**Adina Hoffman**

***Ben Hecht: Fighting Words, Moving Pictures***
(Yale University Press, 264 pages, 2019)
The most successful Hollywood screenwriter of his era and the biggest promoter of Zionism to American Jews. He became a Zionist protégé of Peter Bergman (Hillel Kook) and was indisputably responsible for the championing the cause of a Jewish state to assimilated American Jews and the wider Stateside public, via national advertising and public events. See also: **Rafael Medoff**: *Militant Zionism in America – The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926-1948* (University of Alabama Press, 2002)

***Till We Have Built Jerusalem***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016)
Portraits of three architects: Erich Mendelsohn (ex-Berlin); Austen St Barbe Harrison, the Mandate Government's chief architect, 1922-1937; Spyro Houris

**Gordon Hon**, editor

***What Remains to be Seen: Art & Political Conflict: Views from Britain, Israel, Palestine & Northern Ireland***
(London: Multi Exposure, 2004)
'This book presents the work of three artists, **Aissa Deebi** (Palestine), **Miki Kratsman** (Israel) [and] **Susan Trangmar** (Britain)' – p.7.

**Tom Hurndall** (British photojournalist)

***The Only House Left Standing: The Middle East Journals of Tom Hurndall***
(Trolley, 224 pages, 2012)
Diary, email extracts, poetry and photography following the author's journey from Baghdad, Amman, Jordan, and Rafah (Gaza). He was assassinated by an IDF sniper while carrying Palestinian children to safety. Produced after the 2008 Channel 4 TV film, *The Shooting of Thomas Hundall*. With foreword by **Robert Fisk**. See: Jocelyn Hurndall.

**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**

***Art in Iraq Today***
(London: Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, 1961)
Possible Palestinian Diaspora content.

***Iraqi Art Today***
(Baghdad: Ministry of Information, 1972)
Possible Palestinian Diaspora content.

***A Celebration of Life: Essays on Literature and Art***
(Baghdad: Dar Al-Ma'mun, 1989)
Possible Palestinian Diaspora content.

**Emily Jacir**

With **Omar Kholeif**, co-editor: ***Emily Jacir – Europa***
(Prestel, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "This book focuses on this award-winning artist s relationship to Europe and the Mediterranean and explores how one relates to a particular place. Incorporating historic archival material, Jacir traces Europe through its history of colonialism and trade routes, reanimating it through performative gestures. Her work offers uniquely personal revelations about Europe s culture of exile and surveillance, etymology and language, as well as the tension between figuration and abstraction in art. Jacir utilises conceptual tools that reveal the political limitations of society, creating scenarios that erode or question communal boundaries and borders. The book includes reproductions of Jacir s works such as Material for a Film (2004-ongoing), which won the Golden Lion at the Venice Biennale, as well as stazione (2009) and Lydda Airport (2009). It also includes original essay contributions from Jean Fisher, Lorenzo Fusi and Omar Kholeif, among others. Published in association with Whitechapel Gallery, London."

***Emily Jacir – Ex Libris***
(Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther Konig, 2012)
The artist's photographic commemoration of the 30,000 books looted in 1948 and now held by the Jewish National Library of Israel, designated "AP" as "abandoned property."

**Roland Wäspe** and **Andreas Baur**, editors: ***Emily Jacir***
(Nürnberg: Verlag Moderne Kunst, bilingual edition, 96pp, 2007)

***Belongings: Works, 1998-2003***
(Wien: Folio Publishing, 2004)
Publisher's blurb: "Emily Jacir is an artist who lives in between New York and Ramallah. It's no surprise that a central motif in her work is the theme of voluntary and coerced movement between places and cultures. The projects she has undertaken over the past five years have pungently, poignantly crossed the divides between art, life, politics and culture over and over again. In "Where We Come From," Jacir, armed with an American passport, crossed borders in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip fulfilling everyday requests for fellow Palestinians unable to move so freely. In "Sexy Semite," she placed ads in the "Village Voice," a "Hot Palestinian Semite" seeking "Jewish soul mate" and the like. And in "Memorial to 418 Palestinian Villages which were Destroyed, Depopulated and Occupied by Israel in 1948," Jacir installed a refugee tent in her studio in Lower Manhattan and invited friends and strangers to help her embroider the village names." Note: Numerous other titles, some unrelated to the Palestinian Diaspora.

**Khaled Jarrar**

***Khaled Jarrar: Whole in the Wall***

(London: Ayyam Gallery, 45 pages, 2013)
Exhibition catalogue.

**Ewa Jasiewicz** (author), **Jon Sack** (illustrator)
***Prisoners of Love: A Story from the Freedom Flotilla***
(Jon Sack, 2011)
Graphic novel format.

**Wasif Jawhariyyeh**
***Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2014)
Translated and edited by **Salim Tamari**, **Issam Nassar**, and **Nada Elzeer**, with foreword by **Rachel Beckles Willson**. More than a personal memoir, this is eyewitness testimony to major historical events in Jerusalem from the waning days of Ottoman rule and the beginnings of the British mandate to the emergence of the state of Israel. It will prove a valuable source of primary material, recording Palestinian urban life and the rise of national consciousness. Highly recommended for historians of the era and for anyone interested in a legacy of Jerusalem. –Library Journal. Includes a great deal of urban Arab culture in Jerusalem, especially the music scene.

**Baha Jubeh** with curator **Abdel-Rahman Shabane**
***Printed in Jerusalem: Mustamloun***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 1984 pages, 2020)
Exhibition catalogue on the city's Palestinian printing history, since printing presses started up there in 1825.

**Nazmi al-Jubeh**, editor (Birzeit University)
***Old Hebron: The Charm of a Historical City and Architecture***
(Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, 2009)
With many photographs; contributors: Abdulhafez Abu Siriyya, Emad Hamdan, Ghassan al-Dweik, Hilme Marqa, Mohammad Sabaaneh, Nazmi al-Jubeh, Nuha Dandis and Youssef al-Tartury.

**Ezzedine Kalak**
***Palestine: Post Cards from the Collection of Ezzedine Kalak***
(Arab Graphic Centre, ca. 1980)
Multilingual: Arabic, French, English. Author was assassinated at the PLO Bureau in Paris, 1978. Colour reproductions of vintage post cards, with verse by Elias Sanbar and Farouk Mardam-Bey. English translation by **Jean O'Hanlon**.

**Joudie Kalla**
***Baladi Palestine: A Celebration of Food from Land and Sea***
(Interlink Publications, 2018)
With photography by **Ria Osbourne**. Publisher's blurb: "'Baladi' means "my home, my land, my country," and Joudie once again pays homage to her homeland of Palestine by showcasing its wide ranging, vibrant and truly delicious dishes. Palestine is a country of different seasons and landscapes, and it is these diverse conditions that create the many and varied ingredients featured in the book. Joudie takes an entirely flexible approach to cooking, using influences from her home to create new dishes, and bringing her own twist to more traditional recipes. *Baladi* features recipes according to the area that they hail from, such as the land, the sea, the fields, the orchard . . . Experience the wonderful flavors of Palestine through Daoud Basha (lamb meatballs cooked in a tamarind and tomato sauce), khubzet za'atar (za'atar brioche twists), samak makli bil camun (fried fish selection with zucchini, mint and yogurt

dip), atayef (soft pancakes filled with cream in an orange blossom sugar syrup), and many more sublime flavor combinations.

***Palestine on a Plate: Memories from My Mother's Kitchen***
(Interlink Publications, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "*Palestine on a Plate* is a tribute to family, cooking, and home—old recipes created with love that brings people together in appreciation of the beauty of this rich heritage. Immerse yourself in the stories and culture of Palestine through the food in this book. This is a celebration of real Palestinian food, cooked with the ingredients that Joudie's mother and grandmother use, and their grandmothers used before them. Experience the wonderful flavors of Palestine through zingy *fattet hummus* (tangy yoghurt, chickpeas and hummus, served over toasted pita bread and drizzled in buttered pine nuts), satisfyingly spiced *makloubeh* (an upside down spiced rice dish with lamb neck and fried eggplant), eggplant and zucchini stuffed full with spiced and herbed lamb, and sublimely decadent *awameh* (honey dumplings) all accompanied by fresh mint tea and white coffee (not actually coffee at all, but a refreshing mix of water, orange blossom water and sugar). Colorful, stunning photography evoking the vibrancy and romance of the country will bring Palestine into your home and make you fall in love with this wonderful way to cook and enjoy food."

**Moslih Kanaaneh** (Birzeit University), **Stig-Magnus Thorsén** (Gothenburg University), **Heather Bursheh** (Edward Said National Conservatory of Music), and **David A. McDonald** (Indiana University), editors

***Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance Since 1900***
(Bloomington ; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013)

**Aida Karaoglan**

***The Struggle Goes On***
(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre / PLO, 152 pages, 1968, 1969)
Photographic essay, including artist **Joumana El-Husseini Bayazid**, historian **Nabih Amin Faris**, and contemporary Al-Fatah guerrilla training.

**Widad Kamel Kawar** & **Margarita Skinner** (Switzerland)

***Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950***
(Melisende Publications / Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2007)
Over 200 motifs illustrated.

**Widad Kamel Kawar**

***Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2011)
Illustrated by **Falak Shawwa**. This book is a record of the 50 years Widad Kawar spent researching, collecting and preserving part of the heritage of Palestine. This endeavor evolved into the Widad Kawar Collection, the largest to date of Palestinian, Jordanian and other Arab traditional dress and accessories, comprising more than 2,000 items. In the following chapters she presents the story of how the collection evolved and she introduces the life stories of the women who produced the beautiful costumes it contains. For her, each item calls to mind an individual or a place: a wife, a mother, a daughter, a family, a house, a village, a town, a field, a market. Each item was worn on special occasions, happy and sad, that marked the owner 's life. Much of Widad 's knowledge stems from the personal narratives of these women whose embroidery and dress-making skills she so admires. With this book she pays homage to Palestinian women. Threads of Identity is a history of Palestinian women of the 20th century told through aspects of popular heritage, focusing on traditional dresses but also including textiles and rug weaving, rural and urban customs, cuisine, and festivities. The interviews with women who lived through the traumas and changes of the 20th century are a contribution to oral history, augmenting standard historical accounts. While most writing about the Middle East concentrates on politics, her book focuses

on the dignity of ordinary people, and women in particular, bridging the gap between the major events of history and everyday life.

**Widad Kamel Kawar, Tania Tamari Nasir, Assali Dajani, Hala Tomeh Ibrahim** & **Farideh Saleh Mayer**

***Palestinian Embroidery: Traditional "Fallahi" Cross-Stitch***
(Beirut: al-Moassasa al-Aarabiyya Lildirasat wa al-Nashr, 2003)

**Elke Kaschl**

***Dance and Authenticity in Israel and Palestine: Performing the Nation***
(Leiden: Brill, 2003)
Unpacks the Mandate era appropriation of Arab culture by Zionist settlers seeking to establish tradition.

**Reem Kassis**

***We Are Palestinian: A Celebration of Culture and Tradition***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 112 pages, 2023)
Children's book, illustrated by **Noha Eilouti**.

***The Palestinian Table***
(Phaidon Press, 2017)
150 recipes, noting regional preferences within Palestine.

**Fadi Kattan**

***Bethlehem: A Celebration of Palestinian Food***
(Hardie Grant US, 240 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Franco-Palestinian chef Fadi Kattan celebrates the hidden parts of Bethlehem, his home, conjuring the colours and smells of its market and spice shops and introducing readers to the local farmers and artisans with whom he works to find the perfect ingredients and shares his love of culinary experimentation. Fadi's inspiration comes from these food artisans, who grow the grapes, mill the wheat, make the olive oil, and most importantly, pass down the generational food knowledge. His loving profiles of these people are accompanied by his own recipes, some passed down, some from his restaurants in Bethlehem and London. Learn to stuff **grape leaves with Nabulsi cheese**, **slow roast lamb seasoned with fenugreek and cardamom**, roll **labaneh in nigella seeds**, and make **Mouhalabieh, a milky pudding scented with mastic and pistachios**. Bright and bold flavours and the stories of their origins await readers in *Bethlehem*."

**Ruth Katz**

***"The Lachmann Problem": An Unsung Chapter in Comparative Musicology***
(Jerusalem: Hebrew University / Judah Magnes Press, 2003)
Robert Lachmann (1892-1939) was German-Jewish immigrant who championed Arab music in an Orientalist fashion on the Palestine Broadcasting Service.

**John Keane**

***The Inconvenience of History: Paintings from Gaza and the West Bank***
(London: Institute Gallery, 34 pages, 2004)
Catalogue of an exhibition held at the London Institute Gallery; the Naughton Gallery at Queen's University, Belfast; the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre, Ramallah; and the Derby Museum & Art Gallery, Derby. With an essay by .

**Mazen Kerbaj**

***Gaza in My Phone***
(OR Books, 144 pages, 2025)

***Beirut Won't Cry: Lebanon's July War – A Visual Diary***
(Fantagraphics-FU, 2017)
With introduction by Joe Sacco. Cartoon commentary witnessing the 2006 Israeli assault.

**Tex Kerschen**

***Made in Palestine: Station Museum, Houston, Texas, May-October, 2003***
(Houston : Ineri Publishing, 95 pages, 2003)
A variety of works including photographs (martyr billboards, Gaza City), ink and acrylic works, sculpture, and installations. Introduction: **James Harithas**; preface: **Tarif Abboushi**; essays: **Tex Kerschen**. Focus on Zuhdi Al Adawi – Tyseer Barakat – Ranan Bishara – Rajie Cook – Mervat Essa – Ashraf Fawakhry – Samia Halaby – John Halaka – Rula Halawani – Mustafa Al Hallaj – Jawad Ibrahim – Noel Jabbour – Emily Jacir – Suleiman Mansour – Abdul Hay Mussalam – Abdel Rahmen al Muzayen – Muhammad Rakouie – Mohammad Abu Sall – Nida Sinnokrot – Vera Tamari – Mary Tuma – Adnan Yahya – Hani Zurob.

**Hamid Keshmirshekan**, editor

***Contemporary Art from the Middle East: Regional Interactions with Global Art Discourses***
(IB Tauris, 2015)
This art scene analysed as art history.

**Issam Khalidi** (San Francisco-based historian; hpalestinesports.net)

***One Hundred Years of Football in Palestine***
(Al Manhal, 296 pages, 2013)
With foreword by FIFI President Joseph S. Blatter. Book reportedly in both English and Arabic. Publisher's blurb: "Football is a mirror that reflects political and social processes. It was not, and still is not, separated from the political conditions that Palestine went through and still going through tens of decades later. Football was not isolated from the British-imposed mandate on Palestine, Zionist settlements, immigration and dreams in building the national home, Nakba (the catastrophe of 1948), and Diaspora that still occur to this day. In addition, it has been subjected to Israeli restrictions throughout the longest occupation in modern history. Football helped in shaping the Palestinian national identity. Palestinians expressed themselves in sports. In fact, football was not, and still is not, a tool of achieving big results; rather, it represented a way for pride and national expression. Through the last one hundred years, current Palestinian sport was based on national-ideological, cultural, organizational and health principles. It has a historical characteristic through this period because it was attached to the political conditions in which the Palestinians went through. In some cases, Palestinian people could achieve better results for change through football than by political means. Many believe that football could be a significant tool for building an independent state."

**Walid Khalidi** (son of Ahmad Samih Effendi Al Khalidi, Principal of the Arab College, in the al-Mukhber Hills of southern Jerusalem, established 1918 and closing 1948, at the end of the British Mandate; brother of Islamic scholar Tarif Khalidi; founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, later in Washington DC, and then Boston, Massachusetts)

***Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984)
Outstanding photographic folio, from the Library of Congress' Matson Photographic Collection giving evidence to the Arab presence in Palestine, when Zionists were claiming there was none. The many images in the hardback original are markedly better than the grey reproductions found in the paperback reissue. See **Walid Khalidi** elsewhere in this bibliography.

**Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre**

***100 Lives***

(Ramallah: Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre, 209pages, 2001

Published on the occasion of a memorial exhibition to those killed in the Al-Aqsa Intifada, which began 29 September 2000. Images with parallel text in Arabic and English.

**Mohamed Saleh Khalil**

***Portfolio Art Book***

(300+ pages, 2021)

**Yasmin Khan**

***Zaitoun: Recipes and Stories from the Palestinian Kitchen***

(Bloomsbury, 2018)

**Diala Khasawneh**

***Memoirs Engraved in Stone: Palestinian Urban Mansions***

(Ramallah: Riwaq Centre for Architectural Conservation / Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2001; Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 157 pages, 2002)

With photographs by **Mia Gröndahl**; drawings by **Firas Rahhal**. Homes built mainly 1920s-1930s and designed by architects, rather than village homes that were built communally to traditional standards. Note from RIQAW, not in the book: "The adopted Palestinian Heritage Law of 2018, which was issued by the Palestinian president, protects buildings that were constructed prior to 1917. However, listings, classifications, policies, and by-laws are required by the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities to protect later constructions. This makes the more modern architecture in Palestine vulnerable and prey to destruction and replacement with newer and larger buildings. This practically turned out villages and towns, especially after the Oslo Agreement (1993), and the huge urbanisation boom accompanying it, into jungles of reinforced concrete structures and imported curtain glass facades."

**Hisham Khatib**, with foreword by **Sarah Searight**

***Jerusalem, Palestine and Jordan in the Archives of Hisham Khatib***

(Gilgamesh Publications, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "This remarkable collection spans the 400 years of Ottoman rule, but has a heavy focus on 19th Century watercolors, including works from Edward Lear, Carl Haag and Carl Werner. Their work concentrated on realistic portrayals of the region (in particular Jerusalem) rather than basking in romantic 'Orientalism'. Images from illustrated plate books are of especial interest. These include rare works by Charles van de Velde, Sir David Wilkie, Louis de Forbin, Francois Paris, Honore d'Albert duc de Luynes, Leon de Laborde and David Roberts. The focus of these plate books was the large-scale engravings, lithographs and etchings which illustrated them. The section on travel books – also frequently illustrated – includes works by Bernardino Amico, John Lewis Burckhardt, Adrian Reland and Baedecker's Travel Guides."

**Lina Khatib** (SOAS / Head Middle East analyst, Chatham House)

***Image Politics in the Middle East: The Rise of the Visual in Political Struggle***

(IB Tauris, 2013)

***Lebanese Cinema: Imagining the Civil War and Beyond***

(IB Tauris, 2008)

***Filming the Modern Middle East: Politics in the Cinemas of Hollywood and the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2006)

**Omar Kholeif** and **Candy Stobbs**, editors
***Imperfect Chronology: Arab Art from the Modern to the Contemporary: Works from the Barjeel Art Foundation***
(London: Whitechapel Gallery, 272 pages, 2015)
Contents: The Arab world : a sum of its parts / Sultan Sooud Al Qassemi – Tracing routes : debating modernism, mapping the contemporary / Omar Kholeif – Notes on verbal dominance and visual expression in Arab culture / **Kamal Boullata** – The exhibition and the Agora : Contemporary Arab representations (2001-07) / Edward McDonald-Toone – Collecting modern Iraqi art / Nada Shabout – Egypt at the Venice Biennale : 1967 and the year that changed everything / Gilane Tawadros – Be still my beating heart, part 1 : a fugue in fictional art history / Rasha Salti – A speculative reading of Al-Wahesh wal Miskeen by Fateh Moudarres / Rasha Salti – The middle east and south Asia : aesthetic mobilities / Iftikhar Dadi – Extracts from The Arab apocapypse / Etel Adnan – Debating modernism I – Debating modernism II – Mapping the conpemporary I – Mapping the comtemporary II.

**Khalid Kishtainy**
***Arab Political Humour***
(Quartet Books, 1985)
Some coverage of post-Naksa sentiments in the region.

**Kent Klich** (photographer)
***Kent Klich: Gaza Works***
(Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther Konig / Hasselblad Centre, Gothenburg, 2017)
With text by: **Judith Butler, Susan Meiselas, Mette Sandbye, Raji Sourani, Eyal Weizman, Louise Wolthers** & **Dragana Vujanovic Ostlind**

***Black Friday***
(Kehrer Verlag, 2015)
Subjects: Salah al-Din, Oroba, Deir Yassin and Al Najaar

***Gaza Photo Album***
(Umbrage Editions, 2010)
Depicting residential destruction during Israel's Operation Cast Lead, December 2008-January 2009)

**Zia Krohn** & **Joyce Lagerweij**
***Concrete Messages: Street Art on the Israeli-Palestinian Separation Barrier***
(Stockholm: Dokument ; London: Turnaround [distributor], 2010)

**Lital Levy**
***Poetic Trespass: Writing between Hebrew and Arabic in Israel***
(Princeton University Press, 314 pages, 2014)
Contents: PART I. HISTORICAL VISIONS AND ELISIONS; Chapter 1. From the "Hebrew Bedouin" to "Israeli Arabic": Arabic, Hebrew, and the Creation of Israeli Culture; Chapter 2. Bialik and the Sephardim: The Ethnic Encoding of Modern Hebrew Literature; PART II. BILINGUAL ENTANGLEMENTS; Chapter 3. Exchanging Words: Arabic Writing in Israel and the Poetics of Misunderstanding. Chapter 4. Palestinian Midrash: Toward a Postnational Poetics of Hebrew

VersePART III. AFTERLIVES OF LANGUAGE; Chapter 5. "Along Came the Knife of Hebrew and Cut Us in Two": Language in Mizraḥi Fiction, 1964-2010; Chapter 6. "So You Won't Understand a Word": Secret Languages, Pseudo-languages, and the Presence of Absence.

**Chrisoula Lionis** (University of New South Wales / Curator of Palestine Film Festival in Australia)

***Laughter in Occupied Palestine: Comedy and Identity in Art and Film***

(IB Tauris, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "Though the current political situation in Palestine is more serious than ever, contemporary Palestinian art and film is becoming, paradoxically, increasingly funny. In Laughter in Occupied Palestine, Chrisoula Lionis analyses both the impetus behind this shift toward laughter and its consequences, arguing that laughter comes as a response to political uncertainty and the decline in nationalist hope. Revealing the crucial role of laughter in responding to the failure of the peace process and ongoing occupation, she unearths the potential of humour to facilitate understanding and empathy in a time of division. This is the first book to provide a combined overview of Palestinian art and film, showing the ways in which both art forms have developed in response to critical moments in Palestinian history over the last century. These key moments, Lionis argues, have radically transformed contemporary Palestinian collective identity and in turn Palestinian cultural output. Mapping these critical junctions beginning with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to the Oslo Accords in 1993 she explores the historical trajectory of Palestinian art and film, and explains how the failure of the peace process has led to the present proliferation of humour in Palestinian visual culture."

**Vered Maimon** (Tel Aviv University) and **Shiraz Grinbaum** (Activestills Collective; photo editor for *+972* magazine)

***Activestills – Photography as Protest in Palestine/Israel***

(Pluto Press, 320 pages, 2016)

Examines the role of photographers in enabling political and social struggles in Israel, the Occupied West Bank, and Gaza.

**Sunaina Maira** (UCLA, Davis)

***Boycott! The Academy and Justice for Palestine***

(University of California Press, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "*Boycott!* Situates the academic boycott in the broader history of boycotts in the United States as well as in Palestine and shows how it has evolved into a transnational social movement that has spurred profound intellectual and political shifts. It explores the movement's implications for antiracist, feminist, queer, and academic labor organizing and examines the boycott in the context of debates about Palestine, Zionism, race, rights-based politics, academic freedom, decolonization, and neoliberal capitalism."

***Jil Oslo: Palestinian Hip Hop, Youth Culture, and the Youth Movement***

(Washington DC / Beirut: Tadween Publishing & the Arab Studies Institute, 199 pages, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "Based on ethnographic research in Palestine, primarily during the Arab uprisings, this book explores the intersections between new youth cultures and protest politics among Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Israel. It focuses on Palestinian hip hop and the youth movement that emerged in 2011 as overlapping sites where new cultural and political imaginaries are being produced in the Oslo generation (jil Oslo). Challenging the Oslo framework of national politics and of cultural expression, these young artists and activists are rethinking and reviving the possibility of a decolonial present. "In her perceptive, sensitive, penetrating analysis of the post-Oslo generation of Palestinian youth, Sunaina Maira paints a dynamic picture of contemporary life, art, and politics for young Palestinians under occupation and within the '48 borders of Israel-an increasingly neoliberal world in which the Palestinian Authority is the face of the occupation, where claims of political malaise are shattered by new, energetic forms of political and cultural expression-from graffiti to Hip Hop, civil

disobedience to BDS. A must-read for anyone remotely interested in the future of Palestine." Robin D. G. Kelley, author of Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times. "This rich and valuable book challenges us to think in radical terms about youth resistance in Palestine in the post-Oslo generation. These young people resist the demand to normalize their life under Israeli settler colonialism, while using popular culture to speak back against the necropolitical machinery of elimination. Maira's book gives us an inspiring and compelling reading of how popular culture becomes another site to narrate and reshape a new politics." Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, author of Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case-Study."

**Bashir Makhoul** & **Gordon Hon** (both of Southampton University)

***The Origins of Palestinian Art***

(Liverpool University Press, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "This book provides the most comprehensive survey of contemporary Palestinian art to date. The development of contemporary practice, theory and criticism is understood as integral to the concomitant construction of Palestinian national identities. In particular the book explores the intricate relationship between art and nationalism in which the idea of origin plays an important and problematic role. The book deconstructs the existing narratives of the history of Palestinian art, which search for its origins in the 19th century, and argues that Palestinian contemporary art demonstrates pluralistic, politically and philosophically complex attitudes towards identity and nation that confound familiar narratives of origin and belonging. The book builds upon theories of art, nationalism and post-colonialism particularly in relation to the themes of fragmentation and dispersal. It takes the Arabic word for Diaspora Shatat (literally broken apart) as a central concern in contemporary understanding of Palestinian culture and develops it, along with Edward Said's paradoxical formula of a 'coherence of dispersal' as the organising concept of the book. This aspect of contemporary Palestinian art is peculiarly suited to the conditions produced by the globalisation of art and we show how Palestinian artists, despite not having a state, have developed an international profile."

**Dalia Manor**

***Art in Zion***

(Routledge, 2004/2010)

Mandate-era Zionist settlers try to create their own Jewish Palestine-European art.

**Bashir Makhoul**

***The Origins of Palestinian Art***

(Liverpool University Press, 2014)

***Palestinian Video Art: Constellation of the Moving Image***

(Palestinian Art Court – al Hoash, 2013)

Publisher's blurb: "This ground-breaking volume charts the work of over sixty Palestinian artists using moving images. This collection of essays explores a wide range of intellectual, socio-political and cultural concerns arrayed around these artists' works. The substantial overview provided by Bashir Makhoul, particularly in his chapter "Locations and Transmissions", offers a theoretical account of how the state of becoming Palestinian accords so closely with the use of video art, with the two interdependently producing each other. Richly illustrated, this anthology showcases work by Palestinian artists based all over the world and includes contributions by well-known authors such as Jonathan Harris, Sean Cubitt, Laura U. Marks, Tina Sherwell, Chris Meigh-Andrews, and Ryan Bishop. The collection is deliberately wide-ranging, embracing the subject in all of its diversity. Examining and chronicling Palestinian video art through a wide variety of scholarly approaches, this publication challenges static accounts of video art as niche art (historical) production, and of Palestinian identity as fixed. Instead, this illuminating collection offers the reader a constellated image of the ever-fluctuating nature of both video art as transmission and the becomingness of being Palestinian."

***Return***

(Deebi Publishing, 2007)

With **Oded Shimshon** & **Aissa Deebi**: ***Dust and Dispute***
(Elsabar Association, 2007)

***Hold***
(Leeds Metropolitan University Gallery, 1999)

**Mohammad Malas**
***The Dream: A Diary of a Film***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2016)
Backstory to the making of the documentary on the lives of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon during the civil war, based on 400 interviews.

**Sliman Mansour**
***Sliman Mansour***
(Palestinian Art Court, 2011)

**Samar Martha** (curator) & **Nicola Gray**, editors
***The Other Shadow of the City***
(London: ArtSchool Palestine/Platform for Contemporary Arts, 2010)

**Zeina Maasri** (University of Brighton)
***Off the Wall: Political Posters of the Lebanese Civil War***
(IB Tauris, 137 pages, including 64 pages of images, 2009)
Published in conjunction with the 2008 Beirut exhibition, 'Signs of Conflict' and covers the Palestinian component of the war.

**Mai Masri** (Palestinian filmmaker)
**Victoria Brittain**
***Love and Resistance in the Films of Mai Masri***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 144 pages, 2020)
Explores collaboration with Lebanese filmmaker Jean Chamoun.

**Stefanie Van de Peer**
***Negotiating Dissidence: The Pioneering Women of Arab Documentary***
(Edinburgh University Press, 238 pages, 2017)
Available open access via the publisher.

**Caroline Rooney** & **Rita Sakr**
***The Ethics of Representation in Literature, Art and Journalism: Transnational Responses to the Siege of Beirut***
(Routledge, 226 pages, 2013)

**Rania Matar** (photography)
***She***
(Radius Books, 184 pages, 2021)
**Mark Alice Durant** & **Orin Zahra**, text.

***Ordinary Lives***
(WW Norton, 2009)
**Anthony Shadid** (text), and **Lisa Majaj** (poetry). "Publisher's blurb: "Lebanon is a country built on dichotomies. It is a blend of cultures, poised at the intersection between the Western and Arab worlds. Born in Beirut and living in the West, photographer Rania Matar is especially attuned to those dichotomies. Here she honors the lives of the women and children of Lebanon in evocative black-and-white photographs. They convey the many facets of life, acknowledging the undeniable presence of war and tragedy, yet celebrating the strength, dignity, and humanity of lives lived amid the rubble, in refugee camps, or behind the veil. These images are universal reminders of the tender bond between a mother and child, the cheerful camaraderie of friends, and the resilience of the human spirit. Accompanying these photographs are excerpts from the poetry of celebrated Palestinian-American author Lisa Majaj."

**Malak Mattar**, author and illustrator (Gaza artist, whose works are largely autobiographical)
***Sitti's Bird: A Gaza Story*** and ***Grandma's Bird***
(Crocodile Books, 32 pages, 2021/Interlink Books, 2022)
Autographical children's book, reflecting the author's childhood in Gaza and her beginnings as an artist during the 2014 airstrikes there.

**Margaret Read MacDonald**
***Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur! A Palestinian Folktale***
(32 pages; Marshall Cavenish Children, 2006 / Two Lions, 2012)

**David A. McDonald** (Indiana University Bloomington)
***My Voice is My Weapon***
(Duke University Press, 360 pages, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: " Charting a historical narrative that stretches from the late-Ottoman period through the end of the second Palestinian intifada, McDonald examines the shifting politics of music in its capacity to both reflect and shape fundamental aspects of national identity. Drawing case studies from Palestinian communities in Israel, in exile, and under occupation, McDonald grapples with the theoretical and methodological challenges of tracing "resistance" in the popular imagination, attempting to reveal the nuanced ways in which Palestinians have confronted and opposed the traumas of foreign occupation. The first of its kind, this book offers an in-depth ethnomusicological analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, contributing a performative perspective to the larger scholarly conversation about one of the world's most contested humanitarian issues."

**Edward McGuire** (editor/transcriber; translations by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign)
***Songs of the Fedayeen***
(London: Bellman Bookshop, Tufnell Park, 20 pages, 1970)
Contains music notation and English lyrics, with illustrations by **Kamal Boulatta**.

**Sonja Mejcher-Atassi**
***Reading Across Modern Arabic Literature and Art***
(Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012)
Includes criticism and interpretation of Jabra Ibrahim Jabra.

**Yonatan Mendel** (Cambridge University, Ben-Gurion University)
With **Abeer al Najjar** (London School of Economics & American University Sharjah-UAE): ***Language, Politics and Society in the Middle East: Essays in Honour of Yasir Suleiman***

(Edinburgh University Press, 2018)

With **Ronald Ranta** (Kingston University): ***From the Arab Other to the Israeli Self: Palestinian Culture in the Making of Israeli National Identity***
(Routledge, 2016)

***The Creation of Israeli Arabic: Political and Security Considerations in the Making of Arabic Language Studies in Israel***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "This book sheds light on the ways in which the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict has shaped Arabic language instruction in Jewish-Israeli society. It explores how 'Israeli Arabic' has been constructed by means of a closed network of Jewish-Israeli actors focused on political and security considerations rather than on a desire for open communication. The book argues that 'Israeli Arabic' has evolved as a silent, passive language that gave its users a limited set of language skills, especially decoding texts, with an emphasis on newspapers. This has enabled its students to observe the Arab world but not to interact with Arab people in general and the Palestinian citizens of Israel more particularly. The interdisciplinary nature of the book gives a unique perspective on Jewish-Israeli society and its production and reproduction of knowledge in the field of Arabic, and would therefore be of great interest to academics and researchers on security and Middle Eastern studies as well as those specialising in language and linguistics."

**Dr. Erna Meyer**

***How to Cook in Palestine ~ Wie Kocht Man in Erez-Israel***
(Tel Aviv: Histadruth Nashim Zionioth, Palestine Federation of WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization, 181 pages, 1930)
In English, German, and Hebrew.

**Salwa Mikdadi** (New York University at Abu Dhabi; curator for the first Palestinian Pavilion at the Venice Biennial, 2009)

As co-editor, with **Hossein Amirsadeghi** & **Nada Shabout**: ***Newvision – Arab Contemporary Art in the 21st Century***
(Thames & Hudson, 2009)

***Forces of Change: Artists of the Arab World***
(Lafayette, California: International Council for Women in the Arts, 1994)

**Noureddine Miladi** (Qatar University), editor

***Global Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Reporting the Sheikh Jarrah Evictions***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, SOAS Palestine Studies series, 288 pages, 2023)
Contents: 1. Digital Media and the War of Narratives in Reporting the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict - Noureddine Miladi and Aaya Miladi / 2. Gaza 2021: Newsworthiness and Context in the Spanish News Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict - Ruth Sanz Sabido / 3. Counter-Hegemonic Global Media Narratives on the Palestine-Israel Conflict: The Sheikh Jarrah Protests on CGTN, RT, France 24 and Telesur - Christopher D. Tulloch and Jose Luis Gordillo / 4. Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, Comparing Al Jazeera English and i24News - Noureddine Miladi, Rania El-Malky and Karima Miladi / 5. SDG16 in the News: Digital News Coverage of Sheikh Jarrah in Nigerian Newspapers - / Muhammad Jameel Yusha'u / 6. Reporting the Sheikh Jarrah Evictions on TRT World's Twitter Account - Yusuf Devran / 7 . Digital Activism and the Politics of Protest: Palestine and the Struggle for Global Popular Representation - Mazhar Al-Zo'by / 8. The Orchestration of Activist Events: Making Protests Heard (and seen) - Konstantin Aal, Sarah Rüller, Peter Tolmie and Volker Wulf / 9. #PalDigiplomacy: Online Palestinian Public Diplomacy during Israel's 2021 Attacks - Loreley Hahn-Herrera / 10. Social Media, Activism and Mass Protest: Framed Narratives of the May 2021 Sheikh Jarrah's Events - Shadi Abu-Ayyash and Hussein AlAhmad / 11.

Palestinian War Narrative and Social Media: Ethnographic Account of the Victims of Israel-Palestine War during May 2021 - Tawseef Majeed and Ali M. Abushbak / 12. Comparative Analysis of Israeli and PLO Diplomacy Practices during the May 2021 Israeli Attacks against Gaza - Sherouk Maher and Dina Matar / 13. Platform Necropolitics: Content Moderation and Censoring of Pro-Palestinian Voices on Social Media - Kelly Lewis / 14. Pro-Palestinian Activism: Resisting the Digital Occupation - Dounia Mahlouly and Zaina Erhaim / 15. The Media War in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Examining Interstate Character Assassination in International Media - Aspriadis Neofytos

**Noureddine Miladi** (Qatar University) and **Noha Mellor**, editors
***Routledge Handbook on Arab Media***
(Routledge, 2020)
Palestinian relevant chapters: Ibrahim Natil and Bahjat Abuzanouna: *Palestinian Media between Partisanship and Propaganda*; Nehed Elthantawy: *Palestinian New Media*

**Dana Mills** (Hertford College, University of Oxford)
***Dance & Politics: Moving Beyond Boundaries***
(University of Manchester Press, 144 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "This book examines the political power of dance, particularly its transgressive potential. Focusing on readings of dance pioneers Isadora Duncan and Martha Graham, Gumboots dancers in the gold mines of South Africa, the One Billion Rising movement, dabke in Palestine and dance as a protest against human rights abuse in Israel, the book explores moments in which the form succeeds in transgressing politics as articulated in words. Close readings and critical analysis grounded in radical democratic theory combine to show how interpreting political dance as 'interruption' can unsettle conceptions of both politics and dance."

**Faten Nastas Mitwasi**
***Reflections on Palestinian Art: Art of Resistance or Aesthetics***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2015)
Overview of 20th and early 21st century work.

***Sliman Mansour***
(Michael Imhof Verlag, 2008)
Bilingual, German & English.

**Jean Mohr** (UNRWA photographer) and **Kenneth Brown**
***Journey through the Labyrinth: A Photographic Essay on Israel/Palestine***
(Philadelphia: Visual Communication, 96 pages, 1982)
Single focus issue of the journal *Visual Communication*.

**Ibrahim Muhawi** (University of Tunis) and **Sharif Kanaana** (Birzeit University)
***Speak Bird, Speak Again: Palestinian Arab Folktales***
(University of California Press, 512 pages, 1989)
With foreword by Alan Dundes. Not for children. Publisher's blurb: "Were it simply a collection of fascinating, previously unpublished folktales, Speak, Bird, Speak Again: Palestinian Arab Folktales would merit praise and attention because of its cultural rather than political approach to Palestinian studies. But it is much more than this. By combining their respective expertise in English literature and anthropology, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana bring to these tales an integral method of study that unites a sensitivity to language with a deep appreciation for culture. As native Palestinians, the authors are well-suited to their task. Over the course of several years they collected tales in the regions of the Galilee, Gaza, and the West Bank, determining which were the most widely known and appreciated and selecting the ones that best represented the Palestinian Arab folk

narrative tradition. Great care has been taken with the translations to maintain the original flavor, humor, and cultural nuances of tales that are at once earthy and whimsical. The authors have also provided footnotes, an international typology, a comprehensive motif index, and a thorough analytic guide to parallel tales in the larger Arab tradition in folk narrative. Speak, Bird, Speak Again is an essential guide to Palestinian culture and a must for those who want to deepen their understanding of a troubled, enduring people."

**Hanan Karaman Munayyer** (co-founder and President of the Palestinian Heritage Foundation)
***Traditional Palestinian Costume: Origins and Evolution***
(Interlink Books, 448 pages, 2010; 2nd edition 560 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "The historical and cultural richness of Palestine is reflected visually in its costume and embroidery. Distinguished by boldness of color, richness of pattern, and diversity of style, and combined with great needlework skill, these textiles have long played an important role in Palestinian culture and identity. Based on over twenty-five years of extensive field research and the culling of museum resources and publications from around the world, this book presents the most exhaustive and up-to-date study of the origins of Palestinian embroidery and costume—from antiquity through medieval Arab textile arts to the present. It documents region by region the evolution of costume and the textile arts in Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is lavishly illustrated with over 500 full-color photographs from the highly praised Munayyer Collection, which includes a whole range of embroidered textiles from traditional costumes and coin headdresses of Palestinian village women to cloaks and jackets worn by village men to belts, sashes, and footwear. The exquisite colors of the silk stitching on natural linens are a feast for the eye."

**Nawal Musleh-Motut** (Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia)
***Connecting the Holocaust and the Nakba through Photograph-based Storytelling***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 328 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "This unprecedented ethnographic study introduces a unique photography-based storytelling method that brings together everyday Palestinians and Israelis to begin connecting rather than comparing their distinct yet organically connected histories of suffering and exile resulting from the Holocaust and the Nakba. Working with Palestinians and Israelis living in their respective Canadian diasporas who are of the Holocaust and Nakba postmemory generations–those who did not experience these traumas but are nonetheless haunted by them–this study demonstrates that storytelling and photography enable the occasions and conditions of possibility necessary for willing the impossible. That is, by narrating and then exchanging their (post)memories of the Holocaust and/or the Nakba through associated vernacular photographs, project participants were able to connect rather than compare their histories of suffering and exile; take moral, ethical, and political responsibility for one another; and imagine new forms of cohabitation grounded in justice and equitable rights for all."

***Hidden Companions: Paranormals from the Old City of Jerusalem***
(Likely the author, 2026)
Translated by **Fatema Alhashemi** and edited by **Jenna Hamed**. With illustrations by the author.
Publisher's blurb: "The Old City of Jerusalem comes alive in Ahmad Nabil's Hidden Companions, a testimonial and visual archive of Palestinian folklore. A man wakes every day to find coins under his pillow, a young lonely girl strikes up a friendship with a spectral voice, a veiled woman changes form to delude ordinary senses, a petite girl in all black breaches a group of young girls returning from a wedding, a goat and her two kids draw an unsuspecting young man into a hidden room, a group of curious boys conjure the spirit of Marx. Jinns and ghouls, guardians and tricksters, wizards and possessors. In the Old City of Jerusalem, the Unseen beings are a natural element of everyday life. With rich, vivid descriptions and in stunning illustrations, Ahmad Nabil weaves a literary account of paranormal stories: held, shared in whisper networks, relayed over conversations, and passed down as

inheritance. This English translation by Fatema Alhashemi traces a captivating world largely unseen in popular narrative."

**Hania A.M. Nashef** (American University of Sharjah, UAE)
***Palestinian Culture and Nakba: Bearing Witness***
(Routledge, 206 pages, 2018/2020)
Publisher's blurb: "This book looks at the icons, narratives and symbols that have become synonymous with Palestinian identity and culture and which have, in the absence of a homeland, become a source of memory. It discusses how these icons have come into being and how they have evolved into sites of power which help to keep the story and identity of the Palestinians alive. The book looks at examples from Palestinian caricature, film, literature, poetry and painting, to see how these works ignite memories of the homeland and help to reinforce the diasporic identity. It also argues that the creators of these narratives or emblems have themselves become cultural icons within the collective Palestinian recollection." Chapters: 1 Hanthala: the immortal child; 2. Nazareth: icon of a lost homeland in Elia Suleiman's film trilogy; 3. Mahmoud Darwish: the storyteller of Palestine; 4. Ghassan Kanafani: the clock, the orange and what remains of the homeland; 5. Ismael Shammout and Tamam al-Akhal: The Exodus and The Odyssey.

**Esmail Nashif** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)
As editor: ***Immigration and Memory in Modern Palestinian Art***
(Umm el Fahimm: Umm el Fahimm Art Gallery, in Arabic, Hebrew & English, 2012)

**Esmail Nashif** and **T.J. Demos**
***Ahlam Shibli: Phantom Home***
(Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2013)
Essays on photographer Shibli.

**Christaine Dadoub Nasser** (Head of Church Relations at the Bethlehem 2000 Project)
***Classic Palestinian Cuisine*** aka ***Classic Palestinian Cookery***
(London: Saqi Books, 224 pages, 2000, 2013, 2026)
See also: **Palestine Fiction**.

**Nathi Ngubane** (South African artist/publisher)
***From the River to the Sea: A Coloring Book***
(Author / Friends of Al Aqsa / Social Bandit Media / Digniti, 40 pages, 2024)

***Malcolm X in Gaza: A Coloring Book***
(Author / Friends of Al Aqsa / Social Bandit Media / Digniti, 40 pages, 2024)

**Sandra Noeth** (Berlin University, Stockholm University, Tansquartier Wien)
***Relilient Bodies, Residual Effects: Artistic Articulations of Borders and COllectictivity from Lebanon and Palestine***
(Columbia University Press, 300 pages, 2020)
Part of series on Critical Dance Studies. Publisher's blurb: "What does it take to cross a border, and what does it take to belong? Sandra Noeth examines the entangled experiences of borders and of collectivity through the perspective of bodies. By dramaturgical analyses of contemporary artistic work from Lebanon and Palestine, Noeth shows how borders and collectivity are constructed and negotiated through choreographic, corporeal, movement-based, and sensory strategies and processes. This interdisciplinary study is made urgent by social and political transformations across the Middle East and beyond around 2011. It puts to the fore the residual, body-bound structural effects of borders and of

collectivity and proceeds to develop notions of agency and responsibility that are immanently bound to bodies in relation."

**Said Nuseibeh**

***The Dome of the Rock***
(Thames & Hudson, 175 pages, 1996)
Photographer's visual essay of the Al Quds landmark, Masjid al-Aqsa; with text by **Oleg Grabar**.

With **Oleg Grabar**, **Mohammad al-Asad** and **Abeer Audeh**: ***The Shape of the Holy – Early Islamic Jerusalem***
(Princeton University Press, 232 pages, 1996)

**Bahaa Ed-Din Ossama**

***Musiqa al-Kalimat: Modern Standard Arab through Popular Songs***
(American University Press in Cairo, 2017)
An Arabic language study book (intermediate to advance levels) employing examples from singers popular through the region: Abd al-Halim Hafez, Fairouz, Fuad Abd al-Magid, Karem Mahmoud, Kazem al-Saher, Muhammad Abd al-Wahab, Nagat al-Saghira, Rima Khashish, and Umm Kulthum.

**Fayeq S. Oweis**, editor

***Encyclopedia of Arab-American Artists***
(Greenwood Press, 2007)
Features 95 artists, including artist and art historian Kamal Boulatta, sculptor/ graphic designer Rajie 'Roger' Cook, Kahlil Gibran, painter Samia Halaby, multimedia artist Emily Jacir, painter and muralist Sari Khoury, etc.

**Palestine Liberation Organisation**

***Intifada – A Way of Life***
(PLO Department of Information/Tunis: NJA Mahdaoui, 1989)
Oversized, photographic work from 1988 with details of events in Arabic and English. Photographers: Alfred, Sipa Press; Tano D'Amico; Italy, Dino Fracchia, Italy; Sergio Ferraris, Italy; and Neal Cassidy, USA.

**Palestine Photographic Book Project**

***Images of Palestine, 1898-1946***
(Karama Press, 2023)
Approximately 170 Library of Congress photographs, from the Library of Congress' Matson Photographic Collection giving evidence to the Arab presence in Palestine, when Zionists were claiming there was none. There may be some overlap with Walid Khalidi's ***Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*** (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984). See **Walid Khalidi** elsewhere in this bibliography.

**Palestine Museum US**

***From Palestine with Art: The Book of the Venice Biennale Collateral Event Exhibition***
(Woodbridge, Connecticut: Palestine Museum US, 2022)
Edited by Faisal Saleh, with 19 contributors and 48 colour pages.

***From Palestine: Our Past, Our Future***
(Woodbridge, Connecticut: Palestine Museum US, 2022 or 2023)
Possibly an enlarged version of *From Palestine with Art*.

**Palestine Solidarity Campaign**

***Women of Palestine: Recipes of Resistance***

(London: PSC/Andrew Wainwright Reform Trust, 34 pages, 2014)

Includes recipes from singer **Reem Kelani**.

**Drew Paul**

***Arrested Movement in the Middle East: Mobility and Political Dissent in Arab and Palestinian Culture***

(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 224 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "How has cultural production from the Middle East responded to two simultaneous and contradictory trends: growing ease of global mobility brought about by advances in transportation and communication technologies, and increasingly odious restrictions on movement imposed by repressive regimes, civil war, and military occupations in the Arab world? This book draws on conceptions of space, borders, and mobility from fields such as cultural studies, geography, and anthropology to analyze instances in which movement is arrested, interrupted, or detoured in literature and film from Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, and Egypt. Each chapter revolves around a particular type or space of (im)mobility, such as airports, underground tunnels, and cross-border infiltration. In many of these cases, the juxtaposition of the possibility of movement that is available to some but not others, or was once available but now is denied, acts as a catalyst for imagining forms of dissent and resistance to repression, ways to circumvent and subvert imposed immobility, and speculative visions of the future."

***Israel/Palestine: Border Representations in Literature and Film***

(Edinburgh University Press, 212 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "Since the early 1990s, Israel has greatly expanded a system checkpoints, walls and other barriers in the West Bank and Gaza that restrict Palestinian movement. Israel/Palestine examines how authors and filmmakers have grappled with the spread of these borders."

**William Parry**

***Against the Wall: The Art of Resistance in Palestine***

(Pluto Press/Chicago Review Press, 192 pages, 2010/2011)

**Harvey Pekar** and **JT Waldman**

***Not the Israel My Parents Promised Me***

(Hill & Wang, 176 pages, 2012)

**Joyce Brabner**, epilogue.

**People's Museum, Birzeit**

***People's Museum Birzeit***

(Nicosia: Rimal Books, 2012)

Publisher's blurb: "People's Museum is a special museum, created by a group of Danish artists together with their Palestinian colleagues, with and for the people in one village, Birzeit, without any specific selection principles, without any other aim than listening to some individuals and their stories, and together with the people in the village remember the history for this specific place. There are three chapters: The Process, The Archive and The Stories. Each chapter contains a rich section of colour photographs, maps and illustrations. Every item in the Peoples Museum collection, given to the museum by the citizens of Birzeit, is pictured. And all the different stories are transcribed into English and Arabic.

**Annie Pfingst**

***On Palestine***

(possible photographic exhibition catalogue, 2024)
Photographs from the Occupied West Bank, East Jerusalem, with contributions from **Ilan Pappe** and **Ranad Shqeirat**.

**Charles Pocock, Samar Faruqi,** & **Noura Haggag**, editors
***Art Palestine: Nabil Anani, Tayseer Barakat, Sliman Mansour***
(London: Art Advisory Associates Ltd: [distributor] Bartholomews Specialist Distribution Ltd, 2011)

**Elizabeth Price**
***Embroidering a Life: Palestinian Women and Embroidery***
(Jerusalem: Sunbula / Palestine Heritage Center, 48 pages, 1999)
Interviews with twenty women from the West Bank, Gaza, and a Bedouin community in the Negev.

**Al-Qattan Charitable Trust**
**Hanna Zeller**: ***Flowers of Palestine*** aka ***Wild Flowers of Palestine***
(London, 1876; Guernsey: Al-Qattan Charitable Trust, 80 pages, 1997)
With an introduction by **Mahmoud Darwish**. In editions of English, French, and German; and English, Arabic, French, and Latin.

**A.M. Qattan Foundation** (Ramallah & London; see also entries under general history)
***Anamorphosis/Praneet Soi***
(Ramallah, AM Qattan Foundation/London: Mosaic Rooms, 132 pages, 2020)
Exhibition: 'Anamorphosis – Notes from Palestine, Winter in the Kashmir Valley.'

**David Birkin: *Mouths at the Invisible Event***
(London: AM Qattan Foundation, 63 pages, 2015)
Essays by **Rachel Jarvis**, **Emily Apter**, and **David Birkin**.

***To Animate the Silence: The Young Artist of the Year – YAYA 2012 : The Hassan Hourani Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 173 pages, 2013)
Edited by **Mahmoud Abu Hashhash** and **Nicola Gray**.

***YAYA 2012: The Young Artist of the Year: Hassan Hourani Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 50 pages, 2012)

**Mona Saudi: *Poetic Inspirations – the First UK Show by Leading Arab Sculptor***
(London: AM Qattan Foundation, 14 pages, 2010)

**Kai Wiedenhofer**: ***The Book of Destruction – Gaza after the 2009 War***
(London: AM Qattan Foundation, 8 pages, 2011)

***Fragile Bodies: The Young Artist of the Year 2008: The Hassan Hourani Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 117 pages, 2009)
Edited by **Mahmoud Abu Hashhash** and **Nicola Gray**.

***Occupied Space 2008 – Art for Palestine***
(London: AM Qattan Foundation/Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 44 pages, 2008)
Edited by **Nicola Gray**.

***Transitions: The Young Artist of the Year 2006: The Hassan Hourani Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 119 pages, 2008)

Edited by **Mahmoud Abu Hashhash** and **Nicola Gray**.

***Preoccupying Zones: The Young Artist of the Year 2004: The Hassan Hourani Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 125 pages, 2006)
Edited by **Mahmoud Abu Hashhash** and **Nicola Gray**.

***Hope and the Aesthetic Moment: Young Artist of the Year Award***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation,, 104 pages, 2003)
Edited by **Kamal Boullata**.

***New Horizons in Palestinian Art: The Young Artist of the Year Award 2000***
(Ramallah: AM Qattan Foundation, 100 pages, 2001)

**Ali Qleibo**

***Jerusalem in the Heart***
(Al-Quds University & Centre for Jerusalem Studies, 2000)
Anthropological tour with verse, photographs and paintings.

**Alon Raab** (University of California at Davis) and **Issam Khalidi** (San Francisco-based historian; hpalestinesports.net)

***Soccer in the Middle East***
(Routledge, 252 pages, 2020)
**Publisher's blurb: "**Soccer is a vital part of the Middle East's cultural and political fabric. The chapters in this volume include an essay on the leading role played by fans and players during the Arab Spring revolts; anthropological studies of women players in Iraqi Kurdistan, obstacles faced and overcome; reports centered on the politics of Turkish fans; a survey of the political affiliations of Lebanese clubs; studies of pre-1948 Palestinian sport; and portrayals of Arab athletes in the Israeli media during the second Intifada and how they reflect shifting political realities and attitudes." Originally published as a special issue of *Soccer & Society*. See separate entry for Issam Khalidi.

**Khalil Raad** (1854-1957; early Palestinian photographer who established his own studio in 1890)

***Palestine before 1948: Not Just Memory***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2013)
Photographs and text on Palestinian photography, bi-lingual, Arabic-English. From the IPS' Raad, Jawhariyah, PLO and other Collections. Catalogue published on the occasion of the Institute's 50th anniversary.

**Hani Raheb**

***The Zionist Character in the English Novel***
(Third World Centre for Research and Publishing, 1981)

**Najat Rahman** (University of Montreal) & Gayatri Devi

***Humor in Middle Eastern Cinema***
(Wayne State University Press, 2014)
See the authors' chapter on Palestinian film.

***In the Wake of the Poetic: Palestinian Artists after Darwish***
(Syracuse University Press, 2015)
Artists examined include **Suheir Hammad, Ghassan Zaqtan, Elia Suleiman, Mona Hatoum,** & **Sharif Waked**.

**Hamde Abu Rama** (photo-journalist)
***Roots Run Deep: Life in Occupied Palestine***
(author, 2016)

**Anandi Ramamurthy** and **Paul Kelemen**
***Struggling to be Seen: The Travails of Palestinian Cinema***
(Ottawa: Daraja Press, 84 pages, 2020)

**Danyel Reiche** (American University Beirut) and **Tamir Sorek** (University of Florida), editors
***Sport, Politics and Society in the Middle East***
(Oxford University Press / Hurst, 2019)

**Noa Roei** (University of Amsterdam)
***Civic Aesthetics: Militarism, Israeli Art and Visual Culture***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 2017)

**Sarah Rogers**
***Modern Art in Cold War Beirut: Drawing Alliances***
(Routledge, 2021)
Contains chapter: *Figuration, International Alliances, and Palestinian Art in Beirut: The Painting of Tamam al-Akhal and Ismail Shammout*.

**Rotem Rozental** (University of Southern California; Los Angeles Center for Photography)
***Pre-State Photographic Archives and the Zionist Movement***
(Routledge, 260 pages, 2025)

**Arpan Roy** and **Noura Salahaldeen**, editors
***Naseej: Life-Weavings of Palestine***
(Saqi Books, 224 pages, 2025)
A collection of essays, short stories, interviews, poetry and visual art.

**Mohammad Sabaaneh**
***White and Black: Political Cartoons from Palestine***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017 / Saqi Books, 2018)
Introduction by **Seth Tobocman**.

**Steve Sabella** (Jerusalem-born, Berlin-residing Palestinian artist-photographer)
***The Parachute Paradox: Steve Sabella***
(Berlin: Kerber Verlag, 2016)
Memoir of three decades of the artist's life under Israeli occupation.

***Steve Sabella: Photography, 1997-2014***
(Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2014)
Text by **Kamal Boulatta** & **Herbertus von Amelunxen**.

***Archaeology of the Future***
(Maretti Editore, 2014)

***Independence***
(Art Advisory Associates Ltd, 2014)
Edited by **Samar Faruqi** & **Charles Pocock**, with text by **Madeline Yale Preston** & **Meagan Kelly Horsman**.

**Joe Sacco**

***War on Gaza***
(Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 32 pages, 2024)
Compilations of instalments from The Comics Journal's website.

***Footnotes in Gaza***
(Jonathan Cape, 2009)

***Palestine***
(Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, individual parts 1994-1996; 300 pages, 2007 / Jonathan Cape, 2003; 2004 edition with introduction by **Edward Said** and an afterword by **Amira Hass**)

**Elias Sanbar**

***The Palestinians: Photographs of a Land and its People, 1839 to the Present Day***
(Yale University Press / Paris: Editions Hazan, 2015)
Large and heavyweight book with images of good size, well-printed on good quality paper. Includes depictions of the Nakba, including Arab Palestinians chased into the sea.

**Mona Saudi** (Palestinian-Jordanian sculptor)

***Homage to Mahmoud Darwish: Artworks by Mona Saudi & Dia Batal***
(Beirut: Hamra: Mona Saudi, 64 pages, 2019)
Works by Saudi and her daughter; text in English and Arabic.

***Petra Tablet: The Hand of Stone Draws the Place***
(39 pages, 2011)
Poem by **Adonis**, translated into English by **Lubna Fahoum**, with drawings by **Mona Saudi**.

As editor: ***In Time of War: Children Testify***
(Beirut: Mawakef / Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 188 pages, 1970)
Drawings by Palestinian children; held at the British Library and the University of Warwick Library.

***Palestinske Kunstnere***
(Plastic Arts Section, PLO, 36 pages, 1981)
Featuring 16 artists total, with preface by **Yassir Arafat**; held at Tate Library (Tate Britain).

**Rehnuma Sazzad** (SOAS)

***Edward Said's Concept of Exile: Identity and Cultural Migration in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Rehnuma Sazzad fulfils this pressing need in literary and cultural research by providing the first comprehensive definition of Said's theory of exile and revealing its legacy in relation to five Middle Eastern intellectuals: Naguib Mahfouz, Mahmoud Darwish, Leila Ahmed, Nawal El Saadawi and Youssef Chahine. Sazzad argues that for Said, the ideal intellectual is a metaphorical exile. This exile does not have to be spatially disconnected from a homeland, but must demonstrate a willing homelessness through specific strategies and techniques."

**Rona Sela** (Tel Aviv University)

***Made Public – Palestinian Photographs in Military Archives in Israel***

(Ramat-Hasharon: Helena Publishing, 2009)

Two volumes; Vol. 1 – text (Hebrew with English Abstract); Vol. 2 – photographs; 336 pages / 168 pages each volume. Based on three years of research on military photography archives in Israel and focuses on two key subjects each involving the other: the manner in which military systems plunder, collect, control and release (or censor) photographic information about the Palestinians- in the past and over the years – and the missing chapters of Palestinian visual historiography. Note: see also author's book on Khalil Raad, the first Arab Palestinian photographer, *Khalil Raad, Photographs 1891-1948* (Helena Publishing, 2010) All text in Hebrew.

**Tim Jon Semmerling**

***Israeli and Palestinian Postcards: Presentations of National Self***

(University of Texas Press, 255 pages, 2004)

Publisher's blurb: "In this book, Tim Jon Semmerling explores how Israelis and Palestinians have recently used postcards and greeting cards to present images of the national self, to build national awareness and reinforce nationalist ideologies, and to gain international acceptance. He discusses and displays the works of numerous postcard/greeting card manufacturers, artists, and photographers and identifies the symbolic choices in their postcards, how the choices are arranged into messages, what the messages convey and to whom, and who benefits and loses in these presentations of national self. Semmerling convincingly demonstrates that, far from being ephemeral, Israeli and Palestinian postcards constitute an important arena of struggle over visual signs and the power to produce reality."

**Dr. Nabil Sha'ath** & **Hasna Reda Mekdashi**

***Palestine Stamps, 1865-1981***

(Nicosia: Rimal Books / Dar Al-Fata Al-Arabi, 128 pages, 1981)

Originally published in Beirut and Cairo in 1981. Publisher's blurb: "This book includes all the postage stamps used in Palestine since the mail system was introduced in 1840, including those produced by the Arab revolutionaries during their revolts prior to 1948 and after 1967 in the Diaspora. The stamps produced by the revolutionaries are about 30, and the rest were produced by the Ottoman State, the foreign consulates, the British mandate, and the occupation authorities."

**Avinoam Shalem** (Islamic art historian) & **Gerhard Wolf** (Western art historian)

***Facing the Wall: The Palestinian-Israeli Barriers***

(Walther König, 2011)

Publisher's blurb: "Facing the Wall explores the ways in which the Israeli-West Bank barrier has been used as a canvas on which artists, whether Palestinians and Israelis or foreigners, display their work. The different cultural arenas on either side of the wall dictate and give impulses to different modes of expression and uses of visual vocabulary; this tension is reflected in the layout of this book, which displays works from either side of the wall alongside each other."

**Frank Scholten** (Amsterdam artist, in Palestine 1921-1923)

***PalestinA…Jaffa*** (Stuttgart: Hoffman, 203 pages, 1930)

Mainly period photography of landscapes, cities, including people, by Scholten, but with German text. Images held by Leiden University Libraries.

**Laura S. Schor**

***Sophie Halaby in Jerusalem: An Artist's Life***

(Syracuse University Press, 2019)

Sophie Halaby's family fled to Jerusalem in 1917 in the wake of the Russian Revolution. Born 1906 in Kiev to a Russian mother and a Christian Arab father, Halaby became the first Arab woman to study art

in Paris and lived in Jerusalem during the Arab Revolt (1936-1939) and the Six-Day Israeli war (1967). Note: No relation to the artist Samia Halaby.

**Ismail Shammout** (famous artist and PLO filmmaker)
With **Tammam Shamout**: ***Palestine ~ The Exodus and the Odessey***
(Al Ekbal, 2000)

***Art in Palestine***
(Al-Qabas Printing Press, Kuwait, 1989)
Main text in Arabic.

***Palestine in Perspective***
(Beirut: Palestine Martyrs Works Society, 1978)
Bound in half black leather with maroon cloth boards, gilt spine lettering and cover design. This volume reproduces 99 black & white and some color drawings, etchings and paintings of religious and Biblical sites, cities, historical structures and cultural scenes in mid to late 19th century Palestine as seen by early Western travelers. Each illustration is printed on heavy paper on a large 13 X 20 inch page. The back side is blank. 99 pages of art plus introductory text and added index and synopsis/description of illustrations at rear.

***Palestine: Illustrated Political History***
(Beirut: Cultural Arts Section, Dept. of Information and National Guidance, Palestine Liberation Organization, 47 pages, 1972)
Translated by **Abdul-Qader Daher**. With an introduction by **Anis Sayigh**, Director of the PLO Research Centre.

**Simona Sharoni** (State University of New York at Plattsburgh)
***Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance***
(Syracuse University Press, 1995)
Publisher's blurb: "Simona Sharoni's innovative approach to the conflict in the Middle East stresses the relationship between gender and politics by illuminating the daily experiences of women in Israel and in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Among the issues explored are the connections between the violence of the conflict and the escalation of violence against women; the link between militarism and sexism; and the role of nationalism in building individual and collective identities. Sharoni also shows the impact of Intifada (the Palestinian uprising in December, 1987) on the Palestinian and Israeli women's movements. While women's coalitions such as these are critical subjects in and of themselves, the actions of marginalized women are rarely, if ever, given serious treatment in the study of international relations. With this book, Sharoni creates an aperture for the emergence of new perspectives and alternative methods in the development of a new vision in global politics and gender equality. The interdisciplinary scope of the book will make it valuable to scholars of political science, women's studies, conflict resolution, and Middle East studies."

**Lima Shawa**
***A Taste of Gaza: Food & Traditions from Home***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 288 pages, 2021)

**Tina Sherwell**
***Intimate Terrains: Representations of a Disappearing Landscape***
(Birzeit: The Palestinian Museum, 238 pages, 1029)
Exhibition catalogue on landscape works by Palestinian artists.

**Magid Shihade**

***Not Just a Soccer Game: Colonialism and Conflict among Palestinians in Israel***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)

**Stephen Shore** (photographer)

***From Galilee to the Negev***
(Phaidon Press, 224 pages, 2014)
Bilingual photographic book with bilingual text by **Yossi Klein Halevi** and **Jane Kramer**.

**Feda Shtia**

***I Spy with My Little eye on Life in Gaza Since October 2023***
(Kinross, Scotland: Sununo Publishing, 300 pages, 2025)
Photojournalism of children in Gaza.

**Nadia R. Sirhan** (PhD, SOAS)

***Reporting the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Linguistic Analysis of British Newspapers***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "*Reporting the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* examines the portrayal of the Palestinian-Israeli 'conflict' by looking at the language used in its reporting and how this can, in turn, influence public opinion. The book explores how language use helps frame an event to elicit a particular interpretation from the reader and how this can be manipulated to introduce bias. Sirhan begins the book by examining the history of the 'conflict', and the many persistent myths that surround it. She analyses how four events in the 'conflict' (two in which the Palestinians are victims and two in which the Israelis are victims) are reported in five British newspapers: *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times*. By looking at these events across a range of newspapers, the book investigates differences in the way that the media reports each side, before exploring what factors motivate these differences—including issues of bias, censorship, lobbying and propaganda."

***Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic: A Cultural and Linguistic Study***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
By analysing the folk stories and personal narratives of a cross-section of Palestinians, Sirhan offers a detailed study of how content and sociolinguistic variables affect a narrator's language use and linguistic behaviour. This book will be of interest to anyone engaged with narrative discourse, gender discourse, Arabic studies and linguistics.

**Margarita Skinner** (colleague of Widad Kawar, who worked with Palestinian women's projects in Gaza, the West Bank, and in Jordan)

***The Journeys of Motifs: From Orient to Occident***
(Nicosia: Rimal Books, 2018)
Author's comment: "Ever since I finished my last book on *Palestinian Embroidery Motifs* I am more than ever curious and wonder when those brilliant embroidered dresses first emerged. From where did the motifs come, where is their origin? What love and imagination must have been transformed into such extraordinary embroidered dresses."

**Margaret Skinner** & **Widad Kamel Kawar**

***Palestinian Embroidery Motifs: A Treasury of Stitches, 1850-1950***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, ca. 2000s, 203 pages)

**Olivia Snaije** & **Mitchell Albert**, editors

***Keep Your Eye on the Wall: Palestinian Landscapes***
(Saqi Books, 2013)
Featuring photographic work by Taysir Batniji, Raed Bawayah, Rula Halawani, Noel Jabbour, Raeda Saadeh, Steve Sabella and Kai Wiedenhöfer, and with text from Malu Halasa, Yael Lerer, Christine Leuenberger and Adania Shibli, and a foreword from Raja Shehadeh. An accordion-formatted book, approachable from 'both sides.'

**Reuven Snir** (Haifa University)

***Palestinian and Arab-Jewish Cultures: Language, Literature and Identity***
(Edinburgh University Press, 400 pages, 2023/2024)
Publisher's blurb: "Part of a two-volume set, this volume examines the issues of commitment and hybridization in Arabic literature concentrating on Palestinian literature and Arab-Jewish culture and the interactions between them. Reuvin Snir studies the contribution of Palestinian literature and theatre to Palestinian nation-building, especially since the 1948 *Nakba*. Becoming an essential part of the vocabulary of Arab intellectuals and writers, since the 1950s commitment (*iltizām*) has been employed to indicate the necessity for a writer to convey a message rather than merely create an imaginative work for its own sake. As for hybridization, the author focuses on the role Jews have played in Arabic literature against the backdrop of their contribution to this literature since the pre-Islamic period, and in light of the gradual demise of Arab-Jewish culture in recent years. The blending of elements from different cultures is one of the major phenomena in Arabic literature, certainly in light of its relationship with Islam and its cultural heritage, which has been extending during the last one-and-half millennia."

***Arab-Jewish Literature: The Birth and Demise of the Arabic Short Story***
(Leiden: Brill Publishing, 408 pages, 2019)

***Palestinian Theatre***
(Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 233 pages, 2005)
Contents: Before the Nakba; the Nakba; Under Occupation; Al-Balalin Theatre Troupe; Al-Hakawati Theatre Troupe.

**Karene Sanchez Summerer** and **Sary Zananiri**, editors

***Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens, 1918-1948***
(Brill, 2021)
Part of 'Open Jerusalem' series, Vol. 3. Publisher's blurb: "It addresses well-known archives, photos from private collections never available before and archives that have until recently remained closed. This interdisciplinary volume argues that photography is central to a different understanding of the social and political complexities of Palestine in this period. While Biblical and Orientalist images abound, the chapters in this book go further by questioning the impact of photography on the social histories of British Mandate Palestine. This book considers the specific archives, the work of individual photographers, methods for reading historical photography from the present and how we might begin the process of decolonising photography."

**Adhaf Soueif** (novelist of Egyptian diaspora, political essayist, translator)

As editor: ***Reflections on Islamic Art***
(Doha/London: Bloomsbury Qatar/Qatar Museums Authority, 2011)
Not encompassing Palestinian art but of 856ravelled856 relevance; several short pieces are written by Palestinians: **Suad Amiry, Raja Sehahadeh,** & **Ghassan Zaqtan**.

**Andrea L Stanton** (University of Denver)

***"This is Jerusalem Calling": State Radio in Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2013)
A rewarding cultural resource focusing on the Arab side of the broadcasting body. Aside from political developments, the author focuses on the marketing of radios, newspaper coverage of the broadcasts, the role of women in the broadcast schedule, and many less obvious topics. Publisher's description: "Modeled after the BBC, the Palestine Broadcasting Service was launched in 1936 to serve as the national radio station of Mandate Palestine, playing a pivotal role in shaping the culture of the emerging middle class in the region. Despite its significance, the PBS has become nearly forgotten by scholars of twentieth-century Middle Eastern studies. Drawn extensively from British and Israeli archival sources, This Is Jerusalem Calling traces the compelling history of the PBS's twelve years of operation, illuminating crucial aspects of a period when Jewish and Arab national movements simultaneously took form. Andrea L. Stanton describes the ways in which the mandate government used broadcasting to cater to varied audiences, including rural Arab listeners, in an attempt to promote a "modern" vision of Arab Palestine as an urbane, politically sophisticated region. In addition to programming designed for the education of the peasantry, religious broadcasting was created to appeal to all three main faith communities in Palestine, which ultimately mayz have had a disintegrating, separatist effect. Stanton's research brings to light the manifestation of Britain's attempts to prepare its mandate state for self-governance while supporting the aims of Zionists. While the PBS did not create the conflict between Arab Palestinians and Zionists, the service reflected, articulated, and magnified such tensions during an era when radio broadcasting was becoming a key communication tool for emerging national identities around the globe."

**Rebecca Stein, Ted Swedenburg**, editors, with contributors: **Livia Alexander, Carol Bardenstein, Elliott Colla, Amy Horowitz, Laleh Khalili, Mary Layoun, Mark LeVine, Joseph Massad, Melani McAlister, Ilan Pappe, Rebecca L. Stein, Ted Swedenburg** & **Salim Tamari**
***Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Popular Culture***
(Duke University Press, 2005)

**Yedida Kalfon Stillman**
***Palestinian Costume and Jewelry***
(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979)

**Fahmida Suleman** (Middle East Curator at the British Museum)
***Textiles of the Middle East and Central Asia: The Fabric of Life***
(Thames and Hudson, 2017)
Includes Palestinian work. Publisher's blurb: "war rug, textiles reflect the beliefs, practices and experiences of people from across the Middle East and Central Asia. This book explores the significance and beauty of textiles from across this vast area, and is arranged thematically to enable cross-regional comparisons of the function and symbolic meaning of textiles. Each chapter relates to a facet or phase of a person's life in which textiles feature prominently: childhood, marriage and ceremony, status and identity, religion and belief, and house and homestead. The book also includes contemporary works that grapple with modern political issues. The textiles featured include men's, women's and children's garments, hats and headdresses, mosque curtains and prayer mats, floor coverings, tent hangings, hand towels and cushions, storage sacks, purses and cosmetic pouches, dolls and souvenirs, animal trappings and amulets. Focusing on the British Museum's remarkable collection, this book offers a wealth of creative inspiration and will be essential reading for anyone interested in textiles and the cultures of the Middle East and Central Asia."

**Theo Sundermeier**
***For an Open Jerusalem: Palestinian Christian Art Today***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 128 pages, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian Christians are a group in the Middle East that is being decimated in a frightening way by emigration. Their voice, the voice of the descendants of the oldest Christians, must not go unheard. As sensitive interpreters of their time and situation, the artists are both Palestinians and Christians at the same time, marked by two traditions equally. They invite us to read the Biblical texts with the eyes of those who have grown up in the country that is sacred to the various denominations and religions, from which, however, many were expelled in the years 1947-1949. It is this catastrophe ("Nakba"), which has often become the subject of their pictures. The pictures speak of people who are traumatized by the past and by present experience, but are not in despair. Instead, they do not give up the search for their identity and the hope that peace between the Israelis and Palestinians is possible and Jerusalem again becomes a city that is open and freely accessible for all people. The churches are particularly encouraged to get involved with these messages and to live in active solidarity."

**Mats Svensson**

***Apartheid is a Crime: Portraits of the Israeli Occupation***

(Cune Publications, 160 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "Mats Svensson is a photographer who took 60,000 photos in the occupied Palestinian territories over several years and winnowed them down to the 92 perceptive, nuanced, and ultimately heart-rending images in this volume. Svensson's photos are accompanied by pithy and surprising commentary from a wide variety of Palestinian and Israeli figures as well as international voices from Barack Obama and George W Bush to Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Svensson documents Palestinian street scenes, conveying the mannerisms and customs of daily life, as did the humanist photographer Cartier Bresson. Svensson does not display the blood and gore of conflict, yet he shows its precursors and its aftermath in photos that, taken together, are as charged as the war photos of Robert Capa and David Douglas Duncan. Svensson shows us occupation, expropriation, arrest, and immense concrete barriers encroaching on daily life and asks us to come to our own conclusions. Americans will recognize this use of photos and words in the long tradition of politically committed photojournalists such as Walker Evans and James Agee who depicted the dispossessed of the earth in the American south at the depths of the Great Depression in their classic, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men."

**Bashar Tabbah** (British-Levantine photographer based in Amman, focusing on cultural and religious heritage)

***Between Moments: A Portrait of Life in Old Jerusalem***

(A Map and a Lens Publishing / AMAAL, 200 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "photographic exploration of modern life within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, a reframing and humanizing of a people and place that live under occupation. Far from the media images of violence and brutality, photographer and author Bashar Tabbah invites us to witness the quieter moments of Palestinian lives within the streets, souks, and sanctuaries of the city. The book is divided into two sections: the first part features images showcasing life in and around the Old City, while the second part highlights life in the Haram al-Sharif complex. It is bilingual (Arabic and English) and features over 200 full-color images taken between 2017 and 2023."

**Laila Taji** (text) & **Lela Tsinadze** (illustrations)

***These Chicks***

(ca. 2021)

Bilingual (English-Arabic) book for toddlers.

**Vera Tamari** (Birzeit University)

***Nineteenth Century White Mesopotamian Ceramic Ware with Blue Decoration***

(thesis, Oxford University, 101 pages, 1984)

**Sami Tamimi**

***Boustany: A Celebration of Vegetables from My Palestine***
(Ebury Press, 320 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Boustany translates from Arabic as 'My Garden', and the down-to-earth, relaxed and plentiful recipes are reflective of Sami's signature style and approach to food. Bold, inspiring and ever-evolving, Boustany picks up where Falastin left off, with flavour-packed, colourful and simple vegetable- and grain-led dishes; this is how Sami grew up eating - platters of aubergine and chickpeas with a spicy green lemon sauce and fragrant lentil fatteh that always tasted better the next day. These are the dishes he has known, loved, cooked and shared with friends. With over 100 recipes, Sami offers recipes for breakfast, sharing plates, big celebrations, simple breads, moreish sweet treats, easy dinners and more. It's an approach that's strongly present in Palestinian cuisine, from building your mooneh, or pantry, by preserving seasonal vegetables and herbs to lining the dinner table with a variety of salads and condiments reflective of a love for fresh and vibrant food."

**Sami Tamimi** & **Tara Wigley**

***Falastin: A Cookbook***
(Ebury Press, 2020)
352-page collection of travelogue and 110 recipes. With a foreword by **Yotam Ottolenghi**.

**Sami Tamimi** & **Yotam Ottolenghi**

***Ottolenghi: The Cookbook***
(Ebury Press, 2016)
Wider Mediterranean focus cookbook.

***Jerusalem***
(Ebury Press, 2012)
Restauranteurs' cookbook features 100 Jerusalem-based recipes.

**James B. Thring** (Architects for Peace)

***Israel's Crimes against the Palestinians***
(36 pages, 7th edition, 2016)

**Marie Tomb**

***War Identities: When Words aren't Enough – Human Rights Seen through Art in Lebanon***
(First National Bank, 2016)

**John [J.C.] Tordai** (photographer)

***A People Called Palestine***
(Dewi Lewis Publishing, 2001)
With text by **Graham Usher**.

***Into the Promised Land***
(Manchester: Cornerhouse Publications, 1991)
With introduction by **Harvey Morris** (Foreign Editor, *The Independent*)

**Hanan Toukan** (Bard College Berlin)

***The Politics of Art: Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy in Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan***
(Stanford University press, 334 pages, 2021)

**Larry Towell**

***Then Palestine***

(Paris: Editions Marval, 115 pages, 1998 / Aperture, 1999)

Photographs. With contributions by **Rene Backmann** & **Mohammed Darweesh**. En Francais, with English translations inserted.

**Helen P.V. Underhill**

***Art School, Art World, Art Circuit: An Ethnography of Contemporary Visual Art Education and Production in Two Palestinian Locations***

(SOAS/University of London, 2018)

University thesis.

**Anastasia Valassopoulos** (University of Manchester)

As editor: ***Arab Cultural Studies: History, Politics, and the Popular***

(Routledge, 2013)

Contains much of relevance, including Rebecca L. Stein: *Impossible Witness – Israeli Visuality, Palestinian Testimony and the Gaza War*; Anna Ball: *Impossible Intimacies – Towards a Visual Politics of "Touch" at the Israeli-Palestinian Border*; Anna Bernard: *Consuming Palestine: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Metropolitan Popular Culture*

As editor: ***Contemporary Arab Women Writers: Cultural Expressions in Context***

(Routledge, 2008, 2014)

Tangential, but covers Liana Badr's work and fictionalisation of Leila Khaled.

**Eli Valley**

***Diaspora Boy: Comics on Crisis in America and Israel***

(OR Books, 2017)

Comic art challenge to Jewish complacency regarding Zionism, taken from *Jewcy* (jewcy.com), *The Forward* and *+972 Magazine*.

**Gabriel Varghese** (Kenyon Institute/Council for British Research in the Levant, East Jerusalem)

***Palestinian Theatre in the West Bank***

(Palgrave Macmillan / Springer AG, 166 pages, 2020)

Focus on post-1990 theatre. Publisher's blurb: "Since the 1990s, Palestinian theatrical activities in the West Bank have expanded exponentially. As well as local productions, Palestinian theatre-makers have presented their work to international audiences on a scale unprecedented in Palestinian history. This book explores the histories of the five major theatre companies currently working in the West Bank: Al-Kasaba Theatre, Ashtar Theatre, Al-Harah Theatre, The Freedom Theatre and Al-Rowwad. Taking the first intifada (1987-93) as his point of departure, and drawing on original fieldwork and interviews with Palestinian practitioners, Gabriel Varghese introduces the term 'abject counterpublics' to explore how theatre-makers contest Zionist discourse and Israeli state practices. By foregrounding Palestinian voices, and placing theories of abjection and counterpublic formation in conversation with each other, Varghese argues that theatre in the West Bank has been regulated by processes of colonial abjection and, yet, it is an important site for resisting Zionism's discourse of erasure and Israeli settler-colonialism and apartheid. Palestinian Theatre in the West Bank: Our Human Faces is the first major account of Palestinian theatre covering the last three decades."

**Various**

***Like Roses in the Wind: Self Portraits & Thoughts***

(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, ca. 2010)
Self-portraits project of Palestinian children. Not to be confused with the 2003, Ghassan Kanafani Centre publication of the same title.

**Venice Biennale**
***From Palestine with Art***
(Venice Biennale – Palazzo Mora, 48 pages, 2022)
Artists: Karim Abu Shakra, Salman Abu Sitta, Ghassan Abu Laban, Ibrahim Alazza, Mohammed Alhaj, Babil Anani, Hanan Awad, Jacqueline Beani, Sana Farah Bishara, Susan Bushnaq, Lux Eterna, Nadia Irshaid Gilbert, Samia Halaby, Rula Halawani, Samar Hussani, Mohamed Khaul, Rania Matar, Nameer Qassim, and Taqi Sabateen.

**Annelys De Vet**
***Subjective Atlas of Palestine***
(The Netherlands: 010 Publishers, 2007)

**Johanna Wallin**
***Rehearsing Freedom: The Story of a Theatre in Palestine***
(New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 288 pages, 2017)
The history of Jenin's Freedom Theatre.

**Johanna Wallin** and **Ola Johansson**, editors
***The Freedom Theatre: Performing Cultural Resistance in Palestine***
(New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 417 pages, 2018)

**Archie (Archibald) G. Walls**
***Geometry and Architecture in Islamic Jerusalem: a Study of the Ashrafiyya***
(Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion Press, 207 pages, 1990)

**Archibald (Archie) G. Walls** & **Amal Abul-Hajj**
***Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: A Handlist and Maps***
(World of Islam Festival Trust, 43 pages, 1980)
Focus on the Esplanade and the Terrace, the Dome of the Rock, and the Mosque of the Haram, with maps.

**Sandra Watfa**
***Nakba: Palestinians' Ongoing Dispossession***
(Maple Publishing, 102 pages, 2023)
The artist's/author's depiction of the 1948 catastrophe.

**Mrs. J. Wash Watts** aka **Mrs. James Washington Watts** (Women's Missionary Union, New Orleans branch)
***Palestinian Tapestries***
(Hassell Street Press, 94 pages, 2021; reproduction of Richmond, Virginia: Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 2nd edition, 1936)
Chapters: Weavers by Appointment, Age-Old Warps Awaiting, A Wonder Threat in the Jewish Woof, Colorful Threads in the Arabic Woof, Gllimpses of the Master's Design.

**Heike Weber** (Damascus based founder/Director of the ANAT Centre for Arab Textile Handicrafts)

***Anat and Her Hero Baal: The Embroidery Pattern Language of the Levant***
(Syrian Handcrafts Limited, 176 pages, 2023)
Based on over 30 years of research, the book explores cultural differences in design over centuries, including the relationship between embroidery and the Palestinian resistance. From the introduction: "What I had embroidered looked a bit like Palestinian embroidery but could not be deciphered by an educated embroideress. You could compare it with somebody who does not know Arabic and imitates Arabic writing. For anybody who does not know Arabic, it looks like Arabic, but it is not readable for an Arab."

**Shelagh Weir** (The British Museum)

***Palestinian Costume***
(British Museum, 1989 / 1990; Interlink Publications, 288 pages, 2009)
Richly illustrated volume with extensive text and colour photography by the author, and monochrome images from Hilma Granquist (1930s), the Library of Congress (British Mandate period), and other sources. Mostly focused on women's wear, but men are not overlooked.

***The Bedouin: Aspects of the Material Culture of the Bedouin of Jordan***
(London: World of Islam Festival, 1976)
Of Palestinian relevance; publication accompanied 'Nomad and City' exhibition of the Museum of Mankind / British Museum.

***Palestinian Embroidery***
(British Museum, 1970)

***Spinning and Weaving in Palestine***
(British Museum, 1970)

With **Serene Shahid**: ***Palestinian Embroidery: Cross-stitch Patterns from the Traditional Costumes of the Village Women of Palestine***
(British Museum, 1988)

**Robert G. White** (Kingston University, London)

***An Atonal Cinema: Resistance, Counterpoint and Dialogue in Transnational Palestine***
(Bloomsbury Academic, 208 pages, 2023)

**Rachel Beckles Willson**

***The Oud: An Illustrated History***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 256 pages, 2023)
Focus includes the worldwide cultural spread of the instrument, beyond Palestine and the Arab sphere, the variety of construction, and the diversity of repertoire.

***Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West***
(Cambridge University Press, 2013)
Includes a damning gaze upon the culturally and socially divisive intent of the Mandate Government.

**Nadia Yaqub** (University of North Carolina)

As editor: ***Gaza on Screen***
(Duke University Press, 304 pages, 2023)
Contributors: Basma Alsharif, Azza El Hassan, Mohamed Jabaly, Ahmed Mansour, Arab Nasser, Tarzan Nasser, Abdelsalam Shehada, Viviane Saglier, Samirah Alkassim, Kamran

Rastegar, Yaron Shemer, Nayrouz Abu Hatoum, Hadeel Assali, Shaira Vadasaria, Rebecca L. Stein, Hatim El-Hibri, Shahd Abusalama, Helga Tawil-Souri.

***Palestinian Cinema in the Days of Revolution***
(University of Texas Press, 280 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian cinema arose during the political cinema movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, yet it was unique as an institutionalized, though modest, film effort within the national liberation campaign of a stateless people. Filmmakers working within the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and through other channels filmed the revolution as it unfolded, including the Israeli bombings of Palestinian refugee camps, the Jordanian and Lebanese civil wars, and Palestinian life under Israeli occupation, attempting to create a cinematic language consonant with the revolution and its needs. They experimented with form both to make effective use of limited material and to process violent events and loss as a means of sustaining active engagement in the Palestinian political project. *Palestinian Cinema in the Days of Revolution* presents an in-depth study of films made between 1968 and 1982, the filmmakers and their practices, the political and cultural contexts in which the films were created and seen, and their afterlives among Palestinian refugees and young filmmakers in the twenty-first century. Nadia Yaqub discusses how early Palestinian cinema operated within emerging public-sector cinema industries in the Arab world, as well as through coproductions and solidarity networks. Her findings aid in understanding the development of alternative cinema in the Arab world. Yaqub also demonstrates that Palestinian filmmaking, as a cinema movement created and sustained under conditions of extraordinary precarity, offers important lessons on the nature and possibilities of political filmmaking more generally."

**Layla Zami** (Columbia University and Pratt Institute, Brooklyn)
***Contemporary PerforMemory: Dancing through Spacetime, Historical Trauma, and Diaspora in the 21st Century***
(Columbia University Press, 280 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "*Contemporary PerforMemory* looks at dance works created in the 21st century by choreographers identifying as Afro-European, Jewish, Black, Palestinian, and Taiwanese-Chinese-American. It explores how contemporary dance-makers engage with historical traumas such as the Shoah and the Maafa to reimagine how the past is remembered and how the future is anticipated. The new idea of "performemory" arises within a lively blend of interdisciplinary theory, interviews, performance analysis, and personal storytelling. Scholar and artist Layla Zami traces unexpected pathways, inviting the reader to move gracefully across disciplines, histories, and geographies. Featuring insightful interviews with seven international artists: Oxana Chi, Zufit Simon, André M. Zachery, Chantal Loïal, Wan-Chao Chang, Farah Saleh, and Christiane Emmanuel."

**Sary Zananiri** (Monash Art, Design and Architecture)
***Photographing Biblical Modernity: Frank Scholten in the British Mandate Palestine***
(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 216 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "This open access book offers the first in-depth appraisal of the photographic archive of Frank Scholten (1881–1942), a queer Dutch photographer and Catholic convert whose work in Palestine between 1921 and 1923 provides a remarkable lens on the intersecting dynamics of modernity, religion, colonialism, and visual culture. Drawing on over 26,000 photographs, it situates Scholten's work within transnational religious, colonial, and nationalist networks.
Employing a relational methodology, *Photographing Biblical Modernity* treats photography not merely as visual documentation but as a site of layered cultural encounters shaped by the movements of people, ideas, and ideologies. It interrogates biblical visuality, the performance of indigeneity, intercommunal relations, and the gendered politics of labour and nationalism.
Through interdisciplinary engagement with visual culture, Middle East studies, and gender theory, this book considers how Scholten's positionality offers insights into both the granular details of Palestinian society and broader macro-historical shifts during a period of profound transition.
Rather than framing Palestine as a biblical relic, Scholten's photographs reveal a socially and politically complex society under early British Mandate rule. Ultimately, this book positions Scholten's archive as a

vital historical source for understanding the layered and contested narratives that have defined Palestine's modern history."

As co-editor with **Karène Sanchez Summerer**: ***European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine, 1918-1948***
(Palgrave Macmillan/Springer International, 465 pages, 2021)
Contents: Introduction - Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri -- Part I Turning the Tables? Arab Appropriation and Production of Cultural Diplomacy -- Introduction: Indigenising cultural diplomacy? - Sarah Irving -- Orthodox Clubs and Associations: Cultural, Educational and Religious Networks Between Palestine and Jordan, 1925-1970 - Norig Neveu -- Palestinian Translators and Intellectuals during Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: Russian Language in the Experiences of Khalil Baydas and Najati Sidqi - Sadia Agsous -- Sound Power: Musical Diplomacy Within the Franciscan Custody in Mandate Jerusalem - Maria Chiara Rioli and Riccardo Castagnetti -- The Melkite Community, Educational Policy and French Cultural Diplomacy: Archbishop Grigorios Hajjar and Mandatory Galilee - Charbel Nassif -- Cultural Diplomacy in Mandatory Haifa: The Role of Christian Communities in the City's Cultural Transformation - Maayan Hillel -- Part II Showing and Telling: Cultural and Historical Entanglements under the Mandate -- Introduction: Arab Virtù and the Philosophy of History: Excavating, Exhibiting and Cultural Diplomacy in the Palestine Mandate - Philippe Bourmaud -- Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: Historical and Archaeological Narratives in a Colonial Space - Sarah Irving -- Between Diplomacy and Science: British Mandate Palestine and its International Network of Archaeological Organisations, 1918-1938 - Mathilde Sigalas -- Competition in the Cultural Sector: Handicrafts and the Rise of the Trade Fair in British Mandate Palestine - Nisa Ari -- Part III Influencing the Other: European Private and Governmental Actors -- Introduction: European Soft Power and Christian Cultures at the Crossroads in Mandate Palestine - Heather J. Sharkey -- Between Athens and Al Quds: The Greek Community in Late Ottoman and Mandate Jerusalem - Konstantinos Papastathis -- Russia and Orthodoxy in Palestine, 1900-1930s: Diplomacy, Institutions, Personalities - Lora Gerd -- Continuities and Discontinuities in the Austrian Catholic Orient Mission to Palestine, 1915–1938 - Barbara Haider-Wilson -- A Coherent Inconsistency: Italian Cultural Diplomacy in Palestine, 1918-1936 - Roberto Mazza -- The International Centre for the Protection of Catholic Interests in Palestine and the Latin Patriarchate's Cultural Diplomacy in the British Mandate Period - Paolo Maggiolini -- A "Significant Swedish Outpost":The Swedish School and Arab Christians in Jerusalem, 1920-1930 - Inger Marie Okkenhaug -- French Cultural Efforts Towards Jerusalem's Arab Population in Late British Mandate Palestine - Dominique Trimbur -- Conclusion: Cultural Affiliations and Identity Constructs during the British Mandate for Palestine - Tamara van Kessel -- Epilogue: Secularist Networks, Cultural Institutions and Cultural Diplomacy in the Levantine Mandates - Idir Ouahes.

As co-editor with **Karène Sanchez Summerer**: ***Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens, 1918-1948***
(Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021)
Contents: Chapter 1 Imaging and Imagining Palestine: An Introduction / Author: Sary Zananiri -- Part 1 In and out of the Archives: Photographic Collections and the Historical Case Studies -- Chapter 2 'Little Orphans of Jerusalem': The American Colony's Christian Herald Orphanage in Photographs and Negatives / Author: Abigail Jacobson -- Chapter 3 Swedish Imaginings, Investments and Local Photography in Jerusalem, 1925-1939 / Author: Inger Marie Okkenhaug -- Chapter 4 The Dominicans' Photographic Collection in Jerusalem: Beyond a Catholic Perception of the Holy Land? / Authors: Norig Neveu and Karène Sanchez Summerer -- Chapter 5 Bearers of Memory: Photo Albums as Sources of Historical Study in Palestine / Author: Issam Nassar -- Part 2 Points of Perspective: Photographers and Their Lens -- Chapter 6 Resilient Resistance: Colonial Biblical, Archaeological and Ethnographical Imaginaries in the Work of Chalil Raad (Khalīl Raʿd), 1891-1948 / Author: Rona Sela -- Chapter 7 Open Roads: John D. Whiting, Diary in Photos, 1934-1939 / Author: Rachel Lev -- Chapter 8 Documenting the Social: Frank Scholten Taxonomising Identity in British Mandate Palestine / Author: Sary Zananiri -- Part 3 After Effects: Methodologies, Approaches and Reconceptualising Photography -- Chapter 9 Edward Keith-Roach's Favourite Things: Indigenising National Geographic's Images of Mandatory Palestine / Author: Yazan Kopty -- Chapter 10 Decolonising the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus / Author: Stephen Sheehi -- Chapter 11 Urban

Encounters: Imaging the City in Mandate Palestine / Author: Nadi Abusaada -- Chapter 12 Epilogue / Authors: Özge Calafato and Aude Aylin de Tapia

**Rayya El-Zein**

***Filling the Head: Listening to Rap in Arabic***

(Indiana University Press, 190 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Based on ethnographic research in Ramallah (Palestine), Amman (Jordan), and Beirut (Lebanon), *Filling the Head* reveals how youths in these cities have maneuvered the challenges of making music while also navigating shifting geopolitical landscapes. Through these everyday experiences of being moved by music or ideas, Rayya El Zein explores how ordinary patterns of motion and emotion provide a space for political engagement when spectacular political movements like protests, strikes, or revolutions feel far away, forced, or otherwise impossible. In contrast to existing narratives that equate rap with popular political resistance against oppressive regimes, she argues instead for affective engagement through *istifzaz*—provocation or surprise—as well as yearning. Within this avant-garde genre, there is no design to reach the masses with a political message; in fact, as El Zein demonstrates, the refusal of artists to confine their lyrical or musical experimentation to an ethos of resistance creates an aesthetic whose lack of singular politics defines it."

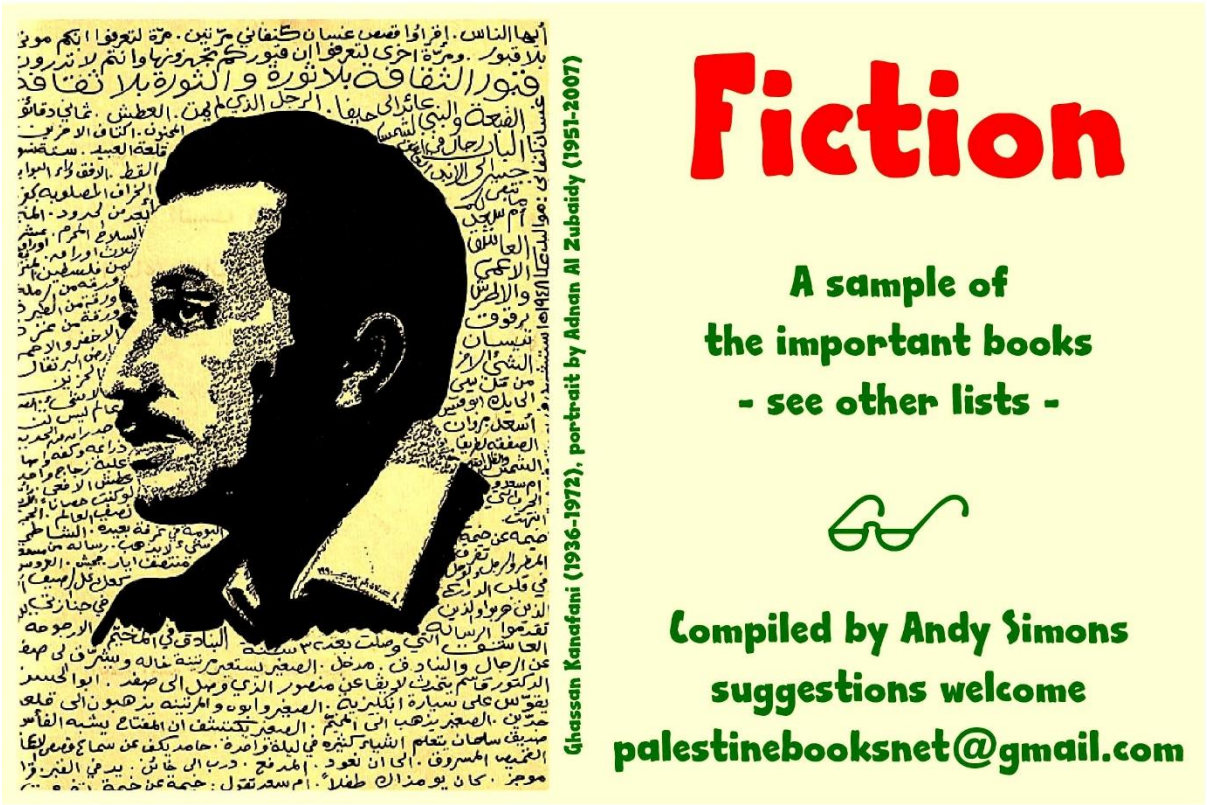
**Sherifa Zuhur**, editor

***Colors of Enchantment : Theater, Dance, Music, and the Visual Arts of the Middle East***

(American University in Cairo Press, 456 pages, 2001)

Contains **Reuvan Snir**: *The Palestinian Hakawati Theater: A Brief History*; **Edward Said**: *Farewell to Tahia*

# Palestine Fiction




**Randa Abdel-Fattah** (Macquarie University, Sydney; human rights NGOs; lawyer)

***Discipline: A Novel***
(University of Queensland Press/Oneworld Publications, 256 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Hannah is a journalist running on empty. Balancing the chaos of new motherhood, her job and her faith, she increasingly feels the judgement of a newsroom that doesn't value her voice. Ashraf is an academic whose career and personal life are in freefall. As Israel's bombardment of Gaza intensifies, a teenage student is arrested for protesting a university's ties to an Israeli arms manufacturer. Both Hannah and Ashraf are pulled into the unfolding drama – but in very different ways. While Hannah fights to tell the true story, risking her place in the newsroom, Ashraf chooses caution, prioritising his reputation as the stakes rise around him. As their paths begin to converge, both must confront what they are willing to stand for – and what their silence might cost them." Set in Sydney 2021, but could be in any Western country, suppressing public dissent by the Arab community of support of Israel. Author suspended from the 2026 Adelaide Writers Week but, when the festival was cancelled, she was then rescheduled for 2027.

With **Eva Di Cesare**: ***Where the Streets Had a Name: The Play***
(Currency Press, 69 pages, 2019)
Hayaat and her family spend their days dodging curfews, trying to buy a week's groceries before the sirens blare, remembering their home among the olive groves before it was taken from them.
But when the curfew breaks and her beloved grandmother Sitti is taken to hospital, Hayaat sets out on a mission to retrieve a jarful of soil from the family's old farm so she can grant Sitti's last wish of touching the soil of her homeland once more. All Hayaat and her friend Samy have to do is cross the hated wall that divides the West Bank and traverse the most dangerous patch of land on earth.
Eva Di Cesare has adapted Randa Abdel-Fattah's book into a daring adventure of freedom and friendship, exile and courage, family and love.

***Where the Streets Had a Name***
(Marion Lloyd Books, 240 pages, 2009)
Publisher's blurb: "Thirteen-year-old Hayaat is on a mission. She believes a handful of soil from her grandmother's ancestral home in Jerusalem will save her beloved Sitti Zeynab's life. The only problem is the impenetrable wall that divides the West Bank, as well as the checkpoints, the curfews, and Hayaat's best friend Samy, who is always a troublemaker. But luck is on their side. Hayaat and Samy have a curfew-free day to travel to Jerusalem. However, while their journey is only aew kilometres long, it may take a lifetime to complete."

**Amy Abdelnoor**
***Ever Land***
(Hutchinson Heinemann, 400 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "It is the year 2000 when Dinah, a Jewish teenager from London, arrives in Israel with her family. Still reeling from the death of her beloved dad, the idea of having to start all over again daunts her. Dinah isn't quite sure what to make of this seemingly pristine place: her new life seems soulless and suffocating. Another teenager, Safa, watches Dinah settle in. A fourteen-year-old Palestinian who was shot and killed decades ago in the Six Day War, Safa is caught in a limbo which she calls the 'In-Between'. She is unable to fully pass on without knowing what happened to her younger sister, Nur, who is still alive somewhere. After thirty-three years, the possibility of finding her sister is suddenly within reach – but Safa needs Dinah's help. Alternating between past and present, and between Safa and Dinah, *Ever Land* is a gripping and powerful story that sheds light on the ongoing occupation of Palestine."

**Leila Abdelrazaq**
***Baddawi***
(Charlottesburg, Virginia: Just World Books, 2015)
Graphic novel. Ahmad grows up in a crowded yet vibrant community amidst mounting unrest and violence in his host country, experiencing joys such as holidays and adventures with his friends, and facing heavy burdens, from a schoolyard bully to separation from his family during the Lebanese civil war. Ahmad's

dogged pursuit of education and opportunity echoes the journey of the Palestinian people, as they make the best of their present circumstances while remaining steadfast in their determination to one day return to their homeland. A "clever use of tatreez designs running throughout the book," with illustrations that "emphasise the surreal feelings of chaos and turmoil that surround young children in war zones." – Ghazala Caratella, *Aqsa News*

**Lina Abdulkarim**

***It Could Have Been Me***

(Lina's Kalam Books, 27 pages, 2024)

Children's book, illlusrated by **Noor Alshalabi**. Publisher's blurb: "Follows Yasmeen and Sumoud, two girls from the same homeland whose paths diverged due to fate. Through a chance encounter with Sumoud, a Palestinian refugee, Yasmeen's perspective is forever changed. As the two girls bond over shared experiences and unexpected similarities, Yasmeen realizes the profound impact of fate and the stark contrast between their lives. This heartfelt story delves into themes of empathy, resilience, and the power of human connection, leaving readers with a powerful message about understanding, gratitude, and the potential for positive change in the world."

**Einas Abdullah** [NYC]

Chapter from ***There are No Angels in Ramallah***

(*Banipal* 45 (2012)

Translated by **Robin Moger**.

**Hassan Abdulrazzak** (Molecular biologist and playwright)

***And Here I Am***

(Oberon Books, 2017)

Stage Play. Publisher's blurb: "A bitter sweet, dark political comedy based on one man's true story and his odyssey in search for identity, *And Here I Am* is an epic voyage of identity and self-discovery based on Ahmed Tobasi's personal coming of age story. Combining fact and fantasy, tragedy and comedy, spanning both the first Palestinian intifada and the second, we follow the protagonist through his transformation from resistance fighter to artist, his journey as a refugee from the West Bank to Norway and then back again."

***Love, Bombs and Apples***

(Oberon Books, 2016)

Stage Play. Publisher's blurb: "A Palestinian actor learns there's more to English girls than pure sex appeal. A Pakistani-born terror suspect figures out what's wrong with his first novel. A British youth suspects all is not what it seems with his object of desire. A New Yorker asks his girlfriend for a sexual favour at the worst possible time."

**Susan Abulhawa**

***Against the Loveless World***

(Bloomsbury, 2020)

Prof Nur Masalha blurb: "The humanising images painted in this novel are powerful, complex and beautiful. This deeply researched work of imagination sheds new light on dark corners and dark regimes. It gives an insight into the life of the marginalised and victims of persecution and those who navigate with dignity through oppression, from Kuwait during the Gulf War to Palestine under ongoing Israel occupation. It is also a story of love, defiance and rebellion against subordination and misogyny - and the self-emancipation of Palestinian women and women elsewhere." Depicts solitary confinement. Winner of the MEMO Creative category, Palestine Book Awards,

***Memories of an Un-Palestinian Story, in a Can of Tuna, Home*** , in: **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shedadeh**, editors: ***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***The Blue Between Sky and Water***
(Bloomsbury Circus, 2015)
A family's *Nakba* exile to Gaza.

***Mornings in Jenin***
(Bloomsbury, 2010)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestine, 1948. A mother clutches her six-month-old son as Israeli soldiers march through the village of Ein Hod. In a split second, her son is snatched from her arms and the fate of the Abulheja family is changed forever. Forced into a refugee camp in Jenin and exiled from the ancient village that is their lifeblood, the family struggles to rebuild their world. Their stories unfold through the eyes of the youngest sibling, Amal, the daughter born in the camp who will eventually find herself alone in the United States; the eldest son who loses everything in the struggle for freedom; the stolen son who grows up as an Israeli, becoming an enemy soldier to his own brother."

***Potpourri***, in **Steven Salaita**, editor: ***Modern Arab American Fiction – A Reader's Guide***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)

**Refqa Abu-Remaileh**

***Country of Words: A Transnational Atlas for Palestinian Literature***
(Stanford University Press, digital only, ca. 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "a digital-born project that seeks to retrace and remap the global story of Palestinian literature in the twentieth century, starting from the Arab world, and going through Europe, North America, and Latin America. Sitting at the intersection of literary history, periodical studies, and digital humanities, *Country of Words* creates a networked meeting place for the data and narrative fragments of a literature-in-motion, bringing together porous, interrupted, disconnected, and discontinuous fragments into an elastic, open-ended literary history. The story of Palestinian literature resembles the story of its people: an entire nation-in-exile scattered and fragmented across countries and continents. However, the logic of the nation-state still looms large over literary studies despite an unprecedented number of the world's population living as refugees, exiles, or stateless people. As a case study, Palestinian literary history allows us the possibility to "read together" national and exilic, encouraging a transnational comparative perspective. It also gives us the opportunity to think of new ways to write nonlinear nonconventional literary histories of displacement and movement, exposing new constellations, networks, trajectories, relationships, and collaborations; working across multiple literary geographies, and revealing just how multilayered these literary histories can be."

**Wadji Al-Ahdal** (Yemini novelist, screenwriter – Literature degree from Sanaa University)

***A Land without Jasmine***
(Garnet Publishing, 2012)
Translated by **William N. Hutchins**. An intriguing fiction from Yemen: *A Land without Jasmine* is a sexy, satirical detective story about the sudden disappearance of a young female student from Yemen's Sanaa University. Each chapter is narrated by a different character beginning with Jasmine herself. The mystery surrounding her disappearance comes into clearer focus with each self-serving and idiosyncratic account provided by an acquaintance, family member, or detective. As the details surrounding her sudden disappearance emerge the mystery deepens. Sexual depravity, honour, obsession; the motives are numerous and the suspects plentiful. It seems that everyone wants a piece of the charming young student. Family, friends, fellow students and nosey neighbours are quick to make their own judgements on the case, but the truth may be far stranger than anyone anticipates. This short novel has echoes of both the Sherlock Holmes stories and *The Catcher in the Rye*, as in addition to the mystery and a murder,

the novel contains candid discussions of coming of age in a land of sexual repression. Wajdi al-Ahdal is a satirical author with a fresh and provocative voice and an excellent eye for telling the details of his world.

**Maya Abu Al-Hayyat**

***No One Knows Their Blood Type***

(Cleveland State University Poetry Center, 150 pages, 2024)

Translated by **Hazem Jamjoum**. Publisher's blurb: "No One Knows Their Blood Type is a novel of identity, belonging, and conflicting truths—of stories, secrets, songs, rumors, and lies. On the day that her father dies, Jumana makes a discovery about her blood type. Hers could not have been inherited from her father—the father she sometimes longed for, but always despised. This extraordinary novel of Palestine centers its narrative not on the battlefield of history, but on how women live every day and the colonial context of their embodied lives. With humor and exhilarating inventiveness, it asks: why aren't questions of love, friendship, parenthood, and desire at the core of our conversations about liberty and freedom? How would this transform our ideas of resistance?"

***A Blue Pool of Questions***

(Penny Candy Books, 40 pages, 2017)

Illustrated by **Hassan Manasrah**; translated by **Hanan Awad**. Publisher's blurb: "Be curious, always ask questions, dive into the blue pool. A man who doesn't quite fit in arrives in a city full of busy people who don't have much time for him. One day, he asks so many questions that they form a giant pool in the middle of the city. Eventually, the man gathers up the courage to dive into the pool looking for answers, but what will he find? The Blue Pool of Questions underscores the importance of curiosity, the necessity of asking questions, and the courage required to break free from the status quo."

**Fatima J. Ali**

***Hamoudi and His Kittens***

(2026)

Book for young children, illustrated by **Rynah Jamil**.

**Taha Muhammad Ali** (see also POETRY)

***A Rose to Hafeeza's Eyes, and Other Stories***

(Peter Lang Books, 2008)

Translated by **Jamal Assadi**. Publisher's blurb: "Mohammad Ali Taha is a well-known Palestinian writer residing in Galilee as an Israeli citizen. Despite his fame in the Arab world, his works are still unfamiliar to Western audiences. In this volume, translator Jamal Assadi has collected a selection of Taha's short stories, representing a variety of themes, styles, historical periods, contexts, settings, tones, languages, narrations, and characters, with the intent to help Taha enter what Edward Said calls "the large, many-windowed house of human culture as a whole". In his introduction, Assadi discusses the culture, traits, and manners of Taha's world, which provides the reader with a greater appreciation and understanding of the short stories in this volume."

**Hamza R. Alikhan**

***We Love Watermelons***

(Darussalam International, 16 pages, 2025)

Illustrated children's book of a Palestinian toddler embracing his roots.

**Rabai Al-Maqdhoun**

***Fractured Destinies***

(Hoopoe Fiction, 2018)

Ivana, a Palestinian-Armenian woman from Acre who eloped with a young British medical officer and fled Palestine in 1948, asks her daughter, Julie, to grant her last wish of returning her ashes to her home town.

**Atef Alshaer**, editor

***The Nakba: Through Palestinian Writers' Eyes***

(Saqi Books, 2018)

Poetry and prose on the Nakba by Palestinian writers over the last seventy years: pre-Nakba, post-Nakba and post-Oslo Accords. Authors include Mahmoud Darwish, Samira Azzam, Fadwa Tuqan and Edward Said, as well as by emerging Palestinian writers.

**Hala Alyan** (Palestinian-American clinical psychologist)

***Salt Houses***

(Hutchinson/Random House, 2017)

Novel of Palestinian displacement.

**Anan Ameri** (PLO Research Center, Beirut; Arab American National Museum, Dearborn, Michigan)

***Khaled and Jamila***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 286 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "1959, the *West Bank, Palestine*. Khaled's bossy, hot-tempered father insists that his son go to college in the States so he can learn to help him run his business. *Khaled*, Arabic for *forever*, is reluctant to leave his secret, hometown crush. But he's bullied into taking off for Ann Arbor. There he falls for a blue-collar American girl. One thing leads to another, including a daughter named *Jamila*, Arabic for beautiful. Family mayhem erupts on all sides.

Fast forward to 1984. Jamila has come of age growing up in Ann Arbor during the turbulent sixties and seventies. There she falls for her brother's best friend, Ali, who she's known for years. But even though he's practically a member of the family, Ali is Black. Interracial marriages in the US are still few and far between. Mayhem breaks out again, tearing close ties apart. And so, what might *Sitti*, the grandmother conciliator, have to say? The names and heartaches of Khaled and Jamila ask, what in this mad world is beautiful forever? In Anan Ameri's noisy, impatient, vibrant novel, enduring beauty is the kind of love that family can teach us. And it's the larger, ever-expanding family of connections that love can show us when we learn to let it."

**Suad Amiry** (Ramallah-based architect & founder of RIWAQ, author of non-fiction accounts)

***Mother of Strangers***

(Random House, 288 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Set in Jaffa in between 1947 and 1951, this "fable-like historical novel of young love ... darkly humorous and touching . . ." (Oprah Daily) is based on a true story during the beginning of the destruction of Palestine and displacement of its people. Based on the true story of two Jaffa teenagers, Mother of Strangers follows the daily lives of Subhi, a fifteen-year-old mechanic, and Shams, the thirteen-year-old student he hopes to marry one day. In this prosperous and cosmopolitan port city, with its bustling markets, cinemas, and cafés on the hills overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, we meet many other unforgettable characters as well, including Khawaja Michael, the elegant and successful owner of orange groves above the harbour; Mr. Hassan, the tailor who makes Subhi's treasured English suit, which he hopes will change his life; and the very mischievous and outrageous Uncle Habeeb, who insists on introducing Subhi to the local bordello. With a thriving orange export business, Jaffa had always been a city welcoming to outsiders—the "Mother of Strangers"—where Muslims, Jews, and Christians lived peacefully together. Once the bombardment of the city begins in April 1948, Suad Amiry gives us the grim but fascinating details of the shock, panic, and destruction that ensues. Jaffa becomes unrecognizable, with neighbourhoods flattened, families removed from their homes and separated, and those who remain

in constant danger of arrest and incarceration. Most of the population flees eastward to Jordan or by sea to Lebanon in the north or to Egypt and Gaza in the south. Subhi and Shams will never see each other again."

**Soraya Antonius**

***The Lord***
(Hamish Hamilton, 1986)

***Where the Jinn Consult***
(Hamish Hamilton, 1987)
Linked novels set during the Mandate, with the first emphasising the failed 1936+ peasant revolt against colonialists, and the second exposing the squabbling Palestinian urban elite in the next decade.

**Radwa Ashour** (Egyptian)

***The Woman from Tantoura: Palestinian Novel***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2013, 2018)
Translated by **Kay Heikkinen**. Publisher's blurb: "Ruqayya was only thirteen when the Nakba came to her village in Palestine in 1948. The massacre in Tantoura drove her from her home and from everything she had ever known. She had not left her village before, but would never return. Now an old woman, Ruqayya looks back on a long life in exile, one that has taken her to Syria, Lebanon, the Gulf, and given her children and grandchildren. Through her depth of experience and her indomitable spirit, we live her love of her land, her family, and her people, and we feel the repeated pain of loss and of diaspora."

***Blue Lorries***
(Bloomsbury Qatar, 2013)
Translated by **Barbara Romaine**.

***Spectres***
(Arabia, 2010)
Translated by **Barbara Romaine**.

As co-editor, ***Arab Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide, 1873-1999***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2008)

***Granada***
(Syracuse University Press, 2003)
Translated by **William Granara**.

**Gharib Asqalani, Huzama Habayeb, Akram Haniyya** & **Mahmoud Shukair**
***Torn Body, One Soul: A Collection of Palestinian Short Fiction***
(Bloomington, Indiana: iUniverse, 2012)
Edited and translated by **Jamal Assadi**

**Hannah Lillith Assadi** (Columbia University)

***Paradiso 17***
(Knopf, 320 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "All his life, exile has been the shadow stitched to the sole of Sufien's shoe. Born in Palestine on the precipice of the Nakba, Sufien is forced to leave the only home he's ever known. In Kuwait, he meets his first live and decides he must leave his family. In a small Italian university town, he spends his youth wrapped up in the sweet promise of the West. When life takes him to New York, he discovers his true vocation and falls for a Jewish woman. Finally, he finds himself called to the open skies of Arizona's desert."

**Jamal Assadi** (Sakhnin College) and **Saif Abu Saleh** (An-Najah University), both authors and translators
***Short Fiction as a Mirror of Palestinian Life in Israel, 1944-1967: Critique and Anthology***
(Peter Lang Publishing, 2017)
Authors included: 'Rashid', Emile Habiby, Aref Al-'Azzounie, Michael Awad, Mohammad Khass, Ali 'Ashour, Tawfiq Mo'ammar, 'Abu Esam', Zaki Darwish, Susan Najeeb, Deeb Aabdie, Mohammad Naffa, George Gharib, Riyadh Husain Mahmoud, Salem Haddad and Tawfiq Zayyad.

**Majed Atef** [Ramallah & Jerusalem]
***The Fates of the Others***
Short story translated by **Issa J. Boullata**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

**Laila al-Atrash** [Jordan]
***Sunrise from the West***
(1988)

***Illusive Anchors*** (2005)

***A Day Like any Other: Novels and short stories in Arabic***
(1991)

As **Leila al-Atrash** (see also the Jo Glanville-edited short story compilation: *Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women* (2006):
***A Woman of Five Seasons***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 1990 / 2002).
Translated by **Nora Nweihid Halwani** and **Christopher Tingley**. The poor, the dispossessed, the opportunist—all flock to the newly oil-rich state of Barqais in search of wealth. *A Woman of Five Seasons* vividly explores the relations that develop in such countries between local high officials and incoming heartland Arabs. Alongside this a second, highly relevant theme is developed: the poignant coming of age of the Arab woman as she seeks, in the face of traditionally exploitative Arab male attitudes, to win a degree of independence and 872ravelled872. Palestinian Leila al-Atrash is one of the leading novelists and short story writers of the Arab world. She began her career as a journalist and press reporter and, later, as a TV news anchor in Qatar. Her novels include *The Sun Rises from the West* (1988), *An Ordinary Day* (1991), *Two Nights and the Shadow of a Woman* (1997), and *The Neighing of Distances* (1999), which all probe questions of feminine liberation and selfhood. This is her first novel to be translated into English. Born in Palestine of Lebanese origin, Nora Nweihid Halwani now lives in Beirut. She is a scholar specializing in Arabic literature, author of a collection of short stories, and editor of the feminist magazine *Al-Mar'a al-Jadida*. Christopher Tingley was born in Brighton, England, and educated at the universities of London and Leeds. He has translated or co-translated many novels, poems, and short stories from the Arabic, among them Yusuf al-Qaid's novel *War in the Land of Egypt* and the poetry for the two-volume *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*.

**Asma Al Atawna** (Palestinian-French)
***A Long Walk from Gaza***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 248 pages, 2024)
Translated by **Caline Nasrallah**. Publisher's blurb: "In the tradition of Palestinian women writers, Asma Al-Atawna has gifted us a novel that is both personal and political, that exposes both the occupation and the patriarchy. A Long Walk from Gaza is a coming-of-age story that follows its teenage protagonist through her battles with a strict and abusive father, the exhilaration of her first crush, confrontations with occupation soldiers, and the heartbreak of leaving her home Gaza for a new life in Europe. Beginning in Europe and working backward to her own birth and early childhood, Al-Atawna's creative narration mirrors the traumas of her life and her people. *A Long Walk from Gaza* not only

exposes the harshness of both male authority and the stifling of the dreams of girls in parallel with the devastating conditions Palestinians endure under a brutal Israeli occupation, but also the challenges of fleeing these for a cold, alienating life in Europe. Al-Atawna lays these bare within a story that also showcases moments of humor, joy, and the human capacity to survive and thrive at all costs. She skillfully weaves together the challenges of growing up in occupied Palestine while exposing the many intersections of violence, patriarchy, and growing up in a society that offers girls little to no compassion. Her teenage protagonist's feminist point of view is fresh and honest, powerfully conveying the heartbreaking truths of her life."

**Tawfiq Yusuf Awwad**

***Death in Beirut***

(Washington DC: Three Continents Press / Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Press, 1976)
Tragedy awaits Tamina, who is drawn by the lure of the city to leave her Shia Muslim village for the university in Beirut. Injured in a student demonstration, she is rescued by a young Maronite, Hani, who speaks convincingly of the dangers of anarchy and revolution. But once recovered, she is dazzled and seduced by the revolutionary journalist Ramzi. Disillusionment follows. Tamina eventually returns to Hani, to her studies, and to her work with the poorest of Lebanese and with Palestinian refugees. The tragic climax of the book foreshadows the terrible events in Lebanon in 1975.

**Hala Alyan** (see also poetry)

***Salt Houses***

(Windmill Books, 2018)
Novel spanning 50 years.

**Ibtisam Azem** (novelist, NYC television journalist and UN reporter for *Al-Araby Al-Jadeed*)

***The Sleep Thief***

(And Other Stories publishing, 120 pages, 2026)
Translated by **Sinan Antoon**, with artwork by **Monther Jawabreh**. Publisher's blurb: "'Sleep thief is what the interrogator called me. I'll never forget that. I would steal a few seconds of sleep so I could remain steadfast before them. The name stuck; I even dreamt about it, the same dream, night after night. I woke up not knowing what to do and drenched in sweat.' The experimental first novel from International Booker-Prize longlisted Palestinian author Ibtisam Azem, *The Sleep Thief* follows the life of Gharib ("the Stranger") Haifawi as he comes of age, is drawn into resistance, makes friends, meets lovers, pushes back against traditional values, longs to be free of the labels and expectations that burden him, rails against the commodification of suffering, and dreams of a Palestinian identity that will transcend sorrow."

***The Book of Disappearance***

(Syracuse University Press, 2019)
Translated by **Sinan Antoon**. Publisher's blurb: "What if all the Palestinians in Israel simply disappeared one day? What would happen next? How would Israelis react? These unsettling questions are posed in Azem's powerfully imaginative novel. Set in contemporary Tel Aviv forty-eight hours after Israelis discover all their Palestinian neighbours have vanished, the story unfolds through alternating narrators, Alaa, a young Palestinian man who converses with his dead grandmother in the journal he left behind when he disappeared, and his Jewish neighbour, Ariel, a journalist struggling to understand the traumatic event. Through these perspectives, the novel stages a confrontation between two memories. Ariel is a liberal Zionist who is critical of the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, but nevertheless believes in Israel's project and its national myth. Alaa is haunted by his grandmother's memories of being displaced from Jaffa and becoming a refugee in her homeland. Ariel's search for clues to the secret of the collective disappearance and his reaction to it intimately reveal the fissures at the heart of the Palestinian question." A most unusual premise, a retelling of 1948, but in a most unusual way. In this, the Nakba's echoes reach into an emotional intestine and then emerge as ethereal

silence. Along the way, the author seems to have a good grasp of Israeli society and those insights are informative, but the disquietude will surround you."

***The Sleep Thief: Ghareeb Haifawi,*** two chapters translated by **Sally Gomaa**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

**Samira Azzam** (1927-1967, Jaffa)

***Out of Time: The Collected Short Stories of Samira Azzam***
(Arablit Books, 157 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Ranya Abdelrahman**. Includes *On the Road* and *The Roc Flew Over Shahraban*.

***Her Tale***
(publisher and year unknown)

***Time and Humanity***
(publisher and year unknown)
Short Story.

***Feast from the Western Window***
(publisher and year unknown)
Short story.

**Fadhil Al-Azzawi**

***The Traveller and the Innkeeper*** ;
(American University in Cairo Press, 2011)
Translated by **William M. Hutchins**.

***Cell Block Five***
(Arabia Press, 2008)
Novel of political prisoners in Iraq.

***The Last of the Angels***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2007)
Translated by **William M. Hutchins**.

**Liana Badr** aka **Liyana Badr** (Jerusalem born author living in the West Bank)

***The Eye of the Mirror***
(Garnet Publishing, 1991, 1994, 2008)
Translated by **Samira Kawar**

***A Compass for the Sunflower***
(The Women's Press, 1979/1989)
Translated by **Catherine Cobham**.

***Balcony over the Fakihani***
(Interlink Books, 2002)
Translated by **Peter Clark** with **Christopher Tingley**. "These novellas effectively represent war and suffering from the point of view of disenfranchised peoples, both Beirutis and Palestinians. Recommended.." *-Library Journal.* The title story of Liana Badr's remarkable collection of three short novellas interweaves the narratives of three Palestinians, two women and one man, relating their successive uprootings: from Palestine in 1948, from Jordan during Black September in 1970, to their final exile in Beirut. Badr's intensively evocative contrapuntal style allows the reader to glimpse the joy and despair of these lives rooted in exile and resistance. There is an attention to detail in these stories

that brings the grand narrative of Palestinian history alive: a horrified mother spotting a white hair on her baby's head the morning after a mortar attack in Beirut; a woman hiding a Palestinian resistance fighter's gun moments before he is picked up by the Jordanian security police. The final movement of *A Balcony over the Fakihani* is a deeply poetic and harrowing account of Israeli air strikes during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, told from the perspective we so rarely encounter: that of the disenfranchised people whose courage and suffering cannot fail to move the readers of this extraordinary book. Liyana Badr, a renowned novelist and short story writer across the Middle East, was born in Jerusalem and has herself lived through a series of exiles. Her works of fiction include one novel and three collections of short stories, as well as several stories for children. She currently lives in the West Bank. Peter Clark was born in Sheffield, England, and has two degrees in history. He has been employed since 1967 by the British Council, which he has represented in the Middle East. Among his works is *Henry Hallam*, *Mamaduke Pickthall: British Muslim*, and has translated *Karari* and *Dubai Tales*. Christopher Tingley was born in Brighton, England, and educated at the universities of London and Leeds. He has translated or co-translated many novels, poems, and short stories from the Arabic, among them Yusuf al-Qaid's novel *War in the Land of Egypt* and the poetry for the two-volume *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*.

**Shimon Ballas** (Israeli born in Baghdad)

***Outcast***

(1991 Hebrew; 2005 English; City Lights Books, 2007)
70 years of Iraqi history as an Iraqi Jew converts to Islam.

**Halim Isber Barakat** (renowned Syrian-Lebanese sociologist-novelist, from American University Beirut, the University of Texas, and Harvard University)

***Days of Dust***

(Medina University Press, 1974 / Lynne Reinner Press, 1983 / Three Continents Press, 1983)
Translated by **Trevor Le Gassick** (University of Michigan). Reviewer's blurb: "Focusing on the interaction of finely portrayed characters from all elements of society, *Days of Dust* depicts the existential drama of the Six Days War as it was experienced on a personal level. The novel provides a remarkable perspective for comprehending Palestinian uprootedness and a people s unceasing struggle for a homeland. It was first published in Arabic in 1969. Contains original drawings by Kamal Boullata." Introduction by Edward Said.

***Six Days***

(Three Continents Press, 1990)
Translated by **Bassam Franeigh** / **Scott McGehee**. Short 1961 novel, originally *Sittat Ayyam,* derides the 875ravelled875ist875ty of an Arab village in the face of Israeli attack.

**Hudá Barakat** (novelist with a focus on the Lebanese civil war – now living in Paris)

***Disciples of Passion***

(Syracuse University Press, 2005)
Translated by **Marilyn Booth**. Publisher's blurb: "Disciples of Passion chronicles the civil war in Lebanon through the troubled and sometimes quasi-hallucinatory mind of a young man who has experienced kidnapping, hostage exchange, and hospital internment. As he recalls his village childhood and recounts his relationship with a woman of a different faith, his fragmented narrative probes the uncertainties of political testimonial and ascriptions of responsibility in wartime. Marilyn Booth's fluid translation brings to an English audience one of the Arabic language's finest contemporary novelists. Widely celebrated in France, where she currently lives in exile (from Lebanon), Hoda Barakat writes from personal experience: her novels focus on the civil war in Lebanon and how it shaped the lives of people marginalized by the conflict. Compelling scenarios of war and its aftermath of suffering and destruction are integrated into subtle psychological portraits – with protagonists often propelled into unexpected action."

***The Tiller of Waters***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2001)
Translated by **Marilyn Booth**.

***The Stone of Laughter***
(Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1994 / Interlink Books, 1995)
Translated by **Sophie Bennett**. Set during the Lebanese civil war and insightful regarding the urban civilian population's behariour during it. Some focus on constant analysis of news, while many others, the "utterly confused…the sullen ones…who move the most." Vignettes, such as the wealthy citizens hiring ambulances to take them to nightclubs, scatter across the pages like shrapnel. Probably the first Arabic novel to have a gay man as the central character and follows a swerving narrative, in the oblique manner of some Arabic fiction.

**Ibtisam Barakat** (Palestinian-American memoirist, poet, educator; other pieces and interviews in issues of periodicals: *Wasafiri, Modern Poetry in Translation*, and *Bookbird.*

***Free? Stories about Human Rights***
(Amnesty International / Candlewick Publications, 2010)
One piece in this anthology for young readers.

***What a Song Can Do: 12 Riffs on the Power of Music***
(Knopf / Laurel-Leaf Books, 2006)

**Eyad Barghuthy** [Acre resident]
***A Fateful Meal***
(short story translated by **John Peate**, in *Banipal* 45).

**Eileen G. [Garsson] Baron**
***A Fly Has a Hundred Eyes: Set in the Turmoil of Palestine in 1938***
(Academy Chicago Publishers, 2002)
Archaeologist-anthropologist professor's mystery novel, part of the Lily Sampson Mystery series.

**Raji Bathish** [poet + five collections of short stories, not in English]
***Nakba Lite***, short story translated by **Suneela Mubayi**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

**Yusuf Bazzi** aka **Yussef Bazzi**
***Yasser Arafat Looked at Me and Smiled: Diary of a Fighter***
(Beirut: Ashkal Alwan, 130 pages, 2007)
English and Arabic, novel of soldiers in Lebanon during the civil war.

**Yasmin Begum**
***Layla's Rainbow Hope in Gaza***
(Darussalam International, 24 pages, ca. 2024)
Illustrated children's book.

**Nick Bilbrough**
***Toothbrush and Other Plays: A Collection of 30 Five-minute Plays Created and Performed by Palestinian Children***
(Hands Up Project / Gilgamesh Publishing, 2019)
With preface, **Matthias Schmale**, Director, UNRWA Gaza; foreword by **Scott Thornbury**

**Hannah Boast** (University of Warwick)

***Hydrofictions: Water, Power and Politics in Israeli and Palestinian Literature***

(Edinburgh University Press, 240 pages, 2020)

Topics include Meir Shalev's *The Blue Mountain*, Amox Oz's *The Same Sea*, Sayed Kashua's *Let it be Morning.*

**Leila Boukarim**

***Mariam's Dream: The Story of Mariam Al-Shaar and Her Food Truck***

(San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2025)

Children's book. Publisher's blurb: "…follows real-life freedom dreamer Mariam Al Shaar, known around the world for building Soufra, a women-run kitchen in the Bourj Al-Barajneh refugee camp in Beirut, Lebanon. Discover the joys of cooking, the power of community, and the flavors of Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon in this poignant story written for anyone who has ever felt walled in and dreamed of something more."

**Issa J Boulatta**

***A Retired Gentleman and Other Stories***

(Banipal Publications, 2007)

Issa J Boullata's characters are emigrants to Canada and the USA from Arab countries, living with pasts that cannot be relived, with exile and loss. How do you settle into a new life? What happens to all your old relations? How do you go about making new ones? Can you find happiness? Can you fall in love again? After a lifetime working as a professor and a translator of Arabic literature, Palestinian scholar and author Issa J Boullata regales his readers with a collection of tales that looks resolutely and quietly at life's hopes, dreams and loves. Issa J Boullata was born in Jerusalem. He is a writer, literary scholar and critic, an educator and translator who started his academic career with a PhD in Arabic literature from London University in 1969. Formerly Professor of Arabic Literature at McGill University in Montreal, he introduced and translated a ground-breaking poetry anthology *Modern Arab Poets, 1950-1975* (1976) and has translated a number of contemporary Arab authors including Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, Mohamed Berrada, Emily Nasrallah and Ghada Samman, winning translation awards for two of the works. His latest translation is the autobiography of the distinguished Palestinian intellectual, the late Hisham Sharabi. Issa J Boullata's writings in Arabic include a novel *A'id ila al-Quds (Returning to Jerusalem)* and a biography *Badr Shakir al-Sayyab: His Life and Poetry*. He is a contributing editor of *Banipal* magazine.

**Ahlam Bsharat** (Tammun/Jenin/Ramalah writer-broadcaster)

***Trees for the Absentees***

(Neem Tree Press, 96 pages, 2019)

Young adult novel. Translated by **Ruth Ahmedzai Kemp**.

***Code Name: Butterfly***

(Neem Tree Press, 2016)

Young adult novel. Translated by **Nancy Roberts**.

**Nassib D. Bulos**

***Jerusalem Crossroads***

(Beirut: Dar An-Nahar, 2003)

Publisher's blurb: " The story of Leah, a young and beautiful woman working at the Jewish Agency, and Nabeel, a promising young Palestinian journalist, and their impossible love set against a background of intrigue, violence, betrayal, terror and bloodshed. The author, a Palestinian who witnessed the events, portrayed characters accordingly."

**Sami Shalom Chetrit**

***Doll's Eye***

(Xlibris, 2013)

Moroccan Israeli (Mizrahi) who tried to start a high school emphasising Arab Jewish heritage.

**Miriam Cooke** (DukeUniversity)

***Hayati, My Life***

(Syracuse University Press, 2015)

Publisher'sblurb: "Summoned by his dying mother, Palestinian-born Aziz Shihab returns to the homeland he and his family fled as refugees decades earlier: to a Palestine reclaimed by Israelis and to a country no longer that of his youth in a nation whose estate has been challenged by history. This gripping book chronicles that month-long journey."

**Michelle Cohen Corasanti**

***The Almond Tree***

(Garnet, 2012)

Reviewer's blurb: "Gifted with a mind that continues to impress the elders in his village, Palestinian Ichmad Hamid struggles with knowing that he can do nothing to save his friends and family. Living on occupied land, his entire village operates in fear of losing their homes, jobs, and belongings. But more importantly, they fear losing each other. On Ichmad's twelfth birthday, that fear becomes reality. With his father imprisoned, his family's home and possessions confiscated, and his siblings quickly succumbing to hatred in the face of conflict, Ichmad begins an inspiring journey using his intellect to save his poor and dying family. In doing so he reclaims a love for others that was lost through a childhood rife with violence and loss, and discovers a new hope for the future. Reminiscent of *The Kite Runner* and *One Thousand Splendid Suns*, this is an uplifting read that conveys a message of optimism and hope."

**Rachel Corrie**

***My Name is Rachel Corrie: The Writings of Rachel Corrie***

(Nick Hern Press, 2005)

Stage play based on the activist's diaries; Corrie 1979-2003; edited by **Alan Rickman** (actor and director) and **Katharine Viner** (future Editor-in-Chief of the *Guardian*)**.**

**Ned Curthoys** (University of Western Australia) & **Isabelle Hesse** (University of Sydney)

***Literary Representations of the Palestine/Israel Conflict after the Second Intifada***

Edinburgh University Press, 328 pages, 2022/2024)

Publisher's blurb: "This edited collection brings together discussions of literary works from Israel, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the Palestinian and Jewish Diasporas, as well as from authors and creators not directly involved with the conflict who are seeking to unpack its complexities for a wider audience. It offers new perspectives into how the Palestine/Israel conflict is, and can be, represented after the Second Palestinian Intifada, an epochal event for both Israelis and Palestinians. This collection foregrounds the thematic concerns that link literary engagements with Palestine/Israel across the globe but also examines the role that aesthetic representation plays in framing the conflict and its power dynamics. It addresses how emergent forms of writing and representation illuminate but also redescribe conflict in the context of Israel and Palestine and how, as in the case of the investigative graphic novel for example, depicting this conflict has had reverberations for representing conflict and conflict zones more widely." Contents: **Rita Sakr**: *The Severed Limb: Relational Life Writing against Technobiopolitical Violence in Atef Abu Saif's 'The Drone Easts with Me'* / **Hiyem Cheurfa**: *Daily Encounters: Diary Writing and the Politics of the Mundane in Occupied Palestine* / **Sahar al-Shoubaki**: *American Palestinian Women as Public Intellectuals: New Narrative of Resistance* / **Jumana Bayeh**: *The Palestinian Rebel: Liberty and Statehood in Literature* / **Niva Kaspi**: *The*

*Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in 'To the End of the Land': Some thoughts on David Grossman's Hebrew in Translation* / **Aarushi Punia**: *'Public Confession' in Palestinian Literary Self-narratives after the Second Intifada* / **Anastasia Valassopoulos**: *Detectives in Bethlehem: Crime Fiction in the Occupied Territories* / **Lowry Martin**: *Reframing Occupation after the Second Intifada Drawing from Experience in Francophone Graphic Novels* / **Ned Curthoys**: *Coming of Age in Graphic Novels Representing the Palestine/Israel Conflict* / **Isabelle Hesse**: *The Palestine/Israel Conflict in the Young Adult Anglophone Bildungsroman* / **Magda Mansour Hasabelnaby** and **Radwa R. Mahmoud**: *Feeding Words with Sugar: Resurrecting Palestine in Children's Picture Books from Egypt*.

**Marguerite Dabaie**

***The Hookah Girl, and other True Stories***

(Rosarium Publishing, 100 pages, 2018)

Graphic novel. Publisher's blurb: "In this current political climate, being a Palestinian is a hazard. However, there are common grounds where East meets West. The Hookah Girl is a semi-autobiographical graphic novel of a childhood as a Christian Palestinian in America. Told in short stories and with narrative ranging from growing up in a refugee family to how to roll waraq (stuffed grape leaves), this book is an account of living in two seemingly different cultures that actually aren't very different at all."

**Selma Dabbagh**

As editor: ***We Wrote in Symbols: Love and Lost by Arab Women Writers***

(Saqi Books, 2021)

Featuring over 100 excerpts of prose and poetry over three millenia; tangential to Palestine.

***Out of It***

(Bloomsbury, 2011)

Gaza-relevant novel of great influence, not only because it has sold well, but also because it's a thrilling quilt stitched with human disappointment and compassion.

**Christaine Dabdoub-Nasser**

***A Moon Will Rise***

(David Paul, 340 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Set in Bethlehem in 1920. A sense of foreboding hangs over Palestinian society under British rule. Samira Lafiah, a progressive young woman is in conflict with her prominent, traditional family who expect her to accept an arranged marriage. Can she defy her family and her society's rigid conventions and discover love in a year full of turmoil."

See also: **Palestine Culture**.

**Shaw J. Dallal** (Syracuse University, Utica College, and former legal counsel to the Organization of Arab Petroluem Exporting Countries)

***Scattered Like Seeds***

(Syracuse University Press, 452 pages, 1999)

Publisher's blurb: "Thafer Allam is the son of a celebrated Arab resistance fighter against the British occupation of Palestine before World War II. with such strong Arab roots, his exile in the United States means that Thafer belongs to two different worlds, and returning to his homeland is difficult after years emersed in the culture of the West. His career in nuclear technology and law places him in a position of advising Arab governments on U.S.-related nuclear issues. Allam moves easily from the living rooms of the Palestinian ghettos to the offices of Arab ministries. With the 1973 oil embargo against the west underway, Allam tries to reconcile the pull of his Palestinian heritage with his ties to America."

**Susan Muaddi Darraj** (Harford Community College, Maryland; Johns Hopkins University)

***Behind You is the Sea***
(HarperVia, 256 pages, 2024)
Witty novel of Palestinian Americans in Baltimore, struggling with *sumud* and balancing immigrant status with justice for Palestine.

***Farah Rocks Fifth Grade***
(Stone Arch Books, 144 pages, 2020)
Illustrations by **Ruaida Mannaa.** Publisher's blurb: "Farah and her best friend, Allie Liu, are getting excited to turn in their applications to the Magnet Academy, where they both hope to attend sixth grade. But when new girl Dana Denver shows up, Farah's world is turned upside down. As Dana starts bullying Farah's little brother, Samir, Farah begins to second-guess her choice to leave him behind at Harbortown Elementary/Middle School. Determined to handle it on her own, Farah comes up with a plan–a plan that involves lying to those closest to her. Will her lies catch up with her, or can Farah find a way to defeat the bully and rock fifth grade?"

***A Curious Land – Stories from Home***
(University of Massachusetts Press, 288 pages, 2015)
A novel of stories set in the West Bank village of Tel al-Hilou.

***The Inheritance of Exile – Stories from South Philly***
(University of Notre Dame Press, 2007)

**Marcello Di Cintio** (Canadian journalist)

***Pay No Heed to Rockets: Palestine in the Present Tense***
(Saqi Books, 2018)
A lyrical travelogue of the author's meetings with Palestinian writers, poets, librarians, booksellers, readers and literary salon hosts.

**Dan Drost**

*Waiting for Paradise*
(publisher unidentified, 2007)
Reviewer's blurb: "Sean MacNamee has just been given the opportunity to be what he's always dreamed of being: a true hero. A self-decribed "lowly prison guard" whose real love is 880ravell', women, and Bruce Springsteen songs, MacNamee is stunned to learn that he has been chosen by the warden to interview an imprisoned Palestinian terrorist, Ali Hassam, in hopes of gathering insights that could be useful in the war against terrorism. Following the murder of two Israelis and four Jewish-Americans in Jerusalem, Hassam has been in the U.S. prison for 25 years and has not spoken a word to anyone in that time. But after 9/11, the United States is leaving no stone unturned in the search for ways to decipher the minds of radical Muslims. Still, the guard can't believe that he–with a lifetime of underachievement behind him–was given this assignment. Was MacNamee being set up by the warden? How can he explain his association with the country's most infamous Islamic terrorist to his Jewish friends? And, anyway, why would Hassam open up to him? Incredibly, MacNamee is able to get Hassam to tell him the story of Deir Yassin and the village's role in the current Middle East conflict. But his Jewish friends have a different story to tell, while the government may have a separate agenda. Sean's confusion ultimately yields to a fateful decision, one that could either make him a hero–or get him killed."

**Hasan Dudar**

(University of Iowa Press, 226 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "In the late 1970s, Ziad Idilbi, a Palestinian refugee from [the Bourj al-Barajneh camp in] Lebanon, marries Salma, a Lebanese refugee escaping the war in Beirut. Resolving to start over for the very last time, the couple opens a corner store in Toledo, Ohio, across from the General Motors

factory, where Toledo's Arab community intermingles with the working class. Over the decades, whether it's bigotry (pre- and post-9/11), financial ruin, or terminal illness, the Idilbis find themselves on life's outskirts, attempting to build something new. Achingly poignant and slyly funny, the linked stories in *Carryout* follow the Idilbis and their children as they teeter on the brink of catastrophe. Walid, the youngest child of Ziad and Salma, navigates the heartbreaks of youth as well as the colorful characters who haunt his parents' corner store. As he grows up into a writer, Walid's gaze fixes on his father and the long shadow of displacement and occupation. Mustafa, the eldest son, is forever trying to outrun the disasters that seem to seek him out, while Nawal, the only daughter, is dumped by a friend and hatches a scheme to win her back. Unsure whether to run toward each other or away from each other, the characters in Dudar's exquisite debut suffer the absurdities and indignities of life in America with wry obstinance and striking wisdom."

**Susan Muaddi Durraj**

***A Curious Land: Stories from Home***

(University of Massachusetts Press, 2015)

A book of short stories, which aren't narratively distinct as you'd expect.

**Rifk Ebeid** (Palestinian American paediatric speech language pathologist, attorney, and children's author)

***Kamal's Key***

(Author, 44 pages, 2024)

Children's book illustrated by **Sophia Soliman**.

***Birthday Kunafa***

(Author, 50 pages, 2024)

Wordless picture book set in Nablus.

***Baba, What Does My Name Mean? A Journey to Palestine***

(Author, 32 pages, 2020)

Children's book illustrated by **Lamma Jawhari**.

**Maurice Ebileeni** (University of Haifa)

***Being There, Being Here: Palestinian Writings in the World***

(Syracuse University Press, 240 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Twenty percent of Palestinians-1.57 million Israeli citizens and over seven hundred thousand exiles and immigrants around the world-live in Europe and the Americas, participating daily in languages and cultures other than Arabic. The dispersion of Palestinians and the consequent diversity of experiences running through three generations since the Nabka of 1948 have significantly dispelled a sense of cultural homogeneity. This cultural diversification is powerfully reflected in literature as an increasing number of Palestinians are writing in Hebrew, English, Spanish, Italian, and Danish, among other languages. *In Being There, Being Here*, Ebileeni calls for a renewed definition of Palestinian writing, one that includes Anglophone, Nordic, Latinate, and Hebrew language literary works into the national canon. The relevance of studying Palestinian writings composed in languages other than Arabic is grounded in the tension between the idea of remaining loyal to a more-or-less fixed national narrative and the desire to understand the ongoing lingual and cultural proliferations of the Palestinian story. The concept of "homeland" remains inextricable to Palestinian experiences notwithstanding generation and location, but, it may not necessarily connote to the notion of home for those who were born and raised in the West. Although most of the works discussed here are steeped in the historic injustices committed against Palestinians, Ebileeni's intention is to unsettle this foundation for the purpose of yielding a richer and fuller understanding of Palestinian literary texts."

**Fadia Faqir** [Amman born, in 1980s at the University of East Anglia; lectured at Durham University]

***Willow Trees Don't Weep***

(Heron, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "A father sets out to save the Islamic world. A daughter sets out to save herself. Najwa's father left when she was four years old. Now, upon her mother's death, she cannot live alone in the Islamic society of Jordan. She must find her father. Her search takes her through new dangers as she becomes swept up with a mysterious organization which sends her into the mountains of Afghanistan. For her father, this same journey was made as a wrenching sacrifice for the sake of his beliefs. Yet his experience in the desert transformed his life forever. Now it transforms Najwa's, as she is compelled to follow in his footsteps: from a heartbreaking secret in Afghanistan all the way to a revelation in Britain."

***Cry of the Dove***
(Grove Press / Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "story of one young woman and an evocative portrait of forbidden love and violated honor in a culture whose reverberations are felt profoundly in our world today. Salma has committed a crime punishable by death in her Bedouin tribe of Hima, Levant: she had sex out of wedlock and became pregnant. Despite the insult it would commit against her people, Salma has the child and suddenly finds herself a fugitive on the run from those seeking to restore their honor. Salma is rushed into protective custody where her newborn is ripped from her arms, and where she sits alone for years before being ushered to safety in England. Away from her Bedouin village, Salma is an asylum-seeker trying to melt into the crowd, under pressure to reassess her way of life. She learns English customs from her landlady and befriends a Pakistani girl who is also on the run, with whose help Salma finally forges a new identity. But just as things settle, the need to return for her lost daughter overwhelms her, and one fateful day, Salma risks everything to go back and find her."

***My Name is Salma***
(Doubleday, 2007)
Publisher's blurb: "When Salma becomes pregnant before marriage in her small village in the Levant, her innocent days playing the pipe for her goats are gone for ever. She is swept into prison for her own protection. To the sound of her screams, her newborn baby daughter is snatched away. In the middle of the most English of towns, Exeter, she learns good manners from her landlady, and settles down with an Englishman. But deep in her heart the cries of her baby daughter still echo. When she can bear them no longer, she goes back to her village to find her. It is a journey that will change everything – and nothing. Slipping back and forth between the olive groves of the Levant and the rain-slicked pavements of Exeter, *My Name is Salma* is a searing portrayal of a woman's courage in the face of insurmountable odds."

***Pillars of Salt***
(Quartet Books, 1996) – Set in Jordan during the British Mandate.

***Nisanit***
(Aidan Ellis, 1987/Penguin, 1988) An outstanding, fast-paced, time-shifting 1960s-1980s novel of chilling futility in the West Bank. Compelling storytelling, including prison torture.

**Joseph R. Farag** (University of Minnesota; contributor to the *Journal of Arabic Literature*)
***Politics and Palestinian Literature in Exile: Gender, Aesthetics and Resistance in the Short Story***
(IB Tauris & University of Texas Press, 2016) part of SOAS Palestine Studies series. Drawing from the works of Samira Azzam, Ghassan Kanafani and Ibrahim Nasrallah, Farag traces developments in the short story as they relate to the pivotal events of what the Palestinians call the Nakba ('catastrophe'), Naksa ('defeat') and First Intifada ('uprising').

**Sebastian Faulks**

***Farewell to Eden***
(Hutchinson Heinemann, 368 pages, 2026)
Set partially in the closing days of the British Mandate. Publisher's blurb: "Philip Deval, a soldier recently returned from the beaches of Normandy, arrives in Palestine on a peace-keeping mission in the final days of the British Mandate. The Sea of Galilee glitters in the distance as war-weary troops marvel at the novelty of oranges and sun – a paradise that belies a fierce new conflict about to erupt. Some years later, Philip begins work teaching at a school in the English countryside and meets the enigmatic music mistress, Frances Darwood. Over long evenings spent listening to records in her music room, they grow close. But Philip is a changed man, and must confront the secrets and scars of all he has lived through – which threaten, even now, to upend his future."

**Steven R. Feldman** (Wake Forest School of Medicine, Winston-Salem, North Carolina)
***Bent Towards Justice: A Novel Inspired by True Stories***
(Rand-Smith/author, 220 pages, 2024)
Jewish, anti-Zionist focused fiction.

**Naomi Foyle** (Chichester University; co-ordinator of British Writers in Support of Palestine /BWISP; fiction and poetry author)
***Astra***
(Jo Fletcher Books, 2014)
Through this remarkable travelogue to another world, one realises soon that the folks strutting about are as shoehorned into their own collective myths as we are in the non-fictitious world today. Some dystopic Sci-Fi markers are there, with humans having to walk between the consequences of climate change and the aftermath of war waged for power and resources. But this is just the stage set. The real actors here, inhabitants of "Is-land," are madly clannish communities flaunting the unfortunate, eternal talent of demonising the *others* of the world. The 20th century saw nations who fell for this nonsense, and it's still hiding in the wings if you really look. *Astra* can be seen today as an allegory on Israeli Settlers' messianic beliefs and their fear of Palestinians. And society's self-censorship too. The good news is that we can rise up to oppose it, each in our own way, as the author has done with this encouraging novel of novel encouragement. *Astra* is the first in the 'Gaia Chonicles' series, folled by *Rook Song* (2015), *Blood of the Hoopoe* (2016), and *Stained Light* (2018), all published by Jo Fletcher Books.

**Ibrahim Fawal** (b. Ramallah)
***The Disinherited***
(Montgomery, Alabama: NewSouth Books, 2013)
Publisher's blurb: "In this sequel to Ibrahim Fawal's critically acclaimed On the Hills of God (winner of the PEN Oakland Award), the young Palestinian Yousif Safi searches throughout Jordan for Salwa, his bride, from whom he was separated during their forced exodus after the catastrophe (nakba) of 1948. Amidst the squalor of refugee camps, and beside himself with anxiety for Salwa, Yousif joins his countrymen in trying to exist while waiting to be restored to their homeland. Why, they ask, did this tragedy befall their country and its people? Why had the holy land been turned into a battleground? And now they've become a people without a land. As weeks turn to months and months to years, the Palestinians' hopes dim, yet Yousif does find his beloved Salwa, and they joyfully begin their new life together. The Disinherited follows the young couple as expatriate workers in Kuwait, then as students in Cairo. Always they are working and organizing, joining with their fellows to develop schools, newspapers, and increasingly militant organizations. Their dream is to unite the Palestinian people around the world, and to regain their homeland. In measured, epic storytelling, Fawal masterfully weaves a second chapter in the story of the Palestinian diaspora."

***On the Hills of God***
(Montgomery, Alabama: Black Belt Press, 1993 / Montgomery, Alabama: New South Books, 2002, 2006)

Publisher's blurb: "On the Hills of God describes the year-long journey of a boy becoming a man, while all that he has known crumbles to ashes. The novel has been translated into German and Arabic and won the PEN Oakland Award for literary excellence. Critic Ishmael Reed calls it "a monumental book." This revised edition includes a new introduction. When we first encounter Palestinian Yousif Safi in June 1947, he is filled with hopes for his education abroad to study law, and with daydreams of his first love, the beautiful Salwa. But as the future of Palestine begins to look bleak due to the pressure on the United Nations from the international Zionist movement, Yousif is frustrated by his fellow Arabs' inability to thwart the Zionist encroachment and by his own inability to prevent the impending marriage of Salwa to an older suitor chosen by her parents. As Palestinians face the imminent establishment of Israel, Yousif resolves to face his own responsibilities of manhood. Despite the monumental odds against him, Yousif vows to win back both his loves — Salwa and Palestine — and create his world anew." Note: Author also wrote the biography *Youssef Chahine* (London: British Film Institute, 2001, 2002) Publisher's blurb: "A discussion of the frequently controversial film maker Youssef Chahine. The book aims to illuminate Chahine's work in the context of modern Egyptian culture and its tumultuous post-war history and how such films as "Cairo Station" (1958), "The Earth" (1959) and "The Sparrow" (1973) dramatized the dilemmas of ordinary Egyptians. He also argues that Chahine's intensely autobiographical trilogy "Alexandria…Why?" (1978), "An Egyptian Story" (1985) and "Alexandria…More and More" (1989) spoke to the concerns of the broader Egyptian intelligentsia amongst whom he has earned the reputation of being the "poet and thinker" of modern Arab cinema. The final analysis of the book argues that Chahine's work stands comparison with directors such as Fellini, Bergman, Kurosawa or Sembene but also emphatically draws strength from its links with one of the most vibrant popular cinemas of the world and from the roots and traditions of popular Arabic culture."

**Assaf Gavron**

***The Hilltop***

(Scribner, 2014, 2015)

Dysfunctional west Bank settlement comedy-drama with slight Palestinian participation.

***Almost Dead*** aka ***Croc-Attack!***

(Harper, 2010 / Fourth Estate, 2011)

Comedic terrorist thriller.

**Aya Ghanameh**

***These Olive Trees***

(Viking Press, 40 pages, 2023)

Children's book story of a Palestinian family's ties to the land, set in Nablus 1967.

**Zeina B. Ghandour**

***The Honey***

(Interlink Books, 2008) "A Palestinian girl's transgression has strange repercussions ('little waves of consequence that travel like vibrations') in Zeina B. Ghandour's "The Honey". Young, impulsive Ruhiya gives the morning call to prayer as her father lies on his deathbed, even though it is forbidden under Islamic law for a woman to do this. Elliptical and lyrical, this is less a novel than a glimpse into the minds of the five narrators: Ruhiya herself; Yehya, her childhood love and a would-be terrorist; his father, Farhan; Maya, a foreign journalist; and Asrar, the little girl who was the only eyewitness to Ruhiya's deed." —*Publishers Weekly.* Ruhiya is an intensely spiritual young girl, the *muezzin*'s daughter in an oasis village in Palestine under Israeli occupation. One night her childhood love, a recently converted fundamentalist, sets off on a suicide mission. Ruhiya breaches one of the deepest taboos of Islam by chanting the call to the dawn prayer herself. At the last moment her song reaches him and instead of detonating the explosives that have been strapped to him, he retreats and runs. The same day a foreign journalist, sent to the village to cover the two stories, is faced with a wall of silence. She seeks answers with the encouragement of a little girl who hears and sees everything, the keeper of all secrets. The honey is a magic substance healing everything. It runs through the land like its lifeblood. Through the

themes of suicide and liberation, the story of a woman, a village, and a people is told. Zeina B. Ghandour was born in Beirut, Lebanon in 1966. She studied law at Kent University in the United Kingdom specializing in Jewish and Islamic law. *The Honey* is her first novel. "Islam is often unjustly called sexist, yet aspects of Islamic practice are almost always patriarchal, for instance, the adhan, or call to prayer. Ruhiya's father normally chants the adhan, but he has fallen ill. Worse, her beloved, Yehya, has left their village in Israeli-occupied Palestine for Jerusalem. Breaking a deep taboo, Ruhiya calls the community to prayer, and miraculously, Yehya hears her in Jerusalem and aborts the suicide mission he has planned. Add a journalist, a near-omniscient little girl, and the ubiquitous presence of honey, and you have this short, compelling fable. The rare novel about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that acknowledges the complicated experiences and feelings on both sides without making an overt political statement, it is the story of a woman's need to assert herself in nontraditional ways…a little gem." —*Booklist.* "…the story is so tightly packed that every word resonates and multiple readings are required…a glinting little novel that emanates big ideas about politics, pleasure, language, religion and 885ravelled885, be it earthy or otherwise." —*The National.* See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY.

**Alison Glick** (Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, Arab Studies Quarterly, Mondoweiss)

***The Other End of the Sea***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, ca. 2021)

Jewish American finds romance and solidarity in Gaza with Palestinians beyond.

**David Grossman**

***To the End of the Land***

(Jonathan Cape, 575 pages, 2010)

Israeli epic novel includes power relations between Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

**Huzama Habayeb** (Palestinian-Kuwaiti now in Jordan)

***Before the Queen Falls Asleep***

(MacLehose Press, 288 pages, 2024)

Translated by **Kay Heikkinen**. Publisher's blurb: "Born a girl to parents who expected a boy, Jihad grows up treated like the eldest son, wearing boy's clothing and sharing the financial burden of head of the household with her father. Now middle-aged, each night Jihad tells her daughter a story from her life. As Maleka prepares to leave home to attend university abroad, her mother revisits the past of their Palestinian family, tenderly describing their life in exile in Kuwait and her own experiences of love and loss as she grows up. Huzama Habayeb weaves a richly observed and affectionate portrait of a Palestinian family displaced from their homeland, exploring with humour and poise the love and betrayal that pursues Jihad and her family from Kuwait to Jordan to Dubai. This is a novel whose words will resound long after you finish the final page."

***Velvet***

(American University in Cairo Press, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "Hawa is a child of the grinding hardship of a Palestinian refugee camp. She has had to survive the camp itself, as well as the humiliation and destruction of an abusive family life. But now, later in life, something most unexpected has happened: she has fallen in love.

*Velvet* unfolds over a day in Hawa's life, as she makes plans for a new beginning that may take her out of the camp. She sifts back through her memories of the past: the stories of her family, her childhood, and her beloved mentor, who invited her into the glamorous world of the rich women of Amman. This is a novel of enormous power and great beauty. Rich in detail, it tells of the women of the camp, and the joy and relief that can be captured amid repression and sorrow." Winner of the 2020 Saif Ghobash Banipal Prize for Arabic Literary Translation. A previous novel, Asl al-hawa: riwayah (Root of Passion) was published in Beirut, 2009, in Arabic.

**Nejmeh Khalil Habib**

***A Spring That Did Not Blossom: Palestinian Short Stories***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 149 pages, 2025)
Translated by **Samar Habib**. Set in Lebanon, stories begin in 1975 in the Dbayeh refugee camp and end in 1982, with the Israeli siege of Beirut and their massacre in the Shatila and Sabra camps.

**Said Habib**

***Under the Gaze of Angels***
Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 192 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "*Under the Gaze of Angels* offers treasured views of family and neighborhood life, native to the Galilee, in the years leading up to and following the upheavals of 1948. A collection of four stories, told with simplicity and warmth, they include three set during the time of British mandate rule: "Zuha and the Book Vendor," "The English Gramophone," and "Yildiz the Turkish Woman." These are followed by the book's title work, a remembrance that travels from childhood to elder years, pursued by loss. Imagined or recalled in exile, these vivid, evocative mementos quietly disarm the violence that surrounds them, restoring a stolen past to memory under the gaze of angels.

**Emile Habiby** aka **Emile Habibi** aka **Emil Habibi**

***Saraya, the Ogre's Daughter – A Palestinian Fairy Tale***
(German Colony, Jerusalem: Ibis Editions, 2006)
His last novel, originally published in 1992.

***The Secret Life of Saeed, The Pessoptimist***
(Interlink Books, 2001 / Zed Books, 1985 + other editions)
Translated by **Salma Khadra Jayyusi** and **Trevor LeGassick**. An undisputed classic, the story of a Palestinian who becomes a citizen of Israel, combines fact and fantasy, tragedy and comedy. Saeed is the comic hero, the luckless fool, whose tale tells of aggression and resistance, terror and heroism, reason and loyalty that typify the hardships and struggles of Arabs in Israel. An informer for the Zionist state, his stupidity, candor, and cowardice make him more of a victim than a villain; but in a series of tragicomic episodes, he is gradually transformed from a disaster-haunted, gullible collaborator into a Palestinian—no hero still, but a simple man intent on survival and, perhaps, happiness. The author was a Communist member of the Knesset. Edward Said considered this the first postmodern Palestinian fiction. Translated by Anton Shammas into Hebrew,*The Secret Life of Saeed* won Israel's foremost Prize for Literature; a stage version played to great acclaim for a decade.

**Hedy Habra**

***Flying Carpets***
(Interlink books, 2013)
A story collection in the grand tradition of Arab storytelling. In it, Habra masterfully waves her writing wand and takes us on a journey as we read about people and places far away and encounter temples and mountain villages, gliding boats and fragrant kitchens, flaming fish and rich tapestries. The stories recover lost, partially forgotten and imaginary spaces, progressing from the concrete to the universal. The first two sections move between Egypt and Lebanon with a touch of magic realism. In the second half of the collection, the characters become less rooted in time and space as the dreamlike elements intensify. Throughout the book, storytelling and fortunetelling evoke a mythical past that is at the same time lost yet alive: love, loss, the yearning for alternate worlds, and the need to reinvent oneself through art permeate its pages. Hedy Habra was born in Egypt and is of Lebanese origin. She is the author of a poetry collection, *Tea in Heliopolis*, and a book of literary criticism, *Mundos alternos y artísticos en Vargas Llosa*. She has an MA and an MFA in English and an MA and PhD in Spanish literature, all from Western Michigan University, where she currently teaches. She is the recipient of WMU's All-University

Research and Creative Scholar Award. She has published more than 150 poems and short stories in journals and anthologies, including *Cutthroat, Nimrod, The New York Quarterly, Cider Press Review* and *Poet Lore*.

**Hubert Haddad**

***Palestine***

(Canada: Guernica Editions, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "Somewhere in the West Bank, an Israeli patrol is assaulted by a Palestinian commando. One Israeli soldier is killed and another is kidnapped. Wounded, in a state of shock, the hostage loses hold of reality and forgets everything, even his own name. Eventually he is rescued, taken in by two Palestinian women and his wounds heal. He becomes Nessim, brother of Falastìn, an anorexic Law student; and son of Asmahane, the blind widow of an official who was shot dead in an ambush. Nessim passes through the looking glass, suffering the daily anguish of the inhabitants of the colonised West Bank. In this poignant novel, Hubert Haddad makes Falastìn a modern Antigone: proud, untamed and the victim of man's cruelty. Reflecting the beauty of the setting in his style, he models a modern tragedy in all its horror and absurdity."

**Joumana Haddad** (Lebanese author-journalist, former cultural editor of *An-Nahar* newspaper)

***The Book of Queens***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Book, 224 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "a family saga that spans four generations of women caught up in the tragic whirlwind of turf wars and suffering in the Middle East—from the Armenian genocide and the Israeli occupation of Palestine to modern-day civil wars and the struggles between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon and Syria. Four queens of a deck of cards dealt a bad hand by fate—Qayah, Qana, Qadar and Qamar—form the branches of the same family tree rooted in the land of their origins despite the forceful winds that repeatedly try to carry them away. A line of red-haired women united by the ties of blood that runs through their veins—which violence has spread through the ages—each with a deep story and all with one thing in common: unwavering power and resilience in the face of adversities of being a woman in a war-torn region."

**Saleem Haddad** (Palestinian-Lebanese-Iraqi-German novelist and aid worker with Doctors Without Borders)

***Floodlines***

(Europa Editions, 350 pages, 2026)

Iraqi epic.

***Guapa***

(Other Press, 360 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "Set over the course of twenty-four hours, *Guapa* follows Rasa, a gay man living in an unnamed Arab country, as he tries to carve out a life for himself in the midst of political and social upheaval. Rasa spends his days translating for Western journalists and pining for the nights when he can sneak his lover, Taymour, into his room. One night Rasa's grandmother -- the woman who raised him -- catches them in bed together. The following day Rasa is consumed by the search for his best friend Maj, a fiery activist and drag queen star of the underground bar, Guapa, who has been arrested by the police. Ashamed to go home and face his grandmother, and reeling from the potential loss of the three most important people in his life, Rasa roams the city's slums and prisons, the lavish weddings of the country's elite, and the bars where outcasts and intellectuals drink to a long-lost revolution. Each new encounter leads him closer to confronting his own identity, as he revisits his childhood and probes the secrets that haunt his family. As Rasa confronts the simultaneous collapse of political hope and his closest personal relationships, he is forced to discover the roots of his alienation and try to re-emerge into a society that may never accept him."

**Claire Hajaj**

***Ishmael's Oranges***

(Oneworld, 2014) Mixed marriage novel of a Nakba exile finding a Jewish partner in 1960s London. Author has a UN and BBC World Service background.

**Isabella Hammad**

***Recognising the Stranger: On Palestine and Narrative***

(Grove Atlantic / Fern Press, 96 pages, 2024)
Mainly the author's Edward W. Said Memorial Lecture at Columbia University, nine days before 7 October 2023, plus an afterword written in 2024.

***Enter Ghost***

(Grove Atlantic/Penguin/Vintage, 323 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "After years away from her family's homeland, and reeling from a disastrous love affair, actress Sonia Nasir returns to Haifa to visit her older sister Haneen. While Haneen made a life here commuting to Tel Aviv to teach at the university, Sonia remained in London to focus on her acting career and now dissolute marriage. On her return, she finds her relationship to Palestine is fragile, both bone-deep and new. When Sonia meets the charismatic and candid Mariam, a local director, she joins a production of Hamlet in the West Bank. Soon, Sonia is rehearsing Gertrude's lines in classical Arabic with a dedicated group of men who, in spite of competing egos and priorities, all want to bring Shakespeare to that side of the wall. As opening night draws closer and the warring intensifies, it becomes clear just how many obstacles stand before the troupe. Amidst it all, the life Sonia once knew starts to give way to the daunting, exhilarating possibility of finding a new self in her ancestral home. Timely, thoughtful, and passionate, Isabella Hammad's highly anticipated second novel is an exquisite story of the connection to be found in family and shared resistance."

***The Parisian***

(Jonathan Cape, 2019; Vintage 2019)
Early British Mandate setting. Publisher's blurb: "Midhat Kamal – dreamer, romantic, aesthete – leaves Palestine in 1914 to study medicine in France, under the tutelage of Dr Molineu. He falls deeply in love with Jeannette, the doctor's daughter. But Midhat soon discovers that everything is fragile: love turns to loss, friends become enemies and everyone is looking for a place to belong. Through Midhat's eyes we see the tangled politics and personal tragedies of a turbulent era – the Palestinian struggle for independence, the strife of the early twentieth century, and the looming shadow of the Second World War."

**Raqyan Hamouda**

***This is My Keffiyeh***

(Author, 29 pages, 2025)
Arabic-English children's book.

**Ramsey Hanhan** (physics professor and novelist)

***Fugitive Dreams: Chronicles of Occupation and Resistance***

(Fomite, 412 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "…a slightly fictionalised literary memoir, illustrating a sweeping 50 years of life under occupation through personal stories. Born in Palestine 'on the "wrong" side of the border', Sameer finds his way to America to rebuild his life. His immigrant experience in post-9/11 America is laced to the ongoing conflict at home with the common threads of school shootings, police violence, human rights abuses, activism, and walls. For the sake of his daughter, he decides he must do something."

**William Hanna**

***The Grim Reaper***

(author, 2020)

Political thriller, involving a war reporter's challenge to Western governments' response to the ethnic cleansing of Palestine.

**Barbara Harlow**

***After Lives: Legacies of Revolutionary Writing***

(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 1996)

Relevant sections on Ghassan Kanafani (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/PFLP).

**Yoella Har-Shefi** (Legal Adviser, Ani Israeli)

***Beyond the Gunsights: One Arab family in the Promised Land***

(Houghton Mifflin, 1980)

This is a fiction of a novel in that it's all based on fact with the names changed. The author spills cultural nuances from her sleeves in this insightful book, taking in Muslim social mores, political history, contemporary corruption, extended family obligations, and human love and comradeship for its own sake. And although written at the close of the 1970s, it's still relevant for today.

**Yara Hawari** (Al-Shabaka)

***The Stone House***

(Hajar Press, 144 pages, 2021)

Set in 1968, young Mahmoud in the Galilee visits the newly occupied West Bank.

**Heba Hayek** (Gaza, London)

***Sambac Beneath Unlikely Skies***

(Hajar Press, 144 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "written for those who had to leave—collected remembrances of a childhood in Gaza by a woman far from Palestine's sun and sea. Overindulgent, chaotic and sentimental, Heba Hayek's narrator struggles to navigate life in colder, unfamiliar worlds. She holds tightly to memories of home, hoping they will lead back to her sisters and mothers. With brilliance and grace, Hayek's vignettes explore the methods of survival nurtured by Palestinian women in the face of colonial occupation and patriarchy—the power of community care, and of loving what's not meant to be loved. Her reflections reveal the intimate magnificence and quiet devastation of everyday life: a family drive on the shore, waxing for the first time with aunties, or peeling oranges while waiting at a checkpoint."

**Samuel Hazo** (poet and translator of the poet Adonis)

***The Time Remaining***

(Syracuse University Press, 2012)

Thriller of journalist investigating the death of his former university roommate, a Palestinian scholar.

**Felicity Heathcote**

***The Resting Place on the Moon***

(Dublin: OtherWorld / O'Brien Press, 2007)

With introduction by **Jeff Halper**

**Mischa Hiller** [Cambridge]

***Onions and Diamonds***, in **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shehadeh**, eds: ***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

***Sabra Zoo***
(Sabra & Beirut-set, Telegram Books, 2010)
A young Palestinian man's right of passage in 1982, to see if he's up to the struggle.

***Shake Off***
(Telegram Books/Mulholland Books, 288pp, 2011, 2013)
The title means 'intifada' and apropos to this well-received spy thriller, and an "Oh No!" twist.

**Ala Hlehel** [Acre resident, written for the Royal Court Theatre]
***The Tent***
(2012)
Translated by Robin Moger, in *Banipal* 45.

***My Husband is a Bus Driver***
(2005)
Published in *Banipal* 23.

**Thaer Husien** (co-founder of the Posterity Alliance)
***Beside the Sickle Moon: A Palestinian Story***
(Daraja Press, 180 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "…set in near future Palestine, exploring the complexities of apartheid through the eyes of Laeth Muhammad Awad, a Palestinian living above his convenience store. Alongside his cousin Aylul, Laeth discovers Israel's plans to build a luxury hotel in their village, igniting a struggle that plunges them into guerilla warfare. Aylul's belief in direct action leads them to form Al Mubarizun, a diverse resistance group, while Laeth grapples with existential questions alongside the Forgotten Ones—a movement advocating coexistence. Torn between ideologies, Laeth's journey reveals the intricate dynamics of loyalty, sacrifice, and identity in occupied land. Beside the Sickle Moon is a compelling narrative that challenges notions of resistance, offering readers a thought-provoking exploration of the human spirit amidst suffocating adversity."

**Hassan Jamal Husseini**
***Return to Jerusalem***
(Quartet Emerging Voices, 1998)
It is one thing to know such things happen; another to experience them at first hand. A Palestinian journalist, working for the Arab Press in Jerusalem, returns home late from work. In the small hours of the following morning, the security forces knock at his door. They remove him from his family, handcuff and blindfold him and take him away for interrogation. Absorbed into the prison system, he is subjected to techniques of humiliation and deprivation in an overcrowded cell and the alternating brutality and subtle reasonableness of the interrogators. The long hours of inaction between times are lightened only by thoughts of the tenderness of his family life and the conversation of fellow prisoners. These debates, reflecting many shades of experience and opinion, unfold against the background of his wife's unwavering support and the continuing history of Israel's occupation of the territories. An Israeli lawyer a man of integrity, takes up his case and introduces a ray of hope — yet seems powerless to divert the authorities' intentions as these finally emerge. Hassan Husseini has written in *Return to Jerusalem* a novel of haunting human interest at one level and at another a timely appeal for the recognition of the rights of Palestinians in their ancestral homeland on a foundation of moderation and natural justice. Hassan Jamal Husseini was born in Jerusalem, Palestine in 1925 and was educated at various schools in the Middle East. He attended the American University, Beirut, and Syracuse University, New York. He studied music as an amateur at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1951 he

entered the Saudi Diplomatic Service, serving a five-year posting at the London Embassy. He left to become the Middle East representative of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank, and works today in financial consultancy. He is married and has three children. In undertaking his research for *Return to Jerusalem*, Husseini interviewed former prisoners from Israel's security prisons to ensure the documentary authenticity of the novel's background.

**Donn Hutchison** (Ramallah teacher)

***When I was a Girl and not very Pretty – Hasna's Story***
(author, 2015)
Part one of 'A Palestinian Saga.'

***The Well***
(author, 2016)
Part two of 'A Palestinian Saga.'

**Nassar Ibrahim, Dr. Majed Nassar**

***Small Dreams: 14 Short Stories from Palestine***
(Ramallah: Bailasan Design, 2003)
Illustrations by **Naji al-Ali**.

**Sonallah Ibrahim** [The Egyptian 'Franz Kafka']
*The Smell of It, and other stories* (translated by **Denys Johnson-Davies**, 1978) (Heinemann Educational, 1971 / 1978; American University in Cairo Press, 2002)

**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra** (1919-1994; Bethlehem born writer, poet and artist; Cambridge University; in Iraq after the Nakba; see also sections on OLDER HISTORY and BIOGRAPHY; "Jabra belonged to that educated, modernising, and emerging generation that wanted to overhaul the Arab world and rid it of dependence, economic Backwardness, and stifling social customs." – Bashir Abu-Mannah, in *The Palestinian Novel* (CUP, 2016).

***The Journals of Sarab Affan: A Novel***
(Syracuse University Press, 2007)
Translated by **Shassan Nasr**.

***In Search of Walid Masoud: A Novel***
(Syracuse University Press, 289pp, 2000)
Politically striving Palestinians in 1960s Baghdad, translated by **Roger Allen** & **Adnan Haydar**.

***Reflections in a Marble Monument***
(Riad El-Rayyes, 1989)
Possibly in Arabic and English – unconfirmed.

***The Ship***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Press / Three Continents Press, 1985)

***Hunters in a Narrow Street***
(Heinemann, 1960 / Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Press, with introduction by **Roger Allen**, 1997)

**James Janko**

***The Wire-Walker***
(Regal House Publishing, 298 or 310 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "In the Balata Refugee Camp in Nablus, Palestine, sixteen-year-old Amal Tuqan finds her escape in tightrope walking. Living in an alley so narrow that " the walls hold their breath," she practices tirelessly on thin wires and slippery rebar. Her extraordinary talent leads her to Tel Aviv in the summer of 2019, where she joins The Flying Kids, a circus that brings together Israeli and Palestinian children. There, she forms a deep friendship with Tali Glazman, a Jewish Israeli juggler, and they discover they share a painful bond: both have lost their fathers to violence. As their friendship defies the deep-seated animosities that divide them, The Wire-Walker reveals more than just a tale of friendship; it is a raw and powerful commentary on the daily struggles faced by Amal and her community in the occupied West Bank. Set against the backdrop of 2019-2020, this poignant tale serves as a prequel to the struggles that have unfolded since, highlighting the enduring spirit of youth amidst conflict."

**Randa Jarrar** (California State University) See also: **Palestine Autobiography**

***Him, Me, Huhammad Ali***
(Louisville, Kentucky: Saraband Books, 216 pages, 2016)
Short stories.

***A Map of Home***
(New York, Other Press/Penguin, 292 pages, 2008)
Nidali Ammar is born in Boston to a Greek-Egyptian mother and a Palestinian father, and is re-routed to Kuwait, Egypt and eventually Austin,Texas. A comedy of complex identities that applauds the breaking away from inhibiting traditions.

**Isra'a Kalash** (Gaza, Hay Festival Beirut 2013)

***Fifty Years after the Nakba*** and ***Identity***
Two short stories translated by **Ibtisam Barakat**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012).
*Khaha' Matba'I*, short story compendium, won AM Qattan Award (al-Ahliyya Publishers, Amman, 2010). Unidentified short story in *Awda: Imagined Testimonies from Possible Futures* (Zochrot Press, Tel Aviv & Jaffa, 2013).

**Ghassan Kanafani** (b. 1936 in Akka [Acre], exiled in 1948, later a politically active journalist in Beirut during the 1960s; (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/PFLP). Assassinated in the explosion of his car in July 1972. Note: his complete works in Arabic were published as a 17-book set by Rimal Publications in 2014; see also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY and relevant chapters in books by **Barbara Harlow** and **Bashir Abu Manneh**.

***On Zionist Literature*** (non-fiction but included her too)
(Ebb Books, 2022)
Translated by **Mahmoud Najib**, intjroduction by **Steven Salaita**, preface to the 1967 original edition (Arabic) by **Anis Sayegh**, and a new preface by **Anni Kanafani**. Published Contents: *Zionism Fights on the Linguistic Front / The Birth of Zionist Literature, Race and Relition in Zionist Literature Beget Political Zionism / The Birth and Development of the Character of the Wandering Jew / Zionist Literature Marches in Lockstep with Politics / Jewish Infallibility and the Unworthiness of Other Peoples / Zionist Rationalisations for the Usurpation of Palestine / From the Nobel Prizt to the 1967 Aggression.*

***All That's Left to You – A Novella and Other Stories***
(Interlink Publications, 2004)
Translated by **May Jayyusi** & **Jeremy Reed**; intro. By **Roger Allen** It should come as no surprise to learn that Palestinian writers themselves have been in the forefront of those who have addressed themselves to the tragedy of their own people, and in a variety of genres and styles… While all these writers display a sense of "commitment" to the cause of their people, there is one author who, in the words of the Egyptian writer, Yusuf Idris, has taken this cause to the utmost limit of martyrdom: Ghassan Kanafani. From the introduction by Roger Allen *All That's Left to You* presents the vivid story of twenty-four hours in the real and remembered lives of a brother and sister living in Gaza and separated from their family. The desert and time emerge as characters as Kanafani speaks through the desert, the brother, and the sister to build the powerful rhythm of the narrative. The Palestinian attachment to land and family, and the sorrow over their loss, are symbolized by the young man's unremitting anger and shame over his sister's sexual disgrace. This collection of stories provides

evidence to the English-reading public of Kanafani's position within modern Arabic literature. Not only was he committed to portraying the miseries and aspirations of his people, the Palestinians, in whose cause he died, but he was also an innovator within the extensive world of Arabic fiction.

***Palestine's Children – Short Stories***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press / Heinemann, 1984)
Translated by **Barbara Harlow**; pieces written in the 1960s but set between the Palestinian Arab uprisings in 1936 to the Six Day War in 1967. Contents: *The Slope* (1961) / *Paper from Ramleh* (1965) / *A Present for the Holiday* (1968, refugee camp setting)/ *The Child Borrows His Uncle's Gun and Goes East to Safad* (1965, from the Mansur stories)/ *Doctor Qassim Talks to Eva about Mansur Who Has Arrived in Safad* (1965, from the Mansur stories) / *Abu al-Hassan Ambushes an English Car* / *The Child, His Father and the Gun Go to the Citadel at Jaddin* / *The Child Goes to the Camp* (1967, refugee camp setting) / *The Child Discovers that the Key Looks Like an Axe* / *Suliman's Friend Learns Many Things in One Night* / *Hamid Stops Listening to the Uncles' Stories* (1967) / *Guns in the Camp* (1969, refugee camp setting) / *He Was a Child That Day* (1969) / *Return to Haifa* (1969) / *Six Eagles and a Child* (1960)

***Men in the Sun and Other Palestinian Stories***
(Heinemann 1978 / Lynne Rienner Publishing, 1999)
Translated by **Hilary Kilpatrick**; Contents: *Letter from Gaza* (1956) / *The Land of Sad Oranges* (1958) / *If You were a Horse* (1961) / *The Falcon*(1961) / *A Hand in the Grave* (1962) / *Umm Saad* (1969). Note: *Men in the Sun* (1962) was made into the first Palestinian feature film, *The Dupes* (1972), with a slightly different ending – not the plot – by the screenplay writer **Tawfiq Salih**.

**Muhammad Siddiq** (University of Washington): ***Man is a Cause: Political Consciousness and the Fiction of Ghassan Kanafani***
(University of Washington Press, 1994)

**Stefan Wild** (Qur'anic scholar at the University of Bonn & University of Amsterdam): ***Ghassan Kanafani: The Life of a Palestinian***
(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975)

**Sayed Kashua** (Palestinian-Israeli author, contributor to *Ha'aretz* and writer of Israeli television sitcom, *Arab Labor, now in USA*; also note author's memoir: *Native: Dispatches from an Israeli-Palestinian Life* (Grove Press/Atlantic Monthly Press, 2016)

***Track Changes***
(Grove Atlantic, 240 pages, 2021)

***Exposure***
(Chatto & Windus, 2013)
Translated from Hebrew by **Mitch Ginsburg**.

***Second Person Singular***
(Grove Press / Atlantic Monthly Press, 2013)
Translated from Hebrew by **Mitch Ginsburg**.

***Let it be Morning***
(Atlantic Books, 2006/7)
Translated from Hebrew by **Miriam Shlesinger**. Filmed in 2021 with an all-Palestinian cast, by Israeli director Eran Kolirin.

***Dancing Arabs***
(Grove Press / Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004)
Translated from Hebrew by **Miriam Shlesinger**; made into a film by director Eran Riklis, 2014. Love between a Jewish Israeli woman and a Palestinian Arab man.

**Ziad Khaddash** [Al-Jalzoun Camp, Ramallah]
***With Cold Eyes* and *Winter in a Man's Shirt*,**
short stories in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

***The Absence of a Sister*,** short story in *Banipal* 19 (2004).

**Yasmina Khadra** (pen name of Algerian writer **Mohammed Moulessehoul**)
***The Attack***
(Vintage, 2007)
Palestinian-Israeli surgeon in Tel Aviv takes to the road of political enlightenment.

**Omar El-Khairy**
***The Keepers of Infinite Space***
(Oberon Books Ltd., 2014)
'You've got to learn when to throw your punches – when they least expect it. There's no use flailing in the dark. This is where battles are raged – and wars won.' Saeed is a bookseller in Nablus. His father Khalil is a property developer. They're just an ordinary family, quietly building a new Palestine. Until one day Saeed is arrested and thrown into gaol. Ashis future disappears, Saeed finds that the answer to his problems may lie in the past, and in the secrets his father has kept from him… Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, Palestine has become a nation of prisons. Up to 40% of the male population have been detained under military orders. Virtually every family has seen at least one relative put behind bars, and entire generations have grown up facing the prospect of the cell. With the release of political prisoners a key part of the current peace process, *The Keepers of Infinite Space* explores the dynamics of the Israeli prison system to reveal its fraught legacy for Israelis and Palestinians alike. 750,000 prisoners. Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, Palestine has become a nation of prisons. Up to 40 of the male population has been detained under military orders. Virtually every family has seen relatives put behind bars and generations have grown up in the shadow of the cell. The team behind the international hit *The Fear of Breathing* (4 stars*Telegraph*, *Metro*, *Independent*, *Time Out* Critics Choice) chronicle a hidden world of incarceration where imaginative resistance, strange escapades and unexpected betrayals have become the norm.

**Ismail Khalidi**
***Until I Return: The Selected Plays of Ismail Khalidi***
(Methuen / Bloomsbury / IB Tauris, 328 pages, 2025)
Contents: *Truth Serum Blues* / *Tennis in Nablus* / *Final Status* / *Foot* / *Sabra Falling* / *Dead are My People.*
Edited by **Hala Bake** and **Michael Malek Najjar**, with an essay by **Edward Ziter** (New York University), and an interview with the playwright.

**Ismail Khalidi** & **Naomi Wallace**, editors, with introduction by **Nathalie Handal** (see POETRY section)
***Inside / Outside: Six Plays from Palestine and the Diaspora***
(Theatre Communications Group, 2015)
Contents: Ismail Khalidi: *Tennis in Nablus* / Dalia Taha: *Keffiyeh – Made in China* / Hannah Khalil: *Plan D* / Abdelfattah Abusrour: *Handala* / Betty Shamieh: *Territories* / Imad Farajin: *603*.

**Sahar Khalifeh** (Nablus native b. 1941, on faculty of University of Florida, resides in Amman) Author who recognises the resentment by migrant workers of the Palestinian elite.
***My First and Only Love***
(American University in Cairo Press, 394 pages, 2021)

Nablus *Nakba* victim returns home to learn about her family's unexpected past. Translated by **Aida Bamia**.

***Passage to the Plaza***
(Seagull Books, 2020)
Lockdown setting, originally in Arabic, 1990. Alan Waddams' blurb: "A fascinating and complex novel, by a well known novelist, which takes place during the 1987 Intifada in Nablus. Against a background of the conflict the story is woven around a series of characters each faced with different challenges and choices - the sheltering freedom fighter, the ostracised and shamed woman, a traditional midwife, a university graduate studying women's rights, and other characters from the quarter in Nablus. Their interaction in a context of struggle, rights and freedom comes to a dramatic and violent climax at a checkpoint at the end of the book." Translated by **Sawad Hussain**.

***Of Noble Origins***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2012)
Translated by **Aida Bamia**

***The End of Spring***
(Interlink Books, 2008)
Translated by **Paula Haydar**. Novel chronicles the struggle of the Palestinian people with a humane depiction of Palestinian resistance fighters during the 2002 siege of Yasir Arafat's official headquarters. Khalifeh's tender and moving portrayal of her protagonists delves into the inner consciences of the men and women and children who were involved in the actual resistance-or were simply caught in the middle.

***The Image, the Icon, and the Covenant***
(Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007)
Translated by **Aida Bamia**; From *Publisher's Weekly:* In the mid-1960s, Ibrahim, a Palestinian-Muslim school teacher with literary ambitions, takes a job in a small Jordanian village and falls in love with Mariam, a Christian raised in Brazil who has returned to her home village. The problem with this love affair, as Ibrahim realizes in the retrospective voice that dominates the novel, is that he has loved his image of Mariam and has never understood her as a real person. Reality intrudes, however, when Mariam becomes pregnant: Ibrahim is paralyzed by the difficulties a Muslim-Christian marriage presents, and jealous of Mariam's prior adoration of a Brazilian priest. His growing commitment to Palestinian liberation after the 1967 war allows him to justify his return. When he returns to Jordan in 2000—a wealthy, twice-divorced and disillusioned secular Arab—he becomes obsessed with finding Mariam and his unknown son. The title's complexities mirror those of this fugue-like novel, which finds Ibrahim cycling among versions of himself and of Mariam. As Ibrahim's realizations pile up, their irreconcilability becomes a delicate and powerful allegory for Middle Eastern conflict. Palestinian novelist Khalifeh (*Wild Thorns*), who won the 2006 Naguib Mahfouz medal for literature, offers a challenging take on vexing territory.

***The Inheritance***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2005)
Translated by **Aida Bamia**; Palestinian-American gets exiled from Kuwait to the West Bank during Saddam Hussein's 1991 invasion.

***Wild Thorns***
(London: Saqi Books/Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 272 pages, various editions, 2002, 2005, 2023)
Translated by **Trevor LeGassick** & **Elizabeth Fernea**. A classic first published in English in 1976, even more relevant today, forces the reader to confront the impatient idealism of so many non-resident observers. "A vivid depiction of life in the West Bank during the first decade of the Israeli occupation…. The difficulties and hazards faced by these workers are poignantly portrayed…The author succeeds quite well in conveying the tension and inquietude of daily life in the territories…she also

evokes the irrepressible and indomitable spirit of Nablus and its people." – *MultiCultural Review.* "An earnest Arabic novel, first published in 1976, that dramatizes the reactions of Palestinian nationalists to Israeli occupation of the West Bank, an action that has turned many of their countrymen into nomads dutifully commuting to alien territory to work ( . . . the people had become soft, been brainwashed with lies and Israeli cash). Khalifeh's initial focus on Usama, a young Palestinian returned home to find his relatives compromised in this way, yields to more diffused depictions of several other characters with whom he finds himself conspiring to blow up buses transporting day-workers. The conspiracy raises havoc with the story's formal unity but does enable it to portray credibly a troubling spectrum of understandably extreme responses to disenfranchisement and oppression." –*Kirkus Reviews. Wild Thorns* is a chronicle of life in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Written in Arabic and first published in Jerusalem in 1976, *Wild Thorns,* with its panorama of characters and unsentimental portrayals of everyday life, is the first Arab novel to give a true picture of social and personal relations under occupation. Its convincing sincerity, uncompromising honesty, and rich emotional texture plead elegantly for the cause of survival in the face of oppression.

**Hannah Khalil** (Palestinian Irish playwright), **Hassan Abdul Razzak**, and **Joshua Hinds**
***Sykes-Picot: The Legacy: Five Modern Plays***
(authors, 2015)
Publishers' blurb: "The genesis of this collection of short plays was an event entitled Gather for Gaza organised by Arts Canteen in Walthamstow, London, in 2014.Among the items presented was a profoundly moving and disturbing performance of Hassan Abdulrazzak's play *The Tune is Always Better on the Outside* and it became apparent in discussion with directors, actors, and playwrights that there is a growing body of work that explores aspects of the legacy of the Sykes-Picot agreement concluded during the First World War, and which continues to shape the destiny of the Middle East. It is hoped that this initial collection will result in performances, debate, and the writing of more plays around a theme that seems to grow evermore relevant."

**Khulud Khamis** (Haifa Palestinian who works with the Haifa Feminist Centre)
***Haifa Fragments***
(New Internationalist, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Jewellery designer Maisoon wants an ordinary life, which isn't easy for a Palestinian citizen of Israel who refuses to be crushed by the feeling she is an unwelcome guest in the land of her ancestors. Inspired after joining an activist peace movement and frustrated by the apathy of her boyfriend and father she lashes out, only to discover her father is not the man she thought he was. Raised a Christian, in a relationship with a Muslim man and enamoured with a Palestinian woman from the Occupied territories, Maisoon must decide her own path."

**Basim Khandaqji** aka **Basim Khandaklji** (novelist-journalist-poet born in Nablus; imprisoned for 20 years)
***A Mask the Colour of the Sky***
(Europa Editions, 240 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: "Nur, a Palestinian refugee from a camp near Ramallah, is often mistaken for an Ashkenazi Jew. Fluent in Hebrew and with a degree in archaeology, he dreams of freedom beyond the fence, and of writing a novel about Mary Magdalene based on the Gnostic Gospels. When he discovers an Israeli ID card in the pocket of a second-hand coat, he assumes a false identity and is hired for an archaeological dig near Megiddo. Passing as an Israeli, he moves through a world previously off-limits and gains insight into the lives of those he's been taught to perceive as enemies. As Nur's borrowed identity deepens, so does the rift within. Through an exploration of this internal conflict, Bassem Khandaqji's Arabic Booker-winning novel offers a meditation on the personal toll of occupation and the elusive desire to belong—fully, honestly, and without fear."

**Chaker Khazaal** (New York City writer)
***Tale of Tala***
(Beirut: Hachette Antoine, 2017)

A thriller that focuses on the dark world of war displacement, human trafficking, and terrorism.

***Confessions of a War Child***
(author, 2013) Intended first novel of a trilogy.

**Elias Khoury** (Very prominent Beirut-born author and editor at Beirut daily newspaper, An-Nahar; former member of Fatah; professor of Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, New York University)

***The Children of the Ghetto: II: Star of the Sea***
(Archipelago, 473 pages, 2024)
The second installment of a fictional trilogy, published several months after the author's death. Publisher's blurb: "Weaving personal and cultural memory into a tale that humanizes the complex Palestinian experience, *Star of the Sea* traces the contours of the unspeakable. Adam Dannoun's story is one of beginnings. Born in a war-torn Israel, Adam dreams of becoming a writer. He is just an infant when Jewish forces uproot and massacre thousands of Palestinians in the 1948 Nakba, including his own father. Adam's mother, crumbling with loss, takes her son to Haifa and remarries. Soon she feels stifled by her new husband. Adam flees this lifeless home and writes himself a second beginning. With nothing but his father's will and the image of his mother at the doorway, Adam is born again into the streets of Haifa. Here he spins a new life alongside an auto-shop owner, Gabriel. Adam Dannoun shapeshifts into Adam Danon, an Israeli born into the Warsaw ghetto, and Gabriel's younger brother. There are limits to this charade, lines he's forbidden to cross—and when he falls in love with Gabriel's only daughter he steps, unawares, into a third life. Life after life, Adam confronts the horrors of his past.

***My Name is Adam: Children of the Ghetto, Volume 1***
(MacLehose Press, 2018)
Translated by **Humphrey Davies.** Publisher'sblurb: "Who is Adam Dannoun? Until a few months before his death in a fire in his New York apartment – a consequence of smoking in bed – he thought he knew. But an encounter with Blind Mahmoud, a father figure from his childhood, changed all that. From Mahmoud he learned the terrible truth behind his birth, a truth withheld from him for fifty-seven years by the woman he thought was his mother. This discovery leads Adam to investigate what exactly happened in 1948 in Palestine in the city of Lydda where he was born: the massacre, the forced march into the wilderness and the corralling of those citizens who did not flee into what the Israeli soldiers and their Palestinian captives came to refer to as the Ghetto. The stories he collects speak of bravery, ingenuity and resolve in the face of unimaginable hardship. Saved from the flames that claimed him, they are his lasting and crucial testament. Originally published in Arabic, 2016.

***The Broken Mirrors: Sinalcol***
(MacLehose Press, 448 pages, 2015, 2016)
Translated by **Humphrey Davies**. The Lebanese Civil War seen through the lives of two brothers. Originally published in Arabic, 2012. Publisher's blurb: "Why did he return to Beirut? Why did Karim leave his wife and children and the life he had built in France to return to a homeland still reeling from civil war? Was it to answer his brother Nasim's call to raise a hospital out of the ashes? Was it to kick over the traces of past love affairs? Or to establish the truth behind his father's death? Or was it to confront at last the ghost of the man known only as "Sinalcol", a legendary phantom of the civil war, and a broken mirror of himself? In Beirut, Karim will learn the fate of old comrades, and face a brother who shares a past as divided as the city itself. And he will find that peace is only ever fleeting in a war without end.

***As Though She Were Sleeping***
(Maclehose Press / Quercus, 368 pages, 2011)
Translated by **Humphrey Davies**. Set in Nazareth, 1947. Publisher's blurb: "Meelya's dreams are her refuge from events that threaten her or escape her understanding. She leaves her home in Lebanon to live in Nazareth with her Palestinian husband, but Mansour – an older man who fell for her beauty – is frustrated by her spiritual absence. When Mansour's brother's death demands a move to Jaffa

– the centre of early tensions between Jewish settlers and displaced Palestinians – Meelya withdraws further into the realm of dreams. Expecting the birth of their son, Mansour can only watch as she cuts loose from the physical world. Over three traumatic nights, past, present and future merge seamlessly into a series of visions that draw the reader towards a conclusion that is powerfully symbolic of the ongoing troubles in the Middle East." Originally published in Arabic, 2007.

***White Masks***
(Archipelago, 303 pages, 2010 /MacLehose Press, 2013)
Translated by **Maia Tabet**. Publisher's blurb: "Why was the corpse of Khalil Ahmad Jaber found in a mound of garbage? Why had this civil servant disappeared weeks before his horrific death? Who was this man? A journalist begins to piece together an answer by speaking with his widow, a local engineer, a watchman, the garbage man who discovered him, the doctor who performed the autopsy, and a young militiaman. Their stories emerge, along with the horrors of Lebanon's bloody civil war and its ravaging effects on the psyches of the survivors. With empathy and candor, Elias Khoury reveals the havoc the war wreaked on Beirut and its inhabitants, as well as the resilience of a people."

***The Kingdom of Strangers***
(University of Arkansas Press, 2009)
Translated by **Paula Haydar**. This mosaic portrayal of its author's native Lebanon besieged by civil war in fact expands into a generalized examination of the chaos and despair suffered by families everywhere during wartime (e.g., in one of its segments that describes the unlikely friendship formed by an Arab and a Jew who meet in a neutral country and are thus without the support of their rival cultures). Briefly references Dr Chris Giannou ("Dr Yanu" aka Christos Giannou), author of *Besieged* (1991). Originally published in Arabic, 1993.

***Yalo*** aka ***Yalu***
(MacLehose, 2009) Translated by **Humphry Davies**, who observed, "a young man accused to serial rape and theft is being interrogated in a Lebanese police station; in the process his understanding of the world changes utterly; amazingly, even some deadpan humor." Contains torture. Originally published 2002.

***Gate of the Sun***
(Seven Stories 2003 / Harvill Secker, 2005 / Vintage 2006)
Translated by **Humphry Davies**, who observed, "best book written about Palestinian dispossession; very long and non-linear; sometimes infuriating but ultimately thrilling—as one critic pointed out, you really have to read it twice." Also made into a 2002 film by Egyptian director Yousry Nasrallah. Originally published in Arabic, in 1998.

***The Journey of Little Gandhi***
(Picador, 1994)
Translated by **Paula Haydar**. First published in Arabic in 1989. 'Little Gandhi' is the character 'Abd Al-Karim,' a shoe-shiner, set in the Lebanon civil war.

***Gate of the City*** aka ***City Gates***
(University of Minnesota Press, 1993 / (Picador 2007)
Translated by **Paula Haydar**, with introduction by **Sabah Ghandour**. A novel of community displacement, set in Beirut. First published in Arabic in 1981.

***Little Mountain***
(Carcanet, 1989 / Collins Harvill, 1990)
Author's very first novel, from 1977. The narrator is forced to leave home, then fighting through the street of Beirut and up into the mountains.. Translated by **Maia Tabet** with foreword by **Edward Said**.

**Armstrong King**

***The Time of Green Ginger***

(Macmillan, 1964)
Extraordinary novel of a press officer for the Mandate government, 1939-1948, with a cast that includes savagery, corruption, humour, self-delusion, weariness, zealotry, sacrifice, wisdom, and sex. The author spent the 1940s in the Palestine-based British forces, who emerge only marginally more honourable than the HM Palestine Police in this superbly told tale. Sadly, another example of an ace writer's sole published work; to paraphrase Marlon Brando in *On the Waterfront,* "He coulda been a contender."

**Nick King**

***Education under Occupation – Learning to Improvise***

(Discovery Analytical Resourcing, 2005)
Brief yet rare insight into Birzeit University, the West Bank's oldest and best-funded university, near Ramallah. A not entirely encouraging narrative resulting from staff cynicism and occupation fatigue, but important for that regardless.

**Leila Kirkconnell**

***Under the Same Sky***

(author, 272 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In the heart of Gaza, where survival is an act of defiance, Emad, a young engineering student, navigates the wreckage of his home, caught between duty, grief, and fleeting moments of hope. From the crowded refugee camps to the constant drone of aircraft overhead, his journey spans a landscape scarred by conflict yet filled with resilience.
As Emad faces the shadows of his past and the uncertainty of what lies ahead, he realizes that even amid destruction, the human spirit endures, reaffirming the Palestinian pursuit of dignity, identity, and survival."

**Ash Kotak** [Director of Palestinian Arts Online]

***Hijra***

(Oberon Press, 2000) LGBT stage drama, which played the Royal Theatre, Plymouth and the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds.

**Loretta J. Krause**

***Barefoot to Palestine***

(Author, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "It's 1987, but for the new Shakespeare teacher at a private academy in New Jersey—Cassie Komsky, who lost her US Marine husband in a bombing in Lebanon in 1983—time rewinds when she meets Samir, a student with whom she is tragically linked. The nonverbal Samir lost his parents in the US Embassy bombing in Lebanon in 1983. And just as Cassie wants a new life for herself and her daughter, Samir hopes only to find love and a voice in a relationship with another student, Rachel. But as Cassie leads discussions of *Othello* and *Hamlet* and what Shakespeare says about the human condition, she and her students discover the real-life effects of jealousy and hatred. Ethnic tensions and hostility threaten Samir's future, and unwanted advances from an unscrupulous dean threaten the stability Cassie so desperately seeks. Tragedy looms large on the horizon. Set against the backdrop of the global fallout of the Middle East conflagration of the 1980s, this dynamic tale's genre and period-defying themes will resonate with all thoughtful readers. Interwoven with poignant parallels to the timeless ethos of Shakespeare's tragedies, this is the tale of the dark reality that reigns when mistrust and hate triumph over humanity and love."

**Elizabeth Laird**

***Oranges in No Man's Land***

(Macmillan Childrens, 2006) Ayesha, a 10-year-old girl in Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War, braves the conflict to find Dr Leila, seeking medicine for her Granny. Not Palestinian, but related.

**Elizabeth Laird** & **Sonia Nimr**

***A Little Piece of Ground***

(Macmillan Childrens, 218 pages, 2003)

Karim, a 12-year-old Palestinian boy, works with two friends to transform an abandoned lot in Ramallah–the little piece of ground–into a soccer field and a getaway from the trials of both family and life under occupation.

**Mazen Maarouf** (Palestinian-Icelandic poet and journalist)

***Jokes for the Gunmen***

(Granta, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "A collection of fictions in the vein of Roald Dahl, Etgar Keret and Amy Hempel. These are stories of what the world looks like from a child's pure but sometimes vengeful or muddled perspective. These are stories of life in a war zone, life peppered by surreal mistakes, tragic accidents and painful encounters. These are stories of fantasist matadors, lost limbs and perplexed voyeurs. This is a collection about sex, death and the all-important skill of making life into a joke. These are unexpected stories by a very fresh voice."

**Rabai al-Madhoun** (Editor for *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* newspaper)

***Fractured Destinies***

(Hoopoe Books, 2018)

Translated by **Paul** Starkey. First published in Arabic, 2015. Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian-Armenian Ivana eloped with a British doctor in the 1940s, in the midst of the Nakba, and emigrated to England. Over half a century later, her daughter Julie has been tasked with her dying wish: to take her ashes back to their old home in Acre. With her husband Walid, they leave London and embark on a journey back to their country of birth. Written in four parts, each as a concerto movement, Rabai al-Madhoun's pioneering new novel explores Palestinian exile, with all its complex loyalties and identities. Broad in scope and sweeping in its history, it lays bare the tragedy of everyday Palestinian life."

***The Lady from Tel Aviv***

**(**Telegram Books/Al-Saqi, 2013)

Translated by **Elliott Colla**. Walid Dahman is going home. Returning to Gaza after nearly four decades in exile, he looks forward to embracing his mother and reconnecting with the people he left behind. Boarding the flight from London, Walid's life intersects with that of Dana, an Israeli actress. The character of the title only does a walk-on, but it's the narrator's return to Palestine after many years, but the past ain't what it was. It's brave to quote Mahmoud Darwish in your own novel, so don't do it unless you can write. Al-Madhoun really can and deserves more translations. "Al-Madhoun brings Gaza vividly to life" – Selma Dabbagh." "Will take you to the height of reading pleasure!" – Elias Khoury

**John Maher**

***Slouching Towards Jerusalem: Reactive Nationalism in the Irish, Israeli and Palestinian Novel, 1985-2005***

(Irish Academic Press, 254 pages, 2012)

Based on SOAS PhD thesis, 2009.

***The Development of the Palestinian and Israeli Novel: A Comparative Review***

(University of Manchester press, 214 pages, 1998)

**Lisa Suhair Majaj** (see also poetry)

As co-editor, with **Amal Amireh**: ***Etel Adnam: Critical Essays on the Arab-American Writer and Artist***
(McFarland, 2012)

With **Susan Atefat Peckham**: ***Intersections: Gender, Nation and Community in Arab Women's Novels***
(Syracuse University Press, 2002)

As co-editor, with **Amal Amireh**: ***Going Global – The Transnational Reception of Third World Women Writers***
(Routledge, 2000/2014)

**Manar H. Makhoul** (Cambridge University, Tel Aviv University, Hebrew University)
***Palestinian Citizens in Israel: A History through Fiction, 1948-2010***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2020) Publisher's blurb: "Presents a comprehensive study of all 75 novels published by Palestinian citizens of Israel over 62 years. Identifies the intellectual and ideological forces that drove major social and political transformations in the community over six decades. Develops different concepts relating to Palestinian life in Israel, socially and politically, and in relation to other Palestinians. Analyses the process of modernisation and the wide range of reactions to it among Palestinians in Israel. Explores the reactions of Palestinians in Israel to the peace process between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization from the 1990s to 2000"

**Kanan Makiya**
***The Rock: A Tale of Seventh Century Jerusalem***
(New York City: Pantheon, 2001; London: Robinson Publications, 2003)

**Bashir Abu-Manneh** (University of Kent)
***After Said: Postcolonial Literary Studies in the Twenty-First Century***
(Cambridge University Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "By the time of his death in 2003, Edward Said was one of the most famous literary critics of the twentieth century. Said's work has been hugely influential far beyond academia. As a prominent advocate for the Palestinian cause and noted cultural critic, Said redefined the role of the public intellectual. This volume explores the problems and opportunities afforded by Said's work: its productive and generative capacities as well as its in-built limitations. After Said captures the essence of Said's intellectual and political contribution and his extensive impact on postcolonial studies. It examines his legacy by critically elaborating his core concepts and arguments. Among the issues it tackles are humanism, Orientalism, culture and imperialism, exile and the contrapuntal, realism and postcolonial modernism, world literature, Islamophobia, and capitalism and the political economy of empire. It is an excellent resource for students, graduates and instructors studying postcolonial literary theory and the works of Said."

***The Palestinian Novel, from 1948 to the Present***
(Cambridge University Press, 2016/2017)
Publisher's blurb: "What happens to the Palestinian novel after the national dispossession of the Nakba, and how do Palestinian novelists respond to this massive crisis? This is the first study in English to chart the development of the Palestinian novel in exile and under occupation from 1948 onwards. By reading the novel in the context of the ebb and flow of Arab and Palestinian revolution, Bashir Abu-Manneh defines the links between aesthetics and politics. Combining historical analysis with textual readings of key novels by Jabra, Kanafani, Habiby, and Khalifeh, the chronicle of the Palestinian novel unfolds as one that articulates humanism, self-sacrifice as collective redemption, mutuality, and self-realization. Political challenge, hope, and possibility are followed by the decay of collective and individual agency. Genet's and Khoury's unrivalled literary homages to Palestinian revolt are also examined. By critically

engaging with Lukács, Adorno, and postcolonial theory, questions of struggle and self-determination take centre stage."

**Atallah Mansour** (Palestinian Christian Israeli b.1934; longtime r eporter for *Ha'aretz*, in Hebrew, and *Al Quds*, in Arabic)

***In a New Light***
(Vallentine Mitchell, 176 pages, 1969)
Translated from Hebrew by **Abraham Birman**; foreword by **David Pryce-Jones**.

**Fatima V. Mansour**

***Ruination***
(Author / CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "What would Chicago look like if under military occupation? How does life change under a siege? Would Americans tolerate the south side of Chicago being imprisoned like the Gaza Strip? Ruination explores the issues young people encounter while under military siege."

**Ethel Mannin** (Anarchist author, 1900-1984. Of her almost 100 titles, these represent most of the London writer's "Arab period," in the 1960s, when the literati weren't listening, and always with a focus on the Palestinian struggle.)

***Bitter Babylon***
(Hutchinson, 1968)
Novel in which the settings are Palestine, Cairo, and gay San Francisco; the author injects the American Zionist attack on her, on the nationally syndicated David Susskind TV interview programme, non-fictionally described in her *American Journey*]

***The Night and its Homing***
(Hutchinson, 1966)
Set in a Palestinian camp in Jordan, highlighting different classes of exiles and the pull of Al-Quds.

***The Road to Beersheba***
(Hutchinson, 255pp, 1963)
The first and for many decades the ONLY novel about the Nakba written in English

**Elham Mansour**

***I Am You: A Novel on Lesbian Desire in the Middle East***
(Cambria Press, 2008)
Translated by **Samar Habib**, unknown Palestinian relevance.

**Edward Marcus**

***The Planetary Patriot and the Day He Went to Palestine***
(Author, 61 pages, 2012)
Science fiction of Black superhero Jackson Carter, who defeats the IDF without any deaths.

**Ahmed Masoud** (author, playwright, founder of the Zaytouna Dance Theatre)

***Come What May***
(Market Drayton: Vicorina Press, 209 pages, 2022)
Investigating a murder in a war zone.

***The Shroud Maker***
(London: Oberon Books, 48 pages, 2018)

Playscript of stage drama. Publisher's blurb: "Hajja Souad, and 8-yesr-old Palestinian woman living on the besieged Gaza Strip, knows about business. She has survived decades of wars and oppression through making shrouds for the dead. A compelling black comedy that delves deep into the intimate life of ordinary Palestinians to weave a highly distinctive path through Palestine's turbulent past and present, The Shroud Maker is a one-woman comedy that weaves comic fantasy and satire with true stories told first hand to the writer, and offers a vivid portrait of Palestinian life in Gaza underscored with gallows humour."

***Vanished: The Mysterious Disappearance of Mustafa Ouda***
(Nicosia: Rimal Publications, 2015; Washington DC: Just World Books, 208 pages, 2025)
Despite the back cover stating that "the novel does not aim to put forth any political arguments," political collaboration is the running theme in this keen thriller. A young man searches to find his father in Gaza but the narrative is insightful regarding the deceptions of one's neighbours.

**Jenan Matari** (founder of Zaytoun Publcity)
***Everything Grows in Jiddo's Garden*** aka ***Jiddo's Garden Box***
(Crocodile Books, 32 pages, 2025)
Illustrated by **Aya Ghanameh** (Palestinian illustrator based in New York City). Publisher's blurb: "Jiddo's garden is a wonder. In it grows so many amazing things—to see, smell, and taste. But helping him to tend the garden teaches this young girl about even more than fig trees. It gives her a chance to discover just who she is. Many years ago, like so many Palestinians, her family was forced to leave their homeland. But Jiddo shows her how, until they can return, tending a garden can connect them to home—and to each other!"

**Colum McCann**
***Apeirogon, a Novel***
(Bloomsbury, 2020)
A story of a Palestinian and an Israeli, based on interviews in Jerusalem, New York, Jericho and Beit Jala.

**Ibrahim Abdel Meguid / Al-Majid**
***The House of Jasmine***
(Interlink Books, Northampton, Massachusetts, 2012)
Translated by **Noha Radwan**. Egypt 1970s-setting, first published in Arabic, 1984; unconfirmed for Palestinian relevance.

***Birds of Amber***
(American University in Cairo Press/Bloomsbury, 2005)
Translated by **Farouk Abdel Waheb;** Suez War setting.

***No One Sleeps in Alexandria***
(American University in Cairo Press, 354pp, 1999, 2006)
Translated by **Farouk Abdel Waheb** (Muslim-Copt relationships.

***The Other Place***
(American University in Cairo Press, 1997)
Translated by **Farouk Abdel Waheb**; Gulf workers theme.

**A.M. Elmessiri** aka **Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri** aka **Abdul Wahab Al Messiri** & **Nur Elmissiri** (editors)
***A Land of Stone and Thyme: An Anthology of Palestinian Short Stories***
(Quartet Books, 251 pages, 1996)
Translated by **Magda Amin**.

**Faysal Mikdadi** (see also poetry)

***Return***

(lulu.com, 2008) Semi-autographical novel about the artist in the diaspora.

***Tamra***

(Brian & O'Keefe, 1983) Novel of friendship between a Lebanese Christian girl and her Palestinian girl friend, overcome by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

**Mona N. Mikhail**

***Seen and Heard: A Century of Arab Women in Literature and Culture***

(Northampton, Massachusetts ; Interlink, 2002)

Publisher's blurb: "How are Arab women seen by others? How do Arab women see themselves? New York University professor Mona Mikhail's new collection of essays casts a wide net over literature, film, popular culture, and the law in order to investigate the living, often rapidly changing, reality of Arab women and their societies. Whether she examines Egyptian film, contemporary rewritings of the Sherazad story, or women in North African novels, Mikhail sheds valuable light on the role of Arab women within Islam and within the Arab world. Mona N. Mikhail, author of the groundbreaking *Images of Arab Women: Fact and Fiction* and *Studies in the Short Fiction of Mahfuz and Idris*, is a professor of Arabic and comparative literature at New York University. She has won several awards, namely from PEN and Columbia University, for her translations. Her most recent work is the film documentary *Live Onstage: A Century and a Half of Theater in Egypt*."

**Michael Morpurgo**

***The Kites are Flying***

(Walker Books, 2010)

Illustrated by **Laura Carlin**. Children's book mystery featuring a British documentary filmmaker and a Palestinian shepherd boy.

**Mohammed Massoud Morsi**

***The Hair of the Pigeon***

(David R. Godine, 320 pages, 2026)

Publisher's blurb: ""She killed him. Later that night, she kissed me." So begins this haunting, lyrical tale that unfolds in the labyrinthine alleys of Yarmouk, the Palestinian refugee camp in Damascus, where concrete cages hold generations of longing, defiance, and love. During the tumultuous years of the Arab Spring, Ghassan is seventeen, caught between the boy he was and the man war demands him to become. In the camp, nothing is stable—except his devotion to Sama, the brilliant, pigeon-racing girl with sapphire eyes and an untamable spirit. But loving Sama means navigating rivalries, secrets, and violence in a world where trust is fragile and power is in dangerous hands. Told with aching intimacy and poetic force, *The Hair of the Pigeon* traces the friendship of two boys, the impossible love of a girl who refuses to be caged, and the quiet endurance of a people denied a homeland. From rooftop football to the shadowy corners of war, this novel pierces the heart with its truth: that love, like flight, is often born from struggle—and that home is more than a place on a map. The long-haired pigeon is the bringer of change. The creature that exists in the void between dreams and reality. It carries with it the stories of what truly was and what could have been and what still is. The rise and fall of lives in the face of war, their displacement near and far. The story of the refugee is complicated and at the heart of it is a story about us all."

***The Palace of Angels***

(Wild Dingo Press, 360 pages, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "Interwoven in the anguish and trauma of Palestine, is a cross-border romance of ineffable charm – served equally with the remorseless realism of war and the bare-skinned surrender of two young warriors who break the rules because: what rules? He, a Palestinian and she, an Israeli soldier

– confront the tyrannies of power – political, religious, and personal. Their prisons of repression and arrogant delusion break open the aphorism: 'To birds born caged, flying is a crime.' There is no judgement, purely the exposition: Do I question my inherited viewpoint, or do I reach for the ideal? In a surge of almost giddying prose that pulls us page-by-page, questioning our values in a fever of anticipation the sequel strings though the twenty two years that bring forth the dichotomy between love and the lifetime-punishment of war. What do we ultimately become when we are bereft of hope? In a grappling prequel, three young zealots risk their lives in a dubious exchange of Egyptian hashish for Israeli guns - with renegade soldiers to whom trigger-murder was little more than a whim. Are we really prepared to pay the price for what we believe in? This trilogy of novels begins with the reckless urge of idealism, it traverses the personal narrative rarely heard and closes with a finale that any lover would applaud."

***Twenty Two Years to Life***
(Mohammed Hussein Milheasen, 142 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "What is the one thing you wish for more than anything else in the world? And what would you do if that one thing, once granted, was taken from you? Fathi wakes up one morning to discover Allah has decided to give every old chicken a second chance. And, as it turns out, this couple still in love since their rainstorm meeting two decades earlier. Together they journey from one gated city to the next -sometimes of their own volition, sometimes with a gun to their back- all the while praying for that one thing... And when their life takes an even more dramatic turn, Fathi takes the only course of action that is left to take ... Based on a true story, this tale will make you grateful for every little thing you have taken for granted…"

***What is Past is Dead***
(Mohammed Hussein Miheasen, 70 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "hree young men, infused with idealism and fuelled by hashish, drive a minibus through the night, entrenching themselves in a dangerous gamble that will change their lives forever. Today, only one man stands. He tells the tale of joining his childhood friends in the passionate appeal for Palestinians against Israel's forceful occupation. After all these years, his diaspora eyes continue to be haunted by the realities his compatriots face. What is past is dead is a fictional journey into the contentious issue of Palestine and Israel, written with depth of feeling and character. Mohammed Massoud Morsi is an award winning photojournalist his fictional pieces have won recognition worldwide."

**Hanan Mousa** (Sakhnin College for Teacher Education, Israel)
***Palestinian Memory and Identity in Modern Children's Literature***
(Routledge, 158 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "A timely and significant contribution to Palestinian children's literature from 1967 to the present day, *Palestinian Memory and Identity in Modern Children's Literatur*e examines a myriad of motifs and popular culture and the evolution of national identity and consciousness among young Palestinians. Utilizing analytical and in-depth readings, this text presents a thorough examination of the representations and role of folk culture in Palestinian children's literature from both thematic and stylistic-linguistic perspectives. The analysis covers a wide range of diverse works representing popular culture published after 1967, including diverse works by writers from Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Palestinian diaspora. This volume will be of interest to academics and students exploring the vast contexts of Arabic children's literature and Palestinian folklore."

**Ibtihaj Muhammad** (US Olympic medalist) and **Sk.K. Ali**; illustrated by **Hatem Aly**
***The Kindest Red: A Story of Hijab and Friendship***
(Little, Brown, 40 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "It's picture day and Faizah can't wait to wear her special red dress with matching hair ribbons, passed down from her mother and sister. Faizah's teacher starts the day by asking her students to envision the kind of world they want, inspiring Faizah and her friends to spend the day helping one another in ways large and small. But when it's time for sibling pictures, Faizah realizes

that she and her older sister, Asiya, don't match like her classmates do with their siblings. With help from her classmates inspired by Asiya's hijab, Faizah finds that acts of kindness can come back to you in unexpected ways."

***The Proudest Blue: A Story of Hijab and Family***
(Little, Brown, 40 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "With her new backpack and light-up shoes, Faizah knows the first day of school is going to be special. It's the start of a brand new year and, best of all, it's her older sister Asiya's first day of hijab--a hijab of beautiful blue fabric, like the ocean waving to the sky. But not everyone sees hijab as beautiful, and in the face of hurtful, confusing words, Faizah will find new ways to be strong."

**Ibrahim Muhawi** (University of California at Davia, via Ramallah)
As co-editor, with **Yasir Suleiman**: ***Literature and Nation in the Middle East***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

As co-editor/translator, with **Sharif Kanaana** (University of Wisconsin; An-Najah University; Birzeit University): ***Speak, Bird, Speak Again: Palestinian Arab Folktales***
(University of California Press, 464 pages, 1989 / 2021)
With 1989 foreword by **Alan Dundes**. And 2021 foreword by **Ibtisam Barakat**. Publisher's blurb: "By combining their expertise in English literature and anthropology, Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana bring to these folktales an integral method of study that unites a sensitivity to language with a deep appreciation for culture. As native Palestinians, the authors are well suited to their task. Over the course of several years, they collected tales from the regions of the Galilee, Gaza, and the West Bank, determining which were the most widely known and appreciated and selecting the ones that best represent the Palestinian Arab folk narrative tradition. Great care has been taken with the translations to maintain the original flavor, humor, and cultural nuances in tales that are at once earthy and whimsical and that also parallel stories found in the larger Arab folk tradition. Featuring a new foreword by Ibtisam Barakat, Speak, Bird, Speak Again is an essential text in Palestinian culture and a must for those who want to deepen their understanding of an enduring people."

**Abdelrahman Munif**
***Cities of Salt***
(Jonathan Cape, 1988 / Vintage, 1994)
Translated by **Peter Theroux**. Originally published in Beirut in 1984, this 627-page epic brings to life many of the political issues that have plagued the Mideast for most of this century. Set in an unnamed gulf country that could be Jordan sometime in the 1930s, the novel relates what happens to the 907ravell inhabitants of the small oasis community of Wadi al-Uyoun when oil is discovered by Americans. Seen through the eyes of a large and varied cast of 907ravell characters, the upheaval caused by the American colonization is shown in various manifestations, from the first contact with the strange foreigners ("Their smell could kill birds!" observes Miteb al-Hathal, who later leads a rebellion of Arab workers when the village of Harran has been made into an American port city) to confused and suspicious descriptions of the sinister "magic" tools brought by the Americans which are in fact bulldozers, automobiles, radios and telephones. The story unfolds at a stately pace over a timespan of many years and provides an endless stream of characters and events, each connected to the next by many threads of plot. Theroux's sensitive translation conveys the subtleties of ambiguity and nuance inherent to the Arab language and culture. Banned in several Mideast countries including Saudi Arabia, this is the first volume of a planned trilogy by a Paris-based Jordanian novelist who holds a law degree from the Sorbonne and a Ph.D. in oil economics from the University of Belgrade.

**Nora Lester Murad**
***Ida in the Middle***

(Crocodile Books, 224 pages, 2022)
Young adult novel on a Palestinian American middle school girl grappling with her identity. Relevant to both the Palestinian diaspora and all refugee immigrants.

**Akram Musallam**

***Sirat al-'aqrab alladhi yatasabbab 'araqan***

(The Tale of the Scorpion that Dripped with Sweat, Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 2008)
Chapters translated by **Charis Bredin**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012). *Hawajis al-Iskandar* (Alexander's Obsessions, 2003). To be published: *Iltabas al-amr 'ala al-laqlaq* (*Confusing the Stork*, Amman: Dar al-Ahliya)

**Sahar Mustafah** (Palestinian American author)

***The Slightest Green***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 248 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In the middle of dinner one evening, Intisar Jaber receives a phone call that will upend her quiet life in Chicago: her father is dying and she must go to Palestine to pay her final respects. But Intisar hasn't seen or heard from Hafez for nearly two decades, ever since he abandoned her and her mother to join the resistance. After a fateful mission, Hafez was thrown into the notorious Gahana Prison to serve a life sentence—permanently removed from her life. As soon as Intisar arrives in his village of Bayt al-Hawa, she discovers what it means to be a stranger in her ancestral land, the inheritance of loss, and the high price of freedom. Meanwhile, Hafez's mother Sundus battles to save the home that she built with her husband from thieving hands. Will Intisar, her estranged granddaughter, help Sundus fight to reclaim it? Can they close the gaping distance between them before it's too late?"

***The Beauty of Your Face***

(Norton, 300 pages, 2020)
Novel features Palestinian Americans.

**Shada Mustafa**

***Things I Left Behind***

(Banipal Books, 144 pages, 2021)
Translated by **Nancy Roberts**. Young woman's efforts to see her divorced parents via the Qalandia checkpoint. Shortlisted for the Sheikh Zayed Book Award.

**Robin Maugham**

***Approach to Palestine***

(Falcon Press, 1947)
Inside front flap: "'All that this little book hopes to do,' says the author, 'is to provide a short means of approach to the problem of Palestine.' Robin Maugham first saw Palestine while convalescing in 1942 after being wounded in the Western Desert. Since then he has been in close touch with the Levant. He returned from his last visit to Palestine in the Spring 1947. This book is the result." Dedication: "To [noted Arab historian] Albert Hourani from whose unpublished work on Palestine much of the first part of this book has been derived."

**Haneen Naamneh** [Haifa & SOAS]

***My Dear Sister* and *Panadol*** – two short stories translated by **Ghenwa Hayek**, in *Banipal*45 (2012)

**Hamida Na'na** (Syria-born philosopher, journalist, with UNESCO 1974-1977)

***The Homeland***

(Garnet Publications, 1995)

Loosely based on Leila Khaled. See also: Hanadi al-Samman: *Anxiety of Erasure: Trauma, Authorship, and the Diaspora in Arab Women's Writings* (Syracuse University Press, 2015) with introduction by **Fadia Faqir**; translated by **Martin Asser**.

**Tamara Naser** [Palestinian from Toronto]

***Superwoman***, short story translated by **Suneela Mubayi**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

**Amjed Nasser**

***Land of No Rain***

(Bloomsbury Qatar, 2014)

Former political exile returns to country ruled by military.

**Ibrahim Nasrallah** (Jordan-born Palestinian author-poet-teacher-journalist-translator-painter…)

***Gaza Weddings***

(American University in Cairo Press, 2017)

Translated by **Nancy Roberts**.

***Kilimanjaro Spirit*** aka ***The Souls of Kilimanjaro***

(Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "A group of disparate individuals, amongst whom two Palestinian adolescents who have lost their legs in Israeli bomb strikes, are preparing to summit Mount Kilimanjaro. They have nothing – and everything – in common. Hailing from Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt and America, the characters test the limits of their physical and emotional strengths to prove to themselves that they can transcend their strife-ridden histories and accomplish the unexpected."

***Lanterns of the King of Galilee: A Novel of 18th Century Palestine***

(American University in Cairo Press, 749 pages, 2014)

Novel about Sheikh Zahir Omar Zidan aka Zahir al-'Umar; translated by **Nancy Roberts**.

Publisher's blurb: "Visionary political and military leader Daher al-Umar al-Zaydani undertakes a journey toward the greatest aim anyone could hope to achieve in his day: the establishment of an autonomous Arab state. To do so he must challenge the rule of the greatest power in the world at the time-the Ottoman Empire-while translating the ideals of human dignity, justice, and religious tolerance into concrete daily realities. In this compelling story of love and loss, victory and defeat, loyalty and betrayal, award-winning poet and novelist Ibrahim Nasrallah, author of the Arabic Booker shortlisted *Time of White Horses*, once again brings Palestinian history alive with a set of characters and events both real and imagined to capture the essence of a rich and dramatic epoch in the turbulent annals of a land that has been fought over for millennia."

***A Time of White Horses***

(American University in Cairo Press, 634pp, 2012 / Hoopoe, 2016)

Translated by **Nancy Roberts** from 2007 Arabic original. The narrative is a lengthy sweep of Ottomania gradually getting replaced by Ziomania leading to the Nakba. But there's more than a political focus on the Palestinian struggle. One recurring theme is land theft, by agents of the Ottoman rule, the church, the Mandate Government, other Arab Palestinians, and of course the Zionists themselves. Villains come from all ethnic backgrounds, but occasional, impressive generosity shines through the tragedies, even though the good side of human spirit doesn't change the outcome of the Arab village. The victims hold on to their identity, despite offers to cash it in for free tickets to someone else's show.

***Prairies of Fever***

(Interlink Books. 160pp, 1998)

Surreal work, translated by **May Jayyusi** & **Jeremy Reed**.

***Inside the Night***

(American University Press in Cairo, 176pp, 2007)
Translated by **Bakr R. Abbas**, Two nameless narrators roam back and forth in time, veering from childhood mischief to a Palestinian refugee camp massacre; from ardent first love to necessary migration to an Arab oil country for employment; from spirited adolescent fantasies to the grim reality of life in an Arab country whose claims to progress are mounted on the bent backs of its people.

**Timothy Niedermann**

***Wall of Dust***

(Deux Voiliers Publishing, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Aisha, a Palestinian schoolteacher, becomes deranged after most of her class is accidentally killed by a missile fired from an Israeli gunship. She begins a strange ritual, throwing stones at the 'security barrier,' the eight-meter tall concrete wall that separates much of the West Bank from Israel. She shouts the name of each dead child and hurls a stone at the concrete monolith. Initially alone, she is soon joined by others and her little ritual takes the form of a mass protest."

**Sonia Nimr** (Birzeit University, *Guardian*, *The New Republic*, Al-Jazeera)

***Thunderbird, Book 3***

(University of Texas Press, 120 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "In the third and final book of the *Thunderbird* trilogy, Noor finds herself in Byzantine Jerusalem, in the year 638 CE, where the city is under siege. She is joined by Sabeeka, the djinn who takes the form of a cat, and meets the twins Helena and Julian, who have the power of healing. The four team up to find the thunderbird. But before they can, they are swallowed by a giant wormlike creature called a *bakasola*, which takes them to the world beyond the wall that separates the world of the djinn from our ordinary human world. From the terrifying, dark, gloomy world of the *bakasola*, Noor and her friends are rescued and delivered to the colorful and peaceful world of the *sakarik*, where they discover the *bakasola* are stealing the golden liquid that keeps the *sakarik* alive. Will Noor and her friends rescue the *sakarik* and return to the human world in time to find the last two thunderbird feathers that will save the world?"

***Thunderbird, Book Two***

(University of Texas Press, 152 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "In this second installment, Noor finds herself in the year 1177 in Jerusalem, during the Crusades. With the help of Sabeeka, Zainab, a girl who has the power to become invisible, and her local resistance group, Noor must once again find a feather belonging to the thunderbird before it burns, in order to prevent the world of the djinn from collapsing into the human world. Along the way, Noor helps the resistance group save hundreds of books and manuscripts from being burned. Like the first book in the *Thunderbird* trilogy, Book Two combines the magical with real events from Palestinian history to take the reader on a wild and adventurous ride through time."

***Thunderbird, Book One***

(University of Texas Press, 128 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Marcia Lynx Qualey**. Publisher's blurb: "The Thunderbird trilogy is a fast-paced time-traveling fantasy adventure centered on Noor, a young orphaned Palestinian girl who starts in the present and must go back in time to get four magical bird feathers and save the world. Aided by a djinn cat and girls who look identical to Noor and who each have one of the bird's powers, in this initial volume Noor begins her journey through different historical periods, striving to keep the wall between worlds intact."

***Wondrous Journeys in Strange Lands***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 224 pages, 2020)

Translated by **Marcia Lynx Qualey**. Publisher's blurb: "In a tent at the foot of a mountain in Palestine, hundreds of years ago, our storyteller and her twin sister are born. Her newlywed parents name her Qamr (Moon), and her sister Shams (Sun). Their small caravan is journeying from the mother's city back to the father's remote ancestral village atop the mountain. This village suffers from isolation—and a curse, which her young family tries to undo. But when both parents' lives are cut short, Qamr and her sister are left orphans. And so, Qamr decides to pursue her mother's and father's dreams of discovering the world—its people, places and stories. With the red book in hand that brought her parents together, she sets out on a daring journey, on caravans and ships, across empires. Telling tales to survive, Qamr crosses deserts and seas: to Jerusalem and Gaza; Egypt, Tangier, Andalusia and Genoa; Abyssinia, India, the Maldives and Yemen. Kidnapped by bandits, sold as a slave to the House of a mad King, studying with a polymath, disguising as a man and falling in love for the first time—with a pirate: Qamr searches irrepressibly for life, in endless stories within stories. Sonia Nimr's richly imagined historical fable recalls the famous travel narratives of the 14th century Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta. But the captivating adventures of our heroine are the wondrous journeys we take when we discover we can do more than we ever dreamed possible, even in strange lands that decree we cannot." Ghaddar the Ghoul and other Palestinian Stories

**Jamal Sleem Nuweihed** and **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**

***Abu Jmeel's Daughter, and Other Stories: Arab Folk Tales from Palestine & Lebanon***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "These 27 traditional folk stories were written down, shortly before her death, by Jamal Sleem Nuweihed, who had recounted them to the children of her extended family over many years. Authentically Arab in their themes, yet timelessly universal, they are sometimes magical, sometimes naturalistic, and combine a wealth of vivid detail with elements of pathos and humor. Translated by family members of various generations, then expertly edited, the book is a precious store of the kind of tale endlessly cherished but in danger of disappearing."

**Naomi Shihab Nye** (Palestinian, Texas State University; note: over 30 books as author and editor)

***Everything Comes Next: Collected and New Poems***
(New York City, Greenwillow Books, 256 pages, 2020)

***You & Yours***
(Rochester, New York: BOA Editions, 2005)

***Time You Let Me In: 25 Poets under 25***
(New York City, Greenwillow Books, 2010)

***Going Going***
(New York City, Greenwillow Books, 2005)

***19 Varities of Gazelle, Poems of the Middle East***
(New York City, Greenwillow Books, 2002)

***Flags of Childhood: Poems of the Middle East***

***The Space Between Our Footsteps: Poems and Paintings from the Middle East***
(Simon & Schuster, children's list, 1998)

***Come with Me: Poems for a Journey***
(Greenwillow, 2000)

***Fuel***
(Rochester, New York: BOA Editions, 136 pages, 1998)

***Red Suitcase***
(Rochester, New York: BOA Editions,, 1994)

***Words under the Words***
(Portland, Oregon: Eighth Mountain Press, 157 pages, 1995)

***Baby Radar***
(Young Adult list, 2003)

***Habibi***
(Simon & Schuster's Young Adult list, 1997)
Palestinian-American doctor's family relocates from the USA to the West Bank.

***Sitti's Secrets***
(Simon & Schuster's Young Adult list, 1997)

**Nora E.H. Parr** (University of Birmingham)
***Novel Palestine: Nation through the Works of Ibrahim Nasrallah***
(University of California Press, 232 pages, 2023)
Available as a free e-book, via: www.luminosoa.org.

**Matityahu Peled** (relevant to Palestine in that the author was an Israeli General who became a Palestinian rights advocate and Professor of Arabic Literature at Tel Aviv University)
***Religion, My Own: The Literary Works of Najib Mahfuz***
(New Brunswick New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1983)

**Safaa Odah**
***Gaza Girl***
(Likely Australia: Philotimo/Ilura Press, 2025)
"An illustrated story for all ages."

**Maysa Odeh**
***A Map for Falasteen: A Palestinian Child's Search for Home***
(St. Martin's Press, 40 pages, 2024)
Illustrated by **Aliaa Betawi**. Children's book; publisher's blurb: "At school, Falasteen and her classmates are tasked with finding their families' home countries on a map, but no matter how hard she looks, Falasteen can't find Palestine. Can a place exist if it's not on a map? Confused, Falasteen turns to her family for answers. Her grandfather, grandmother, and Mama encourage her to see their homeland from a different perspective, and each of their stories helps her understand her people's history and her own place in the world."

**Lipika Pelham** (Bangladesh international journalist and filmmaker, also with the BBC World Service)
***The Unlikely Settler***
(Other Press, 2014)
One-state [ODS] goal via narrator. Publisher's blurb: "*The Unlikely Settler* is none other than a young Bengali journalist who moves to Jerusalem with her English-Jewish husband and two children. He speaks Arabic and is an arch believer in the peace process; she leaves her career behind to follow his dream. Jerusalem propels Pelham into a world where freedom from tribal allegiance is a challenging prospect. From the school you choose for your children to the wine you buy, you take sides at every turn. Pelham's complicated relationship with her husband, Leo, is as emotive as the city she lives in, as

full of energy, pain, and contradictions. As she tries to navigate the complexities and absurdities of daily life in Jerusalem, often with hilarious results, Pelham achieves deep insights into the respective woes and guilt of her Palestinian and Israeli friends. Her intelligent analysis suggests a very different approach to a potential resolution of the conflict."

**Nick Pengelley** (author of Ayesha Ryder detective series, featuring a Palestinian-British academic historian as investigator)

***Ryder: Bird of Prey***
(Canada: HarperCollins, paperback/ Alibi, Kindle, 2015)

***Ryder: American Treasure***
(Canada: HarperCollins, paperback/ Alibi, Kindle, 2015)

***Ryder*** aka ***Traitor's Gate***
(Canada: HarperCollins, paperback/ Alibi, Kindle, 2014)

**Justin Podur** (York University, Canada)

***Siegebreakers***
(Roseway Publishing/Columbia University Press/Fernwood Publishing, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Under the crushing weight of the siege of Gaza, Laila and Nasser are members of the Palestinian resistance fighting desperately to free their people. Together, they learn of a plan to unite the disparate Palestinian factions and break Israel's siege. Unknown to them, Ari, a brilliant Israeli spy, has decided that his conscience can no longer allow him to participate in the starvation of Gaza. A double agent whose every move is under mounting suspicion, Ari reaches out to the American contractors who trained him with a secret plan. As they all struggle to break the siege, they face the wrath of the Israeli military machine." Praised by Ilan Pappe.

**Liston Pope, Jr.**

***Redemption: A Novel of War in Lebanon***
(author, 1994)
Novel of atrocities committed by the Phalangist militias after the fall of Tal El-Zaatar. From *Publisher's Weekly:* "Pope's first novel is a harrowing, intense account of Lebanon's civil war of 1975-1976 and its bloody aftermath, focusing on the personal dimensions of the tragedy. Sent to Lebanon in 1978 as a correspondent for the World Council of Churches, the author spent more than a year in that ravaged country, including a stint living in a Palestinian refugee camp. Two figures dominate the novel. The more convincing of the two, Elie, a Maronite Catholic and Phalangist soldier, becomes disillusioned with his colleagues' wanton brutality. After criticizing them for paying lip service to the Palestinian cause while depriving Palestinian refugees of basic rights, he is 913ravelle a traitor. The other, Morgan, seems more a staple of slick espionage thrillers. A blonde and icy Radcliffe graduate, she's a former Manhattan prostitute turned CIA agent who's working with the Israelis on the eve of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Other characters are more original, however, and Pope's kaleidoscopic narrative, which ranges from underground clinics to refugee camps and torture chambers, scorchingly evokes the anarchy, mass slaughter and pervasive suffering of a nation torn apart by war." Noam Chomsky: "I read it in two evenings. This book is a striking testimony."

**Chaim Potok**

***The Chosen***
(Patchogue, New York: Buccaneer Books / New York City: Simon & Schuster, 284 pages, 1967), with many reprints
Very successful, New York City-set novel, seemingly written for a Great Depression and WWII era university-educated, male Jewish audience, about the divide between Neturei Karta Hassids, and other

religious Jews. The late 1940s support for the Zionist cause is praised but it's merely a background to the narrative.

**Ahmad Rasmi Qabaha** (An-Najah University)
as co-editor, with **Rachel Gregory Fox**
***Post-Millennial Palestine: Literature, Memory, Resistance***
(Liverpool University Press, 231 pages, 2021)
Contents: Editors' introduction / **Bashir Abu-Manneh**: *Under SUFFERING'S Glow: Palestinian Writing after Oslo* / **Tahrir Hamdi**: *Late Style as Resistance in the Works of Edward Said, Mahmoud Darwish, and Mourid Barghouti* / **Lindsey Moore**: *'A rich fabric of some sort, which no one can fully comprehend [or] fully own': Levantine Remains in Memoirs by Edward Said, Jean Said Makdisi, and Wadad Makdisi Cortas* / **Ahmad Qabaha**: *The Exile's Memory and the Chronotope in Ghada Karmi's Return: A Palestinian Memoir* / **Sophia Brown**: *Snapshots of Solidarity: Anthologizing Palestinian Life Writing* / **Sarah Irving**: *Confronting the Mythic? Najwan Darwish and Post-Millennium Palestinian Poetry* / **Michael Pritchard**: *Enduring Palestine: Haptics, Violence, and Affect in Adania Shibli's Fiction* / **Rachel Gregory Fox**: *I can only get there now on the rafts of memories: Palimpsestic and Genealogical Memories in Susan Abulhawa's Novels* / **Nora Parr**: *Killing God to Find Palestine 'after the end of the world' in Adania Shibli, Mahmoud Amer, and Maya Abu al-Hayyat* / **Tom Sperlinger**: *Unfinished Work: Anticolonial Pedagogy in Selma Dabbagh's 'Out Of It'* **Anna Ball**: *Wingwomen: Towards a Feminocentric Poetics of Flight in Twenty-First Century Palestinian Creative Consciousness*

***Exile and Expatriation in Modern American and Palestinian Writing***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "This book examines the distinction between literary expatriation and exile through a 'contrapuntal reading' of modern Palestinian and American writing. It argues that exile, in the Palestinian case especially, is a political catastrophe; it is banishment by a colonial power. It suggests that, unlike expatriation (a choice of a foreign land over one's own), exile is a political rather than an artistic concept and is forced rather than voluntary — while exile can be emancipatory, it is always an unwelcome loss. In addition to its historical dimension, exile also entails a different perception of return to expatriation. This book frames expatriates as quintessentially American, particularly intellectuals and artists seeking a space of creativity and social dissidence in the experience of living away from home. At the heart of both literary discourses, however, is a preoccupation with home, belonging, identity, language, mobility and homecoming."

**Nayrouz Qarmout**
***The Sea Cloak and Other Stories***
(Comma Press, 2019)
Translated by **Perween Richards**. The collection spans out to capture other geographies of Palestinian existence, in Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank, Tel Aviv, Paris and Yarmouk refugee camp in Damascus, where Qarmout grew up.

**Dorit Rabinyan**
***Borderlife*** aka ***All the Rivers***
(Serpent's Tail, 2016/ 2017)
Jewish-Israeli woman and Arab-Palestinian man fall in love in New York City. Banned by the Israeli Ministry of Education from the high school curriculum.

**Wisam Rafeedie**
***The Trinity of Fundamentals***
(New York City: 1804 Books & the Palestinian Youth Movement, 331 pages, 2024)
Translated by **Muhammad Tutunji**. Palestinian prisoner novel of the author's nine years in Naqab Prison, starting from 1993, and set during the First Intifada.

**Gila Ramras-Rauch**

***The Arab in Israeli Literature***
(Indiana University Press, 1989)
Non-fiction about fiction.

**Matt Rees** (The 'Omar Yussef' mystery series, featuring a school teacher-sleuth who solves murders while dodging both the guilty parties and the PA)

***The Fourth Assassin***
(Soho Press, NYC, 2008, and Atlantic/Grove, 2010)

***The Samaritan's Secret***
(Soho Press, NYC, 2008, and Atlantic/Grove, 2009)

***A Grave in Gaza***
(Soho Press, NYC, 2008; as *The Saladin Murders*, Atlantic/Grove, 2008)

***The Bethlehem Murders***
(Atlantic/Grove, 2007; as *The Collaborator of Bethlehem,*Soho Press, NYC, 2006)

**Alice Rothchild**

***Old Enough to Know***
(Cune Press, 180 pages, 2023)

***Finding Melody Sullivan***
(Cune Press, 190 pages, 2023)
Three Vermont teens, Palestinian and Jewish, visit Jerusalem and the West Bank, learning the realities.

**Thomas Rowan** (UNRWA Gaza officer during the First Intifada)

***A Bar Mitzvah at Arafat's***
(author; Amazon Kindle only, 283 pages, 2019)

**Kamal Ruhayyim**

***Diary of a Jewish Muslim***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2014)
Translated by **Sarah Enany.** Identity drama, set 1930s-1960s.

***Days in the Diaspora***
(American University in Cairo Press, 2012)
Translated by **Sarah Enany**; Jewish Egyptian's exile to Paris in the 1960s.

**Etar Rum** (Palestinian-American teacher)

***A Woman is No Man***
(Harper, 2019)
Multi-generational novel. Publisher's blurb: "Palestine, 1990. Seventeen-year-old Isra prefers reading books to entertaining the suitors her father has chosen for her. Her desires are irrelevant, however--over the course of a week, the naive and dreamy girl finds herself betrothed, then married, and soon living in Brooklyn. There Isra struggles to adapt to the expectations of her oppressive mother-in-law, Fareeda, and her strange new husband, Adam: a pressure that intensifies as she begins to have children--four daughters instead of the sons Isra is expected to bear. Brooklyn, 2008. At her grandmother's insistence,

eighteen-year-old Deya must meet with potential husbands and prepare herself for marriage, though her only desire is to go to college. Her grandmother is firm on the matter, however: the only way to secure a worthy future for Deya is through marriage to the right man. But fate has a will of its own, and soon Deya will find herself on an unexpected path that leads her to shocking truths that will force her to question everything she thought she knew about her family, the past, and her own future. Set in an America at once foreign to many and staggeringly close at hand, *A Woman Is No Man* is a story of culture and honor, secrets and betrayals, love and violence. It is an intimate glimpse into a controlling and closed cultural world, and a universal tale about family and the ways silence and shame can destroy those we have sworn to protect."

**Lisa Saffron**

***Checkpoint***

(AuthorHouse, 2008)

This reflects the modern struggle between Jewish American rejection of the *Aliyah* promise, but, unlike some novels, the Palestinians get voices too.

**Steven Salaita**

***Modern Arab American Fiction: A Reader's Guide***

(Syracuse University Press, 2011)

Introduction — Uses of the Lebanese Civil War in Arab American fiction: Etel Adnan, Rawi Hage, Patricia Sarrafian Ward — Exploring Islam(s) in America: Mohja Kahf — Sex, violence, and storytelling: Rabih Alameddine — The eternity of immigration: Arab American short story collections (Joseph Geha, Frances Khirallah Noble, Evelyn Shakir, Susan Muaddi Darraj) — Promised lands and unfulfilled promises: Laila Halaby — Crescent moons, jazz music, and feral ethnicity: Diana Abu-Jaber — From the Maghreb to the American mainstream: writers of North African origin (Anouar Majid, Laila Lalami, Samia Serageldin) — Potpourri: Alicia Erian, Randa Jarrar, Susan Abulhawa.

**Stephanie Saldana**

***A Country Between: Making a Home Where Both Sides of Jerusalem Collide***

(Sourcebooks, 368 pages, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "When young mother Stephanie Saldana finds herself in an empty house at the beginning of Nablus road—the dividing line between East and West Jerusalem—she sees more than a Middle Eastern flash point. She sees what could be home. Before her eyes, the fragile community of Jerusalem opens, and she starts to build her family to outlast the chaos. But as her son grows, so do the military checkpoints and bomb sirens, and Stephanie must learn to bridge the gap between safety and home, always questioning her choice to start her family and raise her child in a country at war."

**Sara M. Saleh**

***Songs for the Dead and the Living***

(Affirm Press, 265 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "Jamilah has always believed she knows where her home is: in a house above a paint shop on the outskirts of Beirut, with her large, chaotic, loving family. But she soon learns that as Palestinian refugees, her family's life in Lebanon is precarious, and they must try to blend in even as they fight to retain their identity. When conflict comes to Beirut, Jamilah's world fractures, and the family is forced to flee to Cairo: another escape, and another slip further away from Palestine, the homeland to which they cannot return. In the end, Jamilah will have to choose between holding on to everything she knows and pursuing a life she can truly call her own."

**Tayyeb Saleh**

***Season of Migration to the North***
(Heinemann, 1969 / Penguin 2003)
Translated by **Denys Johnson-Davies**. Not Palestinian, but deals with exile and a novel more important for what it's about than how it actually reads, for the narrative is a bit of a bodge and unrealistic. The duality theme is both the poisoned embrace of the exotic by Orientalist British and a man's spiteful and futile rejection of Western culture. A widely-respected classic, but it might've been a great book. The following review from *Publisher's Weekly* is accurate but doesn't really get the essence: "One of the classic themes followed in this complex novel, translated from the Arabic, is cultural dissonance between East and West, particularly the experience of a returned native. The narrator returns from his studies in England to his remote little village in Sudan, to begin his career as an educator. There he encounters Mustafa, a fascinating man of mystery, who also has studied at Oxford. As their relationship builds on this commonality, Mustafa reveals his past. A series of compulsive liaisons with English women who were similarly infatuated with the "Black Englishman," as he was nicknamed, have ended in disaster. Charged with the passion killing of his last paramour, Mustafa was acquitted by the English courts. As he unravels his complicated, gory and erotic story, Mustafa charges the listener with the custody of his present life. When Mustafa disappears, apparently drowned in the Nile and perhaps a suicide, another door in his secretive life opens to include his wife and children. Emerging from a constantly evolving narrative, in a trance-like telling, is the clash between an assumed worldly sophistication and enduring, dark, elemental forces. An arresting work by a major Arab novelist who mines the rich lode of African experience with the Western world."

**Nuha Samara** (short stories; see also the **Jo Glanville**-edited short story compilation: ***Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women*** (2006)
***The Tables Outlived Amin***
(1981)

***In the Swamp City***
(1973)

**Ibrahim Ahmed M. Salem**
***War and Stereotyping in the Jewish and Palestinian Fiction: A Comparison of Leon Uris and Ghassan Kanafani's Diaspora Fiction***
(Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012)

**Nevien Shaabneh** (Palestinian-American author and teacher)
***Secrets under the Olive Tree***
(Santa Ana, California: Nortia Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Layla Anwar is a young Palestinian born into a land plagued with an apartheid regime. She knows all too well what it means to be an outcast in a country she calls home. Layla is also an outsider within her village and family. Whispers surround her growing up, ones that mask the secrets her family has kept for generations. Secrets continue to plague Layla's adolescence and young adult life after the move to America, as the monsters of her past threaten to break the relationships she most cherishes." The main theme deals with brutal patriarchy and sexism.

**Aimee Shalan** (British Palestinian Committee)
***Remapping Palestine and the Politics of Writing: Palestinian Literature in Translation***
(Queen Mary University London, university thesis, 204 pages, 2011)

**Yitzhak Shami**
***Hebron Stories***
(Lancaster, California: Labyrinthos, 2000)

Edited by **Moshe Lazar** & **Joseph Zernik**.

**Betty Shamieh** (Palestinian-American playwright; Classical Theater of Harlem)

***Too Soon***

(Avid Reader Press/Simon & Schuster, 336 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "Thirty-five-year-old Arabella, a New York theatre director whose dating and career prospects are drying up, is offered an opportunity to direct a risqué cross-dressing interpretation of a Shakespeare classic—that might garner international attention—in the West Bank. Her mother, Naya, and grandmother, Zoya, hatch a plot to match her with Aziz, a Palestinian American doctor volunteering in Gaza. Arabella agrees to meet Aziz, since her growing feelings for Yoav, a celebrated Israeli American theatre designer, seem destined for disaster... With biting hilarity, *Too Soon* introduces us to a trio of bold and unforgettable voices. This dramatic saga follows one family's epic journey fleeing war-torn Jaffa in 1948, chasing the American Dream in Detroit and San Francisco in the sixties and seventies, hustling in the New York theatre scene post-9/11, and daring to stage a show in Palestine in 2012. Upon learning one of them is living on borrowed time, the three women fight to live, make art, and love on their own terms. A funny, sexy, and heart-wrenching literary debut, *Too Soon* illuminates our shared history and asks, how can we set ourselves free?"

**Anton Shammas** (Palestinian Israeli, b. 1950)

***Arabesques***

(Viking, 1988)

Translated from Hebrew by **Vivian Eden**.

**Samir Shawa** aka **Sam Shawa** (Alhani Cultural Foundation, Gaza)

***Charlie Khalil of Gaza***

(Author, 336 pages, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "A riveting story of three brothers who led the last escape from the Turkish forced conscription 'Safar Barlek' that was followed by years of the ominous British Mandate and the Nakba. The remarkable plight of Gaza and its people who were extremely critical of their leader's intramural disputes that led to catastrophic results. A heart-warming tale of family loyalty and their continued fight to survive years of wars and alienation against all odds. Will they reunite again?"

**Hanan al-Shaykh**

***Story of Zahra***

(Quartet Books & Readers International, 1986)

Translated by **Peter Ford**. Crazed but not exactly a family comedy, set in Beirut and North Africa. When young Zahra isn't being abused by everyone, she's torturing herself. Then the civil war. The Palestinians are only referred to briefly, but they were never a real reason for those brutal years, only victims.

**Joss Sheldon**

***Occupied***

(author, 2015)

Hailed as a dystopian novel with relevance to Palestinians.

**Adania Shibli** (Palestinian author living in Jerusalem and Berlin)

***Minor Detail***

(New Directions/Fitzcarraldo Editions, 144 pages, 2020)

Translated by **Elisabeth 'Lissie' Jacquette** (Director, American Literary Translators Association/ATLA). Publisher's blurb: "*Minor Detail* begins during the summer of 1949, one year after the war that the Palestinians mourn as the *Nakba*—the catastrophe that led to the displacement and exile of some 700,000 people—and the Israelis celebrate as the War of Independence. Israeli soldiers murder an encampment of Bedouin in the Negev desert, and among their victims they capture a Palestinian teenager and they rape her, kill her, and bury her in the sand. Many years later, in the near-present day, a young woman in Ramallah tries to uncover some of the details surrounding this particular rape and murder, and becomes fascinated to the point of obsession, not only because of the nature of the crime, but because it was committed exactly twenty-five years to the day before she was born. Adania Shibli masterfully overlays these two translucent narratives of exactly the same length to evoke a present forever haunted by the past."

***Touch***
(Clockroot Books / Interlink Books, 2010)
Translated from the Arabic by **Paula Haydar**. Publisher's blurb: "A young woman, asked at work to write a letter to an older man, does as she is told. So begins an enigmatic but passionate love affair conducted entirely in letters. A love affair? Maybe. Until his letters stop coming. Or… maybe the letters do not reach their intended recipient? Only the teenage Afaf, who works at the local post office, would know. Her favorite duty is to open the mail and inform her collaborator father of the contents—until she finds a mysterious set of love letters, apparently returned to their sender. In the hands of Adania Shibli, the discovery of these letters makes for a wrenching meditation on lives lived ensnared within the dictates of others."

***We Are All Equally Far from Love***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 2004)
Translated from the Arabic by **Paul Starkey.** "This novella is a challenging read; not because of Ms. Shibli's sparing style of writing, which is strikingly different from the traditional Arabic style and quite riveting, but because of the intensely difficult insight it gives on the minutiae of the lives' of others…*We Are All Equally Far from Love* is not a book to be picked up and put down…[it] demands to be read…"—*New York Journal of Books.* Adania Shibli, born in 1974 in Palestine, is two-time winner of the Qattan Foundation's Young Writer's Award for this and her acclaimed novel *Touch.* Paul Starkey is head of the Arabic department at Durham University, England. He is the author of *Modern Arabic Literature* and a prolific translator."

**Rana Shubair** (Gaza based writer)

***My Lover is a Freedom Fighter***
(author/REDSHIFT, 186 pages, 2019)
Publisher's blurb; "When love, suffering and the will to overcome occupation intermingle, when the call to duty and the desire to live and love are in a constant tug of war, the decisions become only harder to make. After witnessing horrific events of war and destruction, Fatina struggles to find her inner peace. Her most tormenting challenge is: Can she accept Abdullah's life in the Resistance? Will Abdullah and Fatina survive the madness of loving under occupation? Is Abdullah destined to fight forever to free Palestine? And Is resistance his only life?" See also AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

**Mahmoud Shukair** (Palestinian novelist, scriptwriter and playwright)

***Jerusalem Stands Alone***
(Syracuse University Press, 2018)
Translated by **Nicole Fares**. Publisher's blurb: "By turns bleak, nostalgic, and light-hearted, *Jerusalem Stands Alone* explores the interconnected lives of its mostly Palestinian cast. This series of quick moving vignettes tells the story of occupied Jerusalem—tales of the daily tribulations and personal revelations of its narrators. The stories, entwined around themes of family and identity, diverge in viewpoint and chronology but ultimately unite to reveal the tapestry of Palestinian Jerusalem. The settings evoke the past—churches, alleys, and people who are gone but whose spirits yearn to be remembered. The

characters are sons and mothers, soldiers and wives, all of whom unveil themselves in sometimes poignant, sometimes bittersweet memories. As its history rises up through the present struggles and hopes of its people, the deepest, most personal layers of Jerusalem are revealed."

***Praise for the Women of the Family***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 224 pages, 2018, 2020)
Translated by **Paul Starkey**. Shortlisted for the International Prize for Arabic Fiction. The character development in this novel is exemplary and fresh … Perhaps what makes this novel an important work is the way in which the role of women in the family is depicted, not in isolation but rather within its wider social and economic dynamics ... Keep your eye on this author. After this elegant and captivating novel, many more of his works will be translated into English." —This Week in Palestine

***Mordechai's Moustache and His Wife's Cats, and Other Stories***
(Banipal Publishing, 2007)

Mahmoud Shukair's first major publication in English translation enthrals, surprises and even shocks as one of the world's most original of storytellers excels in exposing the surreal moments in the ordinary and the mundane, the limits of human frustration and patience. Brimming with humor that ranges from the funny and the farcical, to satire and black comedy, with a painter's eye for color and detail, Shukair's stories present a unique commentary on the power of human imagination to see beyond the particular. Mahmoud Shukair has been a prodigious creator of short stories since the mid-1960s. Born in 1941 in Jerusalem and growing up there, he studied at Damascus University and has an MA in Philosophy and Sociology (1965). He worked for many years as a teacher and journalist, was editor-in-chief of a weekly magazine, *Al-Talia'a [The Vanguard]* 1994-96, and then of *Dafatir Thaqafiya [Cultural File]* magazine 1996-2000. He has been jailed twice by the Israeli authorities, for an overall period of nearly two years, and in 1975 was deported to Lebanon. He returned to Jerusalem in 1993 after living in Beirut, Amman and Prague. He has authored 25 books – nine short story collections, 13 books for children, a volume of folktales, a biography of a city, and a travelogue. He has written six series for television, three plays, and countless newspaper and magazine articles. Some of his short stories have been published in French, Spanish, Korean and Chinese, as well as English. Mahmoud Shukair has been a prodigious creator of short stories since the mid-1960s. Born in 1941 in Jerusalem and growing up there, he studied at Damascus University and has an MA in Philosophy and Sociology (1965). He worked for many years as a teacher and journalist, was editor-in-chief of a weekly magazine, *Al-Talia'a [The Vanguard]* 1994-96, and then of *Dafatir Thaqafiya [Cultural File]* magazine 1996-2000. He has been jailed twice by the Israeli authorities, for an overall period of nearly two years, and in 1975 was deported to Lebanon. He returned to Jerusalem in 1993 after living in Beirut, Amman and Prague. He has authored 25 books – nine short story collections, 13 books for children, a volume of folktales, a biography of a city, and a travelogue. He has written six series for television, three plays, and countless newspaper and magazine articles. Some of his short stories have been published in French, Spanish, Korean and Chinese, as well as English.

**Jehan Bseiso** (Doctors without Borders)

As co-editor, with **Omar Robert Hamilton**: ***This is Not a Border: Reportage & Reflection from the Palestine Festival of Literature***
(Bloomsbury, 2017)
Marking the 10th anniversary of the Festival; contributions from: **Susan Abulhawa, Suad Amiry, Victoria Brittain, Jehan Bseiso, Teju Cole, Molly Crabapple, Selma Dabbagh, Mahmoud Darwish, Najwan Darwish, Geoff Dyer, Yasmin El-Rifae, Adam Foulds, Ru Freeman, Omar Robert Hamilton, Suheir Hammad, Nathalie Handal, Mohammed Hanif, Jeremy Harding, Rachel Holmes, John Horner, Remi Kanazi, Brigid Keenan,Mercedes Kemp, Omar El-Khairy, Nancy Kricorian, Sabrina Mahfouz, Jamal Mahjoub, Henning Mankell, Claire Messud, China Miéville, Pankaj Mishra, Deborah Moggach, Muiz, Maath Musleh, Michael Palin, Ed Pavliç, Atef Abu Saif, Kamila Shamsie, Raja Shehadeh, Gillian Slovo, Ahdaf Soueif, Linda Spalding, William Sutcliffe** & **Alice Walker.**

***In the Eye of the Sun***
(Bloomsbury, 1999)
Egypt focus but includes Palestine.

**Zeina Sleiman** (Palestinian Canadian)
***Where the Jasmine Blooms***
(Roseway Publishing/Columbia University Press, 224 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Yasmine enters Lebanon escaping a messy divorce and seeking the family, culture, and connection that her Palestinian mother hid during their life in Toronto. It's 2006, and she's meeting her cousin Reem for the first time after connecting over social media. Reem teaches Arabic and lives in a refugee camp with her mother and sister. Her brother Ahmed lived there too until he went to Syria for work and then disappeared. When Yasmine receives a package of mysterious letters suggesting her father might still be alive, the cousins embark on a discovery of political secrets no one in the family wants them to know. Complicating her questions about identity, belonging, and healing even further, Yasmine runs into Ziyad — an old flame who's incidentally taking Reem's class. Though the cousins' lives could not be more different, Yasmine and Reem must learn from each other as they navigate abusive relationships, grief, displacement, and war. Set amid the arid glamour of Lebanon's beaches and urban landscapes, Where the Jasmine Blooms is at once a political historical thriller and a Muslim feminist love story. Turn-of-the-century Arab politics feature prominently, echoing loudly even twenty years later."

**Moshe Smilansky** (Landowner in Rehovot settlement; Zionist Labour leader in Palestine)
***Written Statement to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Submitted by the Ihud (Union) Association of Palestine*** aka ***Note on Some Aspects of the Land Question***
(Jerusalem, 12 pages, 1947)

***Unknown Pioneers***
(Tel-Aviv: Lion the Printer, for the Zionist Organisation Youth Department, 48 pages, ca. 1944)

***Palestine Caravan***
(Methuen, 276 pages, 1935)
Period Zionist short stories, translated from Hebrew by **I.M. Lask**, with foreword by **Sir Arthur Wauchope**.

***Jewish Colonisation and the Fellah: The Effect of Jewish Land Settlement in Palestine on the Native Rural Population and on Agricultural Development in General***
(Tel-Aviv: Mischar w'Taasia, 56 pages, 1930
Republished from the *Palestine & near East* economic magazine, 1930.

**Heather Stroud**
***Abraham's Children***
(Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2013)
This is the story of Fida, who sets out on a journey to the Occupied Territories. It is not only a novel about tragedy, discovery and love; it is also a story that delves into the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Moving between England, the West Bank and Gaza, the unfolding events, while fictional, reveal an authentic reality that is based on actual events. An engaging read that's oddly appropriate for readers new to the Palestine struggle as well as those who think they know all about it already (you can't). The resolve and humour of occupied Palestinians shines throughout.

**Sonia Sulaiman**
As editor: ***Thyme Travellers: An Anthology of Palestinian Speculative Fiction***
(Roseway Publishing/Columbia University Press, 160 pages, 2024)

Publisher's blurb: "Thyme Travellers collects fourteen of the Palestinian diaspora's best voices in speculative fiction. Speculative fiction as a genre invites a reconfiguring of reality, and here each story is a portal into realms of history, folklore and futures. A man stands on the shore waiting to commune with those who live in the ocean. Pilgrims stretch into the distance, passing a stone cairn with a mysterious light streaming from it. Two Australian women fervently dig a tunnel to Jerusalem. Men from Gaza swim in the sea until they drown, still unconcerned. A father and son struggle to connect over the AI scripts prompting their conversation. Building on the work of trailblazing anthologies such as *Reworlding Ramallah* and *Palestine +100*, this volume is the first of its kind in Canada. Editor Sonia Sulaiman brings together stories by speculative fiction veterans and emerging writers from Australia to Egypt, Lebanon to Canada.

***Muneera and the Moon: Stories Inspired by Palestine Folklore***
(Author, 97 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "In these stories inspired by Palestinian folklore, a daughter of darkness, a djinn, pours out her soul to the moon. Time travelers discover that the battle of Meggido was not quite what they expected. A prince meets his soulmate in the storyteller who can tell stories that are nothing but lies."

**Lilas Taha**
***Bitter Almonds***
(Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation, 2016)
Set in refugee community in Damascus.

**Mohammad Ali Taha**
***'A Rose to Hafeeza's Eyes' and other Stories***
(Peter Lang Publishing, 2008)
Translated by **Jamal Assadi**

**Basima Takrouri** (b. Jerusalem 1982)
***Tales from the Azzinar Quarter, 1984-1987***

***Seat of the Absent***
(2001)

***Salma's Plan***
(children's book, 2002)

***Diaries under the Occupation***
(2004)

**Mohammad Tarbush** (Deutsche Bank, UBS, *Le Monde*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*)
***The Black Paper: Portrait of a Palestinian***
(unpublished, 118 pages, ca. 1975)
Held at Oxford University Libraries. From their catalogue, with corrected spelling: "This novel is a revised version of the work originally written by Mohammad and Nada Tarbush [Permanent Observer Mission of the State of Palestine to the United Nations], submitted to the literary competition held in memory of the Palestinian writer Ghassan Kanafani, which was subsequently awarded the First Prize in October 1973."

**Saeed Teebi**
***Her First Palestinian***

(Toronto: Astoria, 256 pages, expected August 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Elegant, surprising stories about Palestinian immigrants in Canada navigating their identities in circumstances that push them to the emotional brink. Saeed Teebi's intense, engrossing stories plunge into the lives of characters grappling with their experiences as Palestinian immigrants to Canada. A doctor teaches his girlfriend about his country, only for her to fall into a consuming obsession with the Middle East conflict. A math professor risks his family's destruction by slandering the king of a despotic, oil-rich country. A university student invents an imaginary girlfriend to fit in with his callous, womanizing roommates. A lawyer takes on the impossible mission of becoming a body smuggler. A lonely widower travels to Russia in search of a movie starlet he met in his youth in historical Jaffa. A refugee who escaped violent circumstances rebels against the kindness of his sponsor. These taut and compelling stories engage the immigrant experience and reflect the Palestinian diaspora with grace and insight."

**Sandy Tolan**

***The Lemon Tree***

(Black Swan, 2008)

**Jemma Wayne** (novelist and playwright, former *Jewish Chronicle* journalist)

***Chains of Sand***

(Legend Press, 2016)
Novel that displays both the lure of Israel to some disaffected Jews living in the West, and the social problems within the Jewish Israeli society.

**Khaled Towfik**

***Utopia***

(Bloomsbury/Qatar, 2009, 2011)
A Translated by **Jamal Assadi**. Author regarded as sci-fi. Some may find this unchallenging, despite the worthy plot of quasi-Israel in Egypt.

**Lena Khalaf Tuffaha**

***Kaan and Her Sisters***

(Trio House Press, 86 pages, 2023)
Publisher's blurb: "*Kaan and Her Sisters* illuminates the work of grief and survival, the sordid legacies of official historical record and the liberatory practice of intimate narration. Tuffaha writes in the liminal space between languages, personifying Arabic verbs who guide the reader through a "history hurtling into the future." *Kaan and Her Sisters* centers character of the Arabic teacher, Miss Sahar, whose progressive displacements from Palestine and across Arab cities unfold in epistles, refashioned songs, and glimpses into the interiors of her lost home. In these disclosures, a study of time and a record of resistance to erasure emerges, and at its heart, the women who keep intergenerational memory. 'Our mothers miraculous, persevering./No maps are new to the ancestors.'"

**Shahla Ujayli**

***A Sky So Close to Us***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 288 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "As children sleeping on the rooftop of their ancestral family home in Raqqa on warm summer nights, Joumane and her sisters imagine the sky is so close they can almost touch it. Years later, Joumane lives as an expatriate in Jordan, working for a humanitarian agency, while her sisters remain trapped in war-torn Syria. Living alone as she fights her own battle with cancer, she contemplates the closeness of the same sky, despite the sharply delineated borders that now separate her from her family. Her only close confidant is another exile, a charming, divorced

Palestinian man with whom she develops a warm relationship- later discovering that their relatives were neighbors in Syria. As Joumane undergoes painful chemotherapy treatments, Nasser slides into the role of her caretaker and partner. She comes to depend on him utterly, at the same time fearing that her vulnerability and need will ultimately drive him away. Interspersed with Joumane's story is a sweeping historical narrative that moves from nineteenth-century Aleppo, Raqqa, and Damascus, to Palestine before and after the 1948 Nakba, to Iraq before and after the American occupation, and beyond to the United States, Serbia, and Vietnam. Each character in the book is revealed, and linked, through the stories of their ancestors, showing the intergenerational inheritance of trauma and identity. Ujayli's attention to detail and evocative prose brings to life worlds forgotten and ignored, reminding us of the devastation of war and the beauty that people create wherever they go."

**David Willington**

***A Palestine Affair***

(Ashgrove, 248 pages, 2020)

A romance challenged by the last ten years of the British Mandate.

**Jonathan Wilson** (Tufts University)

***A Palestine Affair***

(Nottingham: Five Leaves, 257 pages, 2003)

Loyalty and betrayal amongst non-Palestinians under the Mandate in 1924.

**Yahya Yakhlif**

***A Lake Beyond the Wind***

(Beirut: Dar Al-Adab, 1991 / Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 1999, 2003)

Translated by **May Jayyusi** & **Christopher Tingley** from the original novel. The Nakba crawls across the pages as the Arab Liberation Army and the wider Palestinian community grind to a sad halt, then into exile. References to Al-Haj Amin, al-Kawuqji, and Glubb Pasha reinforce the historical record but aren't crucial to the narrative. Publisher's 2003 blurb: "Yakhlif tenderly gathers all the town folk, the soldiers of the beleaguered army, the animals and the natural world into his tale, which makes it all the more powerful a lament for a world that is no more. Yahya Yakhlif was born in Samakh in 1944 and has lived as a refugee for most of his life."

**Robin Yassin-Kassab**

***The Road from Damascus***

(Hamish Hamilton, 2008)

Emotional and bi-cultural baggage sinks a young man who shuns London's advantages, in this story by an author who can really write.

**AB Yehoshua**

***The Liberated Bride***

(Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2003; Harvest Books 2004)

Professor Yohanan Rivlin has two obsessions, the first and most ambitious, is to understand the Arab mind – no mean feat in itself though perhaps made easier by the fact that he lives and works with Israeli Arabs. The second – and more personal, though equally hard to grasp – is to understand the failure of his elder son's marriage. Rivlin's two quests lead him to extraordinary – and at times highly entertaining – encounters with very disparate people, where the personal becomes intertwined with the political, as he searches out the truth both in politics and life. Recommended by Prof. Ilan Pappe.

**S. Yizhar** (Yizhar Smilansky, born in Rehovot settlement, established in 1890)

***Khirbet Khizeh***
(Granta Books, 2011)
Published in Hebrew in 1949 but, strangely, not translated into English until 60 years later. This is the first work of fiction to address the *Nakba,* and written, despite stereotype and condescension, from a regretful Israeli soldier's point of view. An important artefact of fiction. Edition with an afterword by **David Shulman**.

**Iman Humaydan Younes**
***Wild Mulberries***
(Arabia Books, 2010)
Translated by **Michele Hartman**.

**Samir el-Youssef** [London author, born in Rashidieh camp in Lebanon]
***A Treaty of Love***
(Halban, 214 pages, 2008)
A Palestinian and an Israeli form a relationship.

***The Illusion of Return***
(Halban Books, 154 pages, 2007)

**Samir El-Youssef** & **Etgar Keret**
***Gaza Blues***
(David Paul Books, 2004)
Translated by **Michele Hartman**.

**Yasmine Zahran**
***The Golden Tail***
(Gilgamesh Publications, 2017)
Cats.

**Youssef Zeidan**
***Azazeel***
(Translated by **Jonathan Wright***;* Atlantic Books, 2012)
Set in the 5th century AD, Azazeel is the exquisitely crafted tale of a Coptic monk's journey from Upper Egypt to Alexandria and then Syria during a time of massive upheaval in the early Church. Winner of the Arab Booker Prize, Azazeel highlights how the history of our civilization has been warped by greed and avarice since its very beginnings and how one man's beliefs are challenged not only by the malice of the devil, but by the corruption with the early Church. In sparse and often sparkling prose that reflects the arid beauty of the Syrian landscape, Azazeel is a novel that forces us to re-think many of our long-held beliefs and invites us to rediscover a lost history.

**Valerie Zenatti**
***A Bottle in the Gaza Sea***
(Bloomsbury, 2008)
Romeo and Juliet set in Gaza and Israel; aimed at teenagers.

***When I Was a Soldier***
(Bloomsbury, 2007)
Author's memoir of service in the IDF; aimed at teenagers.

**Amir Nizar Zuabi** (playwright & director, with the Royal Shakespeare Company, El Hakawati, etc.)

***Oh My Sweet Land: A Love Story from Syria***
(Bloomsbury, 2014)
Drama of Syrian civil war refugees; produced at the Young Vic, London.

***The Beloved***
(Methuen Drama, 2012)
Co-production by Palestinian theatre company ShiberHur with the Bush Theatre and KVS Brussels.

***I am Yusuf and This is My Brother***
(Methuen Drama, 2010) – 1948 setting)

**Short Story Compilations**:

**Callum Copley**, editor

***Reworlding: Ramallah – Short Science Fiction Stories from Palestine***
(Haifa: Onomatopee Publishing / Disarming Design from Palestine / Dar Laila Publishing, 160 pages, 2019)
Half in English, half in Arabic.

**Basma Ghalayini**, editor

***Palestine +100: Stories from a Century after the Nakba***
(Comma Press, 2019)
Set in 2048, featuring fiction by: **Selma Dabbagh, Ahmed Masoud, Samil El-Youssef, Anwar Hamed, Saleem Haddad, Talal Abu Shawish, Rawan Yaghi, Eman El-Din Aysha, Majd Kayyal, Mazen Maarouf, Abdalmuti Maqboul** & **Tasnim Abutabikh.** Publisher's blurb as bios: "Tasnim Abutabikh (born 1996) grew up in Gaza and graduated from Al-Azhar University, before moving to the United States in 2018. In 2015, she was a winner in the Novell Gaza Short Story Award, and was published in Novell Gaza 2. Emad El-Din Aysha (born 1974) is an academic, journalist, and translator and an author, currently stationed in Cairo. He currently teaches across a range of subjects, from international politics to Arab society, at various universities in Egypt. He s a regular commentator on Middle Eastern politics, an avid fan of history and science fiction, and a film reviewer and columnist for various publications. Selma Dabbagh (born 1970) is a British Palestinian writer of fiction living in London. She grew up between the UK, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Her first novel, Out of It (Bloomsbury, 2012) was a Guardian Book of the Year. Her writing has been published by Granta, The Guardian, International PEN, the London Review of Books, the British Council and Saqi Books. Her radio plays have been produced by the BBC and WDR. Saleem Haddad (born 1983) is a writer and aid worker, who has worked with Médecins Sans Frontières and other organisations in Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon and Turkey. His debut novel, Guapa was published in 2016, won the 2017 Polari Prize and was awarded a Stonewall Honour. His essays have appeared in Slate, The Daily Beast, LitHub, and the LARB, among others. Anwar Hamed (born 1957) is a Palestinian novelist, poet, and literary critic born. With a master s degree in literature theory, he lives in London and works for the BBC World Service. He speaks Arabic, English and Hungarian, in addition to French, Turkish, Persian and Hebrew. He has published eight novels in Arabic, and a number of other works in Hungarian, and has contributed to a number of non-fiction titles, most recently: Being Palestinian: Personal Reflections on Palestinian Identity in the Diaspora. His novel Jaffa Makes the Morning Coffee was longlisted for the International Prize for Arabic Fiction (IPAF). Majd Kayal (born 1990) is currently an editor at Metras and a writer at the Arab Ambassador. His first novel, The Tragedy of Mr. Matar (El Ahlia, 2016) won the Qattan Young Writer Prize, and his first collection of short stories Death in Haifa came out this year. Mazen Maarouf (born 1978) is a writer, poet, translator and journalist. Maarouf holds a bachelor degree in General Chemistry from the Lebanese University (Faculty of Sciences). He has published two collections of short stories Jokes for the Gunmen (translated into English by Jonathan Wright, and winner of the inaugural Al-Multaqa Prize for the Arabic Short Story), and Rats that Licked the Karate

Champion s Ear. He has also published three collections of poetry and works as a translator into Arabic. Abdalmuti Maqboul (born 1987) studied graphic design at Al-Najah National University in Nablus and has a master s degree in management and international relations from the University of Ankara, in Turkey. He is a lecturer at the Ummah College in Jerusalem. Ahmed Masoud (born 1981) is a writer and director who grew up in Palestine and moved to the UK in 2002. His debut novel Vanished: The Mysterious Disappearance of Mustafa Ouda won the Muslim Writers Awards. His theatre credits include The Shroud Maker, Camouflage, Walaa, Loyalty, Go to Gaza, Drink the Sea and Escape from Gaza. He is the founder of Al Zaytouna Dance Theatre, for whom he has written wrote and directed several productions for the London stage, and subsequent European tours. Following his PhD research, he has published numerous academic articles, including a chapter in Britain and the Muslim World: A Historical Perspective (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011)."

**Faris Glubb** (translator)

***Stars in the Sky of Palestine: Short Stories***

(Beirut: Foreign Information Department, Palestine Liberation Organization, 79pp, 1978)

The author, a convert to Islam, also writes under the name Faris Yahya. Contents: T. Fayyad: *The Mare* / Y. Rabah: T*he Sea Became Blue* / W. Rabah: *Inscriptions on the Wall of the Cell* / Y. Iraqi: *Diary of a Doctor in Tal al Zaatar* / R. Abu-Shawar: *The Ancestors* / M. Labadi: *The Room of the Roof* / Y. Rabah: *When it Pours with Rain* / Faris Glubb: *The Return* / Y. Yakhluf: *Arabi the Oppressed* / R. Abu Shawar: *The Stranger's Return*

**Muhammad Aurangzeb Ahmad** & **Ahmed Khan**, editors

***A Mosque Among the Stars***

(Canada: ZC Books, 2008)

Islamic Sci-Fi short stories. Contents: Lucius Shepard [USA]: *A Walk in the Garden* / Tom Ligon [USA]: *For a Little Price* / Jetse De Vries [USA]: *Cultural Clashes in Cadiz* / Howard Jones [USA]: *Servant of Iblis* / Andrew Ferguson [UK]: *Organic Geometry* / Ahmed A. Khan: *Synchronicity* / Camille Alexa [USA]: *The Weight of Space and Metal* / G.W. Thomas [USA]: *The Emissary* / Kevin James Miller [USA]: *A Straight Path Through the Stars* / Pamela Kenza Taylor [USA]: *Recompense* / Casey June Wolf [USA]: *Miss Lonelygenes* / D.C. McMahon [Canada]: *Squat*

**Refaat Alareer**, editor (killed in the Israeli attack on Gaza, 2023)

***Gaza Writes Back: Short Stories from Young Writers in Gaza, Palestine***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2013; memorial edition 2025)

Foreword by **Ali Abunimah**. Gaza suffered especially during Israel's phosphorus bombing of 2008-2009, 'Operation Cast Lead,' and the fifteen authors herein reflect that time. Contents: Hanan Habashi: *L for Life* / Mohammed Suliman : *One War Day* / Rawan Yaghi :*Spared* Nour al-Sousi : *Canary* / Sarah Ali : *The Story of the Land* / Sameeha Elwan : *Toothache in Gaza* / Nour Al-Sousi : *Will I Ever Get Out?* / Rawan Yaghi : *A Wall* / Nour El Borno :*A Wish for Insomnia* / Mohammed Suliman : *Bundles* / Refaat Alareer: *On a Drop of Rain* Jehan Alfarra : *Please Shoot to Kill* / Yousef Aljamal : *Omar X* / Mohammed Suliman :*We Shall Return* / Rawan Yaghi : *From Beneath* / Wafaa Abu al-Qomboz: *Just Fifteen Minutes* / Refaat Alareer: *House* / Tasnim Hamouda : *Neverland* / Elham Hilles : *Lost at Once* / Tasnim Hamouda : *It's My Loaf of Bread* / Shahd Awadallah: *Once Upon a Dawn* / Refaat Alareer: *The Old Man and the Stone* / Aya Rabah: *Scars*

**Jo Glanville**, editor

***Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women*** (Telegram, 2006)

Contents: Randa Jarrar: *Barefoot Bridge* / Huzama Habayeb: *A Thread Snaps* / Liana Badr: *Other Cities* / Selma Dabbagh: *Me (the Bitch) and Bustanji* / Basima Takrouri: *Tales from the Azzinar Quarter* / Nuha Samara: *The Tables Outlived Amin* / Jean Said Makdisi: *Pietà* / Donia el-Amal Ismaeel: *Dates and Bitter Coffee* / Naomi Shahib Nye: *Local Hospitality* / Raeda Taha: *A Single Metre* / Laila al-Atrash: *The Letter* / Samah al-Shaykh: *At the Hospital* / Adania Shibli: *May God Keep Love in a Cool and Dry Place* / Nathalie

Handal: *Umm Kulthoum at Midnight* / Simira Azzam: *Her Tale* / Nibal Thawabteh: *My Shoe Size and Other People's Views on the Matter!*

**Nashwa Gowanlock**, translator

***Shatila Stories***

(Peirene Press, 2018)

Contributors: Omar Khaled Ahmad, Nibal Alalo, Safa Khaled Algharbawi, Omar Abdellatif Alndaf, Rayan Mohamad Sukkar, Safiya Badran, Fatima Omar Ghazawi, Samih Mahmoud, Hiba Mareb.

**Maya Abu Al-Hayyat**, editor

***The Book of Ramallah***

(Comma Press, 2021)

Short stories by Anas Abu Rahma, Liana Badr, Ahlam Bsharat, Ameer Hamad, Khaled Hourani, Ahmad Jaber, Ziad Khadash, Ibrahim Nasrallah & Mahmoud Shukair. Translated by **Basma Ghalayini**.

**Salma Khadra Jayyusi**, editor

***Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature***

(Columbia University Press, 1992)

Translated by **May Jayyusi** & **Christopher Tingley**. 52 poets in translation, 14 Palestinian poets writing in English, short stories from 25 authors, selections from 2 novels, plus extracts from 6 personal accounts, all in 745 pages. Contain's Kanafani's *The Little One Goes to Camp.* See also her title with **Jamal Sleem Nuweihed**: ***Abu Jmeel's Daughter & Other Stories: Arab Folk Tales from Palestine & Lebanon*** (Northampton, Massachusetts, 2026)

**Denys Johnson-Davies**, editor

***Modern Arabic Short Stories***

(Oxford University Press, 1967)

Contents: Farahat's Republic, by Yusuf Idris / The Dead Afternoon, by Walid Ikhlassi / The Dream, by Abdel Salam al-Ujaili / The Death of Bed Number 12, by Ghassan Kanafani [NOTE: also published by Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2013)/ Sundown, Shukri Ayyad / The Dying Lamp, Fouad Tekerli / The Man and the Farm, by Yusuf Sharouni / The Lost Suitcase, by Abdel-Moneim Selim / The Doum Tree of Wad Hamid, by Tayeb Salih / Mother of the Destitute, by Yahya Hakki / The Picture, Latifa el-Zayat / Miracles for Sale, by Tewfik al-Hakim / The South Wind, by Abdel Malik Nouri / A Space Ship of Tenderness to the Moon, by Laila Baalabaki / Zaabalawi, Nagib Mahfouz / The Gramophone, by Jabra Ibrahim Jabra / A House for My Children, by Mahmoud Diab / Summer Journey, by Mahmoud Teymour / The Election Bus, by Touma al-Khouri / Summer, by Zakaria Tamer

**Hatim Kanaaneh**

***Chief Complaint: A Country Doctor's Tales of Life in Galilee***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2015)

Short stories based on his earlier, non-fiction work, *A Doctor in Galilee.*

**Mahmoud Muna** (Educational Bookshop, Jerusalem) and **Matthew Teller** (*Guardian*, *Times*, *Financial Times*, *Independent* newspapers), editors

***Daybreak in Gaza: Stories of Palestinian Lives and Culture***

(London: Saqi Books, 336 pages, 2024)

**Susan Atefat Peckham**

***Talking Through the Door: An Anthology of Contemporary Middle Eastern American Writing***
(Syracuse University Press, 2014)
With foreword by **Lisa Suhair Majaj**.

**Atef Abu Saif**, editor (Novelist, in Arabic, born in the Jabalia refugee camp, Gaza; Minister of Culture for the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank)

***The Book of Gaza: A City in Short Fiction***
(Comma Press, 2014)
Authors: Atef Abu Saif, Abdallah Tayeh, Talal Abu Shawish, Mona Abu Sharekh, Najlaa Ataallah, Ghareeb Asqalani, Nayrouz Qarmout, Yusra al Khatib, Asmaa al Ghul & Zaki al 'Ela. Publisher's description: Under the Israeli occupation of the '70s and '80s, writers in Gaza had to go to considerable lengths to ever have a chance of seeing their work in print. Manuscripts were written out longhand, invariably under pseudonyms, and smuggled out of the Strip to Jerusalem, Cairo or Beirut, where they then had to be typed up. Consequently, fiction grew shorter, novels became novellas, and short stories flourished as the city's form of choice. Indeed, to Palestinians elsewhere, Gaza became known as 'the exporter of oranges and short stories'.

**Callum Copley**, editor

***Reworlding Ramallah: Short Science Fiction Stories from Palestine***
(Eindhoven: Onomatopee Publishing, 164 pages, 2019)
From a series of writing workshops at Birzeit. Authors include: **Hilda Moucharrafieh**, **Shayma Nader**, **Adele Jarrar**, **Shada Mustafa**, **Qusai Al-Saify**, **Hiba Isleem**, **Jamila Ewais**, and **Fakhry Al-Serdaw**.

**Related analysis**:

**Ami Elad-Bouskila**

***Modern Palestinian Literature and Culture***
(Frank Cass, 1999 / Routledge, 2013)
Focus on literature, rather than other arts, with welcome stopping points, such as "Where do Israeli-Arab Writers Publish / Write About?" Includes the quest for Palestinian identity within Israel, choices of language, the literature of the first Intifada, Jerusalem, and numerous authors such as Emile Habibi.

**Barbara McKean Parmenter**

***Giving Voice to Stones: Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature***
(University of Texas Press, 1994)
Publisher'sblurb: "Barbara McKean Parmenter explores the roots of Western and Zionist images of Palestine, then draws upon the work of Darwish, Ghassan Kanafani, and other writers to trace how Palestinians have represented their experience of home and exile since the First World War. This unique blending of cultural geography and literary analysis opens an unusual window on the struggle between these two peoples over a land that both divides them and brings them together."

**Walid Ikhlassi**

***Whatever Happened to Antara, and Other Syrian Short Stories***
(University of Texas Press, 2004)
Translated by **Asmahan Sallah**.

**M.J.L. Young**, editor

***Modern Syrian Short Stories***
(Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 131pp, 1988 / 1992)
Translated by **Michel G. Azrak**.

**Karter and Doaa Zaher**
***Mina & The Seeds of Palestine***
(Orange County, California: Muzzy, 2026)
Illustrated children's book.

**Yasmin Zaher** (Palestinian born in Jerusalem)
***The Coin***
(Catapult, 240 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "*The Coin*'s narrator is a wealthy Palestinian woman with impeccable style and meticulous hygiene. And yet the ideal self, the ideal life, remains just out of reach: her inheritance is inaccessible, her homeland exists only in her memory, and her attempt to thrive in America seems doomed from the start. In New York, she strives to put down roots. She teaches at a school for underprivileged boys, where her eccentric methods cross boundaries. She befriends a homeless swindler, and the two participate in an intercontinental scheme reselling Birkin bags. But America is stifling her—her willfulness, her sexuality, her principles. In an attempt to regain control, she becomes preoccupied with purity, cleanliness, and self-image, all while drawing her students into her obsessions. In an unforgettable denouement, her childhood memories converge with her material and existential statelessness, and the narrator unravels spectacularly."

**Ghassan Zaqtan** (born Beit Jala, Director of the Literature section of the Palestinian Ministry of Culture)
***Where the Bird Disappeared***
(Seagull Books, 2018)

***Describing the Past***
(Seagull Books, 2016)
Translated by **Samuel Wilder**, with a foreword by **Fady Joudah;** originally published in Arabic, 1995. Novella set in Karameh Camp. Note: **Fady Joudah** translated Zaqtan's *Like a Straw Bird, it Follows Me, and Other Poems* (Yale University Press, 2012)

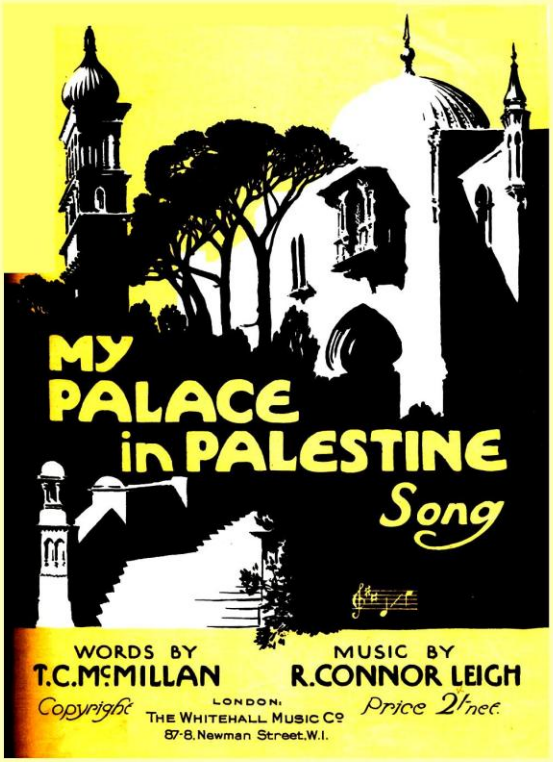
**Yigal Zaimona** & **Tamar Manor-Friedman**
***To the East: Orientalism in the Arts in Israel***
(Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1998)
Catalogue of an art exhibition reflecting Zionism's ambivalent approach to Palestine in the 20th century. Recommended by Raja Shehadeh.

# Palestine Poetry

# Palestinian Poetry

A sample of
the important books
- see other lists -

Compiled by Andy Simons
suggestions welcome
palestinebooksnet@gmail.com




**Rasha Abdulhadi** (Palestinian-American-Syrian poet) **Omar El Akkad**

***Who is Owed Springtime***
(Neon Hemlock, 62 pages, 2021)

***Shell Houses***
(author, 24 pages, 2017)

**Mosab Abu Toha** (founder of Edward Said Library aka Library & Bookshop for Gaza, in Gaza City and Beit Lahia)

***Forest of Noise***
(Knoph [Penguin/Random House], 176 pages, 2024)
Poems about life under the siege of Gaza, starting from October 2023.

***Things You May Find Hidden in My Ear***
(San Francisco: City Lights, 2022)

**Adonis**

***Petra Tablet: The Hand of Stone Draws the Place***
(39 pages, 2011)
Poem by **Adonis**, translated into English by **Lubna Fahoum**, with drawings by Palestinian-Jordanian sculptor **Mona Saudi**.

**Aditi Banerjee**

***From the Silence to the Street***
(Museumsetc, 64 pages, 2024)

Tangential to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: "From protests to universities, Aditi has performed poetry which sheds light on the brutalities of the occupation, displacement and genocide of the Palestinian people and has attracted audiences of over 400 people."

**Tamim Al-Barghouti** (son of Mourid al-Barghouti & Egyptian writer Radwa Ashour)
***In Jerusalem and other Poems***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 2017; Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 75 pages, 2019)
Poetry from 1996-2016, translated by **Radwa Ashour** (the poet's mother) and **Ahdaf Soueif**.

**George Abraham** (Amherst College) and **Noor Hindi**, editors
***Heaven Looks Like Us: Palestinian Poetry***
(Haymarket Books, 368 pages, 2025)
Contributors include **Refaat Alareer**, **Mahmoud Darwish**, **Naomi Shihab Nye**, **Mohammed El-Kurd**, **A.D. Lauren-Abunassar**, **Lena Khalaf Tuffaha**, **Hala Alyan**, **Fady Joudah**, and **Heba Abu Nad**.

**George Abraham** (Amherst College)
***Birthright: Poems***
(Minneapolis: Button Poetry/Esploding Pinecone Press, 127 pages, 2020)
Foreword by **Marwa Helal**.

**Susan Abulhawa**
***My Voice Sought the Wind***
(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2013)

**Zena Agha** (Palestinian-Iraqi poet)
***Objects from April and May***
(Hajar Press, 92 pages, 2022)

**Batool Abu Akleen** (Gaza poet)
***48kg.***
(Tenement Press #19, 135 pages, 2025)
Translated by the poet, **Graham Liddell**, **Wiam El-Tamami**, **Crista Vita**, and **Crista Viti**, and **Yasmin Zaher**.

**Sami Al-Arian** (University of South Florida tenured professor who fought a decade of detention and then deported from the USA; Istanbul Zaim University)
***Conspiring Against Joseph: Reflections of a Prisoner of Conscience in a Federal Penitentiary***
(National Liberty Fund, 238 pages, 2004)
With foreword by **Agha Sa'eed**; 62 poems. Publisher's blurb: "Offering an inside look into life in a federal penitentiary, "Conspiring Against Joseph" is a collection of 62 poems written by Professor Sami Al-Arian, a Palestinian-American political prisoner. His use of vivid imagery to describe day-to-day life in the suffocating prison will both astound and enrage readers who have never pictured such abuses. This beautiful anthology offers insightful commentary on subjects as diverse as the 56-year Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the American dream before and after 9/11. Al-Arian's unique, evocative style places the reader in the heart of the poem, whether set in 1948 Palestine or America during the Revolutionary War. At once, the writer displays wit, wisdom, imagination, deep spirituality and awe-inspiring perseverance. Al-Arian, who began writing poetry at the age of fifteen while a refugee in Egypt, composed this latest

collection over a period of six months, while awaiting trial in the solitary confinement wing of Coleman Federal Penitentiary in Florida. Above all, his writing demonstrates survival in the face of oppression. Long after this struggle for freedom and justice is over, these words will serve as a haunting reminder of the oppression suffered by one advocate of freedom who spoke truth to power."
Note also: **C. Peter Erlinder**: ***Shackled Dreams: A Palestinian's Struggle for Truth, Justice, and the American Way*** (National Liberty Fund, 224 pages, 2004) Publisher's blurb: ""Shackled Dreams" is a must-read for anyone interested in the status of civil rights in post-Sept. 11 America and the plight of pro-Palestinian activists. It describes the life and work of Dr. Sami Al-Arian, a former University of South Florida professor targeted by John Ashcroft's Justice Department as a result of his extraordinary efforts to raise awareness about human rights violations against Palestinians. The final section of the book contains illuminating interviews, speeches and articles by Al-Arian, who has been detained in Florida since Feb. 2003, where he is awaiting trial. More than anything, "Shackled Dreams" sets straight misconceptions about Al-Arian's case, tireless work and his beliefs. "The case of Dr. Sami Al-Arian will be seen by history as a defense of the best aspects of the U.S. Constitution that Sami has embraced, and in which he continues to have faith." --C. Peter Erlinder, William Mitchell College of Law. "In learning to fight McCarthyism through Jeffersonian liberalism, [Sami] became absolutely convinced that the American Muslim must find ways to replace the culture of bullet with the culture of ballot." --Agha K. Saeed, American Muslim Alliance. "Were it not for the suffering of... Sami Al-Arian, we Americans might still proudly proclaim that our judicial system deems the accused innocent until proven guilty." --Charles E. Butterworth, University of Maryland."

**Taha Mohammad Ali**

***So What: New and Selected Poems, 1971-2005***
(Bloodaxe Books, 2007)
Translated by **Peter Cole**, **Yahya Hijazi** and **Gabriel Levin**.

***Never Mine: Twenty Poems and a Story***
(Jerusalem: Ibis, 2000)
Translated by **Peter Cole**, **Yahya Hijazi** and **Gabriel Levin**.

**Refaat Alareer**, editor (killed in the Israeli attack on Gaza, 2023)

***If I Must Die***
(OR Books, 280 pages, 2024)
Poetry, prose, and online writings from Gaza under siege. Edited and with an introduction by **Yousef M. Aljamal**; foreword by **Susan Abulhawa**.

**Mahmoud Al-Shaer** (Gazan poet)

***A Year on the Abyss of Genocide***
(ARP Books: 132 pages, 2025)
With **Nasrin Himada**, Foreword; **Fadi Ennab**, Afterword; and **Leanne Betasamosake Simpson**, Editor's note.

**Ramy Al-Asheq** (Syrian-Palestinian poet)

***My Heart Became a Bomb***
(University of Texas Press, 80 pages, 2021)
Translated by **Levi Thompson**.

**Ahmad al-Ashqar**

***Advances in Embroidery***
(New York: Poets & Traitors Press, 84 pages, 2017)
Includes both the author's poems and his translations of poems of Mahmoud Darwish.

**Taha Muhammad Ali** (see also FICTION)

Biography by **Adina Hoffman**: ***My Happiness Bears No Relation to Happiness: A Poet's Life in the Palestinian Century***
(Yale University Press, 2009)

***So What: New and Selected Poems (with a Story), 1971-2005***
(Jerusalem: Ibis, 2000) – translated by **Peter Cole, Yahya Hijazi** & **Gabriel Levin**.

***Never Mind: Twenty Poems and a Story***
(Bloodaxe, 2007)
Translated by **Peter Cole, Yahya Hijazi** & **Gabriel Levin**.

**Yousef M. Aljamal**, **Norma Hashim**, **Noor Babulsi**, and **Joe Zannuzi**, editors

***Displaced in Gaza: Stories from the Gaza Genocide***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 172 pages, 2026)
With a foreword by **Ahmed Alnaouq**.

**Ahmad Almallah** (Bethlehem born; University of Pennsylvania)

***Border Wisdom***
(Winter Editions, 112 pages, 2023)

***Bitter English***
(University of Chicago Press, 2019)

**Samih Al-Qasim** (Palestinian-Iraqi poet and literary historian)

***All Faces but Mine***
(Syracuse University Press, 2015)
Translated by **Abdulwahid Lu'lu'a**.

***Sadder than Water: Selected Poems***
(Ibis Press, 2006)
Translated by **Nazih Kassis**; with introduction by **Adina Hoffman**.

**Atef Alshaer** (SOAS Research Fellow and translator; University of Westminster)

As co-editor, with **Alan Morrison**: ***Out of Gaza: New Palestinian Poetry***
(Smokestack Books, 72 pages, 2024)
Poems written in response to the Palestinian revolt of October 2023, including works by Naomi Shihab Nye, Farid Bitar, Deema Shehabi, Hala Alyan, Ali Abukhattab, Marwan Makhoul, Lena Khalaf Tuffaha, Mohammed Mousa, Dareen Tatour and Sara Saleh.

***A Map of Absence: An Anthology of Palestinian Writing on the Nakba***
(Saqi Books, 2019)
Aka: The Nakba: Through Palestinian Writers' Eyes (Saqi Books, 2018) **Mahmoud Darwish, Samira Azzam, Ghassan Kanafani, Fadwa Tuqan, Edward Said**, alongside those of emerging writers, published here in English for the first time. Depicting the varied aspects of Palestinian life both before and after 1948, their writings highlight the ongoing resonances of pre-Nakba, post-Nakba and post-Oslo Accords.

***Poetry and Politics in the Modern Arab World***

(Hurst & Co., 2016)
Analyses poetic responses to the end of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of Arab nationalism, French and British colonialism, and Palestine and the struggle against Zionism.

**Hala Alyan**

***The Moon that Turns You Back***
(Ecco Press, 112 pages, 2024)
Poems ranging from Brooklyn to Beirut to Jerusalem.

***Four Cities***
(Black Lawrence Press, 2015)
Poems ranging from Detroit to Haifa to Tripoli (Lebanon) to Brooklyn

***Atrium***
(Three Rooms Press, 2012)
Winner of Arab American Book of the Year for Poetry, 2013.

**Anonymous/various**

***They Claim There is No Resistance***
(Al Fateh / Palestine National Liberation Movement, 20pp, ca. 1968)
Tanslated by **Sulafa Hijjawi**.

**Myriam Antaki**

***Verses of Forgiveness***
(New York City: Other Press, 1999) Story of a Palestinian suicide bomber awaiting his hour of death.

**Fouzi el-Asmar** (Haifa-born; editor of Mapam-owned English-language, East Jerusalem Arabic weekly, *Al Fajr*; eventually exiled to USA)

***Poems from an Israeli Prison***
(New York City: Know Books, 44pp, 1974)
aka ***Dreams on a Mattress of Thorns and Poems from an Israeli Prison*** (Gazelle Publications, 39 pages, 1976); edited by Karen Bryant

**Jamal Assadi** & **Simon Jacobs**

***The Story of a People: An Anthology of Palestinian Poets within the Green Lines***
(Peter Lang Publishing, 2011)
Poets included: Hanna Abu Hanna, Fahd Abu Khadrah, Taha Mohammad Ali, Rushdi Al-Madi, Samih Al-Qasim, Turki Amer, Su'ud Assadi, Yahya Salim Atalla, Salman Daghash, Suleiman Daghash, Mona Daher, Mahmoud Darwish, Susan Debbini, George Jiryes Farah, Shafiq Habib, Nazih Hassun, Ahmad Husain, Rashid Hussein, Hanna Ibrahim, Shakib Jahshan, Salim Jubran, Samir Khair, George Najib Khalil, Jiryes Khuri, Nida Khuri, Marwan Makhkhul, Salim Makhuli, Ibrahim Malik, Husain Muhanna, Faruq Muwasi, Aaydah Nasrullah, Jamal Qa'war, Zahirah Sabbagh, Samih Sabbagh, Nayef Salim, Mu'ein Shalabeya, Bashir Ali Shalash, Nadhir Shamali, Edmun Shehade, Tawfiq Zayyad

**Asma'a Azaizeh (**She won the A.M. Qattan Foundation's Young Writer Award in 2010 and published her first collection of poetry 'Liwa' in 2o11. She has worked as a journalist and presenter for various newspapers and radio stations and is currently presenter of a Palestinian television programme on culture and art, as well as a lecturer in creative writing. See selected poems in *Banipal,* no. 45.)

**Hala Alyan** (Palestinian-American clinical psychologist in New York City; see also fiction)

***Hijra***
(Southern Illinois University Press, 2016)

***Four Cities***
(Black Lawrence Press, 2015) Poems from Detroit to Haifa

***Atrium***
(Three Rooms Press, 2012)
Winner of Arab American Book Award

**Fouzi Asmar** aka **Fauzi el-Asmar** aka **Fauzi al-Asmar**

***Dreams from a Mattress of Thorns***
(Gazelle Publications, 1976)

***The Wind-driven Reed***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1979)

**Zeina Azzam** (Palestinian-American, Poet Laureate of Alexandria, Virginia)

***Some Things Never Leave You***
(New York: Tiger Bark Press, 2023)

***Bayna Bayna: In-Between***
(Poetry Box, 52 pages, 2021)

**Fadhil Al-Azzawi**

***Miracle Maker: Selected Poems***
(Rochester, New York: BOA Editions, 2003)
Translated by **Khaled Mattawa**.

**Khawla Badwan** and **Alison Phipps**

***Keep Telling of Gaza***
(Sidhé Press, 133 pages, 2024)

**Clinton Bailey**

***Bedouin Poetry from Sinai to the Negev: Mirror of a Culture***
(Oxford University Press / Clarendon Press, 1991)
Section 1 – poems from the war of Zaric al-Huzayyil (1875-1887); Section 2 – poems sent from and to the Sinai Smuggler-poet Anez Abu Salim during his prison term (1962-1970). See also the OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section for non-poetry regarding Bedouin society.

**Mourid Barghouthi**

***Midnight and other Poems***
(Todmorden: Arc Publications, 2008)
Translated by his wife, the Egyptian novelist **Radwa Ashour**.

**Iasmin Omar Ata**

***Mis(h)adra***
(Simon & Schuster, 2017)

Graphic novel merging Palestinians with non-Palestinians who have disabilities, in this case, Epilepsy.

**Muin Basisu**

***Descent into Water: Palestinian Notes from Arab Exile***
(Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press & AAUG / Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 102 pages, 1980)
Includes poets.

**Jehan Bseiso** (Doctors without Borders) and **Becky Thompson**, editors

***Making Mirrors: Writing/Righting by Refugees***
(Olive Branch Press, 2018)
Poetry anthology; Contributors include: Abbas Sheikhi / Abu Bakr Khaal / Adele Ne Jame / Ahmad Almallah / Ahmed Qaisania / Angela Farmer / Baha/ Budair / Becky Thompson / Bronwen Griffiths / Eman Abedelhadi / Fadwa Soleiman / Fady Joudah / Fatima Al Hassan / Fouad Mohammed Fouad / Gbenga Adesina / Golan Haji / Hajer Almosleh / Hayan Charara / Ibtisam Barakat / Jehan Bseiso / Jose A. Alcantara / Lena Khalaf Tuffaha / Lisa Suhair Majaj / Marilyn Hacker / Marisa Frasca / Merna Ann Hecht / Mohsen Emadi / Mootacem Bellah Mhiri / Naomi Shihab Nye / Nathalie Handal / Nawwar Kamal Al Hassani / Nisreen Aj / Nora Barghati / Omar Mousa Alsayyed / Rewa Zeinati / Ruth Awad / Saad Abdullah / Sanaa Shuaybe / Sara Abou Rashed / Sara Saleh / Sharif S. Elmusa / Sholeh Wolpé / Zeina Azzam / Zeina Hashem Beck / Zoe Holman

**Kamal Boullata** & **Kathy Engel**, editors

***We Begin Here: Poems for Palestine and Lebanon***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 2008)
Poets include Etel Adnan, Amiri Baraka, Grace Cavalieri, Ariel Dorfman and Adrienne Rich.

**Kamal Boullata**, editor

***Women of the Fertile Crescent: An Anthology of Modern Poetry by Arab Women***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1978)
Verse from 1948-1978, including Palestinian poets.

**Reja-e Busailah** (Jerusalem Nakba exile, Indiana University)

***We are Humans Too: Poems on the Palestinian Condition***
(Medina Press, 2005)

With **Dennis Brutus, Ved Vatuk** & **Tawkiq Zayyad**: ***The Ordeal: Poems of Anguish, Resistance, and Hope***
(Medina Press, 1977)

**Mishael Caspi**

***Weavers of Songs: The Oral Poetry of Arab Women in Israel and the West Bank***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press, c.1991)

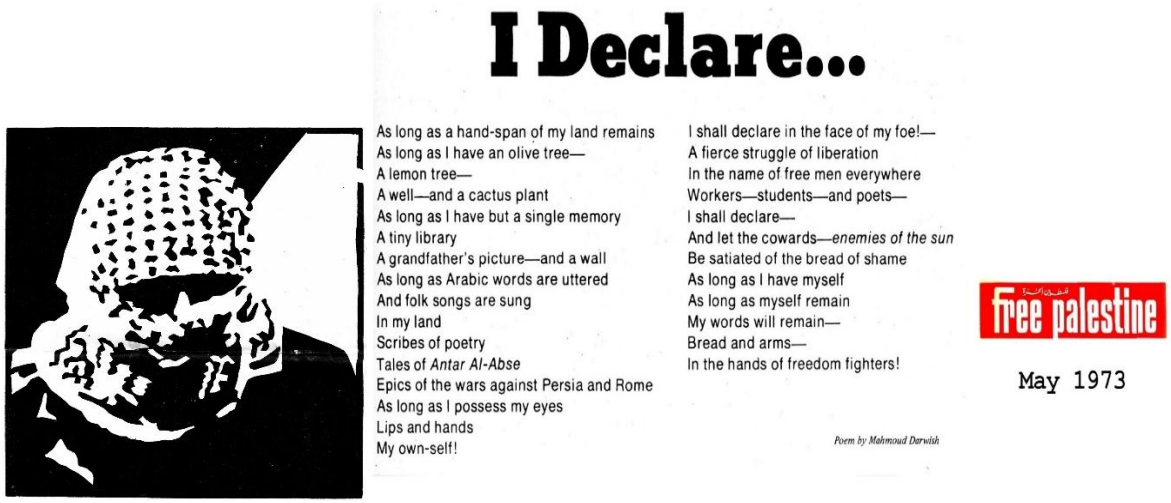
**Paul Catafago** aka **Boulos Catafago** (Palestinian-American, jazz-influenced poet)

***The Palestinian Freedom Now Suite***
(Bodily Press, 107 pages, 2025)

***Sumud: Poems of the Palestinian Diaspora***
(Sligo Creek Publishing, 2024)

**Helen Constantine** & **David J. Constantine**, editors
***Modern Poetry in Translation: Palestine***
(Modern Poetry in Translation, 2008)
Translators include: **Marilyn Hacker, Jonathan Holmes, Dannie Abse, Fady Joudah, Jennie Feldman, Peter Cole** and **Ilmar Lehtpere**.

**Kevin Coval**
***What Will I Tell My Jewish Kids? – and Other Poems of Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011)



# I Declare...

As long as a hand-span of my land remains
As long as I have an olive tree—
A lemon tree—
A well—and a cactus plant
As long as I have but a single memory
A tiny library
A grandfather's picture—and a wall
As long as Arabic words are uttered
And folk songs are sung
In my land
Scribes of poetry
Tales of *Antar Al-Abse*
Epics of the wars against Persia and Rome
As long as I possess my eyes
Lips and hands
My own-self!

I shall declare in the face of my foe!—
A fierce struggle of liberation
In the name of free men everywhere
Workers—students—and poets—
I shall declare—
And let the cowards—*enemies of the sun*
Be satiated of the bread of shame
As long as I have myself
As long as myself remain
My words will remain—
Bread and arms—
In the hands of freedom fighters!

*Poem by Mahmoud Darwish*

free palestine

May 1973

**Mahmoud Darwish** (Palestine's most popular poet, with many compilations in print)
***Palestine as Metaphor***
(Interlink Books, 2019)
Translated by **Amira El-Zein** & **Carolyn Forché**. Publisher's blurb: "Palestine as Metaphor consists of a series of interviews with Mahmoud Darwish, which have never appeared in English before. The interviews are a wealth of information on the poet's personal life, his relationships, his numerous works, and his tragedy. They illuminate Darwish's conception of poetry as a supreme art that transcends time and place. Several writers and journalists conducted the interviews, including a Lebanese poet, a Syrian literary critic, three Palestinian writers, and an Israeli journalist. Each encounter took place in a different city from Nicosia to London, Paris, and Amman. These vivid dialogues unravel the threads of a rich life haunted by the loss of Palestine and illuminate the genius and the distress of a major world poet."

***Absent Presence***
(Hesperus, 2010)
Translated by **Mahmud Darwish**.

***Almond Blossoms and Beyond***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 128 pages, ca. 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "One of the last collections of poetry that Mahmoud Darwish left to the world. Composed of brief lyric poems and the magnificent sustained Exile cycle, *Almond Blossoms* holds an important place in Darwish's unparalleled oeuvre. It distills his late style, in which, though the specter of death looms and weddings turn to funerals, he threads the pulses and fragilities and beauties of life into the lines of his poems. Their liveliness is his own response to the collection's final call to bid "Farewell / Farewell, to the poetry of pain." Edited by **Amro Naddy** (Virginia Quarterly Review/King's Academy in Amman) and translated by **Mohammad Shaheen**.

***Memory of Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982***
(University of California Press, 224 pages, 2013)
Translated and introduced by **Ibrahim Muhawi**; Foreword by **Sinan Antoon**

***In the Presence of Absence***
(Archipelago Books, 2011)
Translated by **Sinan Antoon**.

***Journal of an Ordinary Grief***
(Archipelago Books, 2010)
Translated by **Ibrahim Muhawi**.

***State of Siege***
(Syracuse University Press, 2010)
Written in Ramallah during the 2002 Israeli invasion, when the city was under siege.

***Mural* and *The Dice Player***
(Verso, 2009)
Translated by **Rema Hammami** & **John Berger**.

***The Butterfly's Burden***
(Bloodaxe, 2007)
Translated by **Fady Joudah**.

***A River Dies of Thirst***
(Saqi Books, 192 pages, 2024) e-book via Cleveland, Ohio: Overdrive, 2012)
Translated by **Catherine Cobham**. Poetic diary from his time in Ramallah, in 2006, when Israel was attacking Lebanon and Gaza.

***The Adam of Two Edens***
(Syracuse Univerisity Press, 2015)

***And from Stones a State for Lovers Will be Built***
(PLO Department of Culture, 1985)
Poster illustrated by **Naji al Ali**.

***Memory of Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982***
(University of California Press, 1995)
Translated with an introduction by **Ibrahim Muhawi**.

***Music of Human Flesh***
(Heinemann, 1980)
Translated by **Denys Johnson-Davies**.

***The Palestinian Chalk Circle***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 14 pages, ca. 1972)

***The Promise of al-Asifah: A Collection of Poems from Occupied Territories***
(Amman: The Palestine National Liberation Movement, 1969)
Translated by **Ibrahim Muhammed**.

**Mahmoud Darwish, Adonis,** & **Samih al-Qasim**
***Victims of a Map: A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry***
(Saqi Books, 2005)

**Najwan Darwish**

***Exhausted on the Cross***
(New York Review of Books, 125 pages, 2021)
Translated by **Kareem James Abu-Zaid**; foreword by **Raul Zurita**.

***Embrace***
(London: Poetry Translation Centre, 66 pages, 2020)
Bilingual, Arabic and English; translated by **Atef Alshaer** and **Paul Batchelor**.

***Sleeping in Gaza***
(Baltimore: Project Muse / Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2015)

***Nothing More to Lose***
(New York Review of Books / NYRB Poets, 117 pages, 2014)
Translated by **Kareem James Abu-Zaid**.

***In Ramallah, Running***
(London: Black Dog Publishing, 159 pages, 2012)
Poets include: **Najwan Darwish**, **Emily Jacir**, **Adania Shibli**, **Paul Noble**, **Francis Alys**, **Jananne al-Ani**, **Khalil Rabah**, **Olaf Nicolai**, **Mark Titchner**, and **Sharif Waked**.

As translator: ***On Kawara***
(Ontario: On Kawara / Pure Consciousness, 18 pages, 2007)
Text by **Jonathan Watkins**, edited by **Martha Samar** & **Diana Stevenson**. Catalogue of exhibition oranised by the Ikon Gallery, Birmingham, and the Art School Palestine, as part of the Second Riwaq Biennale in Palestine; exhibited at the Dar al-Kalima School, Bethlehem, 2007.

**Aidan Andrew Dun**

***Unholyland: The Rambam***
(Hesperus Press, 2012)

**Sara Dweik** and **Maria Amiouni**, editors

***Letters to the Holy Land***
(Likely UAE: Twilight Publishing, ca. 2025-2026)
Illustrated by **Sama Alameddine**. Publisher's blurb: "Each poem is a love letter to Palestine and its people, who have endured over 76 years of brutal occupation, apartheid, and injustice. Created by Sara Dweik and Maria Amiouni, two poets living in Dubai, this anthology is a testament to solidarity, resilience, and the transformative power of words. This collection reflects a journey through grief, resistance, culture, and hope. It brings together 98 poets from across the globe – spanning all races, religions, and ages, from an 8-year-old to an 84-year-old, including Palestinians, ex-Zionists, and indigenous voices. United by a shared humanity, these poets have poured their hearts into a work of profound meaning and timeless significance. Organized into four chapters inspired by the colors of the Palestinian flag, the book captures the full spectrum of emotions tied to the Palestinian cause. It begins with grief, moves through the beauty of culture, shines with hope, and culminates in the spirit of resistance. Each piece offers a platform for truth, love, and the preservation of heritage, aiming to bring a sense of belonging and hope to a world that has made too many feel displaced. This anthology is not just a collection of poems; it is a piece of history and a testament to the enduring spirit of Palestine. It is a call to remember, to stand in solidarity, and to believe in the power of words to shape a better future."

**A.M. Elmessiri** aka **Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri** aka **Abdul Wahab Al Messiri** (editor)

***The Palestinian Wedding: A Bilingual Anthology of Contemporary Palestinian Resistance Poetry***
(Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 249 pages, 1982; London: Saqi Books, 272 pages, 2026)
With illustrations by **Kamal Boullata**; bilingual text. 21 poets.

***A Lover from Palestine and other Poems: An Anthology of Palestinian Poetry***
(Washington DC: Free Palestine Press, 98 pages, 1970.
With illustrations by **Kamal Boullata**. Includes poetry by Mahmoud Darwish: *From Occupied Palestine*; *A Lover from Palestine*; *Waiting for the Return*; *My Father*; *The Roses and the Dictionary*; *Concerning Hopes*; *Promises from al-Assifa – the Storm*; *Victim no. 18*; *To My Grandfather* / **Sameeh al-Qassim**: *The Proud Horse*; *A Homeland*; *Joseph*; *Letter from Prison*; *A Martyr's Elegy*; *The Thunderbird*; *Kafr Qassem* / **Tawfic Zayad**: *The Impossible*; *The Olive Tree*; *The Pagan Fire* / **Rashid Hussein**: *Jaffa*; **Salem Jubran**: *The Exile*; **Fadwa Tuqan**: *The Last Knock*; **Mueen Bessissou**: *II*; *From Exile*; *No*; *The Moon Eighteen Years Later*; *Alexander and the Sunflower* / **Abdel-Karim al-Sabaawi**: *Three Poems to Palestine*.

**Sharif Elmusa** (University of Cairo, United Nations)
***Flawed Landscape: Poems, 1987-2008***
(Interllink Publications, 2008)

As co-editor with **Gregory Orfalea**: ***Grape Leaves: A Century of Arab-American Poetry***
(Interlink Publications, 1999)

**Najwa Kawar Farah**
***To Palestine with Love***
(Nicosia: Rimal Books, 63 pages, 2009)
Publisher's blurb: "To Palestine with Love is the expression, through both poetry and painting, of one woman's reaction to situations and places that had a profound impression on her, from traffic and city lights to woodlands and mountains, from the glories of Al-Hambra, to the harsh reality of personal tragedy in Palestine. Author and illustrator, Najwa Kawar Farah relates emotions of love, grief and longing in this moving collection of poetry."

**Al-Fateh, The Palestine National Liberation Movement**
***They Claim There is No Resistance: A Collection of Poems from Occupied Palestine***
(Al-Fateh, ca. 1969-70).
Translated by **Sulafa Hijjawi**. Contents: **Tawfeeq Zeyad** aka **Zayad**: *The Impossible* (Nazareth, September 1965), *The Olive Tree* (n.d.) / **Mahmood Darweesh** aka **Mahmoud Darwish**: *Letter from Exile* (Haifa, 1964), Investigation *(Haifa, 1964), Lover from Palestine* (May, 1966), *Kerchiefs* (1966), *The Reaction* (1967) / **Salem Jubran**: *The Exile* (1965), *Safad* (1965), *Mother* (1965) / **Sameeh Al-Qassem**: *Report of a Bankrupt* (1964), *Antigone* (n.d.), *Letter from Prison* (n.d.) / **Fadwa Tuqan**: *The Flood and the Tree* (Nablus, September 1967), *For Ever Palestine* (Nablus, September 1967), *To Christ* (1968)

**Ashraf Fayadh** (Palestinian-Saudi poet)
***Instructions Within***
(The Operating System, 2016)
Translated by Mona Kareem.

**Naomi Foyle** (poet and novelist; Chichester University)
As editor: ***A Blade of Grass: New Palestinian Poetry***
(Smokestack Books, 76 pages, 2017)
Contents: Machine generated contents note: An Arab at Ben-Gurion Airport / Marwan Makhoul -- Nocturne / Marwan Makhoul -- On the Tel Aviv Train / Marwan Makhoul -- Resist, My People,

Resist Them / Dareen Tatour -- A Poet Behind Bars / Dareen Tatour -- I... Who am I? / Dareen Tatour -- I'm a destitute woman / Maya Abu Al-Hayyat -- Painful Pictures / Maya Abu Al-Hayyat -- Insight / Maya Abu Al-Hayyat -- Whistling / Maya Abu Al-Hayyat -- I Cannot Believe the Common Grief / Maya Abu Al-Hayyat -- The Lost Button / Fatena Al Ghorra -- I am your opponent / Fatena Al Ghorra -- Blood / Fatena Al Ghorra -- Stink / Ashraf Fayadh -- Cracked Skin / Ashraf Fayadh -- Offline / Ashraf Fayadh -- Stroke / Ashraf Fayadh -- Emperor / Mustafa Abu Sneineh -- Straw / Mustafa Abu Sneineh -- Cell no. 8 / Mustafa Abu Sneineh -- Nablus Street / Mustafa Abu Sneineh -- Ant / Mustafa Abu Sneineh -- O Jericho / Farid Bitar -- Nakbah / Farid Bitar -- Only Stones Remain / Farid Bitar - Pain that Never Heals / Farid Bitar -- Everything in Our World Did Not Seem To Fit / Naomi Shihab Nye -- Thirsty / Naomi Shihab Nye -- Amir & Anna / Naomi Shihab Nye -- Talking Forever / Naomi Shihab Nye -- Mimesis / Fady Joudah -- Twice a River / Fady Joudah -- Six Textu / Fady Joudah -- Eminent Domain / Deema K. Shehabi -- Gaza Renga / Deema K. Shehabi -- You Are of It, More or Less Forever / Deema K. Shehabi -- Green Flies / Mahmoud Darwish -- Like a Prosaic Poem / Mahmoud Darwish -- Beyond my identity / Mahmoud Darwish -- Nero / Mahmoud Darwish -- Oud / Sara Saleh."

**Khaled Furani**
***Silencing the Sea: Secular Rhythms of Palestinian Poetry***
(Stanford University Press, 314 pages, 2012)

**Jorie Graham** (editor), with translators **Sherah Bloor** and **Tayseer Abu Odeh**
***You Must Live: New Poetry from Palestine***
(Penguin, 320 pages, 2026)
In Arabic with English translations.

**Fatena Al-Gharra** (Gazan poet and radio broadcaster, endorsed by PEN and translated by the Poetry Translation Centre: poetrytranslation.org)

**R.L. (Robert) Green**
***When You Remember Deir Yassin***
(Fomite, 2014)
Translations into Arabic by **Mousa Ishaq** and **Kristen Peterson-Ishaq**.

**Michael Halak** (Fassuta village in upper Galilee, Haifa)
***Michael Halak: Faces and Landscapes***
(Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 66 pages, 2012)
Exhibition curator, Efrat Livny.

**Suheir Hammad** (born in Jabal Husayn refugee camp in Amman; also note: *Drops of This Story* (Writers & Readers, 1996), a memoir)
***breaking poems***
(New York City: Cypher Books, 2008)

***Zaatar Diva***
(New York City: Cypher Books 2005 / 2008 edition with an audio CD)

***Born Palestinian, Born Black & The Gaza Suite***
(UpSet Press, 2010)

***Born Palestinian, Born Black***
(Harlem River Press, 1996)

**Nathalie Handal** (Bethlehem born)

***Life in a Country Album***
(University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020)
Bubhi Hadidi's blurb: "Life in a Country Album, the seventh collection from the Palestinian-American poet, is most reflective of those essential thematic and stylistic characteristics which render her poetic voice uniquely distinctive. Language here goes beyond linguistic or cultural confines, encompassing a lyricism that embodies fragmentation as well as wholeness. While relaying the deep view of Palestinianness, these poems expand the vastness of disaporic and exilic experiences on universal levels."
Winner of the MEMO Palestine Book Awards 2020.

***The Republics***
(University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015)

***Poet in Andalucia***
(University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012)

***Love and Strange Horses***
(University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010)

***The Lives of Rain***
(Interlink Books, 2005)
Reviewer's blurb: "Handal's poetry tells the story over and over of the pain of separation, the heartache of missed chances, and the tragedy of the displaced Palestinian culture. The poems wash over the reader like music, and the reader becomes witness and heir to the senseless pain created in this world, experienced and transmitted by this poet."

***The Neverfield: Poem***
(Interlink Books, 2005)

As editor: ***The Poetry of Arab Women: A Contemporary Anthology***
(Interlink Books, 2001)

As co-editor, with **Tina Chang**: ***Language for a New Century: Contemporary Poetry from the Middle East, Asia, and Beyond***
(WW Norton, 2008)

**Hands Up Project** (Palestinian children's NGO with Gaza links, based in England)

***Moon Tell Me Truth***
(Totnes: Hands Up Project, 2024)
A collection of poems written and illustrated by children aged 9-15, from Palestine, Argentina, India, and Spain. Subject featured in a 2024 exhibition featuring works by Gaza children, some of whom died from IDF military airstrikes.

**Iyad Hayatleh** and **Tessa Ransford**

***A Rug of a Thousand Colours: Poems Inspired by the Five Pillars of Islam by Two Contemporary Scottign Writers Each Also Translating the Other***
(Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2019)
Bilingual: English and Arabic.

**Maya Abu Al-Hayyat**

***You Can Be the Last Leaf***

(Milkweed Editions, 120 pages, 2022)

Translated by **Fady Joudah**. Publisher's blurb: "Art. Garlic. Taxis. Sleepy soldiers at checkpoints. The smell of trash on a winter street, before "our wild rosebush, neglected / by the gate, / blooms." Lovers who don't return, the possibility that you yourself might not return. Making beds. Cleaning up vomit. Reading recipes. In *You Can Be the Last Leaf*, these are the ordinary and profound–sometimes tragic, sometimes dreamy, sometimes almost frivolous–moments of life under Israeli occupation."

**Sulafa Hijjawi**

***Poetry of Resistance in Occupied Palestine***

(Baghdad: Directorate of General Culture, 1968)

**Noor Hindi**

***Dear God. Dear Bones. Dear Yellow.***

(Haymarket Books, 80 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "*Dear God. Dear Bones. Dear Yellow.* interrogates, subverts, and expands these questions through poems that are formally and lyrically complex, dynamic, and innovative. With rich intertextuality and an unwavering eye, Noor Hindi explores and interrogates colonialism, religion, patriarchy, and the complex intersections of her identity.

Featuring her widely circulated poem, "Fuck Your Lecture on Craft, My People Are Dying," this book is an incomparable force of fury and precision from a powerful and unstoppable poet. Noor Hindi's collection is ultimately a provocation: on trauma, on art, and on what it takes to truly see the world for what it is/isn't and change it for the better."

**Liz Hochlead, Henry Bell, Sarah Irving,** editors

***A Bird is Not a Stone***

(House of Poetry, Al-Bireh, nr Ramallah, summer 2014)

Anthology project co-ordinated by **Murad al-Sudani** and **Rana Barakat** of the House of Poetry and Scottish poets Liz Lochhead, Billy Letford, Henry King, Henry Bell and Lorna MacBean.

**Adina Hoffman**

***My Happiness Bears no Relation to Happiness: A Poet's Life in the Palestinian Century***

(Yale University Press, 2009)

Biography of **Taha Muhammad Ali**.

**Rose Issa** and **Juliet Cestar**, editors

***Arabicity: Contemporary Arab Art***

(London: Saqi Books, 159 pages, 2019)

Includes focus on **Mona Hatoum** (London) and **Abdul Rahman Katanani** (Sabra camp, Lebanon).

**Nahida Izzat** aka **Nahida Izzat Ghaith** (Jerusalem born 1967 exile)

***I Believe in Miracles: A Collection of Palestinian Poems***

(author, 86 pages, 2003, revised edition, 2004)

With illustrations by **Ibrahim Thompson**. Note *Palestine, The True Story*, a self-published photo essay book, was also published in 2003; nahidaexiledpalestinian.wordpress.com

**Abdeen Jabara**

***Poems***
(Washington DC: author, 1975)
Verse written 1960-1965, with illustrations by **Kamal Bullata**.

**Daud Kamal**
***A Remote Beginning: Poems***
(Budleigh Sudaltern: Interim Press, c.1985)

**Mohammed El-Kurd** (poet, journalist, author)
With **Arielle Angel** (editor, *Jewish Currents*) and **James Baldwin**: ***Three Perspectives on Zionism, Jewishness, Class, and Liberation***
(Hong Kong: LiberateZines/Zine Coop, 22 pages, 2024)
Related to the 2023- war on Gaza.

***Rifqa***
(Haymarket Books, 100 pages, 2021)
Foreword by **Aja Monet**. Publisher's blurb: "Each day after school, Mohammed El-Kurd's grandmother welcomed him at the door of his home with a bouquet of jasmine. Her name was Rifqa—she was older than Israel itself and an icon of Palestinian resilience. With razor-sharp wit and glistening moral clarity, El-Kurd lays bare the brutality of Israeli settler colonialism. His poems trace Rifqa's exile from Haifa to his family's current dispossession in Sheikh Jarrah, Jerusalem, exposing the cyclical and relentless horror of the Nakba. El-Kurd's debut collection definitively shows that the Palestinian struggle is a revolution, until victory."

**Nuh Ibrahim** (1910-1938; famous Palestinian resistance poet of the 1936 revolt)
http://www.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/77928

**Salma Khadra Jayyusi** (Palestinian poet, writer, translator; founder/director of Project of Translation from Arabic [PROTA])
As editor, with **Zafar Isbaq Ansari**: ***My Jerusalem: Essays, Reminiscences, and Poems***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 340 pages, 2005)

As editor: ***Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature***
(Columbia University Press, 1992)
52 poets in translation, 14 Palestinian poets writing in English, short stories from 25 authors, extracts from 6 personal accounts, all in 745 pages. Contents: The traveler, The house, A place, Mist, A song, The Shaqeef moon / Yusuf Abd al-Aziz -- Prayer to the tremor of the final evening / Khalid Abu Khalid -- Trees on Maryam's sleeves, Maryam in the grass, Trees of words, Your talk or the vodka / Yusuf Abu Lauz -- My country on partition day, We shall return, I love you more / Abu Salma -- Fever of questions, Probabilities, Handsome and tall, Martyr, Psalm / Zuhair Abu Shayib -- Thrombosis, Exodus / Taha Muhammad Ali -- The path of affection, A new creation / Laila Allush -- On the shore / Naji Allush -- "From Jerusalem to the Gulf", On the presence of absence / Abd al-Latif Aql -- Personal account, A song, Prophets, Singers, The earth also dies, When the inhabitants of the planets converse, Who / Muhammad al-As'ad -- The tribes, The guards, Desire, An official, Liberation, Certainty, Exception, I run toward you ... I run with you, A vision / Mureed Barghouthy -- Aladdin's lamp for Sahba, Diary of old man defector, The vinegar cup, Sailor returning from occupied shores, Footsteps, I was already dead! / Mu'een Bseiso -- Orange blossoms, The malady and the cure / Hasan al-Buhairi -- New suggestions, The terms of ambition, I do not renounce madness, Our country, The hands again, The sparrow told me / Ahmad Dahbour -- Poem of the land, Homing pigeons, Guests on the sea, Intensive-care unit, Psalm 9, We went to Aden / Mahmoud Darwish -- Three short letters, Joy, The little girl / Muhammad al-Dhahir -- Days in the life of a Palestinian boy / Waleed al-Halees -- Elegy on an estranged husband, His picture, Death sentence / Sulafa Hijjawi -- A souvenir vendor in Nazareth / Ahmad Husain -- Damascus diary,

Against, First / Rashid Husain -- Zero hour, For Socrates, Love poem / Jabra Ibrahim Jabra -- Khartoum, The woman, Songs for an Arab city, On June 5, 1968, The three of us alone / Salma Khadra Jayyusi -- Refugee, Singer of wind and rain / Salem Jubran -- Adb al-Kareem al-Karmi (see Abu Salma). Dialectics of the homeland, What is your purpose, murderous beauty?, Departure, This country / Ali al-Khalili -- Belonging, Houses, At least, Brambles, You will arrive: bewildered, That day, Absence, The storm / Waleed Khazindar -- One thousand and one ... nights, Giyath, Mihyar, Um Giyath, Peace be upon ... / Rasim al-Madhoun -- The martyr, Call of the motherland, The Aqsa Mosque / Abd al-Raheem Mahmoud -- The last witness, Two-in-one, The Palestinian Ayyub / Haydar Mahmoud -- At night, Dawn visitors, The inheritance / Izziddin al-Manasra -- A nonpersonal account, Echo, Two old ages, The road, Poetry, A forest / Khairi Mansour -- Apology, My things, Everything, A tavern, Emigration, The cafe mistress, A woman / Zakariyya Muhammad -- Circling, Meeting of two wounds / Khalid Ali Mustafa -- Reverse journey / Taha Abd al-Ghani Mustafa -- Letter to Fadwa / Kamal Nasir -- Flight, Passageway, A woman, The hand, Thread, Song / Ibrahim Nasrallah -- At the doorstep of September / Jamal Qa'war -- All this is strange, like everything, Language, Fragrance, Part of a wall, Dead memory, Cold, Race, Overflow / Kamal Qaddura -- Vision, Love poem I, Love poem IV, Love poem XII, One-day vacation / Muhammad al-Qaisi -- The clock, Bats, Ashes, Love poems, You pretend to die, I do not blame you, Drunk / Samih al-Qasim -- The fall, Deformed, To the children, You are everything / Abdallah Radwan -- Poem to Jerusalem, Raise your arms / Harun Hashim Rasheed -- From "Signs" / Taher Riyad -- Intimations of anxiety, The ever-deferred moment / Laila al-Saih -- Death's at night's end / Waleed Sayf -- Elegy for Imm 'Ali, Departure, Beirut under siege / Mai Sayigh -- Poem 28, To enter a country, The poem K / Tawfiq Sayigh -- Evening balcony, The book of songs and stones, Khulud / Umar Shabana -- The caravan's departure, Love song / Mazin Shadeed -- Then how will the poem come?, An evening of poetry reading, Seven poems / Anton Shammas -- Between the wound and its bleeding / Khalil Touma. The Sybil's prophecy, Enough for me, The deluge and the tree, Song of becoming / Fadwa Tuqan -- Commando, Dead hearts, Brokers, Lest we lose, In Beirut / Ibrahim Tuqan -- Songs of the seventh exodus, Plea, The siege / Abd al-Raheem Umar -- Another death, An incident, How did they inform on you?, A mirror / Ghassan Zaqtan -- Here we shall stay, A million suns in my blood, What next?, Pagan fires, All I have / Tawfiq Zayyad -- Metamorphosis, Women and things, Night patrol, Death by burial, From the diary of an almost-four-year-old / Hanan Mikha'il Ashrawi -- A little piece of sky, In balance, Camel fragments, When slippers mingle, The beggar / Sharif Elmusa -- Poems of opposites, At the limit, Breadmother, Death of Enver, Wintering alone / Lena Jayyusi -- Deportation, My last day with Aisha / Aminah Kazak -- My father and the fig tree, Shrines, Blood, Arabic coffee, The words under the words, My uncle Mohammad at Mecca, 1981 / Naomi Shihab Nye -- The seed keepers, Beirut, Dusk in Galilee, Osama Jibril of Jerusalem, In search of Yacove Eved / Fawaz Turki -- What happened after midnight / Ibrahim al-Absi -- Mirage / Salih Abu Usba -- Hunger / Ghareeb Asqalani -- Bread of sacrifice / Samira Azzam -- A land of rock and thyme / Liyana Badr -- Hunger and the mountain / Riyad Baydas -- Horses / Zaki Darwish -- The worst of two choices; or The forsaken olive trees / Najwa Qa'war Farah -- The idiot / Tawfiq Fayyad -- The odds-and-ends woman / Emile Habiby -- After the siege, a little before the sun / Akram Haniyyeh -- Garbage / Mahmoud Sayf al-Din al-Irani -- The little one goes to the camp / Ghassan Kanafani -- The uprooted / Muhammad Naffa -- Solo tunes on a zinc wall / Waleed Rabah -- Death of a bird hunter / Yahya Rabah -- The sous vendor / Fadl al-Rimawi -- A longing for the good land / Mahmoud al-Rimawi -- The spectators / Khalil al-Sawahiri -- The sacred river / Mahmoud Shaheen -- Kadima / Sulaiman al-Shaikh -- One eye by day / Yusuf Shruru -- The villages / Mahmoud Shuqair. Faris Rateeba / Muhammad Ali Taha -- That rose of a woman / Yahya Yakhlif. -- Memoirs of an unrealistic woman / Sahar Khalifeh -- A road to the sea / Faruq Wadi -- O Beirut / Rashad Abu Shawar -- Children of dew / Muhammad al-As'ad -- Palestinian notebooks / Mu'een Bseiso -- A memory for forgetfulness / Mahmoud Darwish -- Our sun will never set / Subhi Ghosheh -- Days of my youth / Yusuf Haykal / The first well / Jabra Ibrahim Jabra -- Such am I, o world / Khalil al-Sakakini -- The siege / Mai Sayigh -- Embers and ashes / Hisham Sharabi -- Journey into Hades: Diary of a Palestinian in an Israeli prison / Salah Ta'mari -- A mountainous journey / Fadwa Tuqan -- After the last sky: Palestinian lives / Edward W. Said.

***Modern Arabic Poetry: An Anthology***

(Columbia University Press, 498 pages, 1987)

**Fady Joudah** (also translator of Mahmoud Darwish and Ghassan Zaqtan)
Five Poems, in: **Penny Johnson** & **Raja Shedadeh**, eds: ***Seeking Palestine – New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2013)

Poems in: ***80 New Poems***
(Banipal No. 46, 2013)

***The Earth in the Attic***
(Yale University Press, 2008)

**Remi Kanazi** (Palestinian-American poet in New York City)
***Before the Next Bomb Drops: Rising Up from Brooklyn to Palestine***
(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015)
Tangential to Palestine, with verse focused worldwide; the poet's second collection.

***Poetic Injustice: Writings on Resistance and Palestine***
(New York City: RoR Publications, 2011)
Contains a CD audio of the poet's works.

**Walid Khazendar** (b. Gaza, 1950)
***Fifteen Poems Translated from the Arabic***
(Agenda & Editions Charitable Trust, 1997)
Translated by **Dinah Manisty**.

As editor & translator: ***The Traces of Song: Selections from Ancient Arabic Poetry***
(Oxford: St Johns College Research Centre, 2005)
With illustrations by **Mouneer al-Shaarani**.

**Yahia Lababidi**
***Palestine Wail***
(Daraja Press, 116 pages, 2024)

***Desert Songs***
(Rowayat, 40 pages, 2022)
Translated by **Osama Esber**, with photography by **Zakaria Wakrim**.

***Balancing Acts: New and Selected Poems, 1993-1015***
(Press 53, 204 pages, 2016)

***Barely There: Three Short Poems***
(Wipf & Stock Publishers, 86 pages, 2013)

**Dunia Lambsy**
***To Thee, Sea***
(London: Carcazan Publishing, 54 pages, 2024)
UK-born daughter of a Palestinian Nakba survivor.

**Lisa Suhair Majaj** (see also fiction)

***Geographies of Light***

(Web del Sol Association, 2009)

**Lisa Marchi**

***The Funambulists: Women Poets of the Arab Diaspora***

(Syracuse University Press, 256 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "*The Funambulists* brings together the diverse poetry collections of six contemporary Arab diasporic women poets. Spanning multiple languages and regions, this volume illuminates the distinct artistic voice of each poet, yet also highlights the aesthetic and political relevance that unites their work. Marchi explores the work of **Naomi Shihab Nye**, a celebrated American poet of Palestinian descent; Iman Mersal, an Egyptian poet living in Edmonton, Canada, who writes in Arabic; Nadine Ltaif, a Lebanese poet who lives in Quebec and has adopted French as her language; Maram al-Massri, a Syrian poet writing in Arabic and living in France; **Suheir Hammad**, an American poet of Palestinian origin; and Mina Boulhanna, a Moroccan poet living in Italy and writing in Italian. Despite their varying geographical and political backgrounds, these poets find common ground in themes of injustice, spirituality, gender, race, and class. Drawing upon the concept of tension, Marchi examines both the breaking points and the creative energies that traverse the poetic works of these writers. These celebrated funambulists use their art of balance and flexibility bolstered by their courage and transgression to walk a tightrope stretched out across cultures, faiths, and nations."

**Khaled Mattawa** (University of Michigan)

***Mahmoud Darwish: The Poet's Art and His Nation***

(Syracuse University Press, 2014)

Publisher's blurb: "Mattawa pays tribute to one of the most celebrated and well-read poets of our era. With detailed knowledge of Arabic verse and a firm grounding in Palestinian history, Mattawa explores the ways in which Darwish's aesthetics have played a crucial role in shaping and maintaining Palestinian identity and culture through decades of warfare, attrition, exile, and land confiscation. Mattawa chronicles the evolution of his poetry, from a young poet igniting resistance in occupied land to his decades in exile where his work grew in ambition and scope. In doing so, Mattawa reveals Darwish's verse to be both rooted to its place of longing and to transcend place, as it reaches for the universal and the human."

**Fred McNeil**

***Poems of Palestine: A People's Struggle for Freedom and Justice***

(Author, 2016)

**Iman Mersel** University of Alberta (Edmonton)

***These Are Not Oranges, My Love***

(Sheep Meadow Press, 2008)

A selection of Mersal's work translated into English by **Khaled Mattawa**; read at the South Bank Poetry Parnassus Festival, London, 2012

**Faysal (aka Faisal) Mikdadi**

***Painted into a Corner***

(lulu.com, 2014, two editions, one with black & white images and one with colour images)

The Palestinian diaspora reflected in poems and watercolours.

***Return: The Siege of Beirut***

(Brian & O'Keefe, 1983)

Poems in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

**Aja Monet**

***My Mother Was a Freedom Fighter***

(Haymarket Books, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "Textured with the sights and sounds of growing up in East New York in the nineties, to school on the South Side of Chicago, all the way to the olive groves of Palestine, these stunning poems tackle racism, sexism, genocide, displacement, heartbreak, and grief, but also love, motherhood, spirituality, and Black joy."

**Nora Lester Murad** (American mother of three Palestinian-American daughters) & **Danna Masad** (artist and architect from Zeita village and Ramallah; see also biography section)

***Rest in My Shade: A Poem About Roots***

(Olive Branch Press, 48 pages, 2018-2019)

Olive trees highlighted to show the uprooting of Palestinians under Occupation; with illustrations by Palestinian artists: **Bashir Qonqar**, **Marwan Nassar**, **Ahmad Canaan**, **Steve Sabella**, **Ayed Arafah**, **Suleiman Mansour**, **Michael Halak**, **Rafat Asad**, **Tamam Al-Akhal**, **Ismail Shammout**, **Abdul Rahman Katanani**, **Fouad Agbaria**, **Hani Amra**, **Dema Mattar**, **Nabil Anani**, **Motaz al-Omari**, and **Rana Bishara**.

**Ibrahim Nasrallah** (see also fiction)

***Rain Inside – Selected Poems***

(Curbstone Press, 2009)

Translated by **Omnia Amin** [Zayed University, Dubai] & **Rick London**.

**Amjad Nasser**

***Shepherd of Solitude: Selected Poems, 1979-2004***

(Banipal, 2009)

Translated by **Khaled Mattawa**.

**Kamal Nasser / Nasir** (Palestinian editor and liberation poet assassinated by the Israelis in 1973; see **Salma Khadra Jayyusi** (editor) *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature,* for the poem, L*etter to Fadwa* [for Fadwa Tuqan]. Poems translated into English include *The Story* and *The Last Poem:* www.poemhunter.com/kamal-nasser/poems/

**Taha Qaraqeh**

***Palestine Calls***

(Pilgrim Magazine, 1993)

**Ali Qleibo**

***Jerusalem in the Heart***

(Al-Quds University & Centre for Jerusalem Studies, 2000

Anthropological tour with verse, photographs and paintings.

**Nasser Rabah**

***Gaza: The Poem Said its Piece***

(San Francisco: City Lights Books, 176 or 192 pages, 2025)

Foreword by **Mosab Abu Toha**; translated by **Ammiel Alcalay**, **Emna Zghal** and **Khaled al-Hilli**.

**Najat Rahman** (University of Montreal)

***In the Wake of the Poetic: Palestinian Artists after Darwish***
(Syracuse University Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Heralding a new period of creativity, *In the Wake of the Poetic* explores the aesthetics and politics of Palestinian cultural expression in the last two decades. As it increasingly gains a significant presence on the international scene, much of Palestinian art owes a debt to Mahmoud Darwish, one of the finest contemporary poets, and to Palestinian writers of his generation. Rahman maps the immense influence of Darwish's poetry on a new generation of performance artists, visual artists, spoken-word poets, and musicians. Through an examination of selected works by key artists—such as Suheir Hammad, Ghassan Zaqtan, Elia Suleiman, Mona Hatoum, Sharif Waked, and others—Rahman articulates an aesthetic founded on loss, dispersion, dispossession, and transformation. It interrupts dominant regimes, constituting acts of dissension and intervention. It reinscribes belonging and is oriented toward solidarity and future. This innovative wave of experimentation transforms our understanding of the national through the diasporic and the transnational, and offers a profound meditation on identity."

With **Hala Khamos Nassar**: ***Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet***
(Interlink Books, 2008)

***Literary Disinheritance: The Writing of Home in the Work of Mahmoud Darwish and Assia Djebar***
(Lexington Books, 2007)
Djebar was an Algerian novelist and filmmaker.

**Omar Sakr**

***The Nightmare Sequence***
(Nightboat Books, 192 pages, 2025)
Illustrated by **Safdar Ahmed**, with foreword by Palestinian-American poet **George Abraham**. A response to the Gaza genocide since October 2023.

**Mohammed Sawaie**, editor and translator (University of Virginia)

***The Tent Generations – Palestinian Poems***
(Banipal Books, 160 pages, 2022)
Poems by: Asma Rizq Tubi, Fadwa Tuqan, Mu'in Bseiso, Harun Hashim Rasheed, Tawfiq Zayyad, Youssef al-Khatib, Rashid Hussein, Abdel Wahab Zahida, Samih Al-Qasim, Salem Jubran, Zeinab Habash, Muhammad al-Qaisi, Mahmoud al-Najjar, Yousef al-Deek, Rita Odeh, and Marwan Makhoul.

**Samad al-Shaik** [Gaza via Saudi Arabia, poet with short stories]
Short story in **Jo Glanville**, editor: ***Qissat***
(Telegraph Press, 2006)

**Wafa Shami** (Palestinian American born Ramallah, runs: palestineinadish.com)

***Olive Harvest in Palestine: A Story of Childhood Memories***
(Bowker, 31pages, 2019)
Children's book with illustrations by **Shaima' Farouki** Publisher's; publisher's blurb: "about the harvest traditions that have been shared among Palestinian farmers for centuries. The story takes the reader on a journey, starting from how the olives are picked, through how they are pressed into oil, bottled and finally arrive in customers' hands. Along the way, the reader shares in this festive working atmosphere filled with singing, eating, love and laughter portrayed from the eyes of a child. Illustrations are done by Palestinian artist Shaima Farouki. Recommended for ages 5 to 10."

***Easter in Ramallah: A Story of Childhood Memories***

(Bowker, 2019)
Children's book with illustrations by **Shaima' Farouki** Publisher's blurb: "A story about friendship and holiday traditions that have been shared among Palestinian Christian and Muslim families for centuries. A story that reflects the tradition of celebrating Easter holiday that was carried on for years and takes the reader to a fun festive place that is filled with a colorful atmosphere, drums playing, love and laughter from the eye of a child."

**PS Sharma**
***Forever Palestine: A Collection of Palestinian Resistance Poems***
(New Delhi: PLO India Office, 1976)

**Danny Shaw** (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York)
***This is Genocide! Forty-Eight Poems for Gaza***
(Midwestern Marx Publishing Press, 250 pages, 2024)

**Naomi Shehab-Nye**
***Transfer***
(BOA Editions, 2011)

***You and Yours***
(BOA Editions, 2005; received the Isabella Gardner Poetry Award)

***19 Varieties of Gazelle: Poems of the Middle East***
(Greenwillow Books, 2002 / HarperTempest, 2005)

As editor: ***The Flag of Childhood: Poems from the Middle East***
(Aladdin, 2002)

***Fuel***
(BOA Editions, 1998)

***Red Suitcase***
(BOA Editions, 1994)

***Hugging the Jukebox***
(Far Corner Books, 1982)

**Hind Shoufani** [poet at Hay Festival Beirut, 2013]
***Inkstains on the Edge of Light***
(Whole World Press, 2010)

***More Light Than Death Could Bear***
(Beirut, 2007)

**Matthew D. Staunton** & **Rethabile Masilo**, editors
***For the Children of Gaza***
(Onslaught Press, 2014)
Poems and illustrations by multiple contributors.

**Khalid A Suliaman**

***Palestine and Modern Arab Poetry***
(Zed Books, 1984)

**Smokii Sumac**
***Born Sacr3ed: Poems for Palestine***
(Roseway Publishing/Columbia University Press, 160 pages, 2025)
With foreword by **Zaynab Mohammed**.

**Nadeen Tatour** (Palestinian exiled to Sweden for writing poetry in 2016)
***I Sing from the Window of Exile***
(Drunk Mews Press, 164 pages, 2023)
In English and Arabic. Note also: ***My Threatening Poem: The Memoir of a Poet in Occupation Prisons*** (Scotland: Drunk Mews Press, 2023)

**Fargo Nissim Tbakhi** (Palestinian performance artist)
***Terror Counter***
(Deep Vellum Publishing, 112 pages, 2025)

**Lena Khalaf Tuffaha**
***Water & Salt***
(Red Hen Press, 96 pages, 2017)
Diaspora verse lamenting loss but retaining identity.

***Arab in Newsland***
(Two Sylvias Press, 48 pages, 2017)

**Fadwa Tuqan**
***A Mountainous Journey: An Autobiography***
(Women's Press, 1990)
Translated by **Olive Kenny** / with poetry translated by **Naomi Shihab Nye**; editor **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**. See also: Al-Fateh poetry and plus numerous collections in Arabic.

***Daily Nightmares: Ten Poems***
(Palestinian Writers Union, 1991 / Vantage Press, 1998)
**Translated by Yusra A. Saleh**.

***Daily Nightmares***
(Palestinian Writers Union, 38 pages, 1991)
Translated by **Yusra A. Salah**.

***Selected Poems of Fadwa Tuqan***
(Yarmouk University Press, 84 pages, 1994)

**Fawaz Turki**
***Poems from Exile***
(Washington DC: Free Palestine Press, 66 pages, 1975)

**Lilufa Uddin**
***Pieces of Palestine: A Collection of Poems***

(Libresco Feeds Private, 54 pages, 2024)

**Various authors**
***A Million Kites: Testimonies and Poems from the Children of Gaza, 2023-2024***
(unidentified publisher, 2024)
Credits to the Tamer Institute for Community Education and the Palestinian Museum.

**Various Authors**
***From Bristol to Palestine***
(Bristol, 2025)
66 poems by 15 Bristol poets. Publisher's blurb: "Diz Undone (Dizraeli), Lawrence Hoo, Peter Oswald and Muneera Pilgrim • two of the 'Filton 24' group i carceragem for fifteen months pré-trial, Fatema Zainab Rajwani and Zoë Rogers; • talented young poets Zaynab Islam and Malak Reda; • local poets of all ages: Amber Batool, The Big Flag Guy, Megan Howell, Abbie Ring, Steve Selby, Kate Taylor and Dave Peck."

**Vacy Vlanza**, editor / poetry by **Ramzy Baroud, Jehan Bseiso** & **Samah Sabawi**
***I Remember My Name***
(Novum Pro, 2016)

**Alice Walker**
***Overcoming Speechlessness: A Poet Encounters the Horror in Rwanda, Eastern Congo and Palestine/Israel***
(New York City: Seven Stories Press, 75 pages, 2010)

**Nadia Yaqub** (University of North Carolina)
***Pens, Swords, and the Springs of Art: The Oral Poetry Dueling of Palestinian Weddings in Galilee***
(Leiden: Brill, 2007)

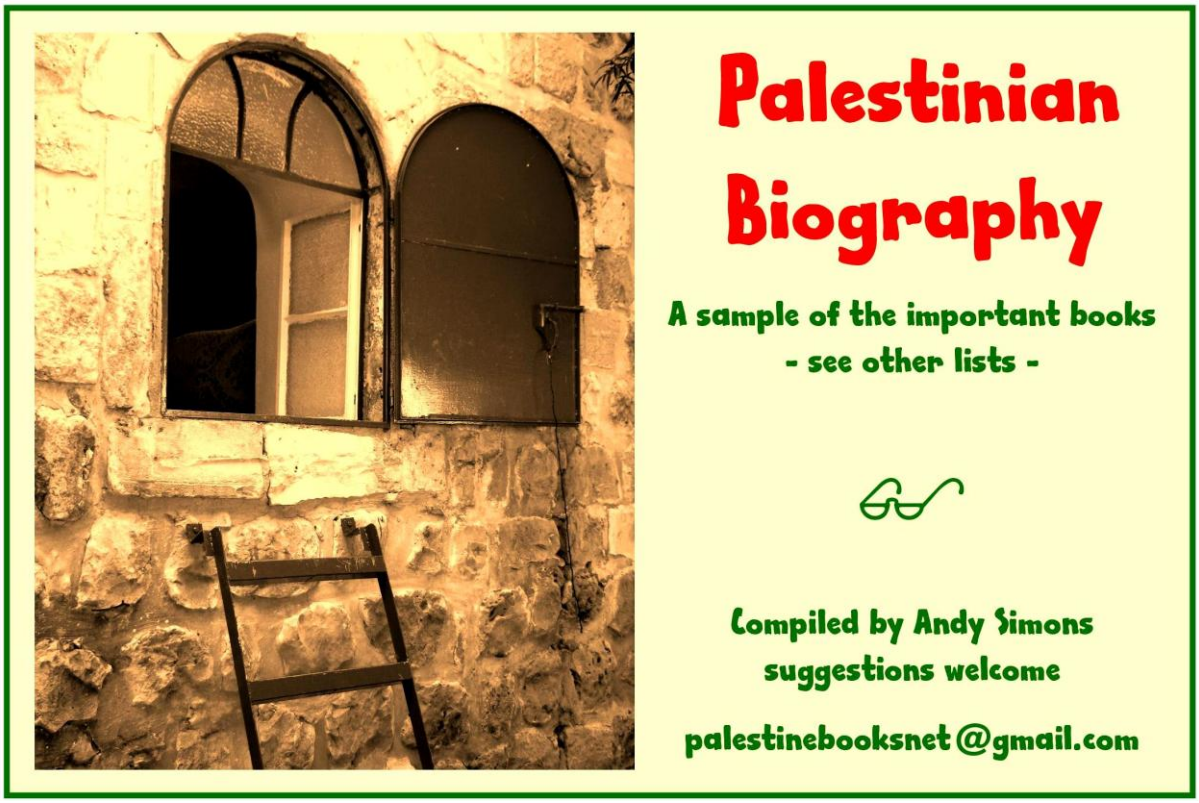
**Ghassan Zaqtan** (born Beit Jala, Director of the Literature section of the Palestinian Ministry of Culture)
***The Silence that Remains: Selected Poems, 1982-2003***
(Smokestack Books, 269 pages, 2018; Copper Canyon Press, 2017)
Translated by **Fady Joudah**.

***Like a Straw Bird, it Follows Me – and other Poems***
(Yale University Press, 2013)
Translated by **Fady Joudah**.

**Tawfiq Zayyad** (Communist, Mayor of Nazareth)
***We are Here to Stay***
(Ripon: Smokestack Books, 96 pages, 2023)
Translated by **Aida Bami**.

**Lorene Zarou Zouzounis** (Palestinian-American San Francisco poet)
***Inquire Within: Selected Poems***
(San Francisco: University of Mars, 1987)

# Palestine Biography & Autobiography




**Abdalhadi Alijla**

***Fearful in Gaza***

(Vita Publishing, 356 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "In Fearful in Gaza, Abdalhadi Alijla answers that question not with abstractions or ideology, but with the intimate, luminous prose of memory. Born into a family of ten in a Gaza neighborhood where concrete crumbles under airstrikes and childhood dreams blur with nightmares, Alijla tells the story of a life shaped by war, lifted by love, and driven by a hunger to survive and to speak. Told through intertwined voices, his own and those of his mother and sisters, Fearful in Gaza offers a vivid portrait of a family enduring the unendurable. We meet a mother who defies tradition to educate her daughters, who fights daily for dignity in the face of occupation, patriarchy, and grinding poverty. We meet a boy who works street corners and construction sites, sleeps amid gunfire, and ultimately claws his way across borders in search of freedom. But this is not simply a tale of escape. It is an act of witness. With lyrical, unflinching detail, Alijla brings to life the textures of Gaza: the scent of za'atar at breakfast, the sea that both haunts and heals, the aching bond between those who stay and those who go. It is a book about exile and memory, but above all, about the fierce love of a mother and her son, and the stubborn hope that persists when all else falls away. At once a personal memoir, a family chronicle, and a piercing social history, Fearful in Gaza is a profound meditation on resistance, belonging, and the enduring human spirit."

**Faiha Abdulhadi**

***Living Memories: Testimonies of Palestinians' Displacement in 1948***

(Al Rowat for Studies and Research, 2017)

Slim volume of testimonies from six Palestinians who experienced the Nakba.

**Said K. Aburish**
***Arafat: From Defender to Dictator***
(Bloomsbury, 1998)

**Eleanor Aitken** [founder of UNIPAL, charity for educational exchange with Palestinians, est. 1972]
***Ariadne's Thread: Through the Labyrinth to Palestine and Israel***
(Cambridge: Cornelian, 1999)
Work on women human rights workers and teachers.

**Samir Akruk**
***Footsteps: My Life's Journey from the Holy Land to the New World***
(Southampton, Pennsylvania: Firebird Press/ Northampton Massachusetts: Impress Group, 2021)
Jerusalem-born American doctor's autobiography and history of his worldwide diaspora family.

**Muhammad Ali Khalidi**, editor and translator
***11 Lives: Stories from Palestinian Exile***
(London/New York City: OR Books, 247 pages, 2022)
Autobiographical accounts. **Perla Issa** – introduction / **Salem Yassin** - *Graffiti from a Time Gone By* / **Mira Sidawi** – *I'm Not Dead Yet* / **Taha Younis** – *The Babbling of a Refugee* / **Nadia Fahed** – *ever Since I Became a Mother, I've Hated Winter* / **Youssef Baanaa** – *Da'uq: A Burial Plot, A Cemetery-* / **Yafa Talal El-Masri** / *Shorter and Longer than a Winter's Cold Spell* / **Hanin Mohammad Rashid** – *Hanin (Longing)* / **Wedad Taha** – *My Heart Hangs from a Mulberry Tree* / **Intisar Hajaj** - *Khadijeh, My Mother's Mother* / **Ruba Rahme** – *And the Dream Goes On* / **Mahmoud Mohammad Zeidan** – *A Migration of Two Exiles: A Diary of the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon 1982*. Contains glossary.

**Madian Al Jazerah** (Palestinian-Jordanian Amman based bookshop owner) with **Ellen Georgiou**
***Are You This? Or Are You That?***
(Hurst , 272 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "When Madian Al Jazerah came out to his Arab parents, his mother had one question. 'Are you this?' she asked, cupping her hand. 'Or are you this?' she motioned with a poking finger. If you're the poker, she said, you aren't a homosexual. For Madian, this opposition reveals not who he is, but patriarchy, power, and society's efforts to fit us into neat boxes. He is Palestinian, but wasn't raised in Palestine. He is Kuwaiti-born, but not Kuwaiti. He's British-educated, but not a Westerner. He's a Muslim, but can't embrace the Islam of today. He's a gay man, out of the closet but still living in the shadows: he has left Jordan, his home, three times in fear of his life. Madian has searched for acceptance and belonging around the world, joining new communities in San Francisco, New York, Hawaii and Tunisia, yet always finding himself pulled back to Amman. This frank and moving memoir narrates his battles with adversity, racism and homophobia, and a rich life lived with humour, dignity and grace."

**Mohanad Alkhatib**
***The Sky I Live Under***
(Author, 151 pages, 2026)
Publisher's blurb: " a powerful memoir that takes readers inside the everyday reality of a young Palestinian living in Gaza during one of the most devastating periods in its history. Through deeply personal memories, Mohanad Alkhatib shares his journey from a childhood filled with simple dreams to a life shaped by war, displacement, uncertainty, and survival. When the world he knew begins to disappear, Mohanad is forced to navigate a reality few can imagine. Homes become memories, familiar

streets become unrecognizable, and everyday necessities become daily struggles. Alongside his family, he endures displacement, hunger, fear, and loss while searching for safety in a place where nowhere truly feels safe."

**Samih Al-Qasim**

***Just an Ashtray***

(London: Austin Macauley, 2018)

Palestinian poet's memoirs.

**Hala Alyan** (Clinical Psychology, New York University)

***I'll Tell You When I'm Home: A Memoir***

(Avid Reader Press/Simon & Schuster, 272 pages, 2025)

Palestinian in the USA, with background in Gaza, Beirut, and Damascus. Publisher's blurb: "At first, Hala's baby is the size of a poppyseed. Then a grain of rice, then a lime. After years of trying for a baby, with one miscarriage followed by another, Hala watches from afar as her daughter grows in the body of another woman, in another country. Hala is not just awaiting news from the surrogate. She is also holding her breath as Palestine and Lebanon, her estranged homelands, are under fire. She goes for long runs to distract herself. She remembers family stories of grandmothers mapping their lives through a tangle of borders; of eradicated villages, invading armies and places of refuge that proved only temporary; of men who left, women who stayed, and the legacies passed down from one to another. Hala decides to name her unborn child Leila, a thread connecting her daughter to *The Thousand and One Nights* and the women who save by storytelling."

**Sami 'Amr**

***A Young Palestinian's Diary, 1941-1945: The Life of Sami 'Amr***

(University of Texas Press, 2009)

Translated, annotated and with an introduction by **Kimberly Katz**; with foreword by **Salim Tamari**. Publisher's blurb: "Writing in his late teens and early twenties, Sami'Amr gave his diary an apt subtitle: "The Battle of Life", encapsulating both the political climate of Palestine in the waning years of the British Mandate as well as the contrasting joys and troubles of family life. Now translated from the Arabic, Sami's diary represents a rare artefact of turbulent change in the Middle East. Written over four years, these ruminations of a young man from Hebron brim with revelations about daily life against a backdrop of tremendous transition. Describing the public and the private, the modern and the traditional, Sami muses on relationships, his station in life, and other universal experiences while sharing numerous details about a pivotal moment in Palestine's modern history. Making these never-before-published reflections available in translation, Kimberly Katz also provides illuminating context for Sami's words, laying out biographical details of Sami, who kept his diary private for close to sixty years. One of a limited number of Palestinian diaries available to English-language readers, the diary of Sami'Amr bridges significant chasms in our understanding of Middle Eastern, and particularly Palestinian, history."

**Said K. Aburish**

***Children of Bethany: The Story of a Palestinian Family***

(IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 243 pages, 1988; Indiana University Press, 1989; Bloomsbury, 1991)

**Hanan Ashwari** (Anglican Christian Palestinian legislator and author; see also: Barbara Victor : *A Voice of Reason: Hanan Ashwari and Peace in the Middle East* (Harcourt Brace, 1994); also published as *Hanan Ashwari: A Passion for Peace* (Fourth Estate, 1995))

***This Side of Peace: A Personal Account***

(Fourth Estate /Simon & Schuster, 1995)

With other authors: ***Our Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 1995)

**Ebba Augustin**, editor: ***Palestinian Women – Identity and Experience***
(Zed Books, 1993)

**Abdel Bari Atwan**
***A Country of Words: A Palestinian Journey from the Refugee Camp to the Front Page***
(Saqi Books, 2008)
More than just a particular Palestinian's autobiographical achievements, Atwan's voice is as important as his story. I'm partial to memoirs of toilers in the newspaper biz, but this book delivers great kicks.

**Azmi S. Audeh** (born in Nazareth, to USA 1961, engineer of many patents for Fortune 500 companies)
***Carpenter from Nazareth: A Palestinian Portrait***
(Author, 368 pages, 1998)
Publisher's blurb: "the life story of its protagonist from infancy to adulthood in Palestine and in the United States of America. He grew up to witness his beloved country torn by conflict and later occupied by foreigners. Destruction was the norm, the loss of family and friends followed and the identity of his people questioned. The book portrays the joys and sorrows of every day life and explains in a story-like manner the root of the conflict experienced first hand."

**Sarah Aziza** (*The New Yorker*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Washington Post*, NPR)
***The Hollow Half: A Memoir of Bodies and Borders***
(Catapult, 400 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "In October 2019, Sarah Aziza, daughter and granddaughter of Gazan refugees, is narrowly saved after being hospitalized for an eating disorder. The doctors revive her body, but it is no simple thing to return to the land of the living. Aziza's crisis is a rupture that brings both her ancestral and personal past into vivid presence. The hauntings begin in the hospital cafeteria, when a mysterious incident summons the familiar voice of her deceased Palestinian grandmother. In the months following, as she responds to a series of ghostly dreams, Aziza unearths family secrets that reveal the ways her own trauma and anorexia echo generations of violent Palestinian displacement and erasure--and how her fight to recover builds on a century of defiant survival and love. As she moves towards this legacy, Aziza learns to resist the forces of colonization, denial, and patriarchy both within and outside her."

**Nawal Qasim Baidoun**
***Memoirs of a Militant: My Years in the Khaim Women's Prison***
(Olive Branch Press, 224 pages, 2021)
Edited by **Michelle Hartman** & **Malek Abisaab**; translated by **Caline Nasrallah** & **Michelle Hartman**. Publisher's blurb: "Born into a nationalist family in Bint Jbeil, Lebanon, not far from the location of the prison itself, Baidoun, like so many others, found herself compelled to take up arms to resist the Israeli occupation. Her memoir skillfully weaves together two stories: that of the oppressive conditions facing ordinary people and families in South Lebanon, and that of the horrors of daily life and the struggle for survival inside the prison itself. Arrested for her role in planning the assassination of the well-known Israeli agent and collaborator, Husayn Abdel Nabi, Baidoun was at one point detained with Soha Bechara, a fellow militant whose similar operation is better known. Her activism rooted in her Islamic faith, Baidoun shatters the notion that Muslim women did not play an active role in the armed resistance. Much like her sisters in Algeria and Palestine, Nawal Baidoun belongs to a generation of Muslim women in the Arab world who played a significant role in their national liberation struggles. She describes the intense mental and physical torture she

endured, and her refusal to confess despite this. *Memoirs of a Militant* offers us rare and unique insight into the strength and courage of Baidoun in extreme circumstances and conditions. Nawal Baidoun herself has said that she wrote this book as a sort of history lesson for the generations who come after her, to show the ways in which women actively took part in the resistance and struggle against the occupation. Her strongly abolitionist message about prisons and the need to liberate all prisoners and detainees resonates strongly today, as does her call for solidarity in the face of injustice."

**Ibtisam Barakat** (Palestinian-American memoirist, educator and poet)

***Balcony on the Moon: Coming of Age in Palestine***
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux/Macmillan, 2016-2017)
Memoir, 1971-1981.

***Tasting the Sky: A Palestinian Childhood***
(Melanie Kroupa Books/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007) Memoir to 1971. One chapter won a prize and was included in Laurel Holliday: *Children of Israel, Children of Palestine – Our Own True Stories* (Pocket Books, 1999)

**Gabi Baramki** (co-founder of Birzeit University)

***Peaceful Resistance: Building a Palestinian University under Occupation***
(Pluto Press, 219 pages, 2010) A personal account of the establishment and maintenance of the first Palestinian university, most interesting for the post-1967 Occupation years, but before Oslo.

***Education***
(Jerusalem: Middle East Publications, 128 pages, 1996)
Special issue of the *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*.

***Aspects of Life under Israeli Occupation: Education and Development***
(London: Chatham House, 18 pages 1991)

**Brian K. Barber** (University of Tennessee)

***No Way But Forward: Life Stories of Three Families in the Gaza Strip***
(author, 311 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "This deeply moving narrative follows three men—Hammam, Hussam, and Khalil — as they build families, pursue education, and fight for justice despite unimaginable challenges. Barber, a psychologist and researcher, has cultivated real relationships with these families since 1995, allowing him to tell their stories with rare depth and authenticity. In the book's final chapters, Barber shares firsthand accounts from the families as they endure the aftermath of October 7. Through their words, readers witness the heartbreak and determination of those living through war while holding on to love, dignity, and hope."

**Hussein Barghouthi** (Palestinian poet, Birzeit University and Al-Quds University)

***Among the Almond Trees: A Palestinian Memoir***
(Seagull Books, 154 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "A poetically written and bitterly sweet memoir about nature, death, life in Palestine, and the universal concept of home. Palestinian writer Hussein Barghouthi was in his late forties when he was diagnosed with lymphoma. He had feared it was HIV, so when the cancer diagnosis was confirmed, he left the hospital feeling a bitter joy because his wife and son would be spared. The bittersweetness of this reaction characterizes the alternating moods of narration and reflection that distinguish this meditative memoir, *Among the Almond Trees*. Barghouthi's way of dealing with finality is to return to memories of childhood in the village of his birth in central Palestine, where the house in

which he grew up is surrounded by almond and fig orchards. He takes many healing walks in the moonlit shadows of the trees, where he observes curious foxes, dancing gazelles, a badger with an unearthly cry, a weasel, and a wild boar with its young-a return not only to the house but to nature itself. The author decides to build a house where he would live with his wife and son, in whom he sees a renewal of life. The realization of his impending death also urges him to vocalize this experience, and he relates the progress of the disease at infrequent intervals. And, ultimately, he details the imaginative possibility of a return to life-to the earth, where he would be buried among the almond trees."

**Yousef Bashir**

***The Words of My Father: Love and Pain in Palestine***

(Harper, 2019)

Gazan family's home is occupied by IDF with the author's pacifist father shot in the back but relentlessly forgiving.

**Kai Bird**

***Crossing Mandelbaum Gate: Coming of Age between the Arabs and the Israelis, 1956-1978***

(Simon & Schuster 2010)

Worthy memoir by the son of an American diplomat who grew up witnessing changes along the Palestinians' time line.

**Issa J. Boullata**

***The Bells of Memory: A Palestinian Boyhood in Jerusalem***

(Quebec: Linda Leith Publishing, 89 pages, 2014)

**Susan Silsby Boyle**

***Betrayal of Palestine: The Story of George Antonius***

(Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001)

Publisher's blurb: "challenge that remains unresolved: the Palestine-Zionist conflict. *Betrayal of Palestine* is an important and innovative work about the continuing controversy of empire and nationalism. This book traces Antonius's contribution and ideas on nation building and good governance and resonates for contemporary seekers of peace in the Middle East. As an archaeology of ideas and meaning, the book will be of great significance for the millennium. It speaks to the paradigm of a conqueror's code, and to the ever present danger of special interests capturing public policy and corrupting good governance. By rediscovering Antonius's message about institutions and nation building, and the true meaning of morality, conscience and public service, *Betrayal of Palestine* speaks to contemporary people in a voice that reconnects the past with the present. The book offers hope to a region where many solutions have failed, and a reminder that the solutions have been there all along, in the people and traditions of the Middle East, but they have been obscured by a conqueror's code of empire and nationalism. It is a reminder of the genius of democracy and the power of first principles: that ordinary people are important, that power must be shared, and that society as nation transcends tribalism and its more virulent contemporary form: nationalism."

**Hanna Braun**

***Weeds Don't Perish: Memoirs of a Defiant Old Woman***

(Garnet, 259 pages, 2011)

Co-founder of Coventry Branch of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 1984.

**Christa Bruhn**

***Crossing Borders: The Search for Dignity in Palestine***

(Mineral Point, Wisconsin: Little Creek Press, 506 pages, 2023)

Memoir of numerous tours of Israel, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Gaza, and the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps in Beirut, 1985-2018.

**Reja-e Busailah** (Indiana & Birzeit Universities)

***In the Land of My Birth: A Palestinian Boyhood***

(Institute for Palestine Studies, 2017)

Abstract: "*In the Land of My Birth* recounts the coming of age of a blind Palestinian boy of modest milieu during the turbulent years leading up to the fall of Palestine in 1948. Above all, it is the boy's life—his struggles to make his way in the sighted world, his upbringing, schooling, friendships, and adventures. It is a compelling human story with a mine of information on popular culture and customs, the educational system, and Palestinian life. While the looming conflict forms the essential backdrop, it comes to the fore only when it impinges directly on the boy's world. The fact that the memoir unfolds largely in "real time," with events, conversations, and situations recounted not retrospectively but as they are experienced, provides a rare window on the political attitudes, social views, legends, prejudices, perceptions and misperceptions of ordinary Palestinians at the time, unmediated and unvarnished. Essential reading for anyone interested in the cultural, social, and political history of Palestine, the condition of blindness, and the education of the blind." With forward by Elias Khoury: "the most eloquent account of Lydda's tragedy that exists: the expulsions, the killings, and the terrible march through the wilderness forced upon the city's inhabitants by the Israeli occupiers." See also memoirs: Edward Said's *Out of Place* and Jabra Ibrahim Jabra's *The First Well.*

**Tawfiq Canaan** (doctor and ethnographer)

***Tawfiq Canaan: An Autobiography***

(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 196 pages, 2020)

Edited by **Mitri Raheb**.

**Elias Chacour** with **David Hazard**

***Blood Brothers: The Dramatic Story of a Palestinian Christian Working for Peace in Israel***

(Grand rapids, Michigan: Chosen Books, c.1984; updated edition, Baker Books, 2013)

**Elias Chacour** with **Alain Michel**; **Anthony Harvey**, editor

***Faith Beyond Despair: Building Hope in the Holy Land***

(Canterbury Press, 2011)

**Elias Chacour** with **Mary E. Jensen**

***We Belong to the Land: One Man's Mission to Spread Peace in a Country of Conflict***

(Marshall Pickering, c.1990 / 1992; updated edition, University of Notre Dame Press, 2000)

**Rajie Cook** (Palestinian-American graphic designer, notable for airport and other transport pictograms)

***A Vision for My Father: The Life and Work of the Palestinian-American Artist and Designer Rajie Cook***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 2018)

Family diaspora memoir; contains disturbing photographs.

**Wadad Makdisi Cortas** (Principal of the Ahliah National School for Girls in Lebanon for 26 years, and mother-in-law of Edward Said)

***A World I Loved***

(Nation Books, 2009)

Lebanon, but relevant to Palestine, starting from 1917. Publisher's blurb: "Through Cortas' eyes we experience life in Lebanon under the oppressive French mandate, and her desire to forge an Arab identity based on religious tolerance. We learn of her dedication to the education of women, and the difficulties that she overcomes to become the principal of a school in Lebanon. And in final, heartbreaking detail, we watch as her world becomes rent by the "Palestine question," Western interference, and civil war."

**Hamid Dabashi**

***On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past***

(Chicago: Haymarket Books, 250 pages, 2020)

Endorsed by many historians, including Joseph Massad, Ilan Pappe, and Caroline Rooney.

**Wafa Darwish**

***Not Done with Life Yet: A Palestinian Woman from Jerusalem***

(Amman ; Dar Al-Shorouk, 2014)

Autobiography of blind, Jerusalem-born exile to Beirut, essentially a single parent to two daughters, who earned a PhD in African-American literature (focus on Ann Petry) and then became Head of the English Department at Birzeit University.

**Larry Derfner** (*Ha'aretz*, formerly with the *Jerusalem Post*)

***No Country for Jewish Liberals***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017)

Los Angeles born, Israeli journalist describes a society provocatively out of step with Jewish liberals and the Left. Includes criticisms of the Israeli press.

**Jasmine Donahaye** (Swansea University)

***Losing Israel***

(Seren, 2015)

Author discovers her grandparent kibbutzniks' displacement of fellahin "by capital in the 1920 and 1930, and by war in 1948."

**Wasseem El Sarraj**

***Human Rights & Mental Health in Palestine: The Life of Gaza's Pioneering Psychiatrist Dr. Eyad Sarraj***

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**Marina Ergas**

***The Other: A Middle Eastern Story***

(Europa, 138 pages, 2020)

Naturalised Israeli from Milan's disillusionment with the myth.

**Fadia Faqir**, editor

***In the House of Silence: Autobiographical Essays*** (Garnet Publishing Arab Women Writers Series, 1998/1999)

with translation by **Shirley Eber**; contains: Liana Badr (Palestine); Nawal el-Saadawi & Fawzia Rashid (Bahrain); Salwa Bakr (Egypt); Hoda Barakat & Hadia Said (Lebanon); Fadia Faqir (Jordan); Alia Mamdouh & Samira al-Mana' (Iraq); Ahlem Mosteghanemi & Zhor Ounissi (Algeria); Hamida Na'Na (Syria); & Aroussia Nalouti (Tunisia).

**Randa Jarrar** (California State University) See also: **FICTION**.

***Love is an Ex-Country: A Memoir***

(Catapult, 2021)

Publisher's blurb: "Randa Jarrar is a fearless voice of dissent who has been called "politically incorrect" (Michelle Goldberg, *The New York Times*). As an American raised for a time in Egypt, and finding herself captivated by the story of a celebrated Egyptian belly dancer's journey across the United States in the 1940s, she sets off from her home in California to her parents' in Connecticut. Coloring this road trip are journeys abroad and recollections of a life lived with daring. Reclaiming her autonomy after a life of survival--domestic assault as a child, and later, as a wife; threats and doxxing after her viral tweet about Barbara Bush--Jarrar offers a bold look at domestic violence, single motherhood, and sexuality through the lens of the punished-yet-triumphant body. On the way, she schools a rest-stop racist, destroys Confederate flags in the desert, and visits the Chicago neighborhood where her immigrant parents first lived. Hailed as "one of the finest writers of her generation" (Laila Lalami), Jarrar delivers a euphoric and critical, funny and profound memoir that will speak to anyone who has felt erased, asserting: *I am here. I am joyful."*

**Andrew Gowers** & **Tony Walker**

***Behind the Myth: Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution***

(Interlink Books, 2001)

Based on hundreds of hours of exclusive interviews with senior PLO figures, including Arafat, as well as senior American, Arab, Israeli and European officials, it is a comprehensive portrait of the evolution of the Palestinian resistance from its earliest days as an unruly and little noticed collection of guerrilla factions, through its rise to international prominence, right up to the position following the Gulf War and the historic Madrid Peace Conference of 1991. It is the story of internecine strife and external conflict; of weakness and over-confidence; of mistakes and miscalculations; and of many lost opportunities for peace. But it is above all the story of of the dream that Arafat has done more than anyone to sustain in the face of daunting odds: the idea that Palestinian people should have the right to determine their own future.

**Sir Geoffrey Furlonge**

***Palestine is My Country: The Story of Musa Alami***

(John Murray, 1969)

**Musa Alami** (1897-1984) was a prominent Palestinian nationalist.

**Laila El-Haddad**

***Gaza Mom: Palestine, Politics, Parenting and Everything in Between***

(Just World Books, 2010 and edited ed., 2013)

**Mahdi Abdul Hadi** (PASSIA founder and educator; Note: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs)

***100 Years of Palestinian History: A 20th Century Chronology***

(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 404 pages, 2001)

***The Other Side of the Coin: A Native Palestinian Tells His Story***

(Jerusalem: PASSIA, 1998)

**Mona Hajjar Halaby** (founder of British Mandate Jerusalemites Photo Library, on Facebook)

***In My Mother's Footsteps: A Palestinian Refugee Returns Home***

(Thread Books, 294 pages, 2021)

Memoir; daughter reunites exiled Nakba mother to Jerusalem.

**Suheir Hammad**

***Drops of This Story***

(New York & London:Harlem River Press / Writers and Readers Publishing, 93 pages, 1996)

Author's story from Palestine to Lebanon to Brooklyn. See also poetry.

**Shafiq Harbuk**

***In Living Memory: Brief Biography of a Thinker & Community Development Pioneer Hassan Mustafa (The Son of Battir Village)***

(Hassan Mustafa Cultural Center, 2016)

Mustafa was arrested and exiled to Iraq by the Mandate Government in 1939, worked with education pioneer Khalil Sakakini in Al-Nahda College; edited *Al-Qafila Magazine*, the organ of the NEBC (Near East Broadcasting Corporation in Jaffa); was a hard negotiator with the 'Armistace Authority' when Israel wanted to exchange nearby village land for a mountain (he refused), and was UNRWA Director of Public Relations in 1961, the year of his death.

**Alan Hart** (Middle East chief correspondent for Independent Television News/ITV; BBC TV presenter of Panorama programme)

***Arafat, a Political Biography***

(Indiana University Press, 1989)

***Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker?***

(Sidgwick & Jackson, 1987)

**Sabrin Hasbun**

***Crossing: A Love Story between Italy and Palestine***

(Footnote Press, 272 pages, 2025)

A family memoir that retraces the love story between the author's Palestinian father and Italian mother.

**Ben Hecht**

***A Child of the Century***

(Simon & Schuster, 1954)

The most successful Hollywood screenwriter of his era and the biggest promoter of militant Zionism to American Jews. He became an Irgun-sympathetic protégé of Peter Bergman (Hillel Kook) and was indisputably responsible for the championing the cause of a Jewish state to assimilated American Jews and the wider Stateside public, via national advertising and public events. See also: **Rafael Medoff**: *Militant Zionism in America – The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926-1948*; **Adina Hoffman**: *Ben Hecht ~ Fighting Words, Moving Pictures*; **Judith Tydor Baumel:** *The 'Bergson Boys' and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy*; and **Leonard Slater**: *The Pledge.*

**Sami Hermez** (Northwestern University, Qatar)

***My Brother, My Land: A Story from Palestine***

(Redwood Press, 328 pages, 2024)

Focus on Sireen Saqwalha's family in the village of Kufr Ra'I, dispossession, and the ethics of armed resistance.

**Mowafa Said Househ** (King Saud Bin Abdulaziz |University Riyadh)

***Under the Nakba Tree: Fragments of a Palestinian Family in Canada***

(Athabasca University Press, 140 pages, 2022)

**Bubar Hovsepian**

***Edward Said: The Politics of an Oppositional Intellectual***

(American University in Cairo Press, 316 pages, 2025)

Drawing on Said's diaries, this is an analysis of his seminal works and the debates surrounding them, *Edward Said: The Politics of an Oppositional Intellectual* traces the influence of Foucault on Said, and how Said eventually diverged from this influence to arrive at a more pronounced understanding of agency, resistance, and liberation. He consequently affiliated more closely with Raymond Williams, Antonio Gramsci, and more contemporaneously, with his friends the late Eqbal Ahmad and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod.

**Jocelyn Hurndall**

***Defy the Stars: The Life and Death of Tom Hurndall*** aka ***My Son Tom: The Life and Tragic Death of Tom Hurndall***

(Bloomsbury Press, 320 pages, 2007, 2008)

Photographer shot in the head, 2003) by the IDF as he was rescuing a Palestinian child in the town of Rafah in Gaza. See: Tom Hurndall.

**Motti Inbari** (University of North Carolina at Pembroke)

With **Kirill Bumin** (Boston University): ***Christian Zionism in the Twenty-First Century: American Evangelical Opinion on Israel***

(Oxford University Press, 256 pages, 2024)

Based on three surveys conducted 2018, 2020, and 2021.

***Ruth Blau: A Life of Paradox and Purpose***

(Indiana University Press, 276 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "Born a French Catholic, Ruth Blau (Ben-David) (1920–2000) lived a constantly twisting life. During World War II, Blau was active in the French Resistance, and under their command, she joined the Gestapo as a double agent. After the war, she studied philosophy as a PhD candidate at the Sorbonne during the 1950s. After converting to Judaism and moving to Israel in 1960, Blau was involved in concealing Yossele Schumacher, a seven-year-old child, as part of a militant conflict between ultra-Orthodox and secular Jews in Israel. In 1965, despite a huge scandal, she married Amram Blau, head of the anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox Neturei Karta. After the death of her husband in 1973, Blau took upon herself to travel to Arab countries to help the Jewish communities in distress in Lebanon and Iran, where she met Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and his deputy Abu Jihad. But the most significant connections she made were in Iran. In 1979, she met with the leader of the Iranian revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini. *Ruth Blau: A Life of Paradox and Purpose* represents the first full-length biography of this remarkable woman. Drawing on a trove of archival materials and interviews with those who knew Ruth, Motti Inbari offers a complex, multifaceted portrait of a woman undertaking a remarkable and influential journey through modern European and Middle Eastern history."

**Sarah Irving**

***Leila Khaled: Icon of Palestinian Liberation***

(Pluto Press, 2012)

An improvement on Khaled's own 1975 autobiography, long since out of print. Irving allows the subject's voice to come through, and her own critical assessment as well.

***Palestine***

(Bradt Travel Guides, ca. 2010)

An insightful walking guide for intrepid ramblers, but an indispensable reference work too. Keep it handy. –AS

**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**

***Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories***
(University of Arkansas Press, 2005)
Translated by **Issa J. Boullata**.

***The First Well – A Bethlehem Boyhood***
(University of Arkansas Press, 1995 / Hesperus, 2012)
A gentle cultural view of the diversity of the Palestinian Arab community in Bethlehem and his upbringing amongst the "shouts of books" in the cosmopolitan city. See also autobiographical works: Edward Said's *Out of Place* and Reja-e Busailah's *In the Land of My Birth – A Palestinian Boyhood*, and Jabra's own fiction.

**Andrea Jackson**

***Who am I and Where is Home? An American Woman in 1931 Palestine***
(Author, 264 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "A memoir/biography/compilation of letters to and from a young Jewish-American poet living in Palestine for one year during the Depression, including correspondence with her family in Brooklyn and with two of her suitors – one an ardent Zionist full of romantic schemes and the other a beginning attorney struggling to support his parents and sisters. Befriending other young Americans living in Jerusalem, she teaches English and then works as secretary to a British engineer charged with overhauling the Jerusalem sewer system, which had been constructed by the Romans some 2000 years before. Her active social life is interrupted when one of the suitors arrives for a visit."

**Maryam Jameelah**

***Shaikh Izz-ud-Din al-Qassam Shaheed: A Great Palestinian Mujahid, 1882-1935: His Life and Work***
(Lahore: Mohammad Yusuf Khan, 10 pages, 1968)

***Ahmad Khalil: The Biography of a Palestinian Arab Refugee***
(Lahore: Mohammad Yusuf Khan, 146 pages, 1968)

**Naseem Jeryis**

***Small-scale Enterprises in Arab Villages: A Case Study from the Galilee Region in Israel***
(Uppsala Universitet, 145 pages, 1990)

**Fida Jiryis**

***Stranger in My own Land: Palestine, Israel and One Family's Story of Home***
(Hurst, 447 pages, no index, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This beautifully written memoir tells the story of their journey, which is also the story of Palestine, from the Nakba to the present—a seventy-five-year tale of conflict, exodus, occupation, return and search for belonging, seen through the eyes of one writer and her family. Jiryis reveals how her father, Sabri, a PLO leader and advisor to Yasser Arafat, chose exile in 1970 because of his work. Her own childhood in Beirut was shaped by regional tensions, the Lebanese Civil War and the 1982 Israeli invasion, which led to her mother's death. Thirteen years later, the family made an unexpected return to Fassouta, their village of origin in the Galilee. But Fida, twenty-two years old and full of love for her country, had no idea what she was getting into." See also Michael Chabon & Ayelet Waldman, editor: *Kingdom of Olives and Ash – Writers Confront the Occupation.*

**Fay Afaf Kanafani**

***Nadia, Captive of Hope: Memoir of an Arab Woman***

(Routledge, 1998)
Autobiography of Beirut feminist, with an account of the Palestinian flight to Lebanon from Palestine in 1948, and how the social norms of Palestinian life became quickly broken down. With an introduction by **Lisa Suhair Majaj** (Northeastern University).

**Jamal Krayem Kanj**

***Children of Catastrophe: Journey from a Palestinian Refugee Camp to America***
(Garnet Publishing, 241 pages, 2010)
Autobiography, from Nahr El-Bared camp in Lebanon, to becoming a member of the PLO, through to eventual emigration and a new life as an engineer in the United States.

**Ghada Karmi** (Palestine-born physician, academic historian at Exeter University, and noted author)

***One State: The Only Democratic Future for Palestine-Israel***
(Pluto Press, 208 pages, 2023)
A comparative study of One Democratic State with Bi-National State advocation by multiple parties.

***Return: A Palestinian Memoir***
(Verso Books, 2015)

***Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation***
(University of California Press, 2010)
Edited by **Adel Iskandar** and **Hakem Rustom**; see Karmi's chapter: *Said and the Palestinian Diaspora: A Personal Reflection.*

***Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine***
(Pluto Press, 2007)
"This is her detailed, lucid and eloquent account of the impact of Israel on the Arab world, and its relationship with America and Europe."– Naomi Foyle. The author unpacks the illogic of the 'two-state solution', and clears a path to 'One Democratic State' (ODS).

***In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story***
(Verso, 2004)
"This hugely successful account of how the author's childhood in Jerusalem became, in 1948, a lifetime in exile is much more than a gripping personal narrative. All the major events of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are covered here, by a Palestinian woman who grew up in Golders Green, and from wanting nothing more than to 'fit in' with her new surroundings, become one of the world's leading commentators on Palestine." – Naomi Foyle. Superbly balanced autobiography, which is neither overly self-centred nor polemical.

**Kathy Saade Kenny**

***Katrina in Five Worlds: A Palestinian Women's Story / Katrina en Cinco Mundos: Historia de una Mujer Palestina***
(Oakland: Five Worlds Press, bilingual, 113pp, 2010)
Palestinian-American author's exploration of her grandmother's life in Ramallah, Bethlehem, Kiev, San Pedro de Las Colonias, and finally Long Beach, California, where she lived after a difficult split with her conservative husband, who returned to Palestine.

**Salah Khalaf** aka **Abu Iyad** (Palestinian organiser in Cairo, 1950s; early Fateh leader; to Kuwait 1960)

***My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle***
(New York City: Times Books, 235 pages, 1981)
Autobiography. Translated by **Linda Butler Koseoglu**, edited by **Eric Rouleau**.

**Leila Khaled**

***My People Shall Live: Autobiography of a Revolutionary***
(London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1973; Toronto: NC Press, 1975)
Edited by **George Hajjar**.

***Mra: Documents from and about Arab Women***
(London: Funny Farm Publications, 12 pages, 1974)

**Russell Stetler**, editor: ***Palestine: The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Ramparts Press Reader***
(San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1972)
With photographs by **Jeffrey Blankfort**. Pieces detail the variability of the resistance movements, with policy statements, including **Leila Khaled**: *Skyjack* (interview).

**Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi**

***Exiled from Jerusalem: The Diaries of Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi***
(IB Tauris, 376 pages, 2020)
Publisher'sblurb: "The diaries of Dr Hussein Fakhri al-Khalidi offer a unique insight to the peculiarities of colonialism that have shaped Palestinian history. Elected mayor of Jerusalem – his city of birth – in 1935, the physician played a leading role in the Palestinian Rebellion of the next year, with profound consequences for the future of Palestinian resistance and British colonial rule. One of many Palestinian leaders deported as a result of the uprising, it was in British-imposed exile in the Seychelles Islands that al-Khalidi began his diaries. Written with equal attention to lively personal encounters and ongoing political upheavals, entries in the diaries cover his sudden arrest and deportation by the colonial authorities, the fifteen months of exile on the tropical island, and his subsequent return to political activity in London then Beirut. The diaries provide a historical and personal lens into Palestinian political life in the late 1930s, a period critical to understanding the catastrophic 1948 exodus and dispossession of the Palestinian people. With an introduction by Rashid Khalidi the publication of these diaries offers a wealth of primary material and a perspective on the struggle against colonialism that will be of great value to anyone interested in the Palestinian predicament, past and present." Edited by **Rafiq Husseini**; introduction by **Rashid Khalidi**.

**Anbara Salam Khalidi**

***Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi***
(Pluto Press, 2014)
Translated by **Tarif Khalidi**.

**Nakula Khoury** (Arab nationalist and senior member of the Orthodox Church)

***The House of a Priest: A Palestinian Life (1955-1954)***
(Brill, 2022)
Memoirs, edited by **Sarah Irving**, **Charbel Nassif** and **Karène Sanchez Summerer**

**Leyla K. King**

***Daughters of Palestine: A Memoir in Five Generations***
(Erdmans, 208 pages, 2025)
Palestinian Christian family's history via Haifa, Ramallah, Damascus, Beirut, and Texas.

**Felicia Langer**

***An Age of Stone***
(Quartet Books, 1988)

***These are My Brothers: Israel and the Occupied Territories, Part 2***
(Ithaca Press, 1979)

***With My Own Eyes: Israel and the Occupied Territories, 1967-1973***
(Ithaca Press, 1975)
With foreword by **Israel Shahak**. Translated from Hebrew edition, 1974. Observational journalism, case studies of cruelty and torture during imprisonment, forming a document of 'confessions' during the early years of the Occupation.

**Ofra Yeshua-Lyth** (Journalist with *Ma'ariv*)
***The Case for a Secular New Jerusalem – A Memoir***
(Createspace, 2014)
Translation from Hebrew of *Erietz, Brith* (Nimrod, 2004)

**Aaron Magid** (former Amman-based journalist for *Al-Monitor,* the Atlantic Council, France 24, Al-Jazeera, Middle East Institute)
***The Most American King: Abdullah of Jordan***
(Universal Publishers, 254 pages, 2025)
Tangential to Palestine. Publisher's blurb: "This book is the first comprehensive biography on Jordan's King Abdullah. Drawing on interviews with over 100 individuals, including Abdullah's classmates, former Jordanian ministers, and CIA directors, *The Most American King* offers a thorough account of this key Arab leader. Aaron Magid, a former Amman-based journalist, charts Abdullah's path to power from a Massachusetts prep school to a British military academy to the throne. This book examines how Abdullah has remained in power for over a quarter century, surrounded by wars and refugee crises. While leaders nearby were ousted during the 2011 Arab Spring protests, Abdullah survived the wave of discontent. *The Most American King* details Abdullah's efforts to cement an alliance with Washington. Despite leading a small desert country, the Jordanian king was the first Arab leader to meet US Presidents Joe Biden, Donald Trump, and Barack Obama. The kingdom has received billions in US assistance, and Abdullah's intelligence services helped the CIA foil Al-Qaeda terror plots against American targets. Abdullah's personal ties to the United States have strengthened this relationship. Abdullah trained with the US Army in Kentucky, appeared on a Star Trek episode, and interviewed with Comedy Central's Jon Stewart. While the Hashemite ruler has frequently been lauded in the West, The Most American King discusses how some of Abdullah's decisions provoked controversy inside the Hashemite Kingdom. Abdullah approved a $15 billion gas deal with Israel in 2014, but thousands of Jordanians protested the Hashemite Kingdom's largest-ever deal with the Jewish state. Over a decade earlier, Abdullah agreed to host US troops in Jordan and provide Washington with overflight rights ahead of the Bush administration's 2003 invasion of Iraq. The Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood denounced such military cooperation with the United States as it prepared to topple the government of its neighbor. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in Jordanian politics."

**Rachel Mairs**
***The Untold Lives of Dragomans: The Dragoman Solomon Negime and His Clients***
(Bloomsbury, 2015)
Christian Palestinian tour guide in Jaffa and Jerusalem, from the 1880s until the Great War. Period accounts of both Negime and his customers.

**Betty Dagher Majaj**
***A War Without Chocolate: One Woman's Journey through Two Nations, Three Wars, and Four Children***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015)

**Jean Said Makdisi** (b. Jerusalem, raised in Cairo, Beirut)

As editor, **Serene Husseini Shahid**: ***Jerusalem Memories***
(Beirut: Naufal Books, 1999, 2000)

***Teta, Mother and Me***
(Saqi Books & WW Norton & Co, 2005 & 2007)

***Beirut Fragments: A War Memoir***
(NYC: Persea Books, 1990)

As co-editor with **Martin Asser**: **Shafiq Al-Hout**: ***My Life in the PLO – The Inside Story of the Palestinian Struggle***
(Pluto, 2011)
Translated by **Hader al-Hout** and **Laila Othman**. The memoirs of Shafiq Al-Hout, one of the most important Palestinian leaders, show him to be selfless, yet critical of Arafat's management of the PLO and the Fatah movement, especially during the Lebanese years.

**Atallah Mansour** (Christian Palestinian b. 1934, longtime reporter for *Ha'aretz* (in Hebrew) and *Al Quds* (in Arabic).

***Waiting for the Dawn: An Autobiography***
(Secker & Warburg, 155 pages, 1975)
Revised and enlarged as ***Still Waiting for the Dawn: Palestinian Long Life with His Sterp-Father, Israel*** (author/Createspace, 2013). See also FICTION.

**Mike Marqusee**

***If I am Not for Myself: Journey of an Anti-Zionist Jew***
(Verso, 2008)
Focused on the author's New York City family background and how they, typically of Left-leaning American Jews, didn't connect social justice with Zionism in the post-holocaust era.

**Nur Masalha** (Palestinian historian and professor linked to the University of Surrey and SOAS: "The rupture of 1948 and the ethnic cleansing of Palestine are central to both the Palestinian society of today and Palestinian social history and collective identity. Resisting ethnic cleansing and politicide has been a key feature of the modern history of the Palestinians as a people."

***Ariel Sharon: A Political Profile***
(Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 2001)

***King Faisal I of Iraq: A Study of His Political Leadership, 1921-1933***
(PhD thesis, University of London, 1987)

**Malek Mattar**, author and illustrator (Gaza artist, whose works are largely autobiographical)

***Sitti's Bird: A Gaza Story*** and ***Grandma's Bird***
(Crocodile Books, 32 pages, 2021)
Autographical children's book, reflecting the author's childhood in Gaza and her beginnins as an artist during the 2014 airstrikes there.

**Dr. Kamel Mohanna** (Pediatrician at Lebanese University; President of AMEL International and co-ordinator of the Lebanese and Arab NGOs.

***The Epic of Difficult Choices***
(author, Amel Association, 2017)

Translated by **Ibrahim Khalil El-Jorr**. A most revolutionary doctor's story, dedicated to Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and all who need care.

**Enrico Molinaro**

***The Holy Places of Jerusalem in Middle East Peace Agreements: The Conflict between Global and State Identites***

(Sussex Academic Press, 204 pages, 2009, 2010)

**Hannah Moushabeck**

***Homeland: My Father Dreams of Palestine***

(Chronicle Books, 40 pages, 2023)

Illustrated by **Reem Madooh**. Publisher's blurb: "A father and his daughters may not be able to return home . . . but they can celebrate stories of their homeland! As bedtime approaches, three young girls eagerly await the return of their father who tells them stories of a faraway homeland-Palestine. Through their father's memories, the Old City of Jerusalem comes to life: the sounds of street vendors beating rhythms with brass coffee cups, the smell of argileh drifting through windows, and the sight of doves flapping their wings toward home. These daughters of the diaspora feel love for a place they have never been, a place they cannot go. But, as their father's story comes to an end, they know that through his memories they will always return. A Palestinian family celebrates the stories of their homeland in this moving autobiographical picture book debut by Hannah Moushabeck. With heartfelt illustrations by Reem Madooh, this story is a love letter to home, to family, and to the persisting hope of people, which transcends borders."

**Nora Lester Murad**, editor (Boston resident, but Founder of the Dalia Association, and Aid Watch Palestine NGOs in Palestine)

***I Found Myself in Palestine: Stories from Around the Globe***

(Interlink Publications, 256 pages, 2018, 2024)

Essays from those in the Palestinian diaspora and others: Pam Bailey, Mariam Barghouti, Thimna Bunte, Jonathan Cook, Helene Furani, Fatima Gabru, Neta Golan Kamal, Nadia Hasan, Donn Hutchison, Didi Kanaaneh, Andrew Karney, Maria Khoury, Corina Mamani, Cody O'Rourke, Carolyn Quffa, Rina Rosenberg, Marty Rosenbluth, Ann Saba, Samira Safadi, Zeena Salman, Steve Sosebee, Saul Jihad Takahashi, and Trees Zbidat-Kosterman. Note: see Nora Lester Murad in POETRY section.

**Charles Theodore Murr**

***The Syrian: Hilarion Capucci and the Priceless Ransom***

(author, 2018)

Tangential: **Archbishop Capucci** (1922-2017) was a Syrian Catholic bishop who smuggled weapons to the PLO in 1974, served time in an Israeli prison, and was a passenger on the *HV Mavi Marmara* relief ship bound for Gaza in 2010.

**Jacob J. Nammar**

***Born in Jerusalem, Born Palestinian***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2012)

Publisher's blurb: "In this heartwarming memoir, Jacob paints a vivid portrait of Palestinian life- from his childhood days in pre-1948 Jerusalem, the struggles of the Palestinian community under Israeli rule, to his ultimate decision to leave for America at age 23."

**Maha Nassar**

***Brothers Apart: Palestinian Citizens of Israel and the Arab World***
(Stanford University Press, 2018)
Arabic literature and poetry shown to have crossed borders.

**Sari Nusseibeh**

***Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life***
(Halban Books, 2007)
Extraordinary autobiography of long time President of Al-Quds University, who tried to use his cosmopolitan awareness to bypass Israeli officialdom in forming a viable Palestinian state.

**Olfat Mahmoud** (Palestinian nurse and medical educator, Lebanon)

***Tears for Tarshiha***
(Melbourne: Wild Dingo Press, 2018)
Co-edited by **Dani Cooper** & **Helen McCue**. Publisher's blurb: "Olfat Mahmoud is a stateless Palestinian refugee. Born in a refugee camp in Lebanon, she is a descendant of the Christian and Muslim people who were forced from their homeland at gunpoint by the Israeli military in the 1948's Nakba, 'Catastrophe', and who fled Palestine in the period leading up to – and after – the subsequent founding of the state of Israel in 1948. *Tears for Tarshiha* follows Olfat's career – as a registered nurse, the director of an international NGO, an internationally recognised peace activist, and most recently, the recipient of a doctorate – amid the death and destruction of Lebanon's many conflicts; she chronicles the Palestinian people's remarkable capacity for love and bravery in the most extreme conditions. Olfat's extraordinary story is emblematic of the Palestinian plight, illustrating their continued survival and determination that has become an inconvenience to the international community."

**Timothy J. Paris**

***In Defence of Britain's Middle Eastern Empire: A Life of Sir Gilbert Clayton***
(Sussex Academic Press, 536 pages, 2016)
Publisher's blurb: "T. E. Lawrence (of Arabia) described his war-time chief as *"the perfect leader"*, a man who *"worked by influence rather than by loud direction. … He was like water, or permeating oil, creeping silently and insistently through everything. It was not possible to say where Clayton was and was not, and how much really belonged to him."* This is the first biography of General Sir Gilbert Clayton (1875–1929), Britain's pre-eminent "man-on-the-spot" during the formative years of the modern Middle East. Serving as a soldier, administrator and diplomat in ten different Middle Eastern countries during a 33-year Middle Eastern career, Clayton is best known as the Director of British Intelligence in Cairo during the Great War (1914–16), and as the instigator and sponsor of the Arab Revolt against the Turks. Dedicated to the preservation of Britain's Middle Eastern empire, Clayton came to realize that in the transformed post-war world Britain could ill afford to control all aspects of the emerging nation-states in the region. In his work as adviser to the Egyptian government (1919–22), he advocated internal autonomy for the Egyptians, while asserting Britain's vital imperial interests in the country. As chief administrator in Palestine (1923–5), he sought to reconcile the Arabs to Britain's national home policy for the Jews, and, at the same time, to solidify Britain's position as Mandatory power. In Arabia, Clayton negotiated the first post-war treaties with the emerging power of Ibn Saud, (1925, 1927), but curtailed his designs on the British Mandates in Iraq and Transjordan. And, in Iraq, where Clayton served as High Commissioner (1929), he backed Iraq's independence within the framework of the British Empire."

***Britain, the Hashemites and Arab Rule: The Sherifian Solution***
(Routledge, 392 pages, 2015)
Author examines Winston Churchill's involvement in the struggle for power in a number of Middle Eastern countries between 1920 and 1925. His study traces the development of the Sherifian policy, a policy that was devised by the British.

**Laila Parsons** (McGill University / Harvard University / Oxford University)

***The Commander: Fawzi al-Qawaqji and the Fight for Arab Independence, 1914-1948***

(Hill & Wang, 2016 / Saqi Books, 2017)

An astonishing yet well-nuanced biography of a dedicated military commander, who was unjustly ignored by post-1948 Arab political activists. The author shares varied period opinions of the Nakba, which is generous as most historians simply wouldn't. Publisher's blurb: "Revered by some as the Arab Garibaldi, maligned by others as an intriguer and opportunist, al_Qawaqji manned the ramparts of Arab history for four decades. As a young officer in the Ottoman Army, he fought the British in World War I and won an Iron Cross. In the 1920s, he mastered the art of insurgency and helped lead a massive uprising against the French authorities in Syria. A decade later, he reappeared in Palestine, where he helped direct the Arab Revolt of 1936. When an effort to overthrow the British rulers of Iraq failed, he moved to Germany, where he spent much of World War II battling his fellow exile, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who had accused him of being a British spy. In 1947, Qawuqji made a daring escape from Allied-occupied Berlin, and sought once again to shape his region's history. In his most famous role, he would command the Arab Liberation Army in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948."

**Miko Peled**

***Injustice: The Story of the Holy Land Foundation Five***

(Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 224 pages, 2018)

Publisher's blurb: "In July 2004, federal agents raided the homes of five Palestinian-American families, arresting the five dads. The first trial of the "Holy Land Foundation Five" ended in a hung jury. The second, marked by highly questionable procedures, resulted in very lengthy sentences—for "supporting terrorism" by donating to charities that the U.S. government itself and other respected international agencies had long worked with. In 2013, human rights activist and author Miko Peled started investigating this case. He discussed the miscarriages of justice involved in it with the men's lawyers and heard from the men's families about the devastating effects the case had on their lives. He also 972ravelled to the remote federal prison complexes where the men were held, to conduct unprecedentedly deep interviews with them. Injustice traces the labyrinthine course of this case, presenting a terrifying picture of governmental over-reach in post-9/11 America."

***The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine***

(Just World Books, 2012)

With foreword by **Alice Walker**. An Israeli-American's rejection of garrison state culture and activism in "Area A" of the West Bank. Author's father was Matti Peled, one of the commanders of the 1967 war, who protested the occupation and predicted its consequences.

**Hani Q. Khoury** (Mercer University)

***Giving Up is Not an Option: Memoirs of a Palestinian American***

(Author, 164 pages, 2022)

Edited by **Patrick A. Gibby and Duane E. Davis**.

**Tomas Rowan** (UNRWA officer in Gaze during he First Intifada)

***A Bar Mitzvah at Arafat's: End the Insanity***

(author, ebook, 283 pages, 2023)

Author/publisher's blurb: "Many scenes are graphic, both sexual and violent in order to tell the story not to sensationalize it. The story is about a man recuperating from his self-induced hell of the *80s*; the addictions and obsessions, to his journey into hell — his trip to Gaza. It was an interesting time to be living in Vienna and working at the United Nations; Vienna staged a year-long celebration of *Mozart in Wien* (Mozart in Vienna), 200 years after his death. The Soviet coup d'état attempt in Moscow, the collapse of the Communist Party and the eventual dissolution of the USSR all happened that year. The *Madrid Peace Talks* were beginning and with the speed of *Desert Storm,* anything seemed possible. That naivete is now apparent."

**Eric Rouleau**

***Truths and Lies in the Middle East: Memoirs of a Veteran Journalist, 1952-2012***

(American University in Cairo Press, 320 pages, 2019)

Foreword by **Alain Gresh** (former editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*) Publisher's blurb: "Eric Rouleau was one of the most celebrated journalists of his generation, a status he owed to his extraordinary career, which began when Hubert Beuve-Méry, director of Le Monde, charged him with covering the Near and Middle East. In 1963, Rouleau was invited by Gamal Abd al-Nasser to interview him in Cairo, a move which was not lost on the young Rouleau-going through him, a young Egyptian Jew who had been exiled from Egypt in late 1951, shortly before the Free Officers coup, was a means to renew diplomatic ties with de Gaulle's France. This exclusive interview, which immediately made headlines around the world, propelled Rouleau into the center of the region's conflicts for two decades. Writing between Cairo and Jerusalem, Rouleau was a chief witness to the wars of 1967 and 1973, narrating their events from behind the scenes. He was to meet all the major players, including Nasser, Levi Ashkol, Moshe Dayan, Golda Meir, Yasser Arafat, Ariel Sharon, and Anwar Sadat, painting striking portraits of each. More than a memoir, his book presents a history, lived from the inside, of the Israel–Palestine conflict."

**Hasib Sabbagh**

***Hasib Sabbagh: From Palestinian Refugee to Citizen of the World***

(Lanham, Maryland: Middle East Institute/University Press of America, 110 pages, 1996)

Edited by **Mary-Jane Deeb** and **Mary E. King**.

**Samah Sabawi**

***Cactus Pear for My Beloved***

(Penguin, 336 pages, 2024)

Memoir of the author's parents. Publisher's blurb: "Filled with love for land, history, peoples it is more than anything else a family story and a love story told with enormous humanity and feeling. How the son (one of six), born at the height of the displacements to a disabled father and illiterate mother, a believer in peaceful resistance, became a leading poet and writer in Palestine, before being forced, with his own young family in tow, to flee and start a new life in Australia."

**Karl Sabbagh**

***Palestine: A Personal History***

(Atlantic Books, 2006)

Sabbagh, whose father was the lead broadcaster for the BBC Arabic Service during WWII, here interweaves the literary and political history of Palestine, with his own family's story, in particular his father's experience during the partition of his country and creation of Israel. –Naomi Foyle

**Steve Sabella** (Jerusalem-born, Berlin-residing Palestinian artist-photographer)

***The Parachute Paradox: Steve Sabella***

(Berlin: Kerber Verlag, 2016)

Memoir of three decades of the artist's life under Israeli occupation.

**Micaela Sahhar**

***Find Me at the Jaffa Gate: An Encylopaedia of a Palestinian Family***

(Sydney: NewSouth Press/University of New South Wales [UNSW] Press, 304 pages, 2025)

Publisher's blurb: "What does the daughter of a Nakba survivor inherit? It is not property or tangible heirlooms, nor the streets and neighbourhoods of a father's childhood and the deep roots of family who have lived in one place, Jerusalem, for generation upon generation. Fixing her gaze on moments, places and objects – from the streets of Bethlehem to the Palestinian neighbourhoods of the New Jerusalem –

Micaela Sahhar assembles a story of Palestinian diaspora. *Find Me at the Jaffa Gate* is a book about the gaps and blank spaces that cannot be easily recounted, but which insists on the vibrant reality of chance, fragments and memory to reclaim a place called home."

**Sahoom** and her granddaughter **Leanna Sami Mansour**
***Sahoom's Story: A Palestinian Journey Since 1935***
(authors, 92 pages, 2025)
Autobiography of Sahoom, with colour photographs.

**Edward Said**
***Out of Place: A Memoir***
(Granta, 1999)
See also other Palestinian autobiographical works of Mandate Palestine: **Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**'s *The First Well* and **Reja-e Busailah**'s *In the Land of My Birth – A Palestinian Boyhood*

**Steven Salaita** (American University Cairo, American University Beirut, University of Illinois)
***An Honest Living: A Memoir of Peculiar Itineraries***
(Fordham University Press, 178 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "An exiled professor's journey from inside and beyond academia. In the summer of 2014, Steven Salaita was fired from a tenured position in American Indian Studies at the University of Illinois for his unwavering stance on Palestinian human rights and other political controversies. A year later, he landed a job in Lebanon, but that, too, ended badly. With no other recourse, Salaita found himself trading his successful academic career for an hourly salaried job. Told primarily from behind the wheel of a school bus—a vantage point from which Salaita explores social anxiety, suburban architecture, political alienation, racial oppression, working-class solidarity, professional malfeasance, and the joy of chauffeuring children to and from school—An Honest Living describes the author's decade of turbulent post-professorial life and his recent return to the lectern. Steven Salaita was practically born to a life in academia. His father taught physics at an HBCU in southern West Virginia and his earliest memories are of life on campus and the cinder walls of the classroom. It was no surprise that he ended up in the classroom straight after graduate school. Yet three of his university jobs—Virginia Tech, the University of Illinois, and the American University of Beirut [AUB] —ended in public controversy. Shaken by his sudden notoriety and false claims of antisemitism, Salaita found himself driving a school bus to make ends meet. While some considered this just punishment for his anti-Zionist beliefs, Steven found that driving a bus provided him with not just a means to pay the bills but a path toward freedom of thought. Now ten years later, with a job at American University at Cairo, Salaita reconciles his past with his future. His restlessness has found a home, yet his return to academe is met with the same condition of fugitivity from whence he was expelled: an occasion for defiance, not conciliation. An Honest Living presents an intimate personal narrative of the author's decade of professional joys and travails."

**Mostafa Salameh**
***Dreams of a Refugee: From the Middle East to Mount Everest***
(Bloomsbury, 2017)
Palestinian-Kuwaiti world mountain climber of seven summits and both pole positions.

**Shadi Salem**
***Beneath the Gaza Sky***
(Fomite, 98 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "A powerful human testimony to the raw truth of life under Israeli occupation, a gripping, heartfelt narrative, intertwining the innocence of childhood with the brutal realities of war. In a

world of bombardment and loss, Shadi shares stories of family, love, grief, and longing, a reality where pain is imposed, yet hope refuses to die. More than a memoir, this book stands as a tribute to the unbreakable spirit of Gaza's people, a culture that defies erasure, and a Palestinian identity that endures despite siege and destruction. It is a story of a people who will not bow, and a nation that resists in order to remain."

**Muhammad Ali Samadi**, compiler, of authors

***The Daughters of Olive: In the Memory of the Martyrdom-Seeking Courageous Women of Palestine***

(Jerrmein Abu Shaba, 112 pages, 2019)

Commentary on martyrdom by **Esmail Abdul-Latif al-Ashqar** and **Momen Muhammad Ghazi Bessissou**; and statements by Palestinian women martyrs: **Wafa Al Idrees**, **Noura Jamal Shalhoub**, **Dareen Muhammad Abu-Aisheh**, **Ayat Muhammad al-Akhras**, **Andaleeb Khalil Taqatiqah**, **Heba Azem Draghema**, **Hanadi Tisser Jaradat**, **Reem Saleh al-Riyashi**, **Zainab Ali Abu Salem**, and **Dalal al-Mughrabi**.

**Mark Sanagan**

***Lightning Through the Clouds: 'Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam and the Making of the Modern Middle East***

(University of Texas Press, 272 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "*Lightning through the Clouds* is the first English-language life-and-times biography of 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a preeminent figure who helped to reshape the political and religious landscape of the region. A Syrian-born, Egyptian-educated cleric, he went from the battlefields of World War I to join the anticolonialist fight against the French in Syria. Sentenced to be executed by the French military, he managed to escape to Palestine, where he became an increasingly popular presence, moved by the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. Outraged by British rule and the encroachment of Zionism, he formed a secret society to resist the colonization of Palestine first by the British and then by Jewish immigrants from Europe, once again taking up arms and advocating for a moral, political, and military jihad as the only solution. His death at the hands of Palestine Police in 1935 drew thousands to his funeral and sparked the 1936–1939 Arab Revolt. His influence continues to be felt in the region; for example, the military wing of the Palestinian Hamas organization is named the 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. Al-Qassam is either revered or reviled, depending on the observers' perspective, but he is without doubt a fascinating and historically significant individual whose influence on the past, and our present, makes this examination of his life both important and timely."

**Linda Sarsour** (Director, Arab American Association of New York)

***We Are Not Here to Be Bystanders: A Memoir of Love and Resistance***

(New York City, 37 Ink, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "On a chilly spring morning in Brooklyn, nineteen-year-old Linda Sarsour stared at her reflection, dressed in a hijab for the first time. She saw in the mirror the woman she was growing to be—a young Muslim American woman unapologetic in her faith and her activism, who would discover her innate sense of justice in the aftermath of 9/11. Now heralded for her award-winning leadership of the Women's March on Washington, in *We Are Not Here to Be Bystanders* Linda Sarsour offers a poignant story of community and family. From the Brooklyn bodega her father owned, where Linda learned the real meaning of intersectionality, to protests in the streets of Washington, DC, Linda's experience as a daughter of Palestinian immigrants is a moving portrayal of what it means to find one's voice and use it for the good of others. We follow Linda as she learns the tenets of successful community organizing, and through decades of fighting for racial, economic, gender, and social justice as she becomes one of the most recognized activists in the nation. We also see her honoring her grandmother's dying wish, protecting her children, building resilient friendships, and mentoring others even as she loses her first mentor in a tragic accident. Throughout, she inspires readers to take action as she reaffirms that we are not here to be bystanders."

**Yusif Abdallah Sayigh**
***Yusif Sayigh : Arab Economist, Palestinian Patriot – A Fractured Life Story***
(American University in Cairo Press, 388 [393] pages, 2015)

Edited by **Rosemary Sayigh**. The first half is a fascinating micro-history of life under the Mandate. Sayigh was diligent in trying to block land sale to the Zionist Jews. When an internationally-induced, two-state solution was being slapped onto the front pages, he wrote the Arab Land Hunger Report, classifying dunums not just by their flat map measurement but also by their agricultural worth. He ran the Arab National Treasury, which, like the Arab Higher Committee, meant Christian and Muslim Palestinian. The immediate period before the Nakba is detailed as a kind of de facto Israeli garrison era, with settler checkpoints, as the British were reduced to either reacting or packing-up. He likens it to "Beirut in the civil war." Palestinian efforts at armed defence were comparatively weak, as Yusif tried in vain to raise the necessary funds. Soon, in 1948, he became a prisoner of war. Later, *to* Yasser Arafat: "I argue things out with Abu Ammar himself, or with people even more important than Abu Ammar [ouch!]. I will never relinquish my right to argue."

**Yusif A. Sayigh**
***Towards Peace in Palestine***
(Beirut: Fifth of June Society, 29 pages, 1970)
Address given at Central Hall, Westminster, 15 April 1970.

**Mai Serhan**
***I Can Imagine It for Us: A Palestinian Daughter's Memoir***
(American University in Cairo Press, 200 pages, 2025)
Publisher's blurb: "Mai Serhan was born in 1977 and has never been to Palestine, the country from which her father was expelled in 1948. She lives in Cairo with her Egyptian mother. Her distant and troubled father runs a mysterious business empire in China, and when he calls to tell her he doesn't have long to live, she joins him in the hope of learning his trade and of finally getting close to him. Mai soon finds herself totally at sea: traversing across a country as big as a continent, and as alien to her as her father. The ghosts of his past life come to haunt them both. They come with violence, with grief, bringing forth a tragic death, and a whole new meaning to the word erasure. Told in a narrative as befitting the splintered and disordered existence of exile over generations, this rich memoir spans Egypt and Lebanon to Dubai to China. It is filled with bitter tragedy and loss, but also woven throughout with an understated humor and much grace."

**Leila Seurat** (Sciences Po & EHESS, Paris)
***The Death and Life of Yahya Sinwar: A History of Hamas***
(Verso Books, 272 pages, 2027)
Publisher's blurb: "Drawing on fifteen years of unprecedented access to Hamas leaders across Doha, Beirut, Istanbul, Gaza, and Tehran, Leila Seurat tells the life story of Yahya Sinwar, the mastermind of the October 7 attacks. In October 2011, after 23 years in an Israeli prison, Yahya Sinwar was released from Israeli prison. No longer the young firebrand Sinwar has become a hardened strategist who spent over two decades building power from behind bars. Over the next few years he could climb his way to power, elected leader of Hamas in Gaza in 2017. He now governed two and a half million people under blockade, failing with successive attempts to break the siege. Then, in May 2021, Sinwar initiated the unprecedented the "Sword of Jerusalem" operation that issued an ultimatum to Israel and promised a bigger response. This came on October 7th, 2023 with the Al-Asqua flood, that saw Hamas soldiers breaching the Israel's fortifications. This attack heralds a brutal response that saw the total devastation of Gaza. Sinwar himself was killed by Israeli forces on October 16, 2024. Drawing on exclusive interviews with Sinwar's fellow prisoners, Hamas leaders across four continents, and internal documents rarely seen

by outsiders, political scientist Leila Seurat reveals how one man's journey from prison cell to power reshaped Hamas-and ultimately triggered the most significant confrontation in decades."

**Nabil Sha'ath** aka **Nabeel Shaath** (long-time Palestinian negotiator, Fatah Central Committee)

***My Life from Nakba to Revolution***

(unconfirmed in English, 2016)

**Hisham Sharabi** (Georgetown University)

***Embers and Ashes: Memoirs of an Arab Intellectual***

(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 256 pages, 2022)

Translated by **Issa Boullata**; publisher's blurb: "Hisham Sharabi was a distinguished Palestinian intellectual and an outspoken critic of traditional Arab society and culture. Despite his upbringing as a member of the privileged class, his conscious self-analysis after the 1967 Arab defeat by Israel led him to radically change his former bourgeois outlook on his society and its culture. *Embers and Ashes* tells of Sharabi's childhood and boyhood in Palestine, his youth and initial political activism as a university student in Lebanon, and his life and education as a graduate student in the US. He brings his newly acquired self-analysis and sociocultural criticism to bear on the story of each of these phases. Although Sharabi wrote many acclaimed books in English and Arabic expressing his insights into the flaws of Arab societal structure, culture, and politics, it is his autobiography, *Embers and Ashes*, first published in Arabic in 1978, that offers a candid, poignant, and engrossing account of his own personal formation and development."

**Bassam Abu Sharif**

***Arafat and the Dream of Palestine: An Insider's Account***

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Author gets a central role, not Abu Ammar, but a good read nonetheless.

**Bassam Abu Sharif** and **Uzi Mahnaimi**

***Tried by Fire: The Searing True Story of Two Men at the Heart of the Struggle between the Arabs and the Jews***

(London: Warner Books, 1996)

**Raja Shehada** (Jaffa-born, Ramallah lawyer and author; founder of human rights organisation, Al-Haq; see also the chapter titled *Limestone,* in Robert McFarlane's walking travel book, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (Hamish Hamilton, 2012)

***We Could Have Been Friends, My Father and I: A Palestinian Memoir***

(Profile Books, 192 pages, expected August 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Aziz Shehadeh was many things: lawyer, activist, and political detainee, he was also the father of bestselling author and activist Raja. In this new and searingly personal memoir, Raja Shehadeh unpicks the snags and complexities of their relationship. A vocal and fearless opponent, Aziz resists under the British mandatory period, then under Jordan, and, finally, under Israel. As a young man, Raja fails to recognise his father's courage and, in turn, his father does not appreciate Raja's own efforts in campaigning for Palestinian human rights. When Aziz is murdered in 1985, it changes Raja irrevocably. This is not only the story of the battle against the various oppressors of the Palestinians, but a moving portrait of a particular father and son relationship."

***Where the Line is Drawn: Crossing the Boundaries in Occupied Palestine***

(Profile Books, 2017)

Memoir, critical of Israeli narratives.

***Occupation Diaries***
(Profile Books, 2012)

***A Rift in Time: Travels with My Ottoman Uncle***
(Profile Books, 276 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "The quest for his great-uncle Najib Nassar, an Ottoman journalist – the details of his life, and the route of his great escape from occupied Palestine – consumed award-winning writer Raja Shehadeh for two years. As he traces Najib's footsteps, he discovers that today it would be impossible to flee the cage that Palestine has become. *A Rift in Time* is a family memoir written in luminescent prose, but it is also a reflection on how Palestine – in particular the disputed Jordan Rift Valley – has been transformed. Most of Palestine's history and that of its people is buried deep in the ground: whole villages have disappeared and names have been erased from the map. Yet by seeing the bigger picture of the landscape and the unending struggle for freedom as Shehadeh does, it is still possible to look towards a better future, free from Israeli or Ottoman oppression."

***Strangers in the House***
(Steerforth Press, 2002 / Profile Books, 2003, 2009)

***Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape***
(Profile Books, 2007)
A moving and beautifully written account of the author's walks in his native hills, spanning 27 years, and witnessing the devastating impact of illegal Israeli settlements on the people and the landscape of the West Bank. Winner of the Orwell Prize 2008. – NF

***When the Bulbul Stopped Singing: A Diary of Ramallah under Siege***
(Profile Books, 2002)

***The Sealed Room: Selections from the Diary of a Palestinian Living under Israeli Occupation, September 1990 – August 1991***
(Quartet, 1992)

***Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank***
(Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985)

***Samed: Journal of a West Bank Palestinian***
(New York: Adama Books, 1984)

**Faris al-Shidyaq**

***Leg over Leg***
(York University Press, two volumes, 2012)
Translated by **Humphrey Davies** – travel, UK and France / New Publisher's blurb: "*Leg Over Leg* is the semi-autobiographical account of Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, a pivotal figure in the intellectual and literary history of the modern Arab world. His adventures and misadventures provided him with opportunities for wide-ranging digressions on the intellectual and social issues of his time, including the ignorance and corruption of the Lebanese religious and secular establishments, women's rights, the manners and customs of Europeans and Middle Easterners, and the differences between European and Arabic literature. It was initially widely condemned for its attacks on authority, its skepticism, and "obscenity," and later editions were often abridged. This is the very first English translation of the work and reproduces the original edition."

**Aziz Shihab** (publisher of *The Arab Star* newspaper; contributor to *The Dallas Morning News* and *The San Antonia Express*)

***Does the Land Remember Me? A Memoir of Palestine***
(Syracuse University Press, 176 pages, 2011)

Publisher's blurb: "Summoned by his dying mother, Palestinian-born Aziz Shihab returns to the homeland he and his family fled as refugees decades earlier: to a Palestine reclaimed by Israelis and to a country no longer that of his youth in a nation whose estate has been challenged by history. This gripping book chronicles that month-long journey."

**Avi Shlaim**

***Three Worlds: Memoirs of an Arab Jew***

(Oneworld Publications, 336 pages, 2023)

Publisher's blurb: "In July 1950, Avi Shlaim, only five, and his family were forced into exile, fleeing from their beloved Iraq into the new state of Israel. Now the rump of a once flourishing community of over 150,000, dating back 2,600 years, has dwindled to single figures. For many, this tells the story of the timeless clash of the Arab and Jewish civilisations, the heroic mission of Zionism to rescue Eastern Jews from their backwards nations, and unceasing persecution as the fate and history of Jewish people. Avi Shlaim tears up this script. His mother had many Muslim friends in Baghdad, but no Zionist ones. The Iraqi Jewish community, once celebrated for its ancient heritage and rich culture, was sprayed with DDT upon arrival in Israel. As anti-Semitism gathered pace in Iraq, the Zionist underground may have inflamed it – deliberately. This memoir celebrates the disappearing heritage of Arab-Jews – caught in the crossfire of secular ideologies."

**Rana Shubair** (Gaza based writer)

***In Gaza, I Dare to Dream***

(author/CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 172 pages, 2016)

Publisher's blurb: "Rana vividly recounts details of her own life under Israeli Occupation, aggression and the Gaza Siege." See also FICTION.

**Salman Abu Sitta**

***Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir***

(IB Tauris, 2016)

Memories of the famous polymath who has single-handedly made available crucial mapping work on Palestine; the book contains the back-story to his lifetime cartographic effort. Equally important are political and personal insights not found elsewhere. No index.

**Tamir Sorek**

***The Optimist: A Social Biography of Tawfiq Zayyad***

(Stanford University Press, 264 pages, 2020)

The life of Nazareth-born Muslim, Tawfiq Zayyad (1929-1994), a prominent leader of the Communist Party and longtime mayor of Nazareth. See also: PALESTINIAN POETRY.

**Monica Spooner**

***Why Didn't I Know? Britain's Legacy in Palestine***

(Market Harborough, Leicestershire: Troubador Publishing, 2024)

The book charts Monica and Roger Spooner's multiple visits to Palestine/Israel and founding the Balfour Project in the UK.

**Richard Stubbs** (the final Press Officer of the British Mandate Government in Palestine)

***Palestine Story: A Personal Account of the Last Three Years of British Rule in Palestine***

(Brettenham, Suffolk: Thurston Publications "Private Publication," 208 pages, 1995)

British Mandate Government's news-spinner's account, dictated in 1948, dictated to **Ann Swithenbank** upon return to England in 1948, yet not published until half a century later.

**Mohammad Tarbush** (Deutsche Bank, UBS, *Le Monde*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*)
***My Palestine: An Impossible Exile***
(Haus Publishing, 352 pages, 2024)

**Nadeen Tatour** (Palestinian exiled to Sweden for writing poetry in 2016)
***My Threatening Poem: The Memoir of a Poet in Occupation Prisons***
(Scotland: Drunk Mews Press, 2023)
Note also: ***I Sing from the Window of Exile*** (Drunk Mews Press, 164 pages, 2023); In English and Arabic.

**Samir Toubassy**
***My Nakba: A Palestinian's Odyssey of Love and Hope***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2019)
Publisher's blurb: "Global business leader, philanthropist, and educator, Samir Toubassy left Jaffa with his family when he was nine, seeking refuge from the fighting that had engulfed their city. Amid never-ending turbulence, we accompany him from Jaffa to Tripoli, to Beirut where he becomes a student of business and politics, to Riyadh, London and finally to the US, as he seeks to raise a family and build an international business career, most prominently with the noted Olayan Group and its rags-to-riches founder Sulaiman Olayan. After a long career in international business, Samir embarks on a new path, as a Harvard Advanced Leadership Senior Fellow, seeking to apply his experience to global education in the developing world. Toubassy shatters glass ceilings that hold Palestinians back over lifetimes and generations. But his race to achieve and to succeed is always inseparably tied to, and tempered by, the fate of his homeland. Searching to regain what is lost, his memoir offers unique perspective, encouragement, and cherished lessons learned from the aspirations of a refugee."

**Jamil I. Toubbeh**
***Day of the Long Night: A Palestinian Refugee Remembers the Nakba***
(Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co, 1998)
Christian Palestinian's account.

**Fadwa Tuqan**
***A Mountainous Journey: An Autobiography***
(London: Women's Press / / St Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 1990)
Translated by **Olive Kenny** / with poetry translated by **Naomi Shihab Nye**; editor **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**. A memoir that puts her life into the context of the Palestinian dilemma; includes important sociological remembrance of Nablus as perhaps the most conservative locale in Palestine. See also: Al-Fateh poetry and plus numerous collections in Arabic.

**Fawaz Turki** (see also poetry)
***Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian-American***
(Free Press, 1994)

***Soul in Exile: Lives of a Palestinian Revolutionary***
(Monthly Review Press, 1988)

***The Disinherited – Journal of a Palestinian Exile***
(Monthly Review Press, 1972)

**Richard Villar**

***Gaza Medic: A War Surgeon's Story 2024***
(Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 172 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "No stranger to operating in conflict-torn countries, Richard Villar, a former SAS Medical Officer and current war surgeon, volunteered to provide medical support in Central Gaza during the 2024 invasion. In Gaza Medic, he offers a gripping and harrowing first-hand account of his experiences working in the war zone, where he faced his most daunting challenges yet.After travelling overland from Cairo across the Sinai Peninsula, Villar found himself working in a 200-bed hospital overrun with 700 patients, including many women and children. Conditions were dire and there was nowhere safe in Gaza. The hospital was under constant threat from drones, missiles, naval shells, and machine gun fire, making it one of the most perilous environments imaginable. Despite these dangers, he and fellow medics performed complex surgeries on victims of bombings. Medicines were limited, equipment minimal, and basic necessities such as clean water and sufficient food were luxuries. Villar's moving account transcends the politics of war to focus on the raw, often brutal, realities faced by medical professionals in conflict zones. Each day brought more mass casualties, with a healthcare system on the brink of collapse and the population facing decimation. Gaza Medic is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the true impact of the Israel/Palestine conflict on individuals and communities. Villar's narrative is a vivid reminder that courage can be found when there is chaos all around."

**Farouq Wadi**
***Homes of the Heart: A Ramallah Chronicle***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 2007)
Translated by **Dina Bosio** and **Christopher Tingley**. Returning to his home town of Ramallah after long exile, the author is shocked to find the changes wrought, above all, by the Israeli occupation. An account—informative, lyrical and humorous by turn—of his own early life in the town.

**Emma Williams**
***It's Easier to Reach Heaven than the End of the Street: A Jerusalem Memoir***
(Bloomsbury, 2006)
In August 2000 Emma Williams arrived with her three small children in Jerusalem to join her husband and to work as a doctor. A month later, the second Palestinian intifada erupted. For the next three years, she was to witness an astonishing series of events in which hundreds of thousands of lives, including her own, were turned upside down. Williams lived on the very border of East and West Jerusalem, working with Palestinians in Ramallah during the day and spending evenings with Israelis in Tel Aviv. Weaving personal stories and conversations with friends and colleagues into the long and fraught political background, Williams' powerful memoir brings to life the realities of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. She vividly recalls giving birth to her fourth child during the siege of Bethlehem and her horror when a suicide bomber blew his own head into the schoolyard where her children played each day. Understanding in her judgment, yet unsparing in her honesty, Williams exposes the humanity, as well as the hypocrisy at the heart of both sides' experiences. Anyone wanting to understand this intractable and complex dispute will find this unique account a refreshing and an illuminating read. Emma Williams studied history at Oxford and medicine at London University. She has worked as a doctor in Britain, Pakistan, Afghanistan, New York, South Africa and Jerusalem. She wrote for several newspapers and magazines about Palestinian-Israeli affairs and was a correspondent for the Spectator from 2000-2003. She now lives in New York.

**Ofra Yeshua-Lyth** (Journalist with *Ma'ariv*)
***Politically Incorrect: Why a Jewish State is a Bad Idea***
(Skyscraper Books, 2016)
Although in part a memoir of family and professional life, this book is revealing for the attitudes and contradictions which go to the heart of the exclusivity that threads through the Jewish Israeli society. Cultural quarter-tones sing from the pages.

***The Case for a Secular New Jerusalem – A Memoir***
(Createspace, 2014)
Translation from Hebrew of *Erietz, Brith* (Nimrod, 2004); noting the 'apartheid state'.

**Mosab Hassan Yousef** (West Banker who rebelled against Hamas)
With ghostwriter **Ron Brackin**: ***Son of Hamas: A Gripping Account of Terror, Betrayal, Political Intrigue and Unthinkable Choices***
(Authentic Media, 240 pages, 2011)
With professional ghostwriter **Ron Brackin**. Publisher's blurb: "Since he was a small boy, Mosab Hassan Yousef has had an inside view of the deadly terrorist group Hamas. The oldest son and heir apparent of Sheikh Hassan Yousef, a founding member of Hamas and its most popular leader, young Mosab assisted his father for years in his political activities while being groomed to follow in his footsteps. But everything changed when Mosab embraced the teachings of another famous Middle East leader instead. What he learned changed his life and could alter the course of his country's future - forever. Mosab reveals new information about the world's most dangerous terrorist organization and unveils the truth about his own secret role, his agonizing separation from family and homeland, his dangerous choices, and his belief that the mandate to love your enemies is the only way to peace in the Middle East."

With **James Becket**: ***From Hamas to America: My Story of Defying Terror, Facing the Unimaginable, and Finding Redemption in the Land of Opportunity***
(Forefront Books, 304 pages, 2024)

**Wael Zuaiter** – aka **Zwaiter** – translator, PLO representative in Italy, assassinated in London, for retribution for Munich atrocity, 1972]
**Bilal Hasna & Aaron Kilercioglu**: ***For a Palestinian***
(Methuen/Matheundrama, 56 pages, 2022)
Playscript of stage drama version of **Wael Zuater**'s life, staged at the Bristol Old Vic and Camden (London) People's Theatre.

***For a Palestinian: A Memorial to Wael Zuiter***
(Kegan Paul International, 1984)
Edited by **Janet Venn-Brown**.

# Christian Palestinians

A growing number of Christian NGOs are involved with Palestinian rights, including the Amos Trust (amostrust.org), World Vision (worldvision.org.uk), Christian Aid (christianaid.org.uk), Embrace the Middle East (embraceme.org), and Open Bethlehem (openbethlehem.org). These and other organisations provide online resources.

**Raouf Sa'd Abujaber** aka **Raouf Said Abujaber**
***Arab Christianity and Jerusalem***
(London: Gilgamesh Publishing, 202 pages, 2012)
With an introduction by **Carney Gavin** and a foreword by **Afif Safieh**.

**Said K. Aburish**
***The Forgotten Faithful: The Christians of the Holy Land***
(London: Quartet Books, 161 pages, 1993)

**Abyssinian Orthodox Church**
***Rights of the Abyssinian Church in the Holy Places: Documentary Authorities, Compilation and Publication of Which is Made by Order of His Eminence Enba Philibbos, the Bishop of the Abyssinian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Abyssinian Orthodox Church Council, 47 pages, 1959)
Held at Lambeth Palace Library; translated by **Jamil Habiby**.

**Varsen Aghabekian**
***A Palestinian Armenian: The Intertwine between the Social and the Political***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 312 pages, 2021)
Publisher's burb: "This book tells the story and history of a 1,600-year-old Christian community in Palestine. The Armenian community is one of the oldest - if not *the* oldest- communities in Jerusalem with an interrupted presence. Armenia was the first Christian country to adopt Christianity as the religion of the state, thereby making national and religious identity synonymous. It was this religious bond that brought the first Armenians as pilgrims to the Holy Land, where Armenian monks opened monasteries and built churches, especially in and around Jerusalem. Jerusalem became the most ancient Armenian diaspora outside historical Armenian lands. Palestine and Jerusalem remained a magnet for innumerable Armenian refugees who fled persecution or who survived the Armenian Genocide in World War One. This book provides an important contribution to the Armenian story and history.The unique aspect of this book is that the author is not a historian but is herself Armenian. For Dr. Aghabekian, writing this story was a journey to her childhood, and the roots of her family and community. Thus, the personal and the collective narratives are intertwined, and the two identities of the author as Armenian and Palestinian are reconciled. The door is open for the reader to witness the story of two communities through one lens, that of the author. The stories of the Armenians and Palestinians have much in common: they are both stories of pain, suffering and injustice"

**Albert Aghazarian**
***Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land***
(Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)

**George Akroush**
***Mapping of Christian Organizations in Palestine: Social and Economic Impact***

(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 45 pages, 2021)
Free download:
www.daralkalima.edu.ps/uploads/files/Mapping%20of%20Christian%20Organizations%204Final.pdf

**Xavier Abu Eid**

***Rooted in Palestine: Palestinian Christians and the Struggle for National Liberation, 1917-2004***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 349 pages, 2022)

**Bishop Riah Abu Elsal** [Palestinian Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem 1998-2007]

***Caught in Between: The Story of an Arab-Christian Israeli***
(Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1999)

**Stephane Ancel** (Centre National de la Rechereche Scientifique, Paris), **Magdalena Krzyzanowska** (Universitat Hamburg) & **Vincent Lemire** (University of Paris-Est)

***The Monk on the Roof: The Story of an Ethiopian Manuscript Found in Jerusalem, 1904***
(Brill, 2022)
'Open Jerusalem' series, Vol. 4. Publisher's blurb: "Around 1900 the small Ethiopian community in Jerusalem found itself in a desperate struggle with the Copts over the Dayr al-Sultan monastery located on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre. Based on a profoundly researched, impassioned and multifaceted exploration of a forgotten manuscript, this book abandons the standard majority discourse and approaches the history of Jerusalem through the lens of a community typically considered marginal. It illuminates the political, religious and diplomatic affairs that exercised the city, and guides the reader on a fascinating journey from the Ethiopian highlands to the Holy Sepulchre, passing through the Ottoman palaces in Istanbul."

**Andrew Ashdown**

***The Stones Cry Out: Reflections from Israel and Palestine***
(Christians Aware, 2006)
With foreword by Jerusalem **Anglican Bishop Riah Abu Elsal**.

**Naim Ateek** (aka **Naim Stifan Ateek**, founder of the Sabeel Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem)

***A Palestinian Theology of Liberation*** (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 172 pages, 2017)

***A Palestinian Christian Cry for Reconciliation***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 224 pages, 2008)

***Suicide Bombers: What is Theologically and Morally Wrong with Suicide Bombings? A Palestinian Christian Perspective***
(Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 36 pages, 2003)

***Holy Land Hollow Jubilee: God, Justice and the Palestinians***
(Melisende, 1998)
Symposium, 1997.
Sabeel, 3rd International Conference, 1998, Bethlehem (Melisende, 314 pages, 1999)

***The New Consciousness: Palestinian Christians Confront Their Past, Present, and Future in Light of a Palestinian Theology of Liberation: The 199 CMS Annual Sermon, Preached on 14 May 1990 at St Bride's, Fleet Street***
(London: Church Missionary Society, 12 pages, 1990)

***Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation***

(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1989)

**Naim Ateek**, **Cedar Ateek**, **Cedar Duaybis**, and **Maria Schrader**, editors
***Jerusalem: What Makes for Peace! A Palestinian Christian Contribution to Peacemaking***
(London: Melisende, 241 pages, 1997)
Papers from the 5th International Conference on the theme of "Challenging Christian Zionism," held at the Sebeel Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem, April 2004.

**Naim Ateek**, **Cedar Duaybis** and **Maurine Tobin**, editors
***The Forgotten Fairhful: A Window in the Life and Witness of Christians in the Holy Land***
(Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 288 pages, 2007)
Conference, 2-9 November 2006; Contents: Greetings to the Sixth International Sabeel Conference / **Theophilos III** – Forgotten Christians of the Holy Land / **Michel Sabbah** – Challenges and witness of Palestinian Christians / **Jean Zaru** – Christian vocation in contemporary Palestine / **Kenneth Cragg** – Arab Christianity in Byzantine Palestine / **Irfan Shahîd** – Christian Arabs before Islam / **Hanna Abu-Hanna** – Historical factors that have affected Palestinian Christians / **Naim Ateek** – Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem / **Archbishop of Constantina Aristarchos** – Armenian Churches in the Holy Land / **Aris Shirvanian** – Coptic Church / **Anba Abraham** – Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Jerusalem, Jordan, and the Holy Land / **Mar Sewerios Malki Murad** – Catholic contribution to the Christian presence and witness in the Holy Land / **Frans Bouwen** – History of Protestants and evangelicals in Palestine / **Y. Lynn Holmes** – Role of the church in peacemaking: raising a prophetic voice / **Munib Younan** – Identity crisis of Arab Christian Israeli citizens / **Giacinto-Boulos Marcuzzo** – Future of Palestinian Christianity / **Naim Ateek** – Meditation on Pentecost / **Paul Sayah** – Cultural understanding of the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-31) / **Kenneth E. Bailey** – Ministry of reconciliation / **Jonathan Kuttab** – Pilgrimage from a local point of view / **Kevork (George) Hintlian** – Pilgrims' narratives: honing the ethical edge of the sacred journey / **Henry Ralph Carse** – Calling a spade a spade: the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine / **Ilan Pappe** – Memory against forgetting: the church and the end(s) of Palestinian refugee rights / **Alain Epp Weaver** – Strategic dimensions of Israel's unilateral segregation plans in the occupied Palestinian territories / **Jad Isaac** – Open Bethlehem campaign / **Leila Sansour** – Living together: the experience of Muslim-Christian relations in the Arab world in general and in Palestine in particular / **Rafiq Khoury** – Witness to life together / Mamdouh Aker – Palestinian constitution and democracy / **Ali Khashan** – Effects of the land regimes on Arab citizens of Israel / **Suhad Bishara** (Director, Adala Legal Centre) – Palestinian identity in a Jewish state / **Jafar Farah and the** [Haifa based] **Mossawa staff** – Political analysis and a vision for peace / **Ghassan Khatib** – Notes toward an economic strategy for liberation from occupation / **Yousef Nasser** – Strategies to end the occupation at the grassroots / **Terry Boullata** – Strategies to end the Israeli occupation / **Khalil Nakhleh.**

**Naim Ateek**, **Cedar Duaybis** and **Maurine Tobin**, editors
***Challenging Christian Zionism: Theology, Politics, and the Israel-Palestine Conflict***
(London: Melisende, 328 pages, 2005)
Symposium, 2004; Introduction: Challenging Christian Zionism / **Naim Ateek** – The historical roots of Christian Zionism from Irving to Balfour: Christian Zionism in the United Kingdom (1820-1918) / **Stephen Sizer** – From Blackstone to Bush: Christian Zionism in the United States (1890-2004) / **Donald Wagner** – Theological and biblical assumptions of Christian Zionism / **Gary M. Burge** – The theological basis of Christian Zionism: on the road to Armageddon / **Stephen Sizer** – Keys for understanding the Christian Zionists' interpretation of the Bible / **Göran Gunner** – Israel as an extension of American empire / **Jeff Halper** – The second superpower: organizing in opposition to the new empire / **Phyllis Bennis** – The influence of the Christian right in U.S. Middle East policy / **Stephen Zunes** – Israel and India: disturbing parallels / **Praful Bidwai** – Violence and the biblical land traditions / **Michael Prior** – The effects of Christian Zionism on Palestinian Christians / **Rafiq Khoury** – Christian Zionism and main line western Christian churches /

**Rosemary Radford Ruether** – Justice and mercy: the missing ingredients in Christian Zionism / **Jonathan Kuttab** – Holocaust, Christian Zionism and beyond: a Jewish theology of liberation after / **Marc H. Ellis** – Eschatology and apocalyptic literature in early Islam / **Khalil 'Athamina** – The danger of millennial politics / **Gershom Gorenberg** – Breaking down the iron wall: reflections on nonviolence in Palestine/Israel / **Alain Epp Weaver** – Non-violence as a strategy for struggle and method for peace-making / **Zoughbi Elias Zoughbi** – The African-American experience / **Damu Smith** – Nonviolence as a legitimate means toward peace / **Mubarak Awad** – Religion: problem or potential for transformation / **Jean Zaru** – Fear no more / **Abuna Elias Chacour** – Faith as the solution / **Edmond Lee Browning** – A Maori perspective / **Jenny Plane Te Paa** – The third kingdom / **Mitri Raheb** – The promise of a new Jerusalem: rapture in reverse / **Barbara Rossing** – The promise of the Father / **Bishara Awad** – The promise of the land (Genesis 12:1-3) / **Peter de Brul** – Holy land and holy people / **Rowan Williams** – An open letter to Archbishop Rowan Williams from / **Jonathan Kuttab** – On knowing one's place: a liberationist critique of Rowan Williams' 'Holy land and holy people' / **Robert B. Tobin** – A response to Rowan Williams' message to the Sabeel Conference / Helen Lewis.

**Naim Ateek**, **Mark H. Ellis** and **Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors
***Faith and the Intifada: Palestinian Christian Voices***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 207 pages, 1992)
Papers from the First International Symposium on Palestine Liberation Theology at Tantur, March 10-17, 1990. Contents: *Intifada: political analysis* / **Hanan Ashrawi** -- *Intifada: sociological perspective* / **Salim Tamari** -- *Arab masses in Israel* / **Sameeh Ghnadreh** -- *Agriculture in West Bank and Gaza* / **Jad Isaac** -- *Holy land Christians and survival* / **Don Wagner** -- *Bearing the cross* / **Bassam E. Bannoura** -- *Intifada and Palestinian churches* / **Nadia Abboushi** -- *Reclaiming our identity and redefining ourselves* / **Munir Fasheh** -- *Palestinian Christian identity* / **Geries Khoury** -- *Identity of Palestinian Christian in Israel* / **Riah Abu El-Assal** -- *Palestinian Christian Challenge to the West* / **Elias Chacour** -- *Biblical justice, law, and the occupation* / **Jonathan Kuttab** -- *Law, power, justice, and the Bible* / **Mitri Raheb** -- *Faith, nonviolence, and the Palestinian struggle* / **Zoughbi Elias Zoughbi** -- *Biblical perspectives on the land* / **Naim S. Ateek** -- **Becoming whole** / **Cedar Duaybis** -- *God hears the cry of my people* / **Nora Kort** -- *Intifada, nonviolence, and the Bible* / **Jean Zaru** -- *Women in the Intifada and in the churches* / **Suad Younan** -- *Between Jerusalem and Bethleham* / **Marc H. Ellis** -- *People, power, and pages* / **Mary H. Schertz** -- *Western Christianity and Zionism* / **Rosemary Radford Ruether** -- *On Chomsky, language, and liberation* / **Mark Chmiel** -- *Liberation theology* / **Arthur Pressley** -- *"Stones of my country are holy"* / **Mary E. Hunt** -- *Returning for the first time* / **Ann Louise Gilligan** -- *Exposure to the Palestinian struggle* / **Myrna Arceo**.tribal

**Naim Ateek**, **Hilary Rantisi**, and **Kent Wilkens**, co-editors
***"Our Story" – The Palestinians***
(Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center / Ann Arbor, Michigan: Friends of Sabeel North America, 86 pages, 1999)

**Naim Stifan Ateek**
***Justice, and only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation: The Bible, Justice, and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict***
(Maryknoll, New York: 229 pages, Orbis Books, 1989)

As co-editor with **Michael Prior**: ***Holy Land Hollow Jubilee: God, Justice and the Palestinians***
(London: Melisende, 1999)
Sabeel Liberation Theology Centre, International Conference, 1998, Bethlehem University)

**Alex Awad** (Methodist pastor in Al-Quds & Dean of Students at Bethlehem Bible College)
***Through the Eyes of the Victims: The Story of the Arab-Israeli Conflict***

(Bethlehem Bible College, 118 pages, ca. 2001)
Foreword by **Naim Ateek**.

**Bishara Awad** & **Mercy Aiken**
***Yet in the Dark Streets Shining: A Palestinian Story of Hope and Resilience in Bethlehem***
(Cliffrose Press, 217 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "The sometimes heartbreaking but inspiring story of a boy who grew up to be a spiritual and community leader in Bethlehem. Bishara Awad was just a child during the Israeli-Arab war of 1948, when his father was killed by a sniper. After the family fled their Jerusalem home, Bishara and his siblings grew up as refugees. His spiritual journey brought him through poverty and personal danger, while witnessing loss and death. Under the shadows of persecution and war, he learned how to live his Christian faith in the very birthplace of Christ. When Bishara learned how to forgive, he became a firebrand of faith and hope. Rising to the many challenges, he launched Bethlehem Bible College, the first Bible college in the West Bank. Through the despair and dashed hopes of one war after another, as well as opposition on all sides, Bishara's story conveys how he and other Palestinian Christians continue to live their faith and envision a better future, while wrestling with these questions: Is peace possible in Palestine and Israel? How do theologians in other parts of the world affect the lives of Christians in the Holy Land? How is the gospel of Jesus Christ making a difference in the land of Christ? How does one stand for justice, while also preaching forgiveness?"

**Gary M. Burge**
***Whose Land? Whose Promise ? What Christians are Not Being Told about Israel and the Palestinians***
(Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, part of the United Church of Christ / UCC, 2003/2004, 2013)
Wheaton College (Illinois) theologian's analysis, with a focus on Hebron.

**Andrew F. Bush**
***Learning from the Least: Reflections on a Journey in Mission with Palestinian Christians***
(Cascade Books, 210 pages, 2013)
With foreword by **Elaine A. Heath**.

**Carole Monica Burnett**, editor
***Zionism Through Christian Lenses: Ecumenical Perspectives on the Promised Land***
(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 166 pages, 2014)
Authors include the Palestinian Anglican priest, **Rev. Naim Ateek**, and Palestinian Roman Catholic Sociology **Prof. Bernard Sabella**. Contents: Zionism and the Scriptures. How should the people and land of Israel be understood in the light of the covenant? -- Not like the nations: Zionism's biblical dilemma -- Zionism and ancient Christianity. Early Christians: belonging everywhere and nowhere -- Zionism and modern Christianity. "Why the caged bird sings": faithfulness in exile -- Praiseworthy intentions, unintended consequences: why Krister Stendahl's quest for "healthy relations" between Jews and Christians ended tragically -- Catholic social teaching and Vatican relations with Israelis and Palestinians -- The New Jerusalem: a personal perspective.

**Michelle U. Campos** (University of Florida)
***Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early 20th Century Palestine***
(Stanford University Press, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "In its last decade, the Ottoman Empire underwent a period of dynamic reform, and the 1908 revolution transformed the empire's 20 million subjects into citizens overnight. Questions quickly emerged about what it meant to be Ottoman, what bound the empire together, what role religion

and ethnicity would play in politics, and what liberty, reform, and enfranchisement would look like. Ottoman Brothers explores the development of Ottoman collective identity, tracing how Muslims, Christians, and Jews became imperial citizens together. In Palestine, even against the backdrop of the emergence of the Zionist movement and Arab nationalism, Jews and Arabs cooperated in local development and local institutions as they embraced imperial citizenship. As Michelle Campos reveals, the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine was not immanent, but rather it erupted in tension with the promises and shortcomings of 'civic Ottomanism.'"

**Mae Elise Cannon** (Churches for Middle East Peace), editor
***A Land Full of God: Christian Perspectives on the Holy Land***
(Cascade Books, 2017)
Debunks 'restorationism' as theologically incorrect.

**J. Estlin Carpenter** aka **Joseph Estlin Carpenter**
***Life in Palestine when Jesus Lived: A Short Hand-Book to the First Three Gospels#***
(London: The Sunday School Association, 176 pages, 1884, 1889, 1894, 1905, 1915; Lindsey Press, 189 pages, 1935, 1949)

**David Carter** (Middle East Evangelical Concern, Leicester)
***Mistaken Identity: Who is Who? And Why it Matters***
(author, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "Prompted by an 'unexpected pilgrimage' this book seeks to follow the story and understand the identity of God's people from the garden to The Cross. It examines God's purpose in calling people for mission. Asking about the people, the land, the promises and the Jewish messiah leads to answers that challenge the accepted tenets of Christian Zionism."

**Elias Chacour** with **David Hazard**
***Blood Brothers: The Dramatic Story of a Palestinian Christian Working for Peace in Israel***
(Grand rapids, Michigan: Chosen Books, c.1984; updated edition, Baker Books, 2013)

**Elias Chacour** with **Alain Michel**
***Faith Beyond Despair: Building Hope in the Holy Land***
(Canterbury Press, 2011)
**Anthony Harvey**, editor.

**Elias Chacour** with **Mary E. Jensen**
***We Belong to the Land: One Man's Mission to Spread Peace in a Country of Conflict***
(Marshall Pickering, c.1990 / 1992; updated edition, University of Notre Dame Press, 2000)

**Colin Gilbert Chapman** (Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut)
***Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*** aka ***Whose Holy City? Jerusalem and the Future of Peace in the Middle East***
(Oxford: Lion, 2004 / Baker, 2005)
Several editions; author has written several books on Christianity in the Middle East.

***Whose Promised Land ? The Continuing Crisis over Israel and the Palestinians***
(Oxford: Lion, 2002)

**Kathleen Christison**

***Justice on the Cross: Palestinian Liberation Theology, the Struggle Against Israeli Oppression, and the Church***

(Wipf & Stock, 254 pages, 2023)

Comparison of Palestinian liberation theologies with those in South Africa, Latin America, and in the African-American communities. Theologians and activists referenced include James H. Cone, Jurgen Moltmann, Gustavo Gutierrez, Angela Davis, Dr Martin Luther King Jr, and Desmond Tutu.

**Kenneth Cragg** (Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, academic, with numerous books on Christianity and Islam)

***The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East***

(Louisville, Kentucky: John Knox Press, 1991 / Mowbray, 1992)

***Palestine: The Prize and Price of Zion***

(Cassell, 1997)

**Church of England Archibishops' Council:**

***Reflecting on Kairos Palestine: A World of Faith, Hope and Love from the Heart of Palestinian Suffering***

(Church of England Mission and Public Affairs Council, 16 pages, in bound volume of the General Synod 2010)

**Hasan Colak**

***The Orthodox Church in the Early Modern Middle East: Relations between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria***

(Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 282 pages, 2015)

Based on author's university thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013.

**David M. Crump**

***Like Birds in a Cage: Christian Zionism's Collusion in Israel's Oppression of the Palestinian People***

(Cascade Books, 350 pages, 2021)

Foreword by **Gary M. Burge**. Publisher's blurb: "When Christians collude in crimes against humanity, they betray their citizenship in the kingdom of God, demonstrating that Christ's Lordship does not rule over every area of their lives. The popular ideology known as Christian Zionism is a prime enabler of such widespread discipleship--failure in western Christianity. As the state of Israel continues to violate international law with colonial settlement in lands captured by warfare, legalized racial discrimination, and the creation of what many have called "the world's largest open-air prison" in Gaza, Christian Zionists continue their unqualified support for Zionist Israel. Though Israel advertises itself as "the only democracy in the Middle East," it is actually a rigid ethnocracy--its entire society built on the foundations of Jewish supremacy over a Palestinian underclass. History will eventually judge Christian Zionist support for Israel's crimes against the Palestinians in the same way people of conscience now condemn the Christian church in the American South for its defense of slavery and hostility towards the civil rights movement. Just as the Southern Baptist church finally repudiated its pro-slavery past, so everyone genuinely devoted to Jesus Christ must repudiate both the ideology and the legacy of Christian Zionism."

**Rob Dalrymple**

***These Brothers of Mine: A Biblical Theology of Land and Family and a Response to Christian Zionism***

(Wipf and Stock, 182 pages, 2015)

**Janine Di Giovani** (longtime war reporter for *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*)
***The Vanishing: The Twilight of Christianity in the Middle East***
(Bloomsbury, 272 pages, 2021)
Includes Christian Palestinians.

**Viji Varghese Eapen** & **P**. (**Paulraj**) **Mohan Larbeer**, editors
***Kairos-Palestine: An Indian Reflection***
(Bangalore: BTESCC, 169 pages, 2012)
Conference papers, 'Kairos Palestine – A Moment of Truth', 12-14 July 2014. Topics include: Social conditions; Christian converts from Hinduism; military occupation.

**Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel**
***We Advocate for Justice, Equality and an End to the Military Occupation of Palestine***
(London: EAPPI, UK & Ireland, 1 sheet of 2 pages, 2022)

***Five Ways You Can Make a Difference in Palestine and Israel***
(London: EAPPI, UK & Ireland, 1 folded sheet of 8 pages, 2022)

***Razor Wire and Olive Branches: A Citizenship Learning Resource about Palestine and Israel***
(Assumed London: Quaker Peace and Social Witness [QPSW]/EAPPI, 42 pages, 2019)

**Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine & Israel: Witness, Engage, Change**
(London: EAPPI, 1 folded sheet of 8 pages, 2015, 2019)

**Paul Bruce Dean**: ***Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel: A Study in Ecumenical Theology and Praxis***
(King's College London, 206 pages, 2018
University thesis. Abstract: The place of theology within the EAPPI programme is investigated, initially noting symptoms of tensions between theology and praxis. Using the methods of historical inquiry - textual analysis, empirical data collection, biblical and theological questioning - the issue is shown to be much deeper, namely that "theology" has been compromised at source and praxis is therefore affected. The central question becomes how to restore EAPPI's use of theology to its critical potential. Materials specific to EAPPI assist the research: World Council of Churches (WCC) and EAPPI archives; semi-structured interviews of Ecumenical Accompaniers in Hebron, Bethlehem, East Jerusalem, Jayyus, Tulkarm and Yanoun; and the researcher's experience of serving on an EAPPI Policy Group. Christian Peacemaker Teams and Peace Brigades International have helped to shape EAPPI accompaniment. Palestine/Israel's historical background is considered in relation to EAPPI, as well as key developments in the missiology of the WCC. EAPPI presents a stance that can be described as a secularised version of the Gospel. The many different religious framings of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict demand a theological response that requires EAPPI to have an ecumenical theology. A theological reflection chapter supplies biblical and theological reflection aiming to enhance the position of theology within EAPPI. Contextual and global theology are represented through writings of Munib Younan and Miroslav Volf. The dissertation concludes on the basis of the evidence of earlier chapters, that there is a risk to EAPPI praxis if it continues to underplay theology, neglecting a vital source of critique that is capable of shaping praxis. When partisan theology is rejected, the alternative is not "theology" that is subordinate to a pre-determined narrative, or "no theology" but an ecumenical theology that is appropriate to a conflicted, multi-faith environment. The contours of such a theology are offered.

***From Warleggan to the West Bank: Roger Farnworth in Palestine***
(assumed London: assumed EAPPI, 27 pages, ca. 2014-1016)

***Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine & Israel***
(London: EAPPI, 1 folded sheet of 8 pages, 2013)

**Thomas Mandal**: ***Living with Settlers***
(Oslo: EAPPI Norwegian Church Aid, 72 pages, 2011)
Interviews with Yanoun villagers.

**Katharine von Schubert**: ***Checkpoints and Changes – Eyewitness Accounts from an Observer in Israel-Palestine***
(London: Quaker Books/EAPPI, 124 pages, 2005)

**Robert Traer**: ***Jerusalem Journal – Finding Hope***
(Aurora Colorado: Davies Group, 254 pages, 2005)
Focus on EAPPI visits, alternative tourism, religious celebrations, and West Bank interventions.

**Marc H. Ellis** and **Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors
***Beyond Occupation: American Jewish, Christian and Palestinian Voices for Peace***
(Boston: Beacon Press, 1990)
Includes **Arthur Hertzberg**: ***The Illusion of Jewish Unity***.

**Bishop Riah Abu Elsal** [Palestinian Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem 1998-2007]
***Caught in Between: The Story of an Arab-Christian Israeli***
(Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1999)

**Ethiopian Orthodox Church**
***The Rights of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to the Deir Sultan Monastery in Jerusalem: Presented to the Israeli Delegation to the Israeli-Egyptian Normalization Talks by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem***
(Jerusalem: Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 31 pages, 1986)

**Najwa Qawar Farah**
***A Continent Called Palestine: One Woman's Story***
(Triangle, 1996)
Focus on Christian women, including themes of Nazareth life, parenting, Palestinian exile, and threat to the region's Christian community. Foreword by **Gareth Hewitt** (Director of Amos Trust).

**HM Foreign Office [UK Government]**
***The Christian Communities in Jerusalem 1948-1967***
(Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1978)

**Erik Freas**
As editor: ***Palestine's Christians and the Nationalist Cause: The Late Ottoman and Mandatory Periods***
(Routledge, 338 pages, 2024)
Publisher's blurb: "More than being a history of Palestine's Christian Arabs, the book focuses on Palestine's Christians during the formative period of Palestinian Arab national identity, attentive to the broader topic of the relationship between nationalism and religion—in this case, between Arab identity and Islam. Whereas until recently historians have tended to assume that national and religious identities are distinct and mostly mutually exclusive things, more recent scholarship has addressed the fact that

often there exists considerable overlap between the two, though it should be noted, often in ways that are not by any means inherently exclusive of those not belonging to the majority faith, as is the case here. The relationship is also an ever-changing one, hence the final chapter of the book, which functions as something of an epilogue regarding the current status of Palestine's Christians vis-à-vis their place in the nationalist cause and relationship with the broader Muslim population."

***Nationalism and the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount: The Exclusivity of Holiness***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

***Muslim-Christian Relations in Late Ottoman Palestine: Where Nationalism and Religion Intersect***
(Palgrave Macmillan, 314 pages, 2016)

***Muslim-Christian Relations in Palestine during the British Mandate Period***
(University of St. Andrews PhD thesis, 2006)

**Arthur Gish**

***Hebron Journal: Stories of Nonviolent Peacemaking***
(Herald Press, 2001)
Author's work with Christian Peacemaker Teams.

**Dr. Mary C. Grey** (University of Wales; St Mary's University, Twickenham; University of Southampton)

***The Spirit of Peace: Pentecost and Affliction in the Middle East***
(Sacristy Press, 2015)
Publisher's blurb: "Pentecost lifts up the renewed hope that ever promises new energy for justice and peace. Can the Holy Spirit lead the people of the Middle East—Christians, Jews and Muslims—to a new future of peace?"

**Sidney H. Griffith**

***The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period***
(Ashgate, 336 pages, 2002)

***Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine***
(Routledge / Variorum, 352 pages, 1992)

**G.H. Gwilliam**

***Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures***
(Hansebooks, 68 pages, 2021)
Publisher's blurb: "*Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures* is an unchanged, high-quality reprint of the original edition of 1893. Hansebooks is editor of the literature on different topic areas such as research and science, travel and expeditions, cooking and nutrition, medicine, and other genres. As a publisher we focus on the preservation of historical literature. Many works of historical writers and scientists are available today as antiques only. Hansebooks newly publishes these books and contributes to the preservation of literature which has become rare and historical knowledge for the future."

**Noah Haiduc-Dale** (History Dept., Centenary College, New Jersey)

***Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine***
(Edinburgh University Press, 2013)
An important book that tracks the history of Palestine's Arab Christians and their Palestinian nationalism, 1917-1948, that both identities were not contradictory. Deep microhistory of the the

widening Husayni and Nashashibi factionalism. "Haiduc-Dale offers a chronological history of Palestinian politics that focuses on the particular role in each stage of Christians, whose narratives have often been marginalized or essentialized. In the process, he offers a comprehensive and easy to follow guide to key landmarks in the development of the Palestinian national movement more generally." – Liora Halperin, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*

**Garth Hewitt** (Canon of St George's Anglican Church, Jerusalem, singer, and head of the Amos Trust)

***Occupied Territories: The Revolution of Love from Bethlehem to the Ends of the Earth***
(USA: InterVarsity Press [note: not IVP UK], 2014)
Relevant to Kairos Palestine.

***Bethlehem Speaks: Voices from the Little Town Cry Out***
(SPCK, 2008)

***Pilgrims and Peacemakers: A Journey Towards Jerusalem***
(BRF – Bible Reading Fellowship, 1996)

**Institute for Palestine Studies**

***The Judaization of Jerusalem, 1967-1972***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Canterbury: World Conference of Christians for Peace, 1972)

**Rev. Dr. Munther Isaac** (Academic Dean, Bethlehem Bible College)

***Christ in the Rubble: Faith, the Bible, and the Genocide in Gaza***
(author/William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 256 pages, 2025)
Foreword by **Willie James Jennings**. Publisher's blurb: "In this impassioned and incisive book, Munther Isaac challenges mainstream Christians' uncritical embrace of the modern State of Israel. Speaking from his unique vantage point as a prominent Palestinian Christian pastor and theologian, he proclaims a truth that is rarely acknowledged in Christian circles: Israel's campaign to eliminate the Palestinian people did not begin after October 7, 2023. Rather, the campaign is a continuation of a colonial project with nineteenth-century roots that has, since 1948, established systems of entrenched discrimination and segregation worse than South Africa's apartheid regime. Writing from Bethlehem with close-up knowledge of conditions on the ground, and rooted in a commitment to nonviolence and just peace, Isaac urges readers to recognize that support for Zionism's genocidal project entails a failure to bring a properly Christian theological criticism to bear upon colonialism, racism, and empire. He calls on Christians to repent of their complicity in the destruction of the Palestinian people. And he challenges them to realign their beliefs and actions with Christ--who can be found not among perpetrators of violence, but with victims buried under the rubble of war."

***The Other Side of the Wall: A Palestinian Christian Narrative of Lament and Hope***
(Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic Press, 248 pages, 2020)

***From Land to Lands, from Eden to the Renewed Earth: A Christ-Centred Biblical Theology of the Promised Land***
(Carlisle: Langham Monographs, 407 pages, 2015)

**Rifat Odeh Kassis**

***Kairos for Palestine***
(Ramallah: Badayl/Alternatives, 198pages, 2011)
Held at the University of Edinburgh Library.

**Yohanna Katanacho**

***A Land of Christ: A Palestinian Cry***
(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick, 96 pages, 2013)
With a foreword by **Bishara Awad**; focus on Kairos theology.

**Kathleen Kern**

***As Resident Aliens: Christian Peacemaker Teams in the West Bank, 1995-2005***
(Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2010)

**Jamal Khader** & **Angela Hawash-Abu Eita**, editors

***Violence, Non-violence and Religion: Third International Conference on Christian-Muslim Relations Conference Proceedings***
(Bethlehem University Department of Religious Studies, 230 pages, 2011)
Held at the University of Glasgow Library; Contents: Globalization, religion and terrorism / **Jamal Nassar** – Study: violence and non-violence in models from religious texts: Qur'an and Prophet's Sunnah / **Sheikh Abdel Majid Ata Muhammad al-Amarneh Ata** – Christian interpretations of scripture in relations to Muslims / **Leo D. Lefebure** – Violence and non-violence in holy books / **Barakat Fawzi Al Qasrawi** – Creating a non-violence framework for grassroots holistic democracy / **Larry Hufford** – Worshipful understanding in the Muslim tradition / **Rusmir Mahmutcehajic** – Controversy of religious violence against state and society: the case of Palestine / **Iyad al-Bargouthi** – The use of the Bible to justify violence / **David Neuhaus** – Liberation theories in Palestine: contextual, secular, humanist and decolonizing perspectives: a Michael Prior memorial lecture / **Nur Masalha** – Martyrdom and religious innovation in Islamic history: modern and Mamluk perspectives / **Nick Chatrah** – Religion, war and peace: towards an emancipatory Palestinian theology / **Luis N. Rivera-Pagán** – Muslims and Christians in Norway confronting domestic violence in a joint statement / **Anne Hege Grung** – From investment to divestment: non-violent religious protest and the United Methodist Church in an historical context / **Cheryl Riggs** – Violence, ideology and religion / **Fatma Kassem** – An introduction to the Kairos Palestine document: a tool for non-violent resistance / **Nora Karmi**.

**Walid Khalidi** (founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, later in Washington DC, and then Boston, Massachusetts)

***The Khalidi Library in Jerusalem, 1720-2001***
(Jerusalem: Khalidi Library/Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 58 pages, 2020)
Translated by **Tarif Khalidi**.

***Islam, the West, and Jerusalem***
(Washington DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, 1996)

***Christians, Zionism and Palestine: A Selection of Articles and Statements on the Religious and Political Aspects of the Palestine Problem***
(Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, Anthology Series no. 4, 114 pages, 1970)

***Why Did the Palestinians Leave? An Examination of the Zionist Version of the Exodus of 1948***
(London: Arab Information Centre, 43 pages, ca. 1957

**Sahar Khalifeh** (Nablus native, on faculty of University of Florida)

***The Image, the Icon, and the Covenant***
(translated by Aida Bamia; Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007)
Fiction. From *Publisher's Weekly:* "In the mid-1960s, Ibrahim, a Palestinian-Muslim school teacher with literary ambitions, takes a job in a small Jordanian village and falls in love with Mariam, a Christian raised

in Brazil who has returned to her home village. The problem with this love affair, as Ibrahim realizes in the retrospective voice that dominates the novel, is that he has loved his image of Mariam and has never understood her as a real person. Reality intrudes, however, when Mariam becomes pregnant: Ibrahim is paralyzed by the difficulties a Muslim-Christian marriage presents, and jealous of Mariam's prior adoration of a Brazilian priest. His growing commitment to Palestinian liberation after the 1967 war allows him to justify his return. When he returns to Jordan in 2000—a wealthy, twice-divorced and disillusioned secular Arab—he becomes obsessed with finding Mariam and his unknown son. The title's complexities mirror those of this fugue-like novel, which finds Ibrahim cycling among versions of himself and of Mariam. As Ibrahim's realizations pile up, their irreconcilability becomes a delicate and powerful allegory for Middle Eastern conflict. Palestinian novelist Khalifeh (*Wild Thorns*), who won the 2006 Naguib Mahfouz medal for literature, offers a challenging take on vexing territory."

**Maria C. (Kouremenou) Khoury** (Taybeh Brewery/Taybeh Oktoberfest)
***Christina Goes to the Holy Land***
(Canaan David Khoury [CDK] Publications, 31 pages, 2003)
Children's book on Christianity in Palestine.

**Nakula Khoury** (Arab nationalist and senior member of the Orthodox Church)
***The House of a Priest: A Palestinian Life (1955-1954)***
(Brill, 2022)
Memoirs, edited by **Sarah Irving**, **Charbel Nassif** and **Karène Sanchez Summerer**

**Shahadeh Khoury (**aka **Shehadeh Khoury)** & **Nicola Khoury**
***A Survey of the History of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem***
(Amman: Feras / Dar Al-Shorouk, 363 pages, 2002)
Originally published in Arabic as Khulasat tarikh kanisat Urshalim al-Urthuduksiyah (A History of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem), in Jerusalem: Matba'at Bayt al-Maqdis, 1925.

**Scott Korb** (Theologian; New York University and Pacific University)
***Life in Year One: What was it Like to Live in the Time of Jesus?***
(Riverhead Books [possibly a Penguin subsidiary], 256 pages, 2011)
Publisher's blurb: "What did people eat? Whom did they marry? How did they keep themselves clean? What did their cities and towns look like? What did they believe?
The answers, it turns out, are surprising. This simple question is not so simple after all. With a historian's insight and a reporter's curiosity, Scott Korb gives us a backstage pass to the unexpected and sometimes down-and-dirty truth about what everyday life was like in first-century Palestine, that tumultuous era when the Roman Empire was at its zenith and a new religion-Christianity-was born."

**Samuel J. Kuruvilla**
***Radical Christianity in Palestine and Israel: Liberation and Theology in the Middle East***
(IB Tauris, 2013)
Contents: Introduction1. The Development of a Palestinian Theology of Liberation2. Political and Liberation Theologies: Implications for Palestine-Israel3. The 'Sabeel' Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre in Jerusalem4. The Politics and Praxis of Naim Stifan Ateek5. Contextual Theology in Palestine: the Theological and Political Practice of Mitri Raheb6. Palestinian Theological Praxis in Context: An Analysis of the Approaches of Ateek and Raheb from a Comparative Perspective.

**Duncan MacPherson**
***Pilgrim Preacher: Palestine, Pilgrimage and Preaching***
(London: Melisende, 246 pages, 2004)
Foreword by **Naim Ateek**.

**Edwar Makhoul**

***The Role of Arab Christians in the Palestinian National Movement***
(Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "The Book is about the History of the Palestinian Christians in the Palestinian National Movement during the 19th and the 20th century in regard to Arab Nationalism, Holy Land, Muslim-Christian relations in Palestine, Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This work is about the unknown important part and role of Palestinian Arabic Speaking Christians in the Palestinian Nationalism in Regard to Zionism and Arab-Israeli Conflict as well as the Jewish-Arab relations from 1881-2005. This work covers all the History and the importance of the Palestinian Christians in the Holy Land in the Modern Middle East- Israel and Palestine."

**Atallah Mansour** (Christian Palestinian b. 1934, longtime reporter for *Ha'aretz* (in Hebrew) and *Al Quds* (in Arabic).

***Narrow Gate Churches: The Christian Presence in the Holy land under Muslim and Jewish Rule***
(Hope House Publishing, 2005)
See also FICTION and AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

**Bruce Masters**

***Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism***
(Cambridge University Press, 2004)

**Duncan McPherson**

***Pilgrim Preacher: Palestine, Pilgrimage and Preaching***
(London: Melisende, 146 pages, 2004)
Foreword by **Naim Ateek**. Contents: 1. Preaching and pilgrimage to the Holy Land: the early centuries -- 2. Christian pilgrimage from the Arab conquest until today -- 3. The world of the Holy Land: behind the text and in front of the text -- 4. The ecumenical perspective and the preaching of the gospel in the Holy Land -- 5. Multi-faith pluralism in the Holy Land -- 6. Preaching in the contemporary context of the Holy Land with special reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict -- 7. Pilgrimage remembered and pilgrimage imagined

**Salim J. Munayer**

As Co-Editor with **Samuel S. Munayer**: ***The Cross and the Olive Tree: Cultivating Palestinian Theology amid Gaza***
(Orbis Books, 192 pages, 2025)
With foreword by **Naim Ateek** and **Cedar Duaybis**

***Reconciling Justice: Concepts of Justice in the Multireligious Context of Palestine/Israel***
(Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 321 pages, 2024)
With a foreword by **Mark A. Labberton**. Publisher's blurb: Eight Palestinian Christian theologians offer a crucial and vibrant perspective on liberation, reconciliation, and divine imagination."

***Journey through the Storm: Lessons from Musalaha – Ministry of Reconciliation***
(Langham, 210 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Journey through the Storm unpacks Musalaha's thirty years of practical experience building bridges, healing division, and following Christ in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Composed of essays, curriculum excerpts, interviews, and real-life testimonies, this collection offers insight into the theory, theology, and application of Musalaha's six stages of reconciliation."

***The Ethnic Identity of Palestinian Arab Christian Adolescents in Israel***
(PhD thesis, Oxford Centre for Mission Studies/University of Wales, 184 pages, 2000)

As editor: ***Seeking and Pursuing Peace: the Process, the Pain, and the Product***
(Jerusalem: author, 158 pages, 1998)

**Salim J. Munayer** (Bethlehem Bible College, director of Musalaha) and **Lisa Loden** (Israeli Messianic Jewish lecturer, Nazareth Evangelical Theological Seminary), editors

***Through My Enemy's Eyes: Envisioning Reconciliation in Israel-Palestine***
(Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2014)

***The Land Cries Out: Theology of the Land in the Israeli-Palestinian Context***
(Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 368 pages, 2011)
Contents: **Ambreen Tour Ben-Shmuel**: *An Overview of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* / **Lisa Loden**: *Where Do We Begin? The Hermeneutical Questions and Their Effect on the Theology of the Land* / **Daniel C. Juster**: *A Messianic Jew Looks at Land Promises* / **Richard Harvey**: *Towards a Messianic Jewish Theology of Reconciliation in Light of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Neither Dispensationalist nor Supersessionist?* / **John S. Feinberg**: *Dispensationalism and Support for the State of Israel* / **Joseph Shulam**: *The Biblical Concept of Inheritance* / **Phillip D. Ben-Shmuel**: *Hagshama – A Theology for an Alternate Messianic Jewish Zionism* / **Naim Ateek**: *The Earth is the Lord's – Land, Theology, and the Bible* / **Yohanna Katanacho**: *Jerusalem is the City of God: A Palestinian Reading of Psalm* / **Alex Awad**: *A Palestinian Theology of the Land* / **Munther Isaac**: *Reading the Old Testament in a Palestinian Church Today – A Case Study of Joshua* / **Salim J. Munayer**: *Theology of the Land – From a Land of Strife to a Land of Reconciliation* / **Manfred Waldemar Kohl**: *Towards a Theology of Land; A Christian Answer to the Israeli-Arab Conflict* / **Colin Chapman**: *A Biblical Perspective on Israel/Palestine* / **Malcolm Hedding**: / *Israel – Land and People* / **Stephen R. Sizer**: *Where is the Promised Land? A Covenantal Perspective* / **Gary M. Burge**: *Jesus and the Land* / **Peter Walker**: *Summarizing the Points of Dispute.*

**Isaac Munther**

***The Other Side of the Wall: A Palestinian Christian Narrative of Lament and Hope***
(Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 248 pages, 2020)
Publisher's blurb: "Christians have lived in Palestine since the earliest days of the Jesus movement. The Palestinian church predates Islam. Yet Palestinian Christians find themselves marginalized and ostracized. In the heated tensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the voices of Palestinian Christians are often unheard and ignored. This book provides an opportunity to hear the realities of life on the ground from a leading Palestinian pastor and theologian. In The Other Side of the Wall Munther Isaac- Gives the perspective of Palestinian Christians on the other side of the separation wall surrounding most Palestinian West Bank cities today- Laments the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people yet holds out hope for a just peace and ways to befriend and love his Jewish and Muslim neighbors, and- Offers a theology of the land and a vision for a shared land that belongs to God, where there are no second-class citizens of any kind, in stark contrast to the dominant religious and nationalistic ideologies and agendas for the region. 'This book is my invitation to you,' Isaac writes, 'to step into the other side of the wall and listen to our stories and perspective. It is my humble request to you to allow me to share how Palestinians experience God, read the Bible, and have been touched and liberated by Jesus-a fellow Bethlehemite who has challenged us to see others as neighbors and love them as ourselves.... This book paints a picture of our story of faith, lament, and hope. And I invite you to join and listen, on our side of the wall.'"

***From Land to Lands, from Eden to the Renewed Earth: A Christ-centred Biblical Theology of the Promised Land***
(Carlisle: Langham Monographs, 407 pages, 2015)
Based on PhD thesis, Middlesex University, 2014.

***Arab Christian Fundamentalist Reading of the Book of Daniel: A Critique***

(Bethlehem: Dinar, 2012)

**Ibrahim Nasrallah** (Palestinian author-poet-teacher-journalist-translator-painter…)

***A Time of White Horses*** (زمن الخيول البيضاء / ابراهيم نصر الل, 2007

(American University in Cairo Press, 634pp, 2012)

Fiction. Translated by **Nancy Roberts**. The narrative is a lengthy sweep of Ottomania gradually getting replaced by Ziomania leading to the Nakba. But there's more than a political focus on the Palestinian struggle. One recurring theme is land theft, by agents of the Ottoman rule, the church, the Mandate Government, other Arab Palestinians, and of course the Zionists themselves. Villains come from all ethnic backgrounds, but occasional, impressive generosity shines through the tragedies, even though the good side of human spirit doesn't change the outcome of the Arab village. The victims hold on to their identity, despite offers to cash it in for free tickets to someone else's show.

**Stephen W. Need** (St. George's Cathedral & College, Jerusalem)

***Following Jesus in the Holy Land: Pathways of Discipleship through Advent and Lent***

(Sacristy Press, 2019)

Publisher's blurb: "A study book for individual and group use during the Church's seasons of Advent and Lent. It provides ten chapters (four for Advent, six for Lent) that can be used by individuals or church groups for stimulation and discussion on a week-by-week basis. Each of the ten chapters chooses a location with particular associations from the life of Jesus, so that this book is a kind of "armchair pilgrimage" through the Holy Land. The chapters each cover something of the history of the places concerned before delving into a connected biblical text, and then drawing out key implications and teaching for contemporary faith. The chapters include suggestions for Bible study and worship as well as ideas of how modern-day disciples can respond to what they have learned from their pilgrimage, real or in their imagination."

**Bashir K. Nijim**, editor

***American Church Politics in the Middle East***

(Boston: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 156 pages, 1982)

The Bible and the question of Palestine / Hassan S. Haddad -- Biblical Zionism and political Zionism / Basheer K. Nijim -- Zionism, redemption or retrogression? / Elmer Berger -- Mainline churches and United States Middle East policy / Peter Johnson -- Theology and politics in the Middle East / Paul Jersild -- Religion and United States foreign policy toward the Middle East / Joseph L. Ryan -- Christian Zionism in America / Hassan S. Haddad -- Christian-Zionist perspectives on the Middle East / Larry Ekin -- Impacting United States church policies on the Middle East / Beth E. Heisey.

**Kelley Nikondeha**

***The First Advent in Palestine: Reversals, Resistance, and the Ongoing Complexity of Hope***

(Broadleaf Books, 214 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Trusted scholar and community organizer Kelley Nikondeha takes us back, to where the landscape of Palestine is once again the geographic, socioeconomic, and political backdrop for the Advent story. Reading the Advent narratives of Luke and Matthew anew, in their original context, changes so much about how we see the true story of resistance, abusive rulers and systems of oppression, and God coming to earth. In Luke, Rome and Caesar loom, and young Mary's strength and resolve shine brightly as we begin to truly understand what it meant for her to live in the tumultuous Galilee region. In Matthew, through Joseph's point of view, we see the brutality of Herod's rule and how the complexities of empire weighed heavily on the Holy Family. We bear witness to the economic hardship of Nazareth, Bethlehem, and the many villages in between--concerns about daily bread, crushing debt, land loss, and dispossession that ring a familiar

echo to our modern ears. Throughout her explorations, Nikondeha features the stories of modern-day Palestinians, centering their voices to help us meet an Advent recognizable for today."

**Anthony O'Mahony**

As editor: ***Christianity and Jerusalem: Studies in Modern Theology and Politics in the Holy Land***
(Leominster: Gracewing / Gardners Books, 2010)

As editor: ***Palestinian Christians: Religion, Politics and Society in the Holy Land***
(Melisende, 2004)
Contents: *Palestinian Christians: religion, politics, and society, c. 1800-1948* / **Anthony O'Mahony** -- *Faith and statecraft: church-state relations in Jerusalem after 1948* / **Michael Dumper** -- *Socio-economic characteristics and challenges to Palestinian Christians in the Holy Land* / **Bernard Sabella** -- *'You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judaea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth'. A Christian perspective on Jerusalem* / **Michael Prior** -- *Contemporary Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land* / **Glenn Bowman** -- *Le pélerin de Jérusalem: Louis Massignon, Palestinian Christian, Islam, and the State of Israel* / **Anthony O'Mahony** -- *A Galilee without Christians? Yosef Weitz and 'Operation Yohanan' 1949-1954* / **Nur Masalha**.

As editor: ***The Christian Communities of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: Studies in History, Religion and Politics***
(University of Wales Press, 2003)

***Palestinian-Arab Orthodox Christian: Religion, Politics and Church-State Relations in Jerusalem, ca. 1908-1925***
(Tripoli, Lebanon, 31 pages, 2000)
Offprint from *Chronos: revue d'histoire de l'Universite de Balamand,* no.3, 2000; held at the London Jesuit Centre's Heythrop Library.

**Oded Peri** (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

***Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times***
(Brill, 219 pages, 2001)
Contents: Chapter One: The Basic Constituents of the Holy Sites Question in Early Ottoman Times; Chapter Two: The Legal Status of the Holy Sites Under Ottoman Rule; Chapter Three: The Ottoman State and the Inter-Church Struggle Over the Holy Sites; Chapter Four: The Holy Sites as a Source of Income to the Ottoman State.

**Thomas Phillips**, editor

***Prophetic Voices on Middle East Peace: A Jewish, Christian and Humanist Primer on Colonialism, Zionism and Nationalism in the Middle East***
(Claremont Press, 2016)
Contents: Preface / Thomas E. Phillips -- Forward / Peter J. Miano -- Introduction / Thomas E. Phillips -- Gaza: A Reflection / Sara Roy -- Beyond Interfaith Reconciliation: Kairos Theology and the Challenge to the Church / Mark Braverman -- A New Dictionary for Palestine: Calling a Spade a Spade / Ilan Pappe -- Can the United States "Manage" the Middle East? Should It Try? / Stephen Walt -- The Iran Nuclear Deal: Some Critical Questions / Noam Chomsky-- Peacemaking as a Journey of Transformation: Our Inner Strength & Public Engagement / Jean Zaru -- Mainstream Christian Zionism/ Peter J. Miano.

**Michael Prior**, editor, with foreword by **Archbishop Desmond Tutu**

***Speaking the Truth: Zionism, Israel and the Occupation***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2005)

Michael Prior: *Zionism and the Challenge of Historical Truth and Morality* / Rosemary & Herman Ruether: *Zionism, Christianity and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* / Ilan Pappe: *State of Denial: The Nakbah in Israeli History and Today* / Daniel McGowan: *Why We Remember Deir Yassin* / Rev. Stephen Sizer: *The International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem: A Case Study in Political Christian Zionism* / Peter Miano: *Mainstream Christian Zionism* / Duncan Macpherson: *Politics and Multi-Faith in the Holy Land: A Challenge for Christians* / Jean Zaru: *Theologising, Truth and Peacemaking in the Palestinian Experience* / Paul Eisen: *Speaking the Truth to Jews* / Nasser Aruri: *The Right of Return and its Detractors* / Betsy Barlow: *Waking the Sleeping Giant*.
Originally published as ***Speaking the Truth about Zionism and Israel*** (Nicosia: Meisende/Rimal, 264 pages, 2004).

***The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique***
(Sheffield Academic Press, 342 pages, 1997)
Western focus but includes Palestine.

**Mitri Raheb** (Dar al-Kalima University, Bethlehem)
As editor: ***In the Eye of the Storm: Middle Eastern Christians in the Twenty-First Century***
(Pickwick Publications, 202 pages, 2023)
Relevant to Palestinian Christians, with Bernard Sabella's chapter on the community in an economic and political context.

***The Politics of Persecution: Middle Eastern Christians in an Age of Empire***
(Baylor University Press, 215 pages, 2021)
Author charts the plight of Christians in the Middle East from the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte (1799) to the so-called Arab Spring (2011), including Palestine.

***Faith in the Face of Empire: The Bible through Palestinian Eyes***
(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 166 pages, 2014)

***Palestinian Identity in Relation to Time and Space***
(CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014)
14 authors emphasising the role of Christianity and religion in general, in forming identity.

***The Biblical Text in the Context of Occupation: Towards a New Hermeneutics of Liberation***
(Bethlehem: Diyar, 453 pages, 2012)

**Mitri Raheb**, **Rania Al Qass Collings** and **Rifat Odeh Kassis**, editors
***Palestinian Christians in the West Bank: Facts, Figures and Trends***
(Bethlehem: Diyar, 119 pages, 2012)

**Mitri Raheb** & **Fred Strickert**
***Bethlehem 2000***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications, 1999)
With photography by **Garo Nalbandian** and introduction by **Yassir Arafat**.

**Mitri Raheb**, **Varsen Aghabekian**, **Jamil Rabah**, **Hadeel Fawadley**, and **Bernard Sabella**
***Palestinian Christians: Emigration, Displacement and Diaspora***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Khalima University Press, 160 pages, 2017)
Publisher's blurb: "This book contains the findings of the latest research and studies conducted by Dar al-Kalima University College of Arts and Culture in 2017. The first chapter crystalizes four waves of Christian emigration from Palestine within the last century. The second chapter contains the results of an emigration survey conducting in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip mid-2017; a first study of its kind that includes both Christians and Muslim Palestinians. The third chapter looks at the situation of the

Palestinian Christian emigrants in the diaspora comparing their conditions in Jordan to that in the United States of America. The last chapter looks at the responses of churches, church-related organizations and European agencies to the challenge of emigration. This book is an important tool for researchers as well as all who are interested in the situation of the Christians in Palestine."

**Ernest Tatham Richmond** aka **E.T. Richmond** (British Mandate Press Secretary under Herbert Samuel)

**William Harvey**: ***Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem***
(Oxford University Press, 30 pages, 1935)
Introduction by **E.T. Richmond**

**William Harvey**: ***Structural Survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem – Final Report***
(Oxford University Press, 27 pages, 1935)
Introduction by **E.T. Richmond**

***The Sites of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection***
(London: Catholic Truth Society, 40 pages, 1934)

**Maria Chiara Rioli**

***A Liminal Church: Refugees, Conversions and the Latin Diocese of Jerusalem, 1946-1956***
(Brill, 2020)
'Open Jerusalem' series, Vol. 2. Publisher's blurb: "The history of the Palestine War does not only concern military history. It also involves social, humanitarian and religious history, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Jerusalem. *A Liminal Church* offers a complex narrative of the Latin patriarchal diocese, commonly portrayed as monolithically aligned with anti-Zionist and anti-Muslim positions during the "long" year of 1948. Making use of largely unpublished archives in the Middle East, Europe and the United States, including the recently released Pius XII papers, Maria Chiara Rioli depicts a church engaged in multiple and sometimes contradictory pastoral initiatives, amid harsh battles, relief missions for Palestinian refugees, theological reflections on Jewish converts to Catholicism, political relations with the Israeli and Jordanian authorities, and liturgical responses to a fluid and uncertain scenario. The pieces of this history include the Jerusalem grand mufti's appeal to Pius XII to support the Arab cause, the Catholic liturgies for peace and international mobilization during the Palestine War and Suez crisis, refugees petitioning the patriarch for aid, and Jewish converts establishing Christian kibbutzim. New archival collections and records reveal hidden aspects of the lives of women, children and other silenced actors, faith communities and religious institutions during and after 1948, connecting narratives that have been marginalized by a dominant historiography more focused on military campaigns or confessional conflicts. *A Liminal Church* weaves diocesan history with global history. In the momentous decade from 1946 to 1956, the study of the transnational Jerusalem Latin diocese, as split between Israel, Jordan, Egypt and Cyprus, with ties to diaspora and religious international networks and comprising clergy from all over the world, attests to the possibilities of contrapuntal narratives, reintroducing complexity to a deeply and painfully polarized debate, exposing false assumptions and situating changes and ruptures in a long-term perspective."

**Laura Robson** (Portland State University)

As editor: ***Minorities and the Modern Arab World: New Perspectives***
(Syracuse University Press, 2016)
Includes the editor's own chapter: *Arab Christians in Twentieth Century Palestine*

***Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine***
(University of Texas Press, 2011)
Author argues that the British transformed Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious identities into legal categories, ultimately marginalising the Christians.

**Bernard Sabella** (Bethlehem University / Middle East Council of Churches)

***A Life Worth Living: The Story of a Palestinian Catholic***

(Eugene, Oregon: Resource Publications / Wipf & Stock, 2017)

Carole Monica Burnett, editor. Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian Christian, offers an enlightening, often humorous, personal narrative accompanied by reflections on lessons learned from his life in a conflict zone. Displaced from his home in infancy with his refugee family and educated in Jerusalem's Old City before pursuing university studies in the US, he blossomed into a committed educator, scholar, member of the Palestinian Parliament, and director of a church aid agency. Throughout his life Dr. Sabella has never lost his focus on the goal of promoting peace through understanding, and he has never been diverted from his path of absolute nonviolence. A Life Worth Living speaks with a voice worth listening to, alternately anecdotal and analytical, touching our hearts while pondering the past, present, and future of the Holy Land."

**Bernard Sabella** and **Mitri Raheb**, editors, with contributors **Varsen Aghabekian**, **Jamil Rabah**, **Hadeel Fawadleh**: ***Palestinian Christians – Emigration, Displacement and Diaspora***

(CreateSpace/the authors, 2017)

Publisher's blurb: "This book contains the findings of the latest research and studies conducted by Dar al-Kalima University College of Arts and Culture in 2017. The first chapter crystalizes four waves of Christian emigration from Palestine within the last century. The second chapter contains the results of an emigration survey conducting in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip mid-2017; a first study of its kind that includes both Christians and Muslim Palestinians. The third chapter looks at the situation of the Palestinian Christian emigrants in the diaspora comparing their conditions in Jordan to that in the United States of America. The last chapter looks at the responses of churches, church-related organizations and European agencies to the challenge of emigration. This book is an important tool for researchers as well as all who are interested in the situation of the Christians in Palestine.)

With **Afif Safieh** and **Albert Aghazarian**: ***Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land***

(Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)

**Levi Sabine**

***A Critical Analysis of the Kairos Palestine Document and its Significance in Relation to Contemporary Christian Approaches to the Israel/Palestine Conflict***

(PhD thesis, University of Birmingham College of Arts and Law, 534 pages, 2016; available: etheses.bham.ac.uk/7029/

**Suha Shakkour**

***Christian Palestinians in Britain***

(PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2010)

Available: hdl.handle.net/10023/999

Abstract: This study seeks to address a gap in the literature with regard to the Christian Palestinians. As members of a very small minority, they are often overlooked by the media and the academic community. While this is changing to some extent for Christian Palestinians in the Middle East, there is scant literature that considers their lives in the 'West' and almost none on their experiences in Britain. This thesis considers how Christian Palestinians have adapted to life in London, including an analysis of the individual experiences of both Christian Palestinians and Muslim Palestinians. Interviews with respondents focused on their English language abilities, educational achievements, attitudes to intermarriage, and their sense of belonging. These aspects were chosen because they offer an insight into respondents' private and public lives, a distinction that is particularly important in the study of integration and assimilation. Through the assessment of these attributes, this research seeks to redefine the way that assimilation has been viewed and argues that a more comprehensive study of assimilation must include not only an analysis of whether migrants have adopted a

characteristic of the host nation's population, but also an analysis of whether they have adopted the sentiments their native born counterparts have attached to them.

**Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr.** (Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island)
***Christian Homeland: Episcopalians and the Middle East, 1820-1958***
(Oxford University Press, 304 pages, 2023)

**Rev. Stephen Sizer** (Church of England priest, banned from serving until 2030)
***Zion's Christian Soldiers: The Bible, Israel and the Church***
(Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 199 pages, 2007)
Contents: Introduction: For the love of Zion -- The Bible tells them so: is it possible to read the Bible too literally? -- Israel and the church: who are God's chosen people? -- The promised land: from the Nile to the Euphrates? -- Battle for Jerusalem: the eternal capital of the Jews? -- The coming last days temple: ready to rebuild? -- Overture to Armageddon: want to be left behind? -- Conclusion: The last word on the Middle East? -- The place of Israel: a sermon by John Stott.

***Christian Zionism: Roadmap to Armageddon?***
(Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 298 pages, 2004)
Contents: Zionism defined -- Christian Zionism defined -- The significance of the Christian Zionist movement -- A critique of Christian Zionism -- The early intimations: proto-Christian Zionism -- The socio-political context for the rise of Christian Zionism -- The origins of covenantal premillennial restorationism in Britain -- The origins of dispensational Christian Zionism in Britain -- Lord Shaftesbury and the influence of restorationism upon British foreign policy -- British Christian political support for the Jewish Zionist movement -- The Balfour Declaration and the implementation of the Zionist vision -- Dispensationalism and the birth of Christian Zionism in America (1859-1945) -- Anti-Semitism and American liberal Christian Zionism (1918-1967) -- Contemporary American evangelical Christian Zionism (1967-2002) -- The proliferation and diversification of Christian Zionist organizations -- The historical roots of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- The Bible: a literal futurist hermeneutic -- Chosen peoples: the relationship between Israel and the church -- Restorationism: the return of the Jews to Zion -- Eretz Israel: reclaiming Judea, Samaria and beyond -- Jerusalem: the eternal and exclusive Jewish capital -- The temple: rebuilding for desecration -- The future: the eschatology of Christian Zionism -- The distinctive theology of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- The chosen people: supporting Israeli colonialism -- Restorationism: facilitating aliyah from Russia and Eastern Europe -- Eretz Israel: sustaining the West Bank settlements -- Jerusalem: lobbying for international recognition -- The temple: identifying with religious Zionism -- The future: opposing peace and hastening Armageddon -- The political implications of Christian Zionism: conclusions -- Observations on the development of Christian Zionism -- Variant forms of Christian Zionism -- The constructive and destructive aspects of Christian Zio.

***The Promised Land: A Critical Investigation of Evangelical Christian Zionism in Britain and the United States of America since 1800***
(Middlesex University thesis, 2002)
Abstract: Christian Zionism is a complex, controversial and deeply influential movement. In particular, it impacts US foreign policy in the Middle East as well as strengthens the Israeli right-wing. The influence of evangelicals upon the development of Zionism has, however, been consistently underestimated. An exhaustive survey of published works also confirms the relatively undeveloped nature of research in this field. Consequently the assumption, made by advocates as well as critics, that Christian Zionism is synonymous with Evangelicalism has remained largely uncontested. This thesis challenges this assumption through an examination of the historical roots, theological basis and political ramifications of the movement. Chapter 2 traces its historical development since 1800 and transition from British sectarianism to mainstream American Evangelicalism. Chapter 3 assesses seven basic theological tenets that distinguish the various strands within the Christian Zionist movement: an ultra-literal and futurist hermeneutic; a belief that the Jews remain God's chosen people; Restorationism and the return of the Jews to Palestine; the justification of Eretz Israel; the centrality of Jerusalem as the

Jewish capital; the expectation that the Temple will be rebuilt; and a pessimistic apocalyptic eschatology. Chapter 4 focuses on the political consequences of this theology and the way in which Christian Zionists bolster the pro-Israeli lobby; facilitate aliyah; sustain the West Bank settlements; lobby for international recognition for Jerusalem; promote the rebuilding of the temple; and oppose a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. A literature analysis of primary historical and contemporary sources as well as interviews together with unpublished correspondence have been used to identify the dominant themes which both define as well as distinguish variant forms of contemporary Christian Zionism. Published findings arising from this thesis have already contributed to the international debate on the significance of Christian Zionism. It is hoped that this thesis will stimulate further research and form the basis for constructive dialogue between proponents and critics in the future.

***A Panorama of the Bible Lands*** -aka: ***A Panorama of the Holy Land***
(Guildford: Eagle Press, 80 pages, 1998 / 2000)
With photographs by **Jon Arnold**

**Will Stalder**
***Palestinian Christians and the Old Testament: History, Hermeneutics and Ideology***
(Minneapolis: Fortress press, 423 pages, 2012)

**Theo Sundermeier**
***For an Open Jerusalem: Palestinian Christian Art Today***
(Bethlehem: Dar al-Kalima University Press, 128 pages, 2018)
Publisher's blurb: "Palestinian Christians are a group in the Middle East that is being decimated in a frightening way by emigration. Their voice, the voice of the descendants of the oldest Christians, must not go unheard. As sensitive interpreters of their time and situation, the artists are both Palestinians and Christians at the same time, marked by two traditions equally. They invite us to read the Biblical texts with the eyes of those who have grown up in the country that is sacred to the various denominations and religions, from which, however, many were expelled in the years 1947-1949. It is this catastrophe ("Nakba"), which has often become the subject of their pictures. The pictures speak of people who are traumatized by the past and by present experience, but are not in despair. Instead, they do not give up the search for their identity and the hope that peace between the Israelis and Palestinians is possible and Jerusalem again becomes a city that is open and freely accessible for all people. The churches are particularly encouraged to get involved with these messages and to live in active solidarity."

**Syrian Orthodox Church**
***Anaphora: The Divine Liturgy of Saint James, the First Bishop of Jerusalem, According to the Rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch***
(New Jersey: Metropolitan Mar A. Y. Samuel, 97 pages, 1967)
Translated from the original Syriac.

**Hassan Bin Talal** (**HRH El Hassan Bin Talal / Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan**)
***Christianity in the Arab World***
(SCM Press, 1998)
With foreword by in Middle East-insightful **HRH The Prince of Wales**.

**Fadwa Tuqan**
***A Mountainous Journey: An Autobiography***
(London: Women's Press / / St Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 1990)

Translated by **Olive Kenny** / with poetry translated by **Naomi Shihab Nye**; editor **Salma Khadra Jayyusi**. A memoir that puts the poet's life into the context of the Palestinian dilemma; includes important sociological remembrance of Nablus as perhaps the most conservative locale in Palestine. See also: Al-Fateh poetry and plus numerous collections in Arabic.

**Barbara Victor**

***A Voice of Reason: Hanan Ashwari and Peace in the Middle East***
(Harcourt Brace, 1994)
Also published as *Hanan Ashwari: A Passion for Peace* (Fourth Estate, 1995) Anglican Christian who was the first woman elected to the Palestinian National Council.

**Rev. Donald E. Wagner** aka **Rev. Don Wagner** (Presbyterian Church, Chicago)

***Glory to God in the Lowest: Journeys to an Unholy Land***
(author, 2022)
With forward by **Rev. William J. Barber II** and **Phillis Bennis**. Publisher's blurb: "A personal, political, and religious journey from Evangelical Christian faith and conservative politics to solidarity with the poor and advocacy for anti-war, anti-racism, and Palestinian rights. After serving for five years as a pastor in a remarkable Black church, Donald Wagner comes to fully understand the original sin of racism. As his journey continues, he encounters another marginalized people—the Palestinians—and witnesses their struggle for justice and equality. Touched by their resilience and fight against injustice, he leaves the pastorate to assume full time work as an advocate for Palestinian political and human rights. The memoir begins in mid-September 1982, with a gut-wrenching day interviewing survivors of the Sabra-Shatila massacre in Lebanon, as they wept and waited for the bodies of family members to be pulled from the rubble. Donald Wagner's conversation with the local Imam ended with a challenge: "You must return home and tell what you have seen. This is all we ask. Go back and tell the truth." *Glory to God in the Lowest* is a metaphor for his counter intuitive journey with the victims of the "chosen people" in the "unholy land," also called historic Palestine or Israel. The irony of the journey reminds us that God is everywhere especially with the disinherited, the victims of the powerful, including the victims of Israeli oppression. The memoir touches on history and includes political analysis and theological reflection. In it, Donald Wagner describes Israel's continued colonization and destruction of Palestinian lives and chronicles his involvement in a grassroots movement of resistance that demands justice based on full equality, an end to the Israeli military occupation and settler colonization project, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and full political rights for the Palestinian people. Filled with stories—some humorous and some shocking—as well as encounters with people of every race, gender, and religious affiliation working below the radar, this book will inspire, challenge, and offer a narrative that envisions a transformed "unholy land," where justice, liberation, and equality for all is the reality for every citizen."

***Dying in the Land of Promise: Palestine and Palestinian Christianity from the Pentecost to 2000***
(Melisende, 2001, 2003 / 2nd ed. Fox Publications, 308 pages, 2004)

***Anxious for Armageddon: A Call to Partnership for Middle East and Western Christians***
(Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 272 pages, 1996)
With foreword by **Elias Chacour**.

As co-editor, with **Walter T. Davis**: ***Zionism and the Quest for Peace in the Holy Land***
(Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014)
Publisher's blurb: "A critical examination of political Zionism, a topic often considered taboo in the West, is long overdue. Moreover, the discussion of Christian Zionism is usually confined to Evangelical and fundamentalist settings. The present volume will break the silence currently reigning in many religious, political, and academic circles and, in so doing, will provoke and inspire a new, challenging conversation on theological and ethical issues arising from various aspects of Zionism-a

conversation that is vital to the quest for a just peace in Israel and Palestine. The eight authors offer a rich diversity of religious faith, academic research, and practical experience, as they represent all three Abrahamic faiths and five different Christian traditions. Among the many themes that run through Zionism and the Quest for Justice in the Holy Land is the contrast between exclusivist narratives, both biblical and political, and the more inclusive narratives of the prophetic Scriptures, which provide the theological foundation and the moral imperative for human liberation. Readers will be drawn into a compelling, readable, and stimulating series of essays that tackle many of the complex issues that still confound clergy, politicians, diplomats, and academic experts."

**Alain Epp Weaver**

***Mapping Exile and Return: Palestinian Dispossession and a Political Theory for a Shared Future***

(Fortress Press, 2014)

Note: Christian Palestinians' and the author's bi-national vision for Palestine.

**Robert Louis Wilken**

***The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought***

(Yale University Press, 374 pages, 1992)

**Munib Younan** aka **Munib A. Younan** (Lutheran Bishop)

***Our Shared Witness: A Voice for Justice and Reconciliation***

(Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 235 pages, 2012)

***Witnessing for Peace: In Jerusalem and the World***

(Minneapolis: Fortress Press/ Northam: Roundhouse, 169 pages, 2003)

Edited by **Fred W. Strickert**.

**Raed Zanoon** & **Julie-Anne Skyley**

***Escaping Gaza: Raed Zanoon the Peace Seeker***

(O-Books, due April 2016)

Personal story of Gazan Christian's escape to Darwin.

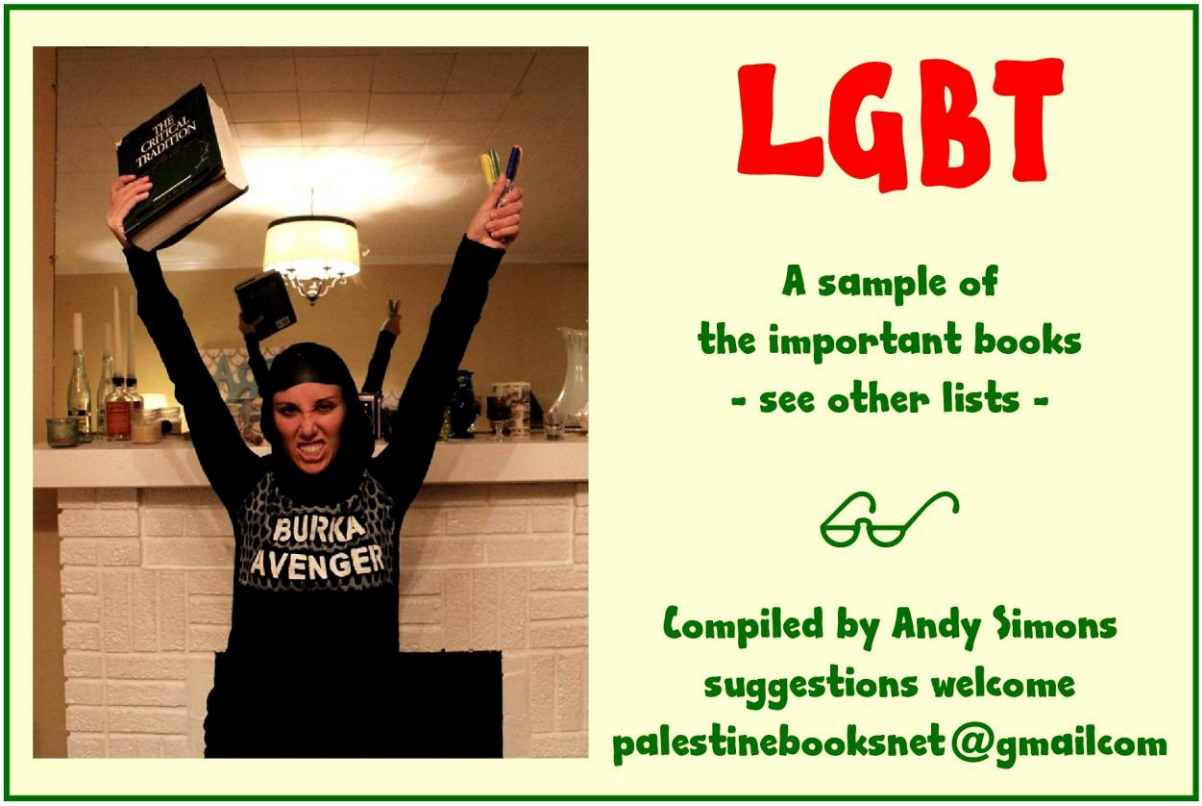
**Jean Zaru** (Quaker from Ramallah)

***Occupied with Nonviolence: A Palestinian Woman Speaks***

(Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 168 pages, 2008)

**Diane L. Eck**, editor; foreword by **Rosemary Radford Ruether**.

# Palestine LGBT




**Rabab Abdulhadi, Evelyn Alsultany** & **Nadine Naber**, editors
***Arab & Arab American Feminisms***
(Syracuse University Press, 2011)
Numerous entries on queer representation.

**George Abraham** (Palestinian American poet) and **Hannah Moushabeck** (Palestinian American writer/publisher, editors
***Homosexual Intifada: A Queer Palestinian Anthology***
(Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing, 210 pages, 2026)
Includes Palestinian authors **Noor Hindi**: *Further Thoughts on Living*, **Eman Abelhadi**: *Parallel Lives*, **Mejdulene Bernard Shomali**: *Love Lessons Across the Space/Time Continuum*, **Elias Jashan**: *Palestinian Dreaming*, **Nadia Shammas**: For My Enemies, and **Randa Jarrar**: *The Fisherwoman*.

**Walaa Alqaisiya** (University of Venice; Columbia University; London School of Economics)
***Decolonial Queering in Palestine***
(Routledge, 216 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "This book provides a vivid account of the political valence of weaving queer into native positionality and the struggle for decolonisation in the settler colonial context of Palestine, referred to as decolonial queering. It discusses how processes of gender and sexuality that privilege hetero-colonising authority shaped and continue to define both the Israeli-Zionist conquest of Palestine and the Palestinian struggle for liberation, thus future imaginings of free Palestine. This account emerges directly from the voices and experiences of Palestinian activists and artists; particularly, it draws on fieldwork with Palestine's most established queer grassroots movement, alQaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society, and a variety of artistic Palestinian productions (photography, fashion, music, performance, and video art). Offering a comprehensive and in-depth engagement with the situated context, history, and local practices of Palestinian queerness, scholars, students, and activists across (de)colonial, race, and gender/sexuality studies

would appreciate its unique insights; its empirical focus also reaches to those academics in the wider fields of Middle Eastern, anthropological, and political studies."

**Hila Amit**

***A Queer Way Out: The Politics of Queer Emigration from Israel***

(State University of New York Press, 252 pages, 2018/2019)

Publisher's blurb: "The very language of Zionism prizes the concept of immigration to Israel (*aliyah*, literally ascending) while stigmatizing emigration from Israel (*yerida*, descending). In *A Queer Way Out*, Hila Amit explores the as-yet-untold story of queer Israeli emigrants. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Berlin, London, and New York, she examines motivations for departure and feelings of unbelonging to the Israeli national collective. Amit shows that sexual orientation and left-wing political affiliation play significant roles in decisions to leave. Queer Israeli emigrants question national and heterosexual norms such as army service, monogamy, and reproduction. Amit argues that emigration itself is not only a political act, but one that pioneers a deliberately unheroic form of resistance to Zionist ideology. This fascinating study enriches our understandings of migration, political activism, and queer forms of living in Israel and beyond."

**Sa'ed Atshan** (Swarthmore College)

***Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique***

(Stanford University Press, 296 pages, 2020)

Publisher's blurb: "From Ramallah to New York, Tel Aviv to Porto Alegre, people around the world celebrate a formidable, transnational Palestinian LGBTQ social movement. Solidarity with Palestinians has become a salient domain of global queer politics. Yet LGBTQ Palestinians, even as they fight patriarchy and imperialism, are themselves subjected to an "empire of critique" from Israeli and Palestinian institutions, Western academics, journalists and filmmakers, and even fellow activists. Such global criticism has limited growth and led to an emphasis within the movement on anti-imperialism over the struggle against homophobia. With this book, Sa'ed Atshan asks how transnational progressive social movements can balance struggles for liberation along more than one axis. He explores critical junctures in the history of Palestinian LGBTQ activism, revealing the queer Palestinian spirit of agency, defiance, and creativity, in the face of daunting pressures and forces working to constrict it. Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique explores the necessity of connecting the struggles for Palestinian freedom with the struggle against homophobia.

**Andreas Hackl** (University of Edinburgh)

***The Invisible Palestinians: The Hidden Struggle for Inclusion in Jewish Tel Aviv***

(Indiana University Press, 256 pages, 2022)

Publisher's blurb: "Within the heart of the Jewish city of Tel Aviv, there is a hidden reality—Palestinians who work, study, and live as an unseen minority without access to equal urban citizenship. Grounded in the everyday lives of Palestinians in Tel Aviv, The Invisible Palestinians offers an ethnographic critique of the city's self-proclaimed openness and liberalism. Andreas Hackl reveals that Palestinians' access to the social and economic opportunities afforded in Tel Aviv depends on an invisibility that not only disrupts opportunities for true urban citizenship but also draws opposition from other Palestinians. They are unable to belong in Tel Aviv as Palestinians and struggle to reconcile Tel Aviv with being Palestinian. By looking at the city from the perspective of this hidden urban minority, Hackl uncovers a critical opportunity to imagine and build a more inclusive and just future for Tel Aviv. An important read, The Invisible Palestinians explores the marginalized urban presence of both Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian labourers from the West Bank in this quintessential Jewish Israeli city. Andreas reveals a highly diverse Palestinian population that includes young people, manual workers and middle class professionals, residents and commuters, students, artists, and activists, as well

as members of an underground Palestinian LGBT community that carefully navigates their place in a city that refuses to recognize them."

**Saleem Haddad** (Palestinian-Lebanese-Iraqi-German novelist and aid worker with Doctors Without Borders)

***Floodlines***
(Europa Editions, 350 pages, 2026)
Iraqi epic novel.

***Guapa***
(Other Press, 360 pages, 2016)
Novel. Publisher's blurb: "Set over the course of twenty-four hours, *Guapa* follows Rasa, a gay man living in an unnamed Arab country, as he tries to carve out a life for himself in the midst of political and social upheaval. Rasa spends his days translating for Western journalists and pining for the nights when he can sneak his lover, Taymour, into his room. One night Rasa's grandmother -- the woman who raised him -- catches them in bed together. The following day Rasa is consumed by the search for his best friend Maj, a fiery activist and drag queen star of the underground bar, Guapa, who has been arrested by the police. Ashamed to go home and face his grandmother, and reeling from the potential loss of the three most important people in his life, Rasa roams the city's slums and prisons, the lavish weddings of the country's elite, and the bars where outcasts and intellectuals drink to a long-lost revolution. Each new encounter leads him closer to confronting his own identity, as he revisits his childhood and probes the secrets that haunt his family. As Rasa confronts the simultaneous collapse of political hope and his closest personal relationships, he is forced to discover the roots of his alienation and try to re-emerge into a society that may never accept him."

**Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle**

***Living Out Islam: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims***
(New York University Press, 2014)

**Elias Jahshan**, editor

***This Queer Arab Family: An Anthology of LGBTQ+ Arab Writers***
(London: Saqi Books, 198 pages, 2025)
Includes: **Randa Jarrar**.

***This Arab is Queer: An Anthology by LGBTQ+ Arab Writers***
(London: Saqi Books, 211 pages, 2022)
Includes: **Anbara Salam** and **Madian Al Jazerah**.

**Marwan Kaabour**, editor

***The Queer Arab Glossary***
(Saqi Books, 160 pages, 2024)
Essays forming a compendium of Arab LGBTQ+ slang. With illustrations by Palestinian artist **Haitham Haddad**. Contents: **Hamed Sinno**: *Ancestries* / **Saqer AlMarri**: *A Rich Constellation of Identities* / **Adam HajYahia**: *Are You a Pan-Arab Nationalist or Just a Man Who Sleeps with Men?* / **Nisrine Chaer**: *Terteeb, Bahdaleh, Tha'afeh and Crisscrossing Transness* / **Sophia Chamas**: *A Pedagogy of Rumours* / **Rana Issa**; *A Dance of Gossip* / **Mejdulene Bernard Shomali**: *Living in the Ellipses* / **Abdella Taia**: *An Effeminate Moroccan*. Of tangential connection to Palestine, with **Haitham Haddad** having a Palestine connection, and **Adam HajYahia** being Palestinian.

**Michael T. Luongo** [editor]

***Gay Travels in the Muslim World***

(Routledge, 2007)
Actually, the diverse Arab world.

**Ethel Mannin**

***Bitter Babylon***

(Hutchinson, 1968)
Novel with various settings: Palestine, Cairo, gay San Francisco; uses the American Zionist attack David Susskind TV interview programme described in her *American Journey*.

**Elham Mansour**

***I Am You: A Novel on Lesbian Desire in the Middle East***

(Cambria Press, 2008)
Translated by **Samar Habib**; unknown Palestinian relevance.

**Sarah Schulman**

***Israel / Palestine and the Queer International***

(Duke University Press, 2012)
Invited to Israel to give the keynote address at an LGBT studies conference at Tel Aviv University, Schulman declines, joining other anti-occupation artists and academics in calling for an academic and cultural boycott of Israel. The author tours the West Bank and brings activists to tour the United States to establish a Queer International.

**Brian Whitaker** (former *Guardian* Middle Eastern journalist, widely travelled)

***Unspeakable Love: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Middle East***

(2nd ed., Al Saqi Books, 2011)

**Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe** (University of London, Frankfurt and worldwide)

***Defying "The Plan": Intimate Politics among Palestinian Women in Israel***

(Indiana University Press, 262 pages, 2022)
Publisher's blurb: "Living under settler colonialism and patriarchal oppressions, Palestinian women in Israel are expected to operate even the most intimate aspects of their lives according to what some call "The Plan," which dictates everything from clothing, marriage, religion, and sex to how children are born and raised. In Intimate Politics, Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe draws from a series of moving interviews to reveal that despite various forms of intertwined oppressions by both the Israeli state and Palestinian society, Palestinian women show defiance by the quotidian choices they make in their own intimate lives under occupation, which, Zinngrebe argues, cannot be perceived as a mere corollary but constitute a pivotal and contested terrain of the struggle between settler and colonized. Intimate Politics explores such issues as the segregation of sexual education in Palestine; the politics of dress, menstruation, and tattoos; and the roles of class, feminism, and race. Importantly, she highlights the intersectional experiences of women typically excluded from existing accounts, such as Black Palestinian women, women with disabilities, unmarried and divorced women, Bedouin women, and LGBTQI women. The stories gathered in Intimate Politics trace and unpick settler colonial power at the level of the intimate and native women's various practices of defiance."