Updated 11 March 2020

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

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

Welcome to a bibliography of the most significant books on the Palestinian struggle. The site takes its inspiration from British Writers in Support of Palestine (www.bwisp.wordpress.com), co-ordinated by the novelist-poet Naomi Foyle. Your compiler 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, and from online booksellers. Printed bibliographies at the back of books sometimes misspell author’s names so I’ve made an effort to correct them by using the official catalogue records, which do 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. Keyword searches from this Home Page will direct you to a specific list.

PALESTINIAN BOOKS’ listings are not intended to be complete, and could never be anyway. The poetry strand is admittedly a weak one for your editor. A very few “Liberal Zionist” works are included, but these are not emphasised here. The Christian movement for Palestinian rights is, hopefully, well-represented, but Christian Zionists will have to look elsewhere. Uncredited comments about individual titles are mine, otherwise they’re credited to an author, critic, or source publication. NOTHING, nothing at all is for sale on this site, and listings do not indicate my endorsement, only significance in the long canon of Palestinian titles. This resource is updated and amended regularly, so suggestions for additions and corrections are appreciated.

BOOKS Yes, books, whether you could ever find them in a bookshop or not. University press businesses have for years distributed mainly to the university library market, but times have changed. As of now, Routledge-Taylor & Francis Publishers emphasise an academic focus but a work is often published as an over-£100 expensive hardback and later a £40 paperback, but these are likely printed-on-
demand, with e-book versions under £30. In this publisher’s case, we are grateful that they accept and make available monograph-length research aspects of the Palestinian struggle.

OTHER SOURCES: This website solely suggests books, what librarians term ‘monographs’ (single-topic printed publications, even weighty pamphlets).

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 (such as *al-Difa*, aka *Ad-Difaa*, from 1934, and *Filastin*, *La Palestine / raʾīs al-taḥrīr Yusuf al-ʾTsá*, from 1911) 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; you can search their main catalogue: www.bl.uk.

Also valuable are other periodicals, with the best being *Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies* [JPRS], published by The Palestinian Return Centre (£25-35 – jprs@prc.org.uk). 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 (from £42 online – 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 Briefing* (palestinebriefing.org), which documents the British and European Parliaments’ discussions on Palestine; it is published by Martin Linton, politics author, operator of Labour2Palestine, and former Labour Party MP.

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

*B’Tselem* (btselem.org) – The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories offer many downloadable reports and statistics.

*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.
Bidoun (bidoun.org) ~ Middle Eastern focus magazine, which archives articles from other publications; simply search ‘Palestinian.’

Keep up with current fiction in the wider Arabic world via:

M. Lynx Qualey’s exciting ARABIC LITERATURE (IN ENGLISH) site, arablit.org

thetanjara.blogspot.co.uk / en.qantara.de

Palestine Today

See also the reading list on Older Palestine History

Nahla Abdo
Women in Israel: Race, Gender and Citizenship (Zed Books, 2011)
Women and Poverty in the OPT (–2007)

Nahla Abdo-Zubi, Heather Montgomery & Ronit Lentin

Nahla Abdo, Rita Giacaman, Eileen Kuttab & Valentine M. Moghadam
Gender and Development (Birzeit University Women’s Studies Department, 1995)

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

Daud Abdullah (Director, Middle East Monitor)
Concerns about British and EU Roles in Palestinian Authority Human Rights Abuses in the Occupied West Bank (Middle East Monitor, 2009)
Daud Abdullah & Ibrahim Hewitt, editors :

Karen Abi-Ezzi (University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies)
**Peacemaking Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Re-evaluation** (Routledge, 2015, 2018)


**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**


**Nurhan Abujidi**

*Urbicide in Palestine: Spaces of Oppression and Resilience* (Routledge, 2014)

**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) 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*)


**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-Dhou** (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 ongoing 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**  

**Avigail Abarbanel**  
*Beyond Tribal Loyalties : Personal Stories of Jewish Peace Activists* (Cambridge Scholars, 2012) Includes chapters on Jeff Halper, Ilan Pappé, 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, *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)


See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY.

With Michel Warschawski: The 33 Day War: Israel’s War on Hezbollah in Lebanon and its Consequences (Paradigm Books, 2007)

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.”


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)

Aida Refugee Camp
The Boy and the Wall (Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016) Bilingual book by children at the camp.

Ghada Ageel, editor (Guardian newspaper)

Susan Akram & Terry Rempel
Out of Place, Out of Time: Refugees, Rights and the (Re)Making of Palestine/Israel (Pluto, 2016)

Susan Akram, Michael Dumpet, Michael Lynk & 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
- John Quijgley: Self-Determination in the Palestine Context / Iain Scobie: Natural resources and belligerent occupation: perspectives from international humanitarian and human rights

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.”

Refaat Alareer & Leila el-Haddad, editors

Samira Alayan (Hebrew University)
Education in East Jerusalem: Occupation, Political Power, and Struggle (Routledge, 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.”
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.

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

Lori Allen (SOAS / Cambridge University)
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.

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)

Alternative Tourism Group (ATG, Beit Sahour, Bethlehem)

Atef Alshaer (SOAS Research Fellow and translator; University of Westminster)
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)

Ahmad Amara, Ismael Abu-Saad, & Oren Yiftachel, editors
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.”


Nothing to Lose but Your Life : My 18 Hour Journey with Murad (Bloomsbury Qatar, 2010)
Sharon and My Mother-in-Law (Granta, 2005)

Earthquake in April (Beirut : Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003)
Women in the Conflict (Jerusalem : Middle East Publications, 1995)

Zalman Amit & Daphna Levit

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 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.”

Dr Swee Chai Ang
*From Beirut to Jerusalem* (Grafton Press, 1989 / The Other Press, 2013)
Surgeon’s years’ 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 Gaza. See also: Dr Pauline Cutting.

Miriym Aouragh

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)

Khalid Arar (Sakhnin Academic College, Israel) & Kussai Haj-Yehia (Beit Berl Academic College, Israel)
*Higher Education and the Arab Minority in Israel* (Palgrave Macmillan, 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.”

Sami Al-Arian (University of South Florida tenured professor who fought a decade of detention – currently facing deportation from the USA)

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 Pappé. 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 Hanvandjan 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 Anglican Bishop Riah Abu Elsal; Christians Aware, 2006)


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.”


Being in Time : A Post-Poitical Manifesto (Skyscraper Press, 2017)

Uri Avnery – see OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.

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.”

Tariq Baconi
*Hamas Contained : The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance* (Stanford University Press, 2018)

Amjad Ab El Ezz Banishamsa (political adviser to the British American Security Information Council)
*The European Union and the Palestinians* (Routledge, 2016) – Note: was due to be published July 2016.

Ana Barahona
Not your usual travelogue: water rationing, drug dealing, checkpoints, school. And guess who built that wall?

Gabi Baramki
*Peaceful Resistance : Building a Palestinian University under Occupation* [Birzeit University] (Pluto Press, 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.

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

Frank Barat, Angela Y. Davis & Cornel West

Mourid Barghouti
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

Ramzy Baroud (Journalist and editor of Palestine Chronicle, who studied at both the University of Exeter and UC Santa Barbara)
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)

Nora Barrows-Friedman

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.”

Gershom Baskin
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)

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

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)

Moustafa Bayoumi, editor (also edited The Edward Said Reader (Granta, 2000, 2001)

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

Zvi Bekerman (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
The Promise of Integrated Multicultural and Bilingual Education: Inclusive Palestinian-Artab 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)

Peter Beinart

Joel Beinin & Rebecca L. Stein, editors

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.

Alon Ben-Meir (New York University’s Center for Global Affairs)

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.”

Yael Berda
Living Emergency: Israel’s Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank (Stanford University Press, 2018)

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)

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

Akeel Bilgrami & Jonathan R. Cole (both of Columbia University), editors

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 (Tufts University)

Marwan Bishawa (Al Jazeera English senior editor)
The Invisible Arab (Nation Books/Perseus, 2012)

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.”

*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)

*Breaking the Silence* (Israeli activists’ organisation)


*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)

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”

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

Martin P. Bunton

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 Wall)
Bil’in and the Nonviolent Resistance (author, 208pp, 2016)

Carole Monica Burnett, editor

Gary M. Burge
Whose Land? Whose Promise? What Christians are Not Being Told about Israel and the Palestinians

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

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."


**Gregg Carlstrom**


**Centre for Democracy and Community Development**


**Michael Chabon, Ayelet Waldman, editors**

*Kingdom of Olives and Ash : Writers Confront the Occupation* (Fourth Estate, 2017)

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


**Catherine Charrett** (Queen Mary University)

*Hamas, the EU and the Palestinian Elections : A Performance in Politics* (Routledge, 2019)

**Noam Chayut**


**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**

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

Civic Coalition for Defending the Palestinians’ Rights in Jerusalem:
Yaqoub Odeh (Human rights and housing rights observer): Campaign on Right to Housing and residency – Special Report on Forced Displacement of Bedouins (CCDPRJ, 2008)

Andy Clarno

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

Leena Dallasheh, Kaoutar Buediri, & Andreas Muller; edited by Michael Warschawski

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

Rachel Corrie 
Let Me Stand Alone: The Journals of Rachel Corrie (Granta, 2008)

Suraya Dadoo & Firoz Osman 

Henriette Dahan-Kalev (Hebrew University), Amal El'Sana-Alh’jooj, and Emilie Le Febvre (Oxford) 

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) 

Guilia 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)

**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.

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


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

Lessons for Palestine from Northern Ireland: Why George Mitchell Couldn’t Turn Jerusalem into Belfast / Saree Makdisi: One State: The Realistic Solution

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

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

Larry Derfner (Ha’aretz, formerly with the Jerusalem Post)

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
The Rise of the Sanjak in Jerusalem in the Late Nineteenth Century, in Ilan Pappé, 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) david grossman
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.”

Alnana Dwon
*Palestinian Youth Activism in the Internet Age* (IB Tauris, 2019)

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

Musheir El-Farra (Chair, Sheffield PSC)
*Gaza: When the Sky Rained White Fire* (Sheffield Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 2012) with foreword by Illan Pappé. Coverage of the Israeli’s “Operation Cast Lead,” which commenced on 27 December 2008. The military campaign lasted three weeks, with the IDF launching thousands of missiles, including white phosphorous bombs and cluster bombs. 17 family tragedies profiled herein.

Marc H. Ellis
*Finding Our Voice: Embodying the Prophetic and other Misadventures* (Cascade Books, 2018)
*Judaism Does Not Equal Israel* (New Press, 2009)


Marc H. Ellis & Daniel A. McGowan, eds.
Sharif S. Elmusa
As editor: *Culture and the Natural Environment* (American University in Cairo, 2005)


Noura Erakat (Palestinian-American legal scholar, George Mason University)
*Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine* (Stanford University Press, 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.”

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.”

*NGOs in the Arab World Post-Arab Uprisings: Domestic and International Politics of Funding and Regulation* (Arab Studies Institute, 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.


Kareem Estefan, Carin Kuoni and Laura Raicovich, editors
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, Yazen Khalili, Carin Kuoni and Laura Raicovich, Svetlana Mintcheva, Naeem Mohaiemen, Hlonipha Mokoena, John Peffer, Joshua Simon, Ann Laura Stoler, Radhika Subramaniam, Eyal Weizman and Kareem Estefan, and Frank B. Wilderson III.

**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 A. Faris**
The Failure of the Two-State Solution : The Prospects of One State in the Israel-Palestine Conflict (IB Tauris, 2013)

**Leila Farsakh**
*Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel : Labour, Land and Occupation* (Routledge, 2005, 2012)

**Norman G. Finkelstein**
*Gaza : An Inquest into its Martyrdom* (University of California Press, 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.”

*Method and Madness : The Hidden Story of Israel’s Assaults on Gaza* (O/R Books, 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.”


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.”

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)

Richard Falk (legal scholar; former UN Special Rapporteur for Palestine, 2008-2014) See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY Section.
Palestine’s Horizon: Toward a Just Peace (Pluto Press, 2017)
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)

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 Pappé

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

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

Richard Falk & Howard Friel
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.”

Michael R. Fischbach (Randolph-Macon College)
*Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color* (Stanford University Press, 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.


Dan Fleshler

Richard Forer
*Breakthrough: Transforming Fear into Compassion: A New Perspective on the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (Insight Press, 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  

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)

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.
Fawaz A Gerges (London School of Economics professor & Al Jazeera commentator)
*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)
*Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy* (Wadsworth, 2007)

As'ad Ghanem (Al-Shabaka Policy Advisor / University of Haifa)
*Ethnic Politics in Israel: The Margins and the Ashkenazi Center* (Routledge, 2010)
See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

Wafa Ghnaim, author / editor
*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;

Dr. Mads Gilbert
*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 & Dr. Erik Fosse with foreword by Noam Chomsky; Guy Puzey & Frank Stewart, translators
*Eyes in Gaza* (Quartet Books, 2013)

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

Luisa Gandolfo (University of Aberdeen)
Neve Gordon (Ben-Gurion University) with Nicola Perugini (Brown University): the Human Right to Dominate (Oxford University Press, 2015)

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)

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

Education, Repression & Liberation: Palestinians (World University Service, 1984) 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.

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

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**  

**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, ) 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.”

**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**  

**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)
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.”

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


**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.


**Jeff Halper** (head of ICAHD, the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions)

*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.
Jeremy R. Hammond
*Why Israel Has No ‘Right to Exist’* (author, 2019) free e-book download: jeremyhammond.com

Theodor Hanf
*Coexistence 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
*Lineages of Revolt : issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East* (Haymarket Books, 2013)

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

Shai Har-El (Israeli historian, educator, writer, poet, rabbi, philanthropist, and founder of the Middle East Peace Network in Chicago.)
*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)

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 UNRWApped 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 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

Amira Hass
*Reporting from Ramallah : An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land* (Semiotext(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)
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), 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)

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, Valentín Lopez, Rawan Arar, and Nessa Cronin.

Shir Hever (Economist with the Alternative Information Center/AIC, Jerusalem)  
Publisher’s blurb: “Charts the rise of neoliberal Israel to show how Israeli security elites turn violence into a commodity.”

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)  
Numerous other books and recordings.

Ibrahim Hewitt [Chair of Interpal, a British Palestinian relief and development charity]  
*Israel and Gaza Behind the Media Veil* (MEMO / Middle East Monitor, 2014)  
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.*

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 Pappé

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

Constance Hilliard

Gil Z. Hochberg (UCLA)
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

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 Speaksmen 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)


**Tikva Honig-Parnass**

**Tikva Honig-Parnass & Toufic Haddad**, editors See also Toufic Haddad
*Between the Lines: Israel, the Palestinians and the US War on Terror* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 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.

**Adam Horowitz, Lizzy Ratner & Philip Weiss**, editors

**Khaled 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, 2010)
*Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000)

**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 firsthand 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.”

Nassar Ibrahim
Illusion of Development under Israeli Occupation: The Political Motivations of Donors to the Palestinians (Bethlehem: the author & the Alternative Information Center, 2011)
Nassar Ibrahim and 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)

International Solidarity Movement (ISM):
Nicholas Blincoe & Hussein Khalili, editors

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.
Sharon Lock with Sarah Irving  
*Gaza: Beneath the Bombs* (Pluto Press, 2010)

**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. This timely volume will offer the reader significant insight into the challenges and issues of tourism in this area now and in the future. It will benefit those interested in tourism, Middle East studies, politics, economics, development studies and geography.”

**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 Yakhlf  
- 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:  
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 Pappé, 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, 2001)

Jabra Ibrahim Jabra
The First Well, autobiography on growing up in Bethlehem and Jerusalem, translated by Issa J. Boullata (Hesperus Press, 217pp, 2012)
Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories Translated by Issa J. Boullata (University of Arkansas Press, 185pp, 2005)

Isla Jad (Birzeit University)
Palestinian Women’s Activism: Nationalism, Secularism, Islamism (Syracuse University Press, 2018) 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.”

Mya Guarnieri Jaradat (journalist for Al Jazeera English, The Guardian, Foreign Policy, etc).

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

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

Jewish Voice for Peace (USA)

**Penny Johnson** (Queen Mary University London)
*Companions in Conflict: Animals in Occupied Palestine* (Melville House, 2019)

**Mustafa Kabha**
*The Palestinian People: Seeking Sovereignty and State* (Lynne Reinner Publishing, 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.”

**Musaf Kabha and Dan Caspi**

**Taysir Kamlah**

**Mehran Kamrava** (Georgetown University, Qatar)
*The Impossibility of Palestine: History, Geography and the Road Ahead* (Yale University Press, 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**

**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)
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)

Tomis Kapitan

Amy Kaplan
Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance (Harvard University Press, 2018). Scholar of American imperialism, focusing here on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry’s intended partition of Mandate Palestine, specifically the San Francisco attorney Bartley 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 Habebe • 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 Shohet • Emily Siegel • Rebecca Subar • Cecilie Surasky • Rebecca Vilkomerson • Jordan Wilson-Dalzell • Rachel Winsberg • Rabbi Alissa Wise • Charlie Wood

Ghada Karmi
Return: A Palestinian Memoir (Verso Books, 2015)
Married to Another Man: Israel’s Dilemma in Palestine (Pluto Press, 2007) Ghada Karmi is a medical doctor and a leading Palestinian writer. This is her detailed, lucid and eloquent account of the impact of Israel on the Arab world, and its relationship
with America and Europe. The book is also an informed defence of the One State solution. – Naomi Foyle

_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.


_Egyptians in Britain : A Migrant Community in Transition_ (University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1997)


**Sayed Kashua** (Palestinian-Israeli expat novelist)

_Native : Dispatches from an Israeli-Palestinian Life_ (Grove Press/Atlantic Monthly Press, 2016) – Memoir.

**Yaakov Katz** (editor, _Jerusalem Post_) 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

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: Israeli-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-Lucasta 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 (Rimal Publications, 2007)

Widad Kamel Kawar
Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage (Rimal Publications, 2011)

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.

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

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.”

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.

Yehudit Kirstein Keshet
Checkpoint Watch: Testimonies from Occupied Palestine (Zed Books, 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)

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
**Rashid Khalidi** (Edward Said Chair/Professor at Columbia University, New York City; pre-Oslo Palestinian advisor, former University of Chicago colleague of Barack Obama) *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.


*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)


*The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (Columbia University Press, 1991)

With Itamar Rabinovich


With Camille Mansour, as editors


See Camile Mansour: *Transformed Landscapes* (2009)

**Walid Khalidi** (Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut / Harvard University)


*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 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)
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, 1971, 1976)
As editor: with Jill Khaddini
Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict (London: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1974)

Laleh Khalili
As editor, with Jillian Schwedler:
Policing and Prisons in the Middle East: Formations of Coercion (C. Hurst & Col, 2010)

Lina Khatib (SOAS / Head Middle East analyst, Chatham House)
with Dina Matar & 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 Hizbullah 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)
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)
**The Case of the Food Industry** / Ilan Shdema: Social and Spatial Examination of Palestinian Employment in Israel in Single Municipalities.

**Peretz Kidron**, editor


**Elvira King**


**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, 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, Nî’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.

Orde F. Kittrie (Arizona State University) Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War (Oxford University Press, 2016) 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.


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 distrution 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)

Edward Kwakwa (University of Ghana, Queen’s University Canada, Yale University)

David Landy
Jewish Identity and Palestinian Rights (Zed Books, 2011)

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

Ronit Lentin
Traces of Racial Exception: Racializing Israeli Settler Colonialism (Bloomsbury, 2018)
Co-Memory and Melancholia: Israeli Memorialising the Palestinian Nakba (Manchester University Press, 2010)

Rabbi Michael Lerner (co-founder of Tikkun magazine)
Embracing Israel/Palestine: A Strategy to Heal and Transform the Middle East (Tikkun Publications, 2012)
Healing Israel/Palestine: A Path to Peace and Reconciliation (Tikkun Publications, 2003)

Noah Lewin-Epstein & Moshe Semyonov
-see also Moshe Semyonov

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)
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.”
Gideon Levy [journalist for the English-language Israeli newspaper, Ha’aretz]
The Punishment of Gaza (Verso Books, 2010)

Andrea Lim, editor

Tim Llewellyn

Zachary Lochman
With Joel Beinin
Intifada : The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation (Boston : South End Press / IB Tauris, 1989)

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.

Antony Loewenstein
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
Do Muslim Women Need Saving? (Harvard University Press, 2013)
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, 2008)
As editor, with Ahmad H. Sadi
Local Contexts of Islamism in Popular Media (Amsterdam University Press, 2006)
Rostam, Qashqai Rebel, in Edmund Burke, ed : Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East (University of California 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 Nourae-Simone , ed. : On shifting Ground : Muslim Women in the Global Era (Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2002)

Michael T. Luongo
(as editor) : Gay Travels in the Muslim World (Routledge, 2007) Actually, the diverse Arab world.

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, 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)
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.


John Lyons (Middle East correspondent for *The Australian*) & Sylvie Le Clezio (filmmaker, emphasising documentaries)

Donald Macintyre (*Independent* newspaper’s Jerusalem bureau chief)

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:

Karim Makdisi & Vijay Prashad, editors

*Saree Makdisi*
*Palestine Inside Out* (WW Norton, 2008) The author, a Palestinian who grew up in Lebanon, is a professor of English and comparative literature at UCLA. 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

Camille Mansour (ed., Birzeit University) and Leila Fawaz (ed., Tufts University)

Philip Marfleet & Rabab El-Madhi, editors

Philip Marfleet

Meir [Me’ir] Margalit (Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions / ACAHD)
*The City of Jerusalem: The Occupation ans 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)

**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 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)


*A Land without a People: Israel, Transfer, and the Palestinians 1949-96* (Pluto Press, 1997)


**Mazen Masri** (City University, London)

*The Dynamics of Exclusionary Constitutionalism: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State* (Hart, 2017)

**Dina Matar** (SOAS)

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 Hizbullah poetry and one on the leader Hassan Nasrallah.

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)

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
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
Al-Zaytouna Centre: The Yarmouk Camp for Palestinian Refugees in Syria

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
The Political Thought of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Memo – Middle East Monitor, 2013) 88 pages of clear and concise discourse by the Political Director of Hamas.

Beverley Milton-Edwards & Stephen Farrell
Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Polity, 2010)

Shourideh C Molavi

Daniel Monterescu
Jaffa: Shared and Shattered – Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine (Indiana University Press, 2015)
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, 2013)

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.

Karma Nabulsi (Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations)

Nadia Naser-Najjab (Birzeit, Exeter Universities, Palestinian NGOs)
*Dialogue in Palestine : The People-to-People Diplomacy Programme and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (IB Tauris/Bloomsbury, 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.”

Khalil Nakhleh (Palestinian anthropologist from Galilee)
*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)

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
See also: Sophie Richter-Devroe.

Ismail Nashif
Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community (Routledge, 2008)

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.”

Susan Nathan
The Other Side of Israel (Harper Perennial, 2006) 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


Augustus Richard Norton

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.

Steven T. Olberg

Pamela J. Olson

Padraig O’Malley
The Two-State Delusion : Israel and Palestine – A Tale of Two Narratives (Viking Press, 2015)

Atalia Omer (Notre Dame University)


Bard E. O’Neill Armed Struggle in Palestine: A Political-Military Analysis (Routledge, 2019) 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.”

The Palestinian Return Centre 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, Mounir Chafiq, Mohsen M Saleh, Ibrahim Al-Ali, Basheer Al-Zoughbi, Jawad Al-Hamad, Magda Qandil, Abdennour Benatar, Hanin Abou Salem, Mariam Itani, Adnan Abu Amer, Terry Rempel, Tarek Hamoud, Mohammed Mushanish, Ali Hweidi, Adeeb Ziadeh, Yousef Abu Ossuood, Yassir Ahmad Ali. – 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.

Ilan Pappé
See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.
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.”

Wendy Pearlman (Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois)
*Triadic Coercion: Israel's Targeting of States that Host Nonstate Actors* (Columbia University Press, 2018) Unusual analysis of proxy-bywpressure, in a situation where one state coerces a neighbouring state to take action against an armed group operating within the neighbour's borders.


Wendy Pearlman & Laura Junka

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)

Note: see Ehud Sprinzak, in OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

Miko Peled

The General’s Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine With foreword by Alice Walker (Just World Books, 2012) 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, co-founder of Russell Tribunal on Palestine)

Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education (IB Tauris, 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

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, 2020) 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.”


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, 2014) 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.

**Diana Pinto**
*Israel Has Moved* (Harvard University Press, 2013)

**Edward Platt**

**Sharri Plonski** (SOAS / Brunel University)
*Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Power, Resistance and the Struggle for Space* (IB Tauris, 2017) 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)

**Gareth Porter**

**Vijay Prashad**

**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: Deblility, 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 “deblility”—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 National Women’s Studies Association’s Prize, 2018

**Mutaz Qafisheh**

*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.”


**William B. Quandt**, editor


**John Quigley**

*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)


*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

Yakov Rabkin (University of Montréal)

*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.”

See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

Mitri Raheb (Lutheran Church; Dar al-Kalima University College, Bethlehem)

*Faith in the Face of Empire* (Orbis Books, 2014)


*I am a Palestinian Christian; Ruth CL Gritsch (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)


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.

Avi Raz (Oxford University)


International Committee of the Red Cross

**Walter Reid**
*Empire of Sand: How Britain Made the Middle East* (Berlin, 2011)

**Bill Rezak**
*The Arab and the Brit: The Last of the Welcome Immigrants* [USA and Canada] (Syracuse University Press, 2013)

**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, 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 Pappé

**Joshua Rickard** (National University of Singapore)

**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 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)


**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:
1. The Trial of Israel’s Campus Critics – David Theo Goldberg and Saree Makdisi
2. 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
3. My Ordeal with the Israel Lobby and the University of California – William I. Robinson
5. A Problem Grows in Brooklyn – Kristofer J. Petersen-Overton
7. Hanlon’s Razor Cuts Both Ways – David Delgado Shorter
8. The Intolerability of Intolerance – Persis Karim
9. Responding to Columbia University’s McCarthyism – Joseph Massad
10. A Multiyear Zionist Censorship Campaign – David Klein
11. Some Thoughts on Facts, Politics, and Tenure – Nadia Abu Al-Hajj
12. Censoring and Sanctioning Students for Justice in Palestine – Max Geller
14. Interrupted Destinies: Before and After the Forthwith – Steven Salaita

**Asaf Romirowsky** and **Alexander H. Joffe**


**John Rose**

*The Muths 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  

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 Influence: 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.  

Nadim M. Rouhana & Sahar S. Huneidi  
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**  
*Shattered Hopes: Obama’s Failure to Broker Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (Verso, 2014)

**Grant Rumley** (Washington DC think-tank) and **Amir Tibon** (Israeli journalist)  

**Mohammad Sabaaneh**  
*White and Black: Political Cartoons from Palestine* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Just World Books, 2017) Introduction by Seth Tobocman

**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

**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.” with **Mitri Rehab**, 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)
See also: Culture

Mahannad 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* (IB Tauris, 2015) A contemporary reporting of Sinai in context with the Israeli, Egyptian, and Hamas governments, the Egyptian gas export pipelines, and international Jehadists.

Ahmad Sa’di (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

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)

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

Najla Said

Atef Abu Saif
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, 2019) 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 of Beirut; denied tenured position at the University of Illinois)

*Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine* (University of Minnesota Press, 2016)


*Israel’s Dead Soul* (Temple University Press, 2011) Criticises Liberal Zionist hand-wringing over the country’s supposed existential situation. Author has a go at the ADL as a ‘hate group.’

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.
Ihab Saloul (University of Amsterdam)

Maha Samman
_Trans-Colonial Urban Space in Palestine: Politics and Development_ (Routledge, 2012)

Shahira Samy
_Reparations to Palestinian Refugees: A Comparative Perspective_ (Routledge, 2010), included the German-Jewish Reparations Agreement of 1952.

Shlomo Sand
_The Invention of the Land of Israel: from Holyland to Homeland_ (Verso, 2012)
_How I Stopped Being a Jew_ –translated by David Fernbach (Verso, 2014)

Sabila Sarsar, editor

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 TawilSouri, Benedetta Voltolini

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

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.”

**Self-Determination**

**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. Rigo-Sureda** – *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.


**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.

Moshe Semyonov
see also: Noah Lewin-Epstein

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.”

Gershon Shafir
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.”

Israel Shahak
As editor: *The Zionist Plan for the Middle East* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1982)
*Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights [The Shahak Papers]* (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)
*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)
*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
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, was due February 2016) – Theory compendium

Adam Shatz, editor: Hannah Arendt, Uri Avnery, Judith Butler, Noam Chomsky, Isaac Deutscher, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, IF Stone, Leon Trotsky

Bartal Shaul

Samah al-Shaykh
*At the Hospital* (first published in journal Masharef) b. Saudi Arabia 1980, now in Gaza.

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]
As editor, with Penny Johnson (Queen Mary University London & editor of Jerusalem Quarterly): *Shifting Sands – The Unraveling of the Old Order in the Middle East* (Northampton, Massachusetts : Olive Branch Press, 2016) Contributors include: James Barr, Avi Shlaim, Salim Tamari, Ramita Navai, Dawn Chatty, Robin Yassin-Kassab, Malu Halasa, Marilyn Booth, Mai Al-Nakib, Selma Dabbagh, Tamim Al Barghouti, Justin Marozzi, Alev Scott, & Khaled Fahmy
*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.
*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)
*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 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)
The Third Way (Quartet, 1982)
See: Seeking Palestine (edited with Penny Johnson, 2012)

Yehouda Shenhav
Beyond the Two-State Solution: A Jewish Political Essay - translated by Dimi Reider (Polity Press, 2012) – 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

*Israel and Palestine : Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations* (Verso Books, 2009)

See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY list.

Ella Shohat (New York University)

Hillel Shuval & Hassam Dweik, editors
*Water resources in the Middle East : Israel-Palestinian Water Issues, From Conflict to Cooperation* (Berlin : Springer, 2007)

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, 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 :

1. The Economic Strategies of Occupation: Confining Development and Buying-off Peace; Sahar Taghdisi-Rad
2. The Political Economy of Western Aid in the Occupied Palestinian Territory Since 1993; Mandy Turner
3. Hydro-apartheid and Water Access in Israel-Palestine: Challenging the Myths of Cooperation and Scarcity; Clemens Messerschmid
4. (En)gendering De-development in East Jerusalem: Thinking Through the ‘Everyday’; Nadera Shalhoub-Kerkovian and Rachel Busbridge
5. Palestinian Refugees: from ‘Spoilers’ to Agents of Development; Ingrid Jaradat Gassner
6. Impeded Development: the Political Economy of the Palestinian Arabs Inside Israel; Mtanes Shehadeh and Raja Khalidi
7. State-directed ‘Development’ as a Tool for Dispossessing the Indigenous Palestinian Bedouin-Arabs in the Naqab; Ismael Abu-Saad
8. Planning the Divide: Israel’s 2020 Master Plan and its Impact on East Jerusalem; Rami Nasrallah
9. Neoliberalism and the Contradictions of the Palestinian Authority’s State-building Programme; Raja Khalidi and Sobhi Samour
10. The Role of the Tunnel Economy in Redeveloping Gaza; Nicolas Pelham
11. Before and Beyond Neoliberalism: the Political Economy of National Liberation, the PLO and ‘amal ijtima‘; Omar Shweiki
12. Learning the Lessons of Oslo: Statebuilding and Freedoms in Palestine; Mushtaq H. Khan

**Hicham Sifeddine**

*Banking on the State: The Financial Foundations of Lebanon* (Stanford University Press, 2019)

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


**Erik Skare** (Norwegian editor of the ‘infofada’ website)

*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.

**Grant F. Smith** (Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy)

*The Israel Lobby Enters State Government: Rise of the Virginia Israel Advisory Board* (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** (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.

**Adhaf Soueif & Omar Robert Hamilton, editors**

Jon Soske & Sean Jacobs, editors, with foreword by Achille Mbembe

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, 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.”

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 Pappé, Rebecca L. Stein, Ted Swedenburg, Salim Tamari
– see also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

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 accommodate 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 Palestinians’ self-images and on their perceptions vis-à-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.”

Lisa Strombom (Peace & Conflict Studies, Lund University, Sweden)

Clayton E. Swisher, editor
*The Palestine Papers : The End of the Road* (Hesperus Press, 2011)

Thomas Suarez
*Writing on the Wall : Palestinian Oral Histories Collected by the Arab Educational Institute in Bethlehem* (Interlink Publistions/Skyscraper Publications, 2019)

See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

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’”

Yasir Suleiman, editor

*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.”

**Asher Susser**


**Marcelo Svirsky** (University of Wollongong, Australia) – See also online work by his 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 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)

**Stefan Szepesi**

*WalkingPalestine: 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**

Azzam Tamimi

Lisa Taraki – editor
*Living Palestine: Family Survival, Resistance, and Mobility under Occupation* (Syracuse University Press, 2006) Publisher’s blurb: “This groundbreaking 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 & Timothy Seidel, editors
*Palestine and Rule of Power: Local Dissent vs International Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 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, statebuilding, 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
*The Settlers* (Yale University Press, 2011) 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 settlements.

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 on. The book has gained political traction in both Israel and the USA.

**Sandra Teplinsky** (active in the Christian church-aligned Messianic Jewish
ministry since 1979, California & Jerusalem)
*Why Still Care about Israel? The Sanctity of Covenant, Moral Justice and Prophetic Blessing* (Chosen Books, 2013)
Also :
*Israel's Anointing: Your Inheritance and the EndTime 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**
*Extreme Rambling: Walking Israel's Separation Barrier For Fun* (Ebury Press, 2011)

**Nathan Thrall** (New York Times and London Review of Books)
*The Two-Stage Solution: Toward a Long-Term Israeli-Palestinian Truce* (Taylor & Francis, 2016)

**Virginia Tilley** (Southern Illinois University)
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 (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* (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)

**Marie Tomb**
*War Identities: When Words aren’t Enough ~ Human Rights Seen through Art in Lebanon* (Beirut: First National Bank/FNB, 2016)

**Benyan Saud Turki**
*The King-Crane Commission* (Kuwait University, 1999)

**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.

**Patrick Tyler**

**Erez Tzfadia** & **Haim Yacobi**
*Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery and Identity* (Routledge, 2011) Highlights the continued internal colonialism.

**United Against Torture** (NGO)

**Eli Valley**

**Leon D. Velasco**

**Annelys De Vet**
Farouq Wadi
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.”

Michel Warschawski
*On the Border* (Pluto Press, 2005)
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)

Emily Bluma Watkins
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


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)


See also: Ilan Peleg

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.

David Weisburd, Tal Jonathan-Zamir & Badi Hasisi, editors


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)

with Fazal Sheikh (photography): *The Conflict Shoreline* (Steidl, 2015) 96pp. 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.”

**Ben White**

*Cracks in the Wall: Beyond Apartheid in Palestine/Israel* (Pluto Press, 2018)

*Apartheid & Cultural Boycott: Then and Now* (MEMO/Middle East Monitor, 22pp, 2015)


**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, ca. 2009)

*The Roots of Terrorism in Israel and Palestine: The Uses and Abuses of the Abrahamic Covenant* (Lexington, Kentucky : Emeth Press, ca. 2007)

**Rich Wiles**, editor

*Generation Palestine: Voices from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement* (Pluto Press, 2013)

**Emma Williams**

*It’s Easier to Reach Heaven than the End of the Street: A Jerusalem Memoir* – Foreword by **Brian Urquhart**. (Northampton, Massachusetts : Olive Branch Press, 2009). “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

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.

Asa Winstanley [Electronic Intifada] and Frank Barat (co-ordinator, Russell Tribunal on Palestine)

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 :

Husein Abdul-Hamid, Harry Patrinos, Joel Reyes, Jo Kelcey & Andrea Diaz Varela


Alexander Yakobson & Amnon Rubenstein

Israel and the Family of Nations : The Jewish Nation-State and Human Rights – translated by Ruth Morris & Ruchie Avital (Routledge, 2009) “…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, 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.

Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

-see also titles in OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY list.

Nadia Amu-Zahra & Adah Kay
Unfree in Palestine: Registration, Documentation and Movement Restriction (Pluto, 2013)

Raed Zanoon & Julie-Anne Skaley

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)

Slavoj Žižek
In Defense of Lost Causes (Verso Books, 2008)

Husam Said Zomlot (Harvard University)
Building a State Under Occupation (IB Tauris, 2017) Focus is on the post-Oslo donors in the West Bank and the failure of project implementation.

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

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

Mahmoud Abbas
Through Secret Channels  (Reading : Garnet Publishers, 1995)

WF [Wasif Fahmi] Abboushi

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.

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)

Family, Women and Social Change in the Middle East: The Palestinian Case (Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1987)


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

GT Abed, editor
The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development under Prolonged Occupation (Routledge, 1988)

Oroub el-Abed

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)

Daud Abdullah (Director, Middle East Monitor)


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* (Friends of Al-Aqṣā, ca. 2005)

**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 Abufarhar


Raouf Sa’d Abujaber & Felicity Cobbing

*Beyond the River: Ottoman Transjordan in Original Photographs* (Stacey International, 2005)

**Said K. Aburish**

*Cry Palestine: Inside the West Bank* (Routledge, 2019)

*Arafat: From Defender to Dictator* (Bloomsbury, 1998)

Gilbert Achcar


**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, 1975 / 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 seeming stench of 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

RJQ Adams
_Balfour : The Last Grandee_ (John Murray, 2007)

Jane Adas, John Mahoney & Robert Norberg, editors
*Burnining 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)

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

Hussein Agha
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)

Albert Aghazarian
*Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land* (Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)

Eqbal Ahmad
*Selected Writings of Eqbal Ahmad* (Columbia University Press, 2006) -Includes some writings on Palestine.

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.* 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. (San Francisco: McSweeney’s, 24pp, 2004) 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.

Susan M. Akram, Michael Dumper, Michael Lynk & Iain Scobbie, editors
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.

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.”

Geoffrey Alderman
*The Jewish Community in British Politics* (Clarendon Press, 1983)

Anne Alexander
*The New Intifada: Israel, Imperialism and Palestinian Resistance* (Socialist Workers Party, 2001)

Jean Allain
*International Law in the Middle East: Closer to Power than Justice* (Ashgate, 2004)

Jamie Allinson (University of Edinburgh / Westminster University)

Oz Almog
*The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew* — translated by Haim Watzman (University of California Press, 2000) 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.

Gur Alroey (University of Haifa)
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.”

Alternative Tourism Group
Palestine and Palestinians: Guidebook (Ramallah: ATG, 2008)

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (San Francisco chapter)
The Palestinian Al Aqsa Intifada 2000 Reader (AAAC, 94pp, 2000)

L.S. Amery (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: Surviving under Siege: 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, 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, 1996)
Israel and the Occupied Territories: Death by Shaking: The Case of ‘Abd al-Samad Harizat (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)
Israel and the Occupied Territories, including the Areas Under the Jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority: Human Rights: a Year of Shattered Hopes (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)
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.

John W. Amos II
Palestinian Resistance: Organization of a Nationalist Movement (Pergamon Press, 1980)
Arab-Israeli Military/Political Relations: Arab Perceptions (Pergamon Press, 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.”

Samir N. Anabtawi (Dartmouth College, Vanderbilt University, Princeton University, Harvard University, American University Beirut, Kuwait University, King Saud University)

Colin Andersen
Balfour in the Dock (Skyscraper Publications, 2017) Biography of J.M.N. Jeffries, with excerpts from his writings. See also: J.M.N. Jeffries

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)

Fannie Fern Andrews (Harvard University / Radcliffe College)
The Holy Land under Mandate (two volumes, Houghton Mifflin, 1931) Based on the author’s PhD thesis at Harvard University and ten years of research, 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 (Collins / Grafton, 1989) Note: see also Dr Pauline Cutting, Dr Chris Giannou and Dr Runa MacKay.

Anglo-American Committee

George Antonius
The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement (Hamish Hamilton, 1938)
See Antonius-related: Susan Silsby Boyle; Thomas Hodgkin

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 groundbreaking 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 groundbreaking 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.

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 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) 
A Collection of Official Documents Relating to the Palestine Question Submitted to the General Assembly of the UN (New York City : AHCFP, 1947)

Arab League / League of Arab States 
Operation Iron Fist : Israeli Policy in Lebanon (31 pages, 1985) 
Tears from Palestinian Children to God (20 pages, full page colour illustrations of children’s paintings, 1985) 
with the PLO : In Remembrance : Sabra & Chatila (8pp, 1983) 
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.

Zionism : A Racist Expansionist Movement (36pp, 1968) 

Yasser Arafat 

Margaret Arakie 
The Broken Sword of Justice : American, Israel and the Palestine Tragedy (Quartet Books, 1973)

Bülent Aras 

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.

**Hannah Arendt**

*Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (Faber & Faber, 1963; numerous editions)

**Asher Arian & Michal Shamir**


*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)


**Karen Armstrong**


**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)

**Amer Arouri**


**Vittorio Arrigone** (Italian, writer, and activist – murdered in Gaza 2011)


**Naseer H. [Hasan] Aruri**


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

The Obstruction of Peace: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995)

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.

AJ Asali, editor

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, 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)

Hanan Ashrawi (noted Palestinian legislator and author)  
*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) 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.

Fouzi el-Asmar (Haifa-born; editor of Mapam-owned Arabic weekly *Al Fajer*; eventually exiled to USA)  
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*  
*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* (with introduction by Uri Davis and foreword by IF Stone; Francis Pinter Publishers / Israel Shahak, 1975)  
*Israeli Land and Settlement Policies* (translated from the Hebrew by Uri Davis, with a foreword by Rabbi Elmer Berger; London: Middle East Research and Action Group, 1974)

Antigona Askkar  

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 Ottomans, 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**


**Türkkaya Ataöv**

*The Use of Palestinian Waters and International Law* (International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 11pp pamphlet, 1982)

**Naim Ateek** (aka Naim Stifan Ateek, founder of the Sabeel Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem)


**Naim Ateek, Cedar Duaybis & Maurine Tobin**, editors


**Naim Ateek, Mark H. Ellis & Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors


**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)


*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.

Asking Questions: An Anthology of Interviews with Naim Attallah (Quartet Books, 1996) with Charlotte Smith
Tara and Claire (Quartet Books, 1996) – 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.
Women (Quartet Books, 1988) Analysis of women in myth, literature, Muslim society, Victorian England, etc.

Ida Audeh (contributor to The Electronic Intifada and Countercurrents)
as editor: Birzeit University: The Story of a National Institution (Birzeit University, 2010)


Sylvia Auld & Robert Hillenbrand (both of the Department of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh), editors

Also by 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).


See also : Robert Hillenbrand
Moshe Aumann  
*Land Ownership in Palestine, 1880-1948* (Jerusalem : Israel Academic Committee on the Middle East, 23 pages, 1974)

Shlomo Avineri (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)  
*Arlosoroff* (Halban, 1989) – Haim Arlosoroff, Zionist leader of the Yishuv and in the Jewish Agency during the Mandate  
as editor : *Israel and the Palestinians* (St Martin’s Press, 1971)

Caryn Aviv & David Shneer  
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)  

Uri Avnery (the public face of Gush Shalom in Israel)  
*Israel’s Vicious Circle : Ten Years of Writings on Israel and Palestine* – edited by Sara R. Powell (Pluto, 2008)  
*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)  

Alex Awad (Methodist pastor in Al-Quds & Dean of Students at Bethlehem Bible College)  
Foreword by Rev Naim Ateek, Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem  
*Palestinian Memories : The Story of a Palestinian Mother and Her People* (Jerusalem : Bethlehem Bible College, 2008) 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  

Mubarek E. Awad (pioneer non-violence activist known for Palestinian boycott of Israel during the First Intifada)  
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)
Khalil El-Awaisi


Ami Ayalon (Professor of Middle Eastern History at Tel Aviv University)

*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.


Abdelaziz Ayyad

*Arab Nationalism and the Palestinians, 1850-1939* (Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs [PASSIA], 1999)

Dr. Pablo de Azcarate y Florez (UN representative to last days of the British Mandate)


Ariella Azoulay & Adi Ophir

*The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel / Palestine* – translated by Tal Haran (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.

-See also Azoulay's photographic histories in CULTURE section.

Emile Badarin
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.


Salim Tamari, editor – Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War (BADIL / Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2002)

Amneh Daoud Badran
Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa (Routledge, 2009)

Clinton Bailey
Bedouin Law from Sinai & the Negev: Justice without Government (Yale University Press, 2009)

Note: See also POETRY section.

James M. Bailey & Paul F. Miller
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) Two-dozen authors.

William W. Baker
Theft of a Nation (West Monroe, Louisiana: Jireh, 1982 / 1989)

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

Anna Baltzer

Lauren Banko (University of Manchester)
The Invention of Palestinian Citizenship, 1918-1947 (Edinburgh University Press, 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.”

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

Ibtisam Barakat (Palestinian-American memoirist, educator and poet)

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.

Alexander Baron
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)

Ramzy Baroud

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, 2014) Editor : Arie Marcelo Kacowicz
as editor : The Israel-Palestinian Conflict : From Conflict Resolution to Conflict Management (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
as editor : From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation (Oxford University Press, 2004)
Israel and the Intifada : Adaptation and Learning (Jerusalem : Leonard Davis Institute, 2000)
Israel, the Superpowers and the War in the Middle East (Praeger Press, 1987)

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* - translated from French by **Michael Stearns** (Prentice Hall, 1970)

Note: other titles on Mossad, David Ben Gurion, etc.

**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) & **Amos Goldberg** (Hebrew University Jerusalem), editors
*The Holocaust and the Nakba: Toward a New Grammar of Trauma and History* (Columbia University Press, 2018. 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.”
Petter Bauck (Norwegian Embassy, Kyiv, Ukraine) and Mohammed Omer (journalists, author of *Shell Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault*, 312pp, 2015), editors


Judith Tydor Baumel (Bar Ilan University)

*The 'Bergson Boys' and the Origins of Contemporary Zionist Militancy* (Syracuse University Press, 2005) 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. Judith Tydor Baumel provides the complete story of the role the Bergson group played in raising American public consciousness of Jewish and Zionist concerns. After founding a series of pro-Zionist and rescue organizations, they initiated a new form of fundraising that used the media to turn the spotlight on their activities, gaining adherents and supporters from both ends of the political and social spectrum. Long before the protest movements of the 1950s and 1960s, members of this group learned the art of courting the media in order to bring word of their existence to every part of the United States. 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. A guiding force behind the creation of the War Refugee Board, the group served as a beacon for contemporary Zionist militancy while ultimately laying the groundwork for other organizations to utilize the media in future political campaigns.”

John Baynes

Menachem Begin (“The Eichmann of Zionism”)

Sven Behrendt
The Secret Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations in Oslo: The Success and Why the Process Ultimately Failed (Routledge, 2007)

Joel Beinin & Rebecca Stein, editors

Joel Beinin & Zachary Lockman, editors
Intifadah: The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation (Boston: MERIP / Middle East Research and Information Project & South End Press, 1989)
-see Zachary Lockman

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi
Despair and Deliverance: Private Salvation in Contemporary Israel (State University of New York Press, 1992)
Note: Author wrote numerous monographs on the social psychology of religion in Israel.

Gawain Bell

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)

Schlomo Ben-Ami
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
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)

Gabriel Ben-Dor
The Druzes in Israel: A Political Study – Political Innovation and Integration of a Middle Eastern Minority (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979)

Ingela Bendt
We Shall Return: Women of Palestine (Zed Books, 1982) [Lebanon refugee camps]

Uri Ben Eliezer
The Making of Militarism in Israel (Indiana University Press, 1998)

Alon Ben-Meir (New York University)

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)
Fulfillment 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)
See Harry Sacher plus many other works, including biographies of Judah L. Magnes.

Meron Benvenisti (Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem under Teddy Kollek, 1971-1978, administering East Jerusalem / Al-Quds)
Son of Cypresses: Memories, Reflections and Regrets from a Political Life (translated by Maxine Kaufman-Lucasta; University of California Press, 2006)
City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem (translated by Maxine Kaufman Nunn; University of California Press, 1996)

Efrat Ben-Ze'ev

Uzi Benziman
Sharon: An Israeli Caesar (Adama Press, 1985)

Abraham Ben-Zvi

Michael D. Berdine
Redrawing the Middle East: Sir Mark Sykes, Imperialism and the Sykes-Picot Agreement (IB Tauris, 2018)

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]

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 [letters on a fact-finding tour of the Middle East with particular reference to Israel and the plight of Palestinian refugees] (New York City: American Council for Judaism, 1955)


Letters and Non-Letters: The White House, Zionism and Israel
Correspondence between Berger and the staff of the President of the United States. (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972)

Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978)

Note: originally an article in the Journal of Palestine Studies, nos. 17/18, 1975-1976.


See also: Jack Ross [biographer]


Ronen Bergman


Fred Berk, editor


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)

Count Folke Bernadotte

Deborah Bernstein
Constructing Boundaries: Jewish and Arab Workers in Mandatory Palestine (State University of New York Press, 2000)

Claude Berrebi & Esteban F. Klor

Emanuel Beška

Nicholas Bethell (European Parliament member, interviewed many participants)

Ian J Bickerton
The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History (Reaktion Books, 2009)

Jess Bier

John Bierman & Colin Smith

Liora Bigon (Hebrew University) and Yossi Katz (Bar-Ilan University)

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 Yassir 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.

Amzi Bishara – see: Mariane A Maasri

Marwan Bishara

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 (Macmillan, 1984)

Ian Black (36 years with The Guardian newspaper, becoming Middle East Editor; LSE)

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 : Samuel R. Wolff
*A Mound of Many Cities : or, Tell el-Hesy Excavated* (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1898)

**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 Bolsand 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)

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

**Hector Bolitho**
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 Transjordan, 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.

**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.
Nationalism and the Class Struggle : A Marxian Approach to the Jewish Problem (Greenwood Press, 205 pages, 1972) Introduction by Abraham G. Duker

Issa J. Boullata

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

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)

Robert Bowker
John Bowle

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) with introduction by Ronald Storrs

Chaz Bowyer

Boy Scouts (Palestine troop)
The World Jamboree 1929 (London: Boy Scouts Association, 1929) 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)

Susan Silsby Boyle

R. Michael Bracy [Robert]

Irus Braverman (State University of New York at Buffalo, Harvard University, Hebrew University, University of Toronto)

Mark Braverman
**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 behavior, 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.”

**Ahron Bregman**

*Cursed Victory : A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (Penguin, 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*)

**Lenni Brenner**


*Arabs, Jews and Socialism : The Debate on Palestine, Zionism and Anti-Semitism* (Socialist Organiser, ca. 1987)


*Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Croon Helm, 1983)

**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)


**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)
Earl Browder & John Arnold  
*The Meaning of the Palestine Partition* (New York State Buro, 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  
*Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords : Resuming Arab Palestine* (University of California Press, 2003)

Elizabeth Brownson (University of Wisconsin-Parkside)  
*Palestinian Women and Muslim Family Law in the Mandate Period* (Syracuse University Press, 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.”

Philip Brutton  

Rex Brynen & Roula el-Rifai, editors  

**B’Tselem** (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, founded in 1989) *under the Guise of Security: Routing the Separation Barrier to Enable the Expansion of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank* (B’Tselem & BIMKOM, 2005)

**Yezekhel Lein** & **Eyal Weizman**: *Land Grab: Israel’s Settlement Policy in the West Bank* (B’Tselem, May 2002) Greater Jerusalem enlarged to include 15% of the West Bank.

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) *Legislation Allowing the Use of Physical Force and Mental Coercion in Interrogations by the General Security Service* (Jerusalem: B’Tselem, 2000)

**Martin Buber**

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**

**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]

See Budieri’s *Democracy...and the Experience of National Liberation: The Palestinian Case*, in Ilan Pappé & Jamil Hilal, editors: *Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History* (IB Tauris, 2010)

**Martin Bunton** (University of Victoria)

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

Avraham Burg (former Speaker of the Knesset)
*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.”

Michael Hamilton Burgoyne (Mamluk Buildings project in Jerusalem, 1969-1984; Head of project from 1979; lecturer at Glasgow School of Architecture)

Millar Burrows
*Palestine is Our Business* (Philadelphia : Westminster, 1949)

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—he 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)

*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)

**Gerald Butt**


**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**
Authors include: David Watkins, Faisal Aoudha, 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

Michelle U. Campos
Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early 20th Century Palestine (Stanford University Press, 2011) See also: Sandy Sufian & Mark LeVine

Neil Caplan
The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)
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)

Na’am 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.”

Henry Cattan
The Jerusalem Question (Croom Helm, 1988)
Jerusalem (Croom Helm, 1981)
The Question of Jerusalem (76pp report; Third World Centre, 1980)
Palestine: The Road to Peace (Longman, 1971)

Edward Cavanagh & Lorenzo Veracini, editors
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.

Elias Chacour
Blood Brothers – with David Hazard (Eastbourne: Kingsway Press, 1984)

Gérard Chaliand

Benoit Chalandon
Palestinian Civil Society: Foreign Donors and the Power to Promote and Exclude (Routledge, 2008)

Paul Thomas Chamberlin

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.
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.

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)

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)
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)
Fateful Triangle : The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians (Pluto Press, 1999 enlarged edition from 1983 original, with further expanded edition due May 2016)

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
*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

Helena Cobban (former war correspondent of the Lebanese Civil War, now publisher of Just World Books)
The Superpowers and the Syrian-Israeli Conflict (Praeger Press / Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991)
The Making of Modern Lebanon (Hutchinson/HarperCollins, 1985)
The Palestinian Liberation Organisation : People, Power and Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Andrew & Leslie Cockburn

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 Rapprochment and Co-operation, which sought a bi-national post-Mandate state)
Israel and the Arab World (Funk & Wagnalls, WH Allen, 1970 / Beacon Press, 1976)

Asher Cohen & Yehoyakim Cochavi, editors
Zionist Youth Movements during the Shoah (Peter Lang Publishing, 1995)

Geula Cohen – [Stern Gang pirate radio presenter]

Hillel Cohen (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ~ 1929 (Brandeis University Press, 2015) Publisher’s blurb : “In late summer 1929, a countrywide outbreak of Arab-Jewish-British violence transformed the political landscape of Palestine forever. In contrast with those who point to the wars of 1948 and 1967, historian Hillel Cohen marks these bloody events as year zero of the Arab-Israeli conflict that persists today. The murderous violence inflicted on Jews caused a fractious – and now traumatized – community of Zionists, non-Zionists, Ashkenazim, and Mizrachim to coalesce around a unified national consciousness arrayed against an implacable Arab enemy. While the Jews unified, Arabs came to grasp the national essence of the conflict, realizing that Jews of all stripes viewed the land as belonging to the Jewish people. Through memory and historiography, in a manner both associative and highly calculated, Cohen traces the horrific events of August 23 to September 1 in painstaking detail. He extends his geographic and chronological reach and uses a non-linear reconstruction of events to call for a thorough reconsideration of cause and effect. Sifting through Arab and Hebrew sources – many rarely, if ever, examined before – Cohen reflects on the attitudes and perceptions of Jews and Arabs who experienced the events and, most significantly, on the memories they bequeathed to later generations.”
The Rise and Fall of Arab Jerusalem : Palestinian Politics and the City Since 1967 (Routledge, 2011) Commissioned by the Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies.
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**

*The Progress of Zionism* (Zionist Organisation [London], 68 pages, 1943, 1944, 1947 [pamphlet])

**MJ Cohen** (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)


*Palestine to Israel : From Mandate to Independence* (Frank Cass, 1988)

as editor : *The British Decision to Evacuate Palestine, 1947-1948* (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)


*Churchill and the Jews* (Frank Cass, 1985)


**Naomi W. Cohen**


**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
Dan Cohn-Sherbok
with Mary Grey: Debating Palestine and Israel (Exeter: Impress, 2014)

Christine Collette & Stephen Bird, editors
Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918-1948 (Ashgate, 2000) Includes chapters on Jewish Labor Committee and Anti-Nazi Activity 1933-41; Clerks & The Histadrut in British-Ruled Palestine; Utopian Visions of labour Zionism, British Labour and the Socialist International in the 1930s; Jewish Section of the CPGB, 1926-45; Szmul Zygielbojm, British Labour Party & the Holocaust; Labour Party, Zionism & Palestine

John Collins (Saint Lawrence University, New York)
Global Palestine (Hurst, 2011) – Palestine’s continued international relevance.

Larry Collins & Dominique Lapierre
O Jerusalem! The Bitter, Epic Struggle for the City of Peace (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972)

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.

John Connell (John Henry Robertson)
The House by Herod’s Gate (Sampson Low & Marston, 1947) – An account of Mandate Palestine, 1940-1042.

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)

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**  
*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)

**Wadad Makhdisi 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 Makhdisi 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**  

**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

**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)  
*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)

David Cronin
*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

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.

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.

Ted Curtis

Richard H. Curtiss

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 Chris Giannou.

Sylvain Cypel
*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, 2005)

Ismail Z. Dajani

Souad R. Dajani
The Intifada (Centre for Hebraic Studies, University of Jordan, 1990)

William Dalrymple

Hugh Dalton (Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Atlee Government, encouraging support for the widest possible Zionist geographic spread in the Middle East)
Note this biography by Ben Pimlott: Hugh Dalton (Jonathan Cape 1985, HarperCollins, 1995)

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)

Joseph E. David, 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
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)

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)
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]
-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)
The State of Palestine (Ithaca Press, 1991)
with Abbas Shibliak : Civil and Citizenship Rights of Palestinian Refugees (Jerusalem : Shami, 1995)
with Walter Lehn : The Jewish National Fund (Kegan Paul, 1988)
The Golan Heights under Israeli Occupation, 1967-1981 (University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1983)
as co-editor, see also: 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, 1977)*


as co-editor, with Andrew Mack & Nira Yuval-Davis: *Israel and the Palestinians* (Ithaca Press & University of Bradford, 1975)


see: Fouzi el-Asmar; Katie Attwell

Nira Yuval-Davis & Daiva Stasiulis, editors
*Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (Sage, 1995)

C. Ernest Dawn

Moshe Dayan
*Story of My Life* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976)

Deir Yassin Massacre (1948):
*Michael Prior*, editor, with foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Efraim Dekel  
*Shai – The Exploits of Hagana Intelligence* (Thomas Yoseloff Publishing, 1959)

Democratic Front for the [People’s] Liberation of Palestine [PFLP]  
The *Political Program* (44pp, 1975)  
*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 Leninist 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  
Zionist [sic] movement seized control of Palestine.” All first published in  
the *Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, a DPFLP 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.”

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)

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.”

Jonathan Dimbleby & Donald McCullin
*The Palestinians* (Quartet Books, 1980) A striking period book depicting refugee camp life, especially in Lebanon. McCullin’s revealing photographs are supplemented with important news agency images from earlier eras.

Herbert Dobbings
*Cause for Concern : A Quaker’s View of the Palestine Problem* (Beirut : Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)

Peter Dodd & Halim Barakat

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.”

Daniel Dor

Beshara Doumani
*The Rise of the Sanjak in Jerusalem in the Late Nineteenth Century*, in Ilan Pappé, 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)

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.”

Israel/Palestine (Polity Press, 2017 and earlier editions)

Catriona Drew (SOAS)

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)

Mrs. Edgar Dugdale / Blance Dugdale
The Balfour Declaration: Origins and Background (Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1940)

Douglas Duff (Palestine Police)
Palestine Picture (Hodder & Stoughton, 1936)

Michael Dumper
with Wendy Pullan: 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)


as editor: *Palestinian Refugee Repatriation: Global Perspectives* (Routledge, 2006)


*Islam and Israel: Muslim Religious Endowments and the Jewish State* (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1997)


**Marda Dunsky**

*Pens and Swords: How the American Mainstream Media Report the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Columbia University Press, 2008)

**Abba Eban**


**Shirley Eber, Kevin O’Sullivan, John Fisher, John Richardson**, editors; with Paul Cossali


**O.S. Edwardes**


**Max Egremont**


*Balfour: A Life of Arthur James Balfour* (Collins, 1980)

**Tor Eigeland** [photography]


**Abd al-Fattah M. El-Awaisi**


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.”

Robert Eisenman
Islamic Law in Palestine and Israel: A History of the Survival of Tazimât and Sharia in the British Mandate and the Jewish State (Grave Distractions Publications, 2015)

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 -translated by Michael Ben-Yitzhak (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976)

Akiva Eldar (Ha’aretz, Al Monitor) & Idith Zertal (University of Basel)

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

Elie Eliachar
Israelis & Palestinians: Co-existence or – “The Credo of Elia Eliachar” – Edited by Philip Gillon (Tel Aviv: Gaalyah Cornfield, 1977) – 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.”
Yaacov Eliav

Uri Ben-Eliezer
*Old Conflict, New War: Israel's Politics Toward the Palestinians* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

The Making of Israeli Militarism (Indian University Press, 1998)

Deborah Ellis
*Three Wishes: Palestinian and Israeli Children Speak* (Groundwood Books, 2006)

Marc H. Ellis


Marc H. Ellis & Rosemary Radford Ruether, editors

Marc H. Ellis & Daniel A. McGowan, editors

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

Sharif Elmusa (University of Cairo, United Nations)

*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)

see also: POETRY

Amos Elon
*Jerusalem: City of Mirrors* (Boston: Little – Brown, 1989; Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1990); also published as *Jerusalem: Battlegrounds of Memory* (Kodansha International, 1995)

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)
*The Grand Mufti : Haj Amin Al-Hussaini, Founder of the Palestinian National Movement* -translated by **David Harvey** (Frank Cass, 1993)

**Ayala H. Emmett**
*Our Sisters’ Promised Land : Women, Politics and Israeli-Palestinian Coexistence* (University of Michigan Press, 1996)

**James M. Ennes**

**Mary Entwistle**
*Four Stories on Syrian Life, for Use in Primary and Kindergarten Schools* (Syria & Palestine Relief Fund, 1918) – pamphlet.
*If I Lived in Palestine* (‘Junior Background Series no. 3’ – Edinburgh House Press, 1929) -63pp

**Mrs Steuart (Beatrice) Erskine**
[Involved with the Arab Centre in the late 1930s] *Palestine of the Arabs* (George G Harrap, 1935)

**Rosemarie M. Esber**
*Under the Cover of War : Expulsion of the Palestinians* (Alexandria, Virginia : Arabicus Books & Media, 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).

**Haggai Eshed**
*Reuven Shiloah : The Man Behind the Mossad : Secret Diplomacy in the Creation of Israel* (Frank Cass, 1997)

**Aida Essaid** (Director, King Hussein Foundation, Amman; formerly University of Jordan and Exeter University)
*Zionism and Land Tenure in Mandate Palestine* (Routledge, 2013) 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.”

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.

Yaron Ezrahi (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
*Rubber Bullets : Power and Conscience in Modern Israel* (University of California Press / Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997)

Boaz Evron (*Ha'aretz* journalist)
*Jewish State or Israeli Nation?* (Indiana University Press, 1995) Zionist questions the exclusivity of a Jewish state.

Fabian Society (Labour Party-connected policy group)

Ghazi 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, 1983)

Richard Falk

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

Hani Faris (University of British Columbia, Vancouver)
*One in Three-Million: The Story of a Palestinian* – narrated by Ghazi Danial
(Beirut : PLO Research Center, 1972)

Nabih Amin Faris (1906-1968, Palestinian professor, mainly of early Islam) As editor:

Major Roy Farran
*Winged Dagger: Adventures on Special Service* (Collins, 1948)

Leila Farsakh (University of Massachusetts)
*Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel: Labour, Land, and Occupation* (Routledge, 2005)

Samih K. Farsoun
*Culture and Customs of the Palestinians* (Greenwood Press, 2004)

Al-Fateh (Al-Fatah), the PLO, The Palestine Research Centre (Beirut), and other bodies
Numerous publications in English by the Palestine National Liberation Movement, eg:


*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)
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)

Benoit Faucon

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.

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

Eran Feitelson & Marwan Haddad, editors
Management of Shared Groundwater Resources: The Israeli-Palestinian Case with an International Perspective (Kluwer Academic, 2001)

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.

Ilana Feldman (George Washington University)
Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Predicaments and Palestinian Refugee Politics (University of California Press, 2018) Publisher’s blurb: “Palestinian refugees’ experience of protracted displacement is among the lengthiest in history. In her breathtaking 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 (1948-1967), 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


Bernard Edward Fergusson (Lord Ballantrae)

Pamela Ferguson

David Kenneth Fieldhouse
Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958 (Oxford University Press, 2006)

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 Israel’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.”

Jean-Pierre Filiu

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 (Lawrence Hill, 1993)
They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel’s Lobby (Lawrence Hill, 1985 / 1989 / 1993)

See also: Stephen J. Sniegoski
Michael R. Fischbach
*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.


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; 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* (Croom Helm, 1987)
*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.

Ellen L. Fleischmann

Chris Flom

HM Foreign Office

Gavin Fowells, as author and compiler:

Edward Fox
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, 1983)

Lisa Maria Franke  
*At the Doors of Paradise: Discourses of Female Self-Sacrifice, Martydom 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)

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.

David French  

Isaiah Friedman  
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."

**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.”

**Alfred Friendly**

*Israel’s Oriental Immigrants and Druzes* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1972)

See also: Minority Rights Group

**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, and foreword by **Ismail Patel:** *War Crimes in Gaza* (Friends of Al-Aqsa, 64 pages, ca. 2009)

**David Fromkin**

*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, 1989 / Penguin, 1991)

**Michael G. Fry**

*Despatches from Damascus: Gilbert MacKereth and British Policy in the Levant, 1933-1939* (Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv University, 1985)

**Nelida Fuccaro,** editor (SOAS)


**Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht**

**Robert Fisk** (longtime Beirut correspondent for the *Independent* aka *i* newspaper)
*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 withdrawal 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”

**Sir Geoffrey Furlonge**
*Palestine is My Country: The Story of Musa Alami* (John Murray, 1969)

**Mark Gaffney**

**General Sir Richard Gale**

**Ziva Galili & Boris Morozov**

**Nancy Gallagher**
*Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism* (American University in Cairo Press / Bloomsbury Press, 2007)

**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)


**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* -translated by Gillian Potter, Nadra Morcos, & Rosette Francis (American University in Cairo Press, 1993)

**Roger Garaudy** [Marxist historian with most publications in French]  
*The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (Newport Beach, California: Institute for Historical Review, 2000)  
*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)

**Ingrid Gassner-Jaradat**  
*UNRWA – Between Refugee Aid and Power Politics: A Memorandum Calling upon International Responsibility for the Palestinian Refugee Question* (Jerusalem: Alternative Information Center, 1997)  
*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**  
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.”

John Gee
Israel, the Palestinians and the “Permanent Status” Issues (Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding / CAABU, 1997)

Yoav Gelber
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.

James L. Gelvin
The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Irene L. Gendzier (Professor of Political Science, Boston University)
**Klaus Gensicke** (Berlin-based historian)


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)

**Israel Gershoni** (Tel Aviv University)

*Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism* (University of Texas Press, 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 Spanish Civil War as Reflected in the Contemporary Palestinian Press.

**Frank Gerson**

*Israel, The West Bankk, and International Law* (Frank Cass, 1978)

**Georgie Anne Geyer**

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 remain 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.”

As’ad Ghanem (Al-Shabaka Policy Advisor / University of Haifa)
*Ethnic Politics in Israel: The Margins and the Ashkenazi Center* (Routledge, 2010)
*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)

Edmund Ghareeb (Lebanese-American professor at George Washington University, Washington DC)

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)

Asima A. Ghazi-Bouillon
*Understanding the Middle East Peace Process: Israeli Academic and the Struggle for Identity* (Routledge, 2009)

Dr. Mohammad H. 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.

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.

**Dr. Chris 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.

**Naeim Giladi**

**Martin Gilbert**
Churchill and the Jews: A Lifelong Friendship (Simon & Schuster, 2007)

**David Gilmour**
Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians, 1917-1980 (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980)

**Yuval Ginbar**
Legitimizing Torture: The Israeli High Court of Justice Rulings in the Bilbeisi, Hamdan, and Mubarak Cases (Jerusalem: B’Tselem, 1997)
-edited by Yael Stein; translated by Zvi Shulman: Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories as a Violation of Human Rights: Legal and Conceptual Aspects (Jerusalem: B’Tselem, 1997)

**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)

Arthur Gish

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

Edward Bernard Glick
The Triangular Connection: America, Israel, and American Jews (Allen & Unwin, 1982)

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. Numerous other titles.

Sherna Berger Gluck
An American Feminist in Palestine: The Intifada Years (Temple University Press, 1994)

Daphna Golan
Nest Year in Jerusalem: Everyday Life in a Divided Land (New Press, 2005)
-see Stanley Cohen

Galia Golan

Matti Golan
Shimon Peres: A Biography (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1982) Translated from Hebrew by Ina Friedman

Motti Golani
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)

Ahmad Mahmoud H. Gomaa
The Foundation of the League of Arab States: Wartime Diplomacy and Inter-Arab Politics, 1941 to 1945 (Longmans, 1977)

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)

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.

Neve Gordon
with Nicola Perugini: The Human Right to Dominate (Oxford University Press, 2015)
Israel’s Occupation (University of California Press, 2008)

Haim Goren, Eran Dolev, & Yigal Sheffy, editors
Palestine and World War I: Grand Strategy, Military Tactics and Culture in War (IB Tauris, 2014) Contents:
1. The Palestine Campaign within the Great War
Jay Winter
2. Alsace-Lorraine Soldiers in the Palestine Campaign: Conformism and Specificities of a National Minority
within the German Military Mission in Turkey
Jean-Noel Grandhomme
3. Hopes and Jealousies: Rome’s Ambitions in the Middle East and the Italian Contingent in Palestine, 1915 – 1920
Nir Arielli
4. The Conquest of Beersheba, 1917, Revisited: The Crucial Role of German Air Squadron No. 301
Benjamin Z. Kedar
5. Loyalty, Indifference, Treason: The Ottoman – German Experience in Palestine during World War I
Tilman Lue”dke
6. Field Marshal Viscount Allenby: One of the Great Captains of History? Matthew Hughes
7. A Different Kind of Battle: Allenby’s Anti-Malaria Campaign, Palestine, 1918 Eran Dolev, MD
8. A Cavalry Victory? Cavalry in the historiography of the Sinai-Palestine Campaign Jean Bou
9. Mapping for the Third Battle of Gaza, 1917 Peter Collier
11. The Diplomat in the Holy City: the Spanish Consul and World War I in Jerusalem Roberto Mazza
12. The Situation in Jerusalem during World War I, According to the Memoirs of Wasif Jawhariieh 228 Mustafa Abassi
13. The Haifa Community Committee During World War I: Laying the Foundations for Multi-ethnic Public Leadership in the City Anat Kidron
14. The Jewish Colonization Association in the Galilee – The Day After Yair Seltenreich
15. Hebrew Literature of World War I in Palestine Glenda Abramson
16. ‘On the rock-strewn hills I heard/The anger of guns’: Siegfried Sassoon in Palestine Nancy Rosenfeld

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.
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

Anthony Gorman (Edinburgh University) and Sossie Kasbarian (Lancaster University)

Yosef Gorni aka Joseph Gorny (Zionist history professor, Tel Aviv University)

Zionism and the Arabs: A Study of Ideology (Clarendon, 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, 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: copac.ac.uk


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)


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)


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 – in Hebrew & English (Haifa: GoP, 1931, 1934)

Civil Service List [staff list] (GoP, 1932-1946)


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**
*Women and Politics in the Middle East* (Washington DC: Middle East Research and Information Center, ca. 1990s) [pamphlet]
*The Palestinian Situation* (Geneva: YMCA, ca. 1989)
*Palestinian Workers and Trade Unions* (Middle East Research and Action Group / UK Palestine Co-ordination / Lansbury House Trust, 1980) [pamphlet]
See Gertrude Bell and the CULTURE section.

**Ben Granby**

**Abraham Granovsky**
*Land Problems in Palestine* (Routledge, 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.

**Hilma [Natalia] Granqvist** [1890–1972]
*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)

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, 1984)

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)

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.”

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

Alain Gresh (translated by AM Berrett, with a preface by Maxime Rodinson)
*The PLO : The Struggle Within : Towards an Independent Palestinian State* (Zed, 1985)

Dr. Mary Grey
*The Spirit of Peace : Pentecost and Affliction in the Middle East* (Sacristy Press, 2015)

Jonathan M. Gribetz
*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)

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 Arabs or Muslims.

Lucas Grollenberg [Bible historian]
Palestine Comes First (SCM Canterbury Press, 1980)

Peter Grose
Israel in the Mind of America (New York City: Knopf, 1984)

David Grossman
Writing in the Dark (Essays on politics and art, critical of invasion of Lebanon; Bloomsbury, 2009)
Sleeping on a Wire (Journalism on Palestinians in Israel; Vintage, 1993, 2010)

Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine: Distribution and Population Density During the Late Ottoman and Early Mandate Periods (Routledge, ) 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.”

Kaoutar Guediri

Janet Varner Gunn (South African University)
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.”

Jeroen Gunning
_Hamas in Politics : Democracy, Religion, Violence_ (Columbia University Press, 2008)

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

Sami Hadawi
_Crime and No Punishment_ (Zionist terrorism 1939-1972; original edition, 1972; revised as _The Realities of Terrorism and Retaliation_ (Toronto : Arab Palestine Association, 1987)
_The Realities of Terrorism and Retaliation_ (Toronto : Arab Palestine Association, ca. 1990)

Simon Haddad


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 (PASSIA founder and educator)

As editor: *The Palestinian-Israeli Impasse: Exploring Alternative Solutions to the Palestine-Israel Conflict* (Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2005)


As editor: *Foreign Policies Towards the Middle East and Palestine: PASSIA Meetings 1995-1999* (PASSIA, 1999)

*The Other Side of the Coin: A Native Palestinian Tells His Story* (PASSIA, 1998)

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*

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.

*Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (University of California Press, 1962) 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**
Facts on the Ground : Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society (University of Chicago Press, 2001)

**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)

**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)
Obstacles to Peace : A Reframing of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (Palestine Mapping Center / ICHAD, 2005, 2015)

**Liora Halperin** (University of Colorado – Boulder & International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies)

**Samuel Halperin**
he Political World of American Zionism (Detroit : Wayne State University Press, 1961)
**Grace Halsell** (Christian activist)
*Journey to Jerusalem* (Macmillan, 1981)

**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.”

**Jill Hamilton**

**Lesley Hamilton**

**Joshua Hammer**
*A Season in Bethlehem: Unholy War in a Sacred Place* (James Bennett, 2003)

**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.

**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

Muna Hamzeh (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, 2001) Focus on Dheisheh camp.

Sari Hanafi (American University of Beirut), Leila Hilal (New American Foundation & UNRWA advisor), & Lex Takkenburg (UNRWA officer, since 1989), editors.
Sari Hanafi & Are Knudsen, editors
with Linda Taber/Tabar:
The Emergence of a Palestinian Globalized Elite: Donors, International Organizations and Local NGOs (Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2006)
See: Lex Takkenburg

Paul L. Hanna

David Hapgood

Al-Haq
with the International Commission of Jurists: Torture and Intimidation in the West Bank – The Case of al-Fara’a Prison (Ramallah/Chicago, 56pp, 1985

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.”

Roger Hardy (Veteran BBC World Service reporter of the region for 30 years; Research Associate at the Centre for International Studies in Oxford) 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.


Barbara Harlow


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.”

**David Harris-Gershon**

*What Do You Buy the Children of the Terrorist Who Tried to Kill Your Wife?* (OneWorld Books, 2013)

**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.”

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 UNRWApped in this fascinating insider’s history given that the author knew well both Yassir 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* (Semiotext(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) -see also Sara Roy and Jean-Philippe Fileu

Agha Hassan

Sana Hassan & Amos Elon

Manuel S. Hassassian (Palestine Ambassador to the UK)
(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

Muhammed Abdel-Kadel Hatem [Abd al-Qadir], with foreword by Daily Telegraph Middle East correspondent John Bulloch
Information and the Arab Cause (Longman, 1974) Author was Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt.

Susan Lee Hattis

Mahmoud Hawari (Archaeologist-activist, Director of the Palestinian Museum – Ramallah, who has worked at the British Museum, Oxford University; and Birzeit University)

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

Yaron Hazony
The Jewish State: An Idea and its Betrayal (Basic Books, 2000)

Marianne Heiberg & Geir Øvensen

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.”

**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)
*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)

**Tamar S. Hermann**
*The Israeli Democracy Index, 2012* (Jerusalem : Israel Democracy Institute, 2012)
co-author with Asher Arian & Ilan Talmud : *National Security and Public Opinion in Israel* (Jerusalem Post, 1988)

**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)

**Rabbi Arthur Herzenberg**, editor
Moses Hess (1812-1875)
The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem, the Last Nationalist Question, translated by Meyer Waxman (University of Nebraska Press, 1995) “Jewish religion is, above all, Jewish patriotism.”

Nadia Hijab (Director of Al-Shakba, the Palestinian Policy Network)
with Amina Minns: Citizens Apart – A Portrait of Palestinians in Israel (IB Tauris, 1990)

Robert Hillenbrand (University of Edinburgh)

Joost Hilterman
Behind the Intifada: Labor and Women’s Movements in the Occupied Territories (Princeton University Press, 1991)

Dilip Hiro
The Middle East (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1996)
Lebanon: Fire and Embers – A History of the Lebanese Civil War (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1993)
Inside the Middle East (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982)

David Hirst (former Middle East correspondent for the Guardian newspaper)
Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East (Faber, 2011)

Walter L. Hixson (University of Akron)

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.”

See also: PALESTINE STORY TODAY

Thomas Hodgkin

Antonius and Palestine (EC Hodgkin, editor; Ithaca Press, 1982)

Adina Hoffman

Bruce Hoffman

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.”

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)

Note: See James Rodgers

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.
**Tikva Honig-Parnass**
*False Prophets of Peace: Liberal Zionism and the Struggle for Palestine*  

**EP (Edward) Horne**

**David Horowitz**

**Peter Hounam**

**Bayan Buwayhed al-Hout**

**Shafiq Al-Hout** (see: Jean Said Makdisi)

**Harry Nicholas Howard**
*The King Crane Commission: An American Enquiry in the Middle East* (Beirut: Khayats, 1963)

**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)

**Human Rights Watch**
**Zama Coursen-Neff**: *Second Class: Discrimination against Palestinian Children in Israel’s Schools* (Human Rights Watch, 2001)  
*Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel’s Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories* (Human Rights Watch, 316 pages, 1994)

**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

Jane Hunter

Robert Edwards Hunter & Seth G. Jones
*Building a Successful Palestinian State : Security* (Rand Corporation, 2006)

J.C. Hurewitz
*The Struggle for Palestine* (New York City : Schocken Books, 1976)

Deena Hurwitz, editor

Hussein, King of Jordan
*My “War” with Israel – as told to Vick Vance & Pierre Lauer* (Owen, 1968)

Hussein Abu Hussein (Palestinian Israeli lawyer) & Fiona McKay (British human rights lawyer)

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.

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)
- 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.

Ihud: See Judah Leon Magnes

Amitzur Ilan

*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.”

Martin Indyk

Doreen Ingrams (compiled and annotated)

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/Ibrahim 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)
The Partition of Palestine (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967)

International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
Zionism and Racism: International Symposium – Selected Papers (1986) – see other EAFORD publications under individual authors.

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 Yakhlef — 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)

Israel Information Centre (Jerusalem)
Facts about Israel (IIC, 353 pages, 2008)
A Letter from Israel (IIC, 45 pages, 1984)
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)
**Israeli Socialist Organization**

_The Other Israel: Israeli Critique of Zionist History and Policy_ (Tel Aviv: ISO, 31 pages, 1968)

**Raphael Israeli**


**Ze’ev Jabotinsky** – about Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940)


**Jabra Ibrahim Jabra**

_Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories_ – translated by Issa J. Boullata (University of Arkansas Press, 2005)

_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

**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)

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**  
*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** (Tel Aviv University)  
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)

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.

GH Jansen [Godfrey H.]
Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971)
Dissonance in Zion (Zed Books, 1987)
The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon (Zed Books, 1982)
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)

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 groundbreaking 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 Ghusheh, Mohammad Ghusheh, Tom Abowd, Nadia Abu El-Haj, Michael Dumper, Nahed Awwad, Ahmad J. Azem, Nasser Abourahme.
JMN Jeffries [Joseph Mary Nagle]

JMN Jeffries, edited by William M. Mathew
*The Palestine Deception, 1915-1923: The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence, the Balfour Declaration, and the Jewish National Home* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2014) 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* (The Daily Mail, 72pp, 1923)

Note: See also Colin Andersen

Jewish Agency – Miscellaneous publications held by the British Library (shelfmark: 4035.d.21): *Documents Relating to the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate* (May 1939) — The Jewish Case


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 (UN, Lake Success, 1948) [21 pages, in two parts, with a letter of transmittal addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.]

**Jamil Hilal**
- as editor, with Ilan Pappé: *Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History* (IB Tauris, 2010)

**Sabri Jiryis** (PLO Public Relations Director)
*Democratic Freedoms in Israel* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Benghazi: University of Libya, 109 pages, 1972) Young Palestinian lawyer’s account.

**Lawrence Joffe**

**Nels Johnson**

**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)

**Martin Jones**
Failure in Palestine: British and United States Policy after the Second World War (Bloomsbury, 2016)

Nazmi al-Jubeh, editor

John B. Judis
Genesis: Truman, American Jews and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2014)

Laura Junka (University of Oulu, Finland)
Late Modern Palestine: The Subject and Representation of the Second Intifada
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)

Mustafa Kabha (Open University of Israel)
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. Mahmoud 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)


**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 2019) “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)


with _Beth Pearson : Families Torn Apart : Separation of Palestinian Families in the Occupied Territories _ (Jerusalem : B’Tselem, 1999)

**Rabbi Meir Kahane** [1932-1990; godfather of Israel’s messianic settler movement]


_Listen World, Listen Jew _ (Jerusalem : Institute for Publication of the Writings of Rabbi Meir Kahane, 1995)

Time to Go Home (Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 1972)
Never Again! A Program for Survival (Los Angeles: Nash Publications, 1971)
Related:
Libby Kahane: Rabbi Meir Kahane: His Life and Thought, Volume One, 1932-1975 (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013)
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)

Subhi Kahhaleh
The Water Problem in Israel and its Repercussions on the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981)

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.

Mousa J. Kaleel
When I Was a Boy in Jerusalem (Harrap & Co., 1920)
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

Reuven Kaminer

Taysir Kamlah

Ghassan Kanafani

Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh

Tomis Kapitan, editor (Birzeit University, Northern Illinois University)
*Philosophical Perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (ME Sharpe, 1997)
Amy Kaplan
Kaplan’s *Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance* (Harvard University Press, 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)

Aida Karaoglan

Michael Karayanni
*Conflicts in a Conflict: A Conflict of Laws Case Study on Israel and the Palestinian Territories* (Center for International Legal Education, 2014)


Abraham J. Karp

Anne Karph, Brian Klug, Jacqueline Rose & Barbara Rosenbaum, editors

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

Victor Kattan (National University of Singapore & Middle East Institute)

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

Samuel Katz (writer with Ma’ariv and the Jerusalem Post newspapers, and advisor to Menachem Begin)
Battle-Ground: Fact and Fantasy in Palestine (WH Allen, 1973 / Steimatzky Shapolsky, revised 1985 / Bantam Books, with introduction by Menachem Begin etc.). Classic Zionist ‘revisionist’ polemic; not as widely known as Joan Peters’ From Time Immemorial
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.”

Asher Kaufman (Hebrew University)


See also: Elie Podeh

Ilana Kaufman

*Arab National Communism in the Jewish State* (University of Florida Press, 1997)

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, 1979)

Hasan Kayali
*Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (University of California Press, 1997)

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.


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

Michael Kearney (University of Sussex)
*The Prohibition of Propaganda for War in International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2007)

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.”

**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.”

**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.  

**Isaiah Kenen**


**Kathy Saade Kenny**


**Kathleen Kern**

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.

Amjad Abu Khalaf
Palestinian Refugees and International Law: The International Legal Framework Governing Assistance, Protection and Durable Solutions (TellerBooks, 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)

Anbara Salam Khalidi
Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi (translated by Tarif Khalidi; Pluto Press, 2014)

Raja Khalidi
The Arab Economy in Israel: The Dynamics of a Region’s Development (Croom Helm, 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)
Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004 / IB Tauris, 2004)
The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism (Columbia University Press, 1991)
-See also Muhammad Muslih
-with Itamar Rabinovich:
-with Camille Mansour, as editors

Usama Khalidi

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)
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 editor, with 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 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: with Jill Khaddini: Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict (London: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1974)
-as assumed editor, with Richard Paul Stevens: *Zionism and Palestine before the Mandate: A Phase of Western Imperialism* [Anthology Series no. 5] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies / Benghazi: University of Libya, 1972)


*Israel and the Geneva Conventions* [Anthology Series no. 3] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, ca. 1969)

-as assumed editor: *International Documents on Palestine* Note: divided into three sections – International (including Israel), the United Nations, and the Arab world. (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967)

*The Partition of Palestine* [20th anniversary] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1967)


**Laleh Khalili**


**Mushtaq Husain Khan** (SOAS), Inge Amundsen & George Giacamen, 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).

**Zafarul-Islam Khan**


**Diala Khasawneh**


**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)

Rouhi Al-Khatib (Mayor of Jerusalem)
_The Judaization of Jerusalem_ (Amman : Al-Tawfiq Press, 100 pages, 1979)

Shawqi Khatib

Farid el-Khazen

Sami al-Khazendar
_Jordan and the Palestine Question : The Role of Islamic and Left Forces in Foreign Policy-Making_  (Reading : Ithaca Press, 1997)

Philip S. Khoury

Samia Nasir Khoury (Birzeit University & the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre)

Shahadeh Khoury & Nicola Khoury
_A Survey of the History of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem_  (Amman : Feras / Dar Al-Shorouk, 2002)

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

David Killingray & David M Anderson, editors

Jon Kimche (Zionist with the Independent Labour Party)
Palestine or Israel: The Untold Story of Why We Failed, 1917-1923 (Secker & Warburg, 1973)

Baruch Kimmerling (Hebrew University Jerusalem; sociologist; an early ‘new historian’ who questioned Zionist myths)
Clash of Identities: Explorations in Israeli and Palestinian Societies (Columbia University Press, 2008)
Politicide: Ariel Sharon’s War Against the Palestinians (Verso Books, 2006)
The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society and the Military (University of California Press, 2005)
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.

Patterns of Militarism in Israel – possible monograph offprint from Archives Européennes de Sociologie, v. 34, no. 2, 1993, pp. 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 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)

Mary Elizabeth King

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

Kemal Kirisci
The PLO and World Politics (Frances Pinter, 1986)

(Frederick) Kisch
Palestine Diary – with foreword by Lloyd George (Victor Gollancz, 1938)

Khalid Kishtainy
The New Statesman and the Middle East (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1972)
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)

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)

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.

Manachem Klein (Bar-Ilan University)
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.


Jerusalem: The Contested City – translated by Haim Watzman (Hurst, 2001)

William Kluback (Early Hebrew University academic keen to incorporate Arab Palestinians in any post-Mandate state)


Ahmad El-Kodsy & Eli Lobel
The Arab World and Israel (Monthly Review Press, 1970)

Arthur Koestler (Zionist journalist-novelist)

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.)

Living in a World Revolution: My Encounters with History (Trident Press, 1964 / Pocket Books, 1965)


As co-author with Robert Weltsch: Zionistische Politik – eine Aufsatzteihe (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

Teddy Kollek (long-time Mayor of Jerusalem) & 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, New York)
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 trafficking in Mandatory Palestine / Ami Ayalon: New practices – Arab printing, publishing and mass reading
Gudrun Kramer
_A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel_ (Princeton University Press, 2008)

David Kretzmer
_The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories_ (State University of New York, 2002)

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
See also: Nicholas E. Roberts

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 employ 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.”
Daniel C. Kurtzer (US Ambassador to Egypt under William Clinton, then US Ambassador to Israel under George W. Bush)


-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


David Kushner, editor

*Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period : Political, Social and Economic Transformation* (Jerusalem : Yad Izhad Ben-Zvi, 1986)

Tony Kushner


Daoud Kuttab, Mordechai Bar-On and Mark P. Cohen


Kuwaiti Graduate Society / General Union of Palestine Students


Labour for Palestine


Labour Middle East Council (UK Labour Party)

*Right of Return : Joint Parliamentary Middle East Councils Commission of Enquiry – Palestinian Refugees* (LMEC,317 pages, 2001)

Franklin P. Lamb (Sabra-Shatila Foundation)


as 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)

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
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)

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)

Stephen Langfur
Confession from a Jericho Jail : What Happened When I Refused to Fight the Palestinians (New York City : Grove Weidenfeld, 1992)

Ruth Lapidoth-Eschelbacher
As co-editor, with Ora Ahimeir : Freedom of Religion in Jerusalem (Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1999)


Walter Laqueur
A History of Zionism (Tauris Parke, 2003 and other editions)

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.

Theo Larsson
Seven Passports for Palestine: Sixty Years in the Levant (Pulborough: Longfield, 1995)

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)


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.

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)

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.


Israel/Lebanon: “Operation Grapes of Wrath”: The Civilian Victims (Human Rights Watch, 1997)
see: Franklin P. Lamb

Bryan F. Le Beau & Menachem Mor, editors
Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land (Omaha: Creighton University Press, 1996)

Philip Leech

Yeshayahu Leibowitz (Hebrew University)
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
The Jewish National Fund: An Instrument of Discrimination (International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1982). See also: Sami Hadawi

Yeshayahu Leibowitz (Biochemistry professor, Hebrew University; Outspoken Orthodox Israeli Jew advocating secularity of the state.)
Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State -edited by Eliezer Goldman (Harvard University Press, 1992) “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.” (pp.225-226)

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)
 Captive Corpses – Translated by Zvi Shulman; Topics: human rights, burial laws, repatriation, cultural property (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1999)

Anne Le More (United Nations)
Anne Le More, & Robert Lowe, Michael Keating, editors: Aid, Diplomacy and Facts on the Ground: The Case of Palestine (Chatham House, 2005)

Ronit Lentin
Co-memory and Menancholia: Israelis Memorialising the Palestinian Nakba (Manchester University Press, 2010)


**Anthony Löwstedt** (Webster University, Vienna)

as co-author: *Here We Are: A Photo Essay on Palestine and the Palestinians* (allah: 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.

*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.


*Political Perceptions of the Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip* (Middle East Institute, 1980)
-w **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)

**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**


**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**


**Donald M Lewis**


**Geoffrey Lewis**

*Balfour and Weizmann: The Zionist, the Zealot, and the Emergence of Israel* (Continuum, 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 Other Side of the Coin: An American Perspective of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Devin-Adair Co., 1965 – 420pp)

*There Goes the Middle East* (Devin-Adair Co., 1957 – 321pp)


**Helena Lindholm Schulz**

*The Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism: Between Revolution and Statehood* (Manchester University Press, 1999)


Douglas Little

Meir Litvak (Tel Aviv University)

Tim Llewellyn

Zachary Lockman


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.”

**London Palestine Action**

*Israeli Colonizing Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories : For the Information of Mr Callaghan* (LPA, pamphlet, 1975)

**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) jordanian dialogue

*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.”

**William Roger Louis**


*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

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod


As co-editor, with Roger Heacock and Khaled Nashef: *The Landscape of Palestine: Equivocal Poetry* (Birzeit University [conference], 1999)

Lila Abu-Lughod (Columbia University)
*Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Harvard University Press, 2013, 2015)


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.


*The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change* (Routledge, 1988)


Ian Lustick
Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel’s Control of a National Minority (University of Texas Press, 1980)

Joris Luyendijk
Hello Everybody! One Journalist’s Search for Truth in the Middle East (Profile Books, 2009) – Translated from Dutch by Michelle Hutchison.

Staughton Lynd, Sam Bahour & Alice Lynd, editors

The Right Hon. The Earl of Lytton [Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton]

Mariane A. Maasri

Ramsay MacDonald [British Prime Minister, 1924, 1929–1935]
A Socialist in Palestine (Poale Zion – Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation, 24pp, 1922)

John MacGregor

John M. Machover
Governing Palestine: The Case against a Parliament (PS King & Son, 1936)

Moshé Machover (Matzpen, London University)


with M. Jafar: Machover: Zionism, Why We Oppose It / Jafar: War & Peace in the Middle East (publication of two essays; Palestine Solidarity Campaign, ca. 1977)


Sandra Mackey
Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict (WW Norton, 2008)
Lebanon: Death of a Nation (Congdon & Weed, 1989)
Nancy Mackinnon

Sean MacBride, editor

Judah Leon Magnes (Chancellor of Hebrew University, Jerusalem)
& Ihud (“unity”) Association aka Ichud


*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 UNCSOP 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 Association, 1945)

*In the Perplexity of the Times* (speeches and correspondence, some in English translation; Hebrew University, 1946)

*The Source of Prophetic Morality: Address* (Hebrew University, 1943)

*Address of the President of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem : Azriel Press, 1939)


*Addresses by the Chancellor of the Hebrew University* (Hebrew University, 1936)

*Like all the Nations?* (Jerusalem : Weiss Press, 1930 / Syracuse University Press, 1987)


Kate Maguire

Mohammad Taki Mahdi
*Of Lions, Chained: An Arab Looks at America* (San Francisco : New World Press, 1962)

Rachel Mairs

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)
Teta, Mother and Me (Saqi Books & WW Norton & Co, 2005 & 2007)
– as co-editor with Martin Asser, Shafiq Al-Hout; translated by Hader al-Hout and Laila Othman: My Life in the PLO – The Inside Story of the Palestinian Struggle (Pluto, 2010/2011) 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

Michael Makovsky

Clovis Maksoud (Arab League representative)
Palestine Lives – Interviews with Leaders of the Resistance Participants: Khalid al-Hassan [Fateh], Abu Iyad [Fateh], George Habash [PFLP], Nayef Hawatmeh [PDFLP], Sami al-Attari [Sa’iqa], and A. W. Sa’id [Arab Liberation Front] / with introduction by Clovis Maksoud (Palestine Research Center, 1973)
The Arab Image (Delhi: Acharya Ramlochan Publishing House, 1963)

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 and law professor at University of Utah and 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 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, 1968)

Neville J. Mandel
The Arabs and Zionism before World War I (University of California Press, 1976)

Turks, Arabs, and Jewish Immigration, 1882-1914 (Oxford University PhD thesis, 1965)


Adel Manna & Motti Golani
Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948: Two Narratives of the 1948 War and its Outcome – Arabic-English edition (Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation / Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011) Note: 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.)

The Lovely Land: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan [travel] (Hutchinson, 1965)


A Lance for the Arabs [travel] (Hutchinson, 1963)

Peter Manning
Representing Palestine: Media and Journalism in Australia Since World War I (IB Tauris, 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.”

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, 1994)

George Mansur
*The Arab Worker under the Palestine Mandate* (Jerusalem : Commercial Press, 64 pages, 1936)

Johnny Mansour (schoolteacher and associate of The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies [MADAR]
*The Modern History of the Middle East* (pre-2015, possibly bi-lingual, Arabic-English)

Moshe Ma’oz
-as editor, with Ilan Pappé : *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas : A History from Within* (Tauris Academic Studies, 1997)
*Syria and Israel : from War to Peacemaking* (Clarendon Press, 1995)
*Palestinian Arab Politics* (Jerusalem Academic Press, 1975)
-as editor: *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975)

*Soviet and Chinese relations with the Palestinian Guerilla Organizations* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem / Leonard Davis Institute, 1974)


*Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861* (Clarendon Press, 1968)

**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* -translated by H.A.G. Schmuckev (Robert Hale, 1957) Insider’s memoir of how the Haganah was armed.

**Shanee Marks**

*Where is Palestine? The Arabs in Israel* (Pluto Press, 113 pages, 1984)

**Mike Marqusee**

*If I am not for Myself: Journey of an Anti-Zionist Jew* (Verso, 2008) Well-made points from the viewpoint of the author’s Leftist New York City family background and how they, and others, didn’t twig the disconnect between social 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**


**Nabil Marshood**

*Palestinian Teenage Refugees and Immigrants Speak Out* (Rosen Publications, 64pp, 1997)

**Robin H. Martin & Anne Blackman**


**Kati Marton** (Historian, formerly with ABC News and National Public Radio)


**Nur Masalha [Nueldeen]** (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.”
as co-editor, with Nahla Abdo: An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba (Zed Books, 2018)


*Ariel Sharon: A Political Profile* (Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, 2001)


*A Land without a People: Israel, Transfer, and the Palestinians 1949-96* (Pluto Press, 1997)


**Joseph A. Massad** (Columbia University / Middle East Studies Association)


*The Persistence of the Palestinian Question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (Routledge, 2006)


**Francois Massoulié**

*Crisis in the Middle East aka Middle East Conflicts* – translated by Angela Parker (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush / Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Books, 1999)
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 Sectarianism (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

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
The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin Al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement (Cambridge 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.

Weldon C. Matthews (Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan)

Roberto Mazza (SOAS, University of London)
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

James G. McDonald (US Special Representative & Ambassador), Norman J. W. Goda, Richard Breitman, Barbara McDonald Stewart, and Gil Severin Hochberg, editors

David McDowall
The Palestinians: The Road to Nationhood (Minority Rights Publications, 1994)
Palestine and Israel (University of California Press, 1989)

Paul McGeough (Middle East correspondent for the Sydney Morning Herald)

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 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.

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.

Rafael Medoff (Founding Director of the David Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, Washington DC)

MR Mehdi
A Palestine Chronicle: Being a Record of Injustice (Data on families expelled in 1967; Alpha Books, 1973)

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.

Fredrik Melton
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.”

Gerard Menuhin
Tell the Truth and Shame the Devil : Recognize the True Enemy and Join to Fight Him (Castle Hill Services, 2017) Jewish holocaust revisionist analysis, rather than denial, with an emphasis on Germany.

Moshe Menuhin

Philip Mendes
Jews and the Left : The Rise and Fall of a Political Alliance (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

Arzu Merali & Javad Sharbaf, editors


Paul Charles Merkley (Carleton University, Hebrew University)
Christian Attitudes Towards the State of Israel (McGill-Queens University Press, 2001)

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 Mandatory Palestine (Cambridge University Press, 1998)
with Michael Beenstock & Sanny Ziv: Immigration and the Jewish Economy in Mandatory Palestine (Jerusalem: Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel, 1993)

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)
-see also Baruch Kimmerling

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.

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, 2010)
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)

**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)

**Uri Milstein** (IDF instructor and official historian of their paratroopers)

**Beverley Milton-Edwards**
*The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict : A People’s War* (Taylor & Francis, 2008 / Routledge, 2009)
*Islamic Politics in Palestine* (Tauris Academic Studies, 1996)

**Minority Rights Group** (London)
*Israel’s Oriental Immigrants and Druzes* (MRG no. 12, Revised 1981)
**Alfred Friendly** : *Israel’s Oriental Immigrants and Druzes* (MRG, 1972)

**Shaul Mishal**
*The PLO under Arafat : Between Gun and Olive Branch* (Yale University Press, 1986)

**Shaul Mishal, Ranan D. Kuperman, & David Boas**

Shaul Mishal & Reuben Aharoni
**Speaking Stones : Communiques from the Intifada Underground** (Syracuse University Press, 1994)

**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.

**Shourideh C. Molavi**

**Elizabeth Monroe** (headed the British Government’s Middle East Information Division during World War 2; 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)

**Edwin Montagu**

**Jessica Montell**
*Prisoners of Peace : Administrative Detention during the Oslo Process* (Jerusalem : B’Tselem, 1997)

**Moore**

**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

**Annelies Moors** (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, The Netherlands and Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Benny Morris
Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited (Cambridge University Press, 2003)

David Morrison

Peter Mortimer (playwright, poet, travel writer)

John James Moscrop

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)
   as co-editor, with Elia Zureik: Public Opinion and the Palestine Question (Croom Helm, 1987)

Angela & Jawad Musleh
Palestine and Palestinians – translated by Carol Scheller-Doyle (Alternative Tourism Group, 2005)

‘Adnan Musallam

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)
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.

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)

Amikam [aka Amicam] Nachmani
Publisher’s blurb:

Amos Nadan

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)

Abeer al-Najjar

Khalil Nakhleh (Palestinian anthropologist from Galilee)
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) 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.

Hisham Nashabe, editor

Studia Palestina: Studies in Honour of Constantine K. Zurayk (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988)

Nasser Eddin Nashashibi


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)

See also: CULTURE section.

Musa Nasir (Head of Birzeit Junior College)

Toward a Solution to the Palestine Problem: A Selection of Speeches and Writings, 1946-1966 (author?, 1966)

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 Philipp Misselwitz & Tim Rieniets: City of Collision – Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism (Basel & Boston: Birkhäuser, 2006)

Issam Nassar

Photographing Jerusalem: The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Photography (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1997)

with Maher Al-Sharif, co-author: The History of the Palestine National Movement (Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018)

Jamal Nassar (California State University & Illinois State University via Jerusalem)


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*)


**National Association of Arab-Americans**

*It Happened to Us! Women Caught in the Middle East Conflict* (Jordan Tourism Authority Press, 55pp, with maps, 1985)

**Naval Intelligence Division** (UK)

*Palestine & Transjordan* (Taylor & Francis, 2007 / Routledge, 2016)

**Nafez Nazzal**


**Nafez Y. Nazzal & Laila K. Nazzal**

*Historical Dictionary of Palestine* (Scarecrow Press, 1997)

**Donald Neff**


*Fifty Years of Israel* (Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, 1998) – A compilation of the author’s columns for WRMEA’s magazine.


*Warriors for Jerusalem : The Six Days That Changed the Middle East* (Simon & Schuster / Linden Press, 1984)

**Boaz Neumann**


**Michael Neumann**
The Case Against Israel (Petrolia, California : Counterpunch, 2005) Advocates a two-state solution.

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 vis-a-vis 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
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 Hesp, 1985)
Jewish Settlement in the West Bank : The Role of Gush Emunim (University of Durham Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1982)

Frances Newton [Dame of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem]
Fifty Years in Palestine : The Case for the Arabs (Wrotham : Coldharbour Press, 1948)
Palestine : Britain's Honour at Stake (author, ca. 1947; 15pp pamphlet) A reading of British diplomatic documents related to commitments to Palestine.

Francis Nicosia
The Third Reich and the Palestine Question (IB Tauris, 1985)

Ephriam Nimni

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*.

**Jacob Norris** (University of Sussex)
*Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford University Press, 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 the vanguard 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.”

**Peter Novick** (University of Chicago)
*The Holocaust and Collective Memory* (Houghton Mifflin/Bloomsbury, 1999) An American Jewish perspective to understand the undiminished importance of the Jewish Holocaust in national discourse. 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**
*The Deceived Testify: Considering the Plight of Immigrants in Israel* (Moscow : NPA, 64 pages, 1972)

**Mansour Nsasra** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)
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.”

**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 İngrid 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** (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.”

*The Ideas of Arab Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1956 / Kennikat Press, 1972)

**Sari Nusseibeh**
*Giving Voice to Conscience* [lecture at the University of Utrecht] (The Hague : Boom Lemma uitgevers, 2013)  
*What is a Palestinian State Worth?* (Harvard University Press, 2011)  
*Once Upon a Country : A Palestinian Life* – with Anthony David (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.


**Anthony Nutting**
*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)

**Edgar O’Ballance**
*The Palestinian Intifada* (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)

**Lee O’Brien**
*American Jewish Organisations and Israel* (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 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)

**David Ohana**

**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)

**Anthony O’Mahony**
-as editor, with **Goran Gunner & Kevork Hintlian**: (Scorpion Cavendish, 1995)

**Michael B. Oren**

**Efraim Orni**

**Akiva Orr**
*Israel : Politics, Myths and Identity Crises* (Pluto, 1994)

**Bahaa Ed-Din Ossama**

**Victor Ostrovsky & Claire Hoy**
*The Other Side of Deception : A Rogue Agent Exposes the Mossad’s Secret Agenda* (HarperCollins, 1994)

**Robert David Ottensoozer**

**Roger Owen**, 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.

**Artur Pakek** (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

*Our Roots are Still Alive : The Story of the Palestinian People* (San Francisco : Peoples Press, 189 pages, 1977)

**Palestine Liberation Organisation / Palestine Research Center**
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)


Ibrahim Al-Abid, editor: Israel and Human Rights (Beirut: PLO Research Center, 174 pages, 1969) Palestine Books no. 4; 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.


Ibrahim Al-Abid: Israel and Negotiations (Beirut: PLO Research Center, 29 pages, 1970) Palestine books no. 20


Al-Hakam Darewazah / translated by Leila S. Kadi: A Short Survey of the Palestine Problem Palestine Books no. 7


Ahmad Shukairy: Liberation ~ Not Negotiation (Beirut: PLO Research Center, 141 pages, 1966) Palestine Books no. 3

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.
Palestinian Centre for Human Rights

Palestinian Red Crescent Society / Jam`iyat al-Hilal al-Ahmar al-Filastini
*Palestinian Red Crescent Society* (16pp pamphlet, 6 pages in English & 10 pages in Arabic, ca. 1970)

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 demo 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.

Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment
*Apartheid, Bantustans, Cantons : the ABC of the Oslo Accords* (Jerusalem : PSPHRE, 75pp, 1998)

Palestine Solidarity Campaign

Michael Palumbo
*The Palestinian Catastrophe : The 1948 Expulsion of a People from Their Homeland* (Faber, 1987 / Quartet, 1989)

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 Pappé (University of Exeter) [selected list]
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, Pappé 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, Pappé’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.


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.*


With **Noam Chomsky**: *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on the US-Israeli War Against the Palestinians* (Haymarket Books, 2013)


*The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel* (Yale University Press, 2011)


-as editor, with **Jamil Hilal**: *Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History* (IB Tauris, 2010)


*The Israel/Palestine Question* (Routledge, 1997)


**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.”


**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**

*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)

**Laila Parsons** (McGill University / Harvard University / Oxford University)

*The Commander : Fauzi 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)

**Raphael Patai** (American anthropologist; editor of Theodor Herzl’s diaries)


**Ismail Adam Patel**

*Virtues of Jerusalem : An Islamic Perspective* (Leicester : Al-Aqsa, 2006)


See also: Friends of Al-Aqsa
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.

Moshe Pearlman aka Maurice Pearlman  
*Palestine Goes to It!* aka *Palestine and the War* (Keren Heyesod, 1941) 14pp pamphlet.

Wendy Pearlman (Northwestern University)  
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.”


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 attack on the ship *USS Liberty*, in 1967]

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)


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 traveled 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 overreach in post-9/11 America.

The General’s Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine With foreword by Alice Walker (Just World Books, 2012) 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.

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.”

-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)
-Begin’s Foreign Policy, 1977-1983: Israel’s Move to the Right (Greenwood Press, 1987)

Samuel Peleg

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.”

Pamela E. Pennock (University of Michigan at Dearborn)
The Rise of the Arab American Left: Activists, Allies, and Their Fight against Imperialism and Racism, 1960s-1980s (University of North Carolina Press,
Focus on 1973 BDS effort by United Auto Workers Local 600, in Dearborn, Michigan.

**Stewart Perowne**  
*The One Remains* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1954) Jerusalem focus; contains UNRWA information.

**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)  
*Palestinians, Refugees and the Middle East Peace Process* (US Institute of Peace, 1993)  

**Edward J. Perkins, Joseph Ginat & David Boren**, editors  

**Julie Peteet**  
*Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)  
See also: THE PALESTINE STORY TODAY

**Joan Peters [aka Joan Caro]** (writer for Liberal and Jewish American magazines, including *Commentary, Harper’s*, and *The New Republic*)  

**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.

**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)
Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age: An Anthropology of Politics and Power (Routledge, 2016)

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)
Ziv Hadas (author): These Worldly Bars – Maltreatment and Neglect at the Israel Prison Service Medical Center (2002)

John Pilger (international print and television correspondent)

Noam Pianko (University of Washington)

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
Emma Playfair, editor

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)

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)

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) – Information Department

Yehoshua Porath (aka Porat)
*In Search of Arab Unity, 1930-1945* (Frank Cass, 1986)

Michael Posner & Virginia Sherry

Fred Pragnell

Joshua Prawer & Haggai Ben-Shammai, editors

Michael Prior (Theology & Religious Studies lecturer at St Mary’s University College, London)
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 & Bernard Dineen
Double Exodus : A Study of Arab and Jewish Refugees in the Middle east (Goodhart Press, 1974)

David Pryce-Jones (University of California lecturer who first visited Palestinian communities in 1962; special correspondent for the Daily Telegraph)
The Next Generation : Travels in Israel (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964)

Mutaz Qafisheh
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.”


**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)

**Ali Qleibo**

**William B. Quandt** (University of Virginia)

**John Quigley** (Ohio State University)
*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 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.”


**Mazin B. Qumsiyeh** (co-founder of the Palestine Museum of Natural History, Bethlehem University)
Mohammad Siddique Qureshi

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 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)

Basem Ra’ad (Al-Quds University)
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.

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)
Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century (Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1999)
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)
-see also: Rashid Khalidi

Oskar K. Rabinowicz

Yakov M. Rabkin (University of Montréal)
See also: THE PALESTINE STORY TODAY

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, 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.
Mitri Raheb & Fred Strickert, with photography by Garo Nalbandian and introduction by Yassir Arafat

Mark A. Raider
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.”

**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)

**Audeh G. Rantisi & Ralph K. Beebe**
*Blessed are the Peacemakers: A Palestinian Christian in the Occupied West Bank* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Books, 1990)

**Era Rapaport**
*Letters from Tel Mond Prison: An Israeli Settler Defends his Act of Terror* - edited by William B. Helmreich (Free Press, 1996)

**Marc Lee Raphael** (College of William and Mary)
*Understanding American Jewish Philanthropy* (New York: Ktav Publications, 1979)

**Joseph L. Rayan**

**Riad El-Rayyes & Dunia Nahas**
*Guerrillas for Palestine* (Croom Helm / Portico Publications, 1976)

**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** (Director of CAABU / Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding)
*Right and Wrong in the Pursuit of Peace in Palestine* (Dublin: Eurabia, 1978 or 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: author?, 16pp pamphlet, 1967)

**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.

**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]


*Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948* (New York City: Seven Stories Press, 2002)

**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 Histadrut’s Al Yawm)

*Israel’s Years of Bogus Grandeur* (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.

**James Renton** (University College London)

**Reporters Without Borders**

**John Reynolds**

**Faisal Odeh Matlag Rfouh**

**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.

**Andrew Rigby**
*Palestinian Resistance: Nonviolence* (Jerusalem: PASSIA / Palestine Academy for Study of International Affairs, 2010)
with **Marwan Darweish**: *Palestinians in Israel: Nationality and Citizenship* (University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, 1995)

**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*

**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 – translated from the German of Die Erdkunde, and adapted to the use of Biblical students by William L. Gage (1832-1889). (Four volumes, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1866 / St Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1972)


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 Palestinians in Lebanon: Refugees Living with Long-Term Displacement (IB Tauris, 2010) 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 (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.”

**Laura Robson** (Portland State University)
*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 emerging 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.

**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)
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.”


See also: Alain Gresh

**Eugene Rogan** (Director, Middle East Centre, St Antony’s College, Oxford)


**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, 1980, 3rd ed. 1986)

**John Rose** (London Metropolitan University)


*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**


**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.


**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.”

Maya Rosenfeld
*Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp* (Stanford University Press, 2004)

Eugene Victor Rostow
*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)

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.”

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.*

Sara Roy (Harvard University)
*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

-See also Jean-Pierre Filiu and the reading list, *The Story Today*.

**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**


**Sharon Rotbard**


**Nadim H. Rouhana** (Tufts University)

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 discuss 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)

**Royal Institute of International Affairs aka Chatham House**


**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)


*Palestinian Women : Patriarchy and Resistance in the West Bank* (Lynne Reinner Publishing, 2001)


*Palestine Liberation Organization : Its Institutional Infrastructure* (Belmont, Massachusetts : Institute of Arab Studies, 1983) 66pp. 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, Saiqa). Chapters : Historical background; Political Institutions of the PLO; Themes of Palestinian social institutions; the Palestine Red Crescent Society; 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.

**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 *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) and the International communist movement, Dr. Rubenstein analyzes 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


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)


*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 Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation of Palestine* (Martin Hopkinson & Co, 1926)

See: Etan Bloom

Amal Saad-Ghorayeb


Anonymous [Mark Saba]

*The Intifada: A Message from Three Generations of Palestinians* (Knight Financial Services [sic] / Arab Women’s Association [?], 1988)

Michael Saba


Areej Sabbagh-Khoury

*Bibliography on the Palestinians in Israel and Related Issues* (Haifa: Mada al-Carmel, 103pp, 2005)

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, British Writers in Support of Palestine

Suha Sabbagh (Birzeit University, founder of the Institute for Arab Women’s Studies in Washington DC)

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.”

Harry Sacher (Manchester Guardian journalist, protege of Chaim Weizmann, and, according to JMN Jeffries, the actual drafter of the Balfour Declaration; likely contributor to Palestine : The Organ of the British Palestine Committee (Manchester, 26 January 1917-15 April 1924) weekly; later honoured by 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, 355pp, 1959) Author considers Islam to be a “negation of the constructive spirit of mankind.”
Israel – The Establishment of a State (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 332pp, 1952)
The Mandate and the Building of a New Palestine  (Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 12pp, 1943)
Anti-semitism  (mimeographed publication, author-published, 7pp, ca. 1942)
A Jewish Palestine: The Jewish Case for a British Trusteeship (Zionist Organisation, London Bureau, 23pp, 1919)
A Hebrew University for Jerusalem  (Zionist Organisation, Zionist Pamphlets no. 4, 16pp, 1918)
Jewish Emancipation – The Contract Myth (English Zionist Federation, 24pp, 1917)
as editor, with Leon Simon & Samuel Landman: Zionist Pamphlets (The Zionist, 1915, 1916, 1917)
Zionism and the State  (The Zionist, Zionist Pamphlets no. 5, 16pp, 1915)
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)

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)
The United States and Israel  (Harvard University Press, 1963)

Afif Safieh (former Palestinian Ambassador to the UK, Harvard University)
In Search of a Palestinian Identity  (44pp, Jerusalem : PASSIA / Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2005)
Bethlehem 2000: Palestine Year One?  (40pp, PLO UK Delegation, 1999)


Speech – at LSE’s Global Festival (6pp, 1995)

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)

Interview – offprint of an interview originally published in Vivant Univers (13pp, ca. 1985)

**Emile Sahliyeh**

In Search of Leadership: West Bank Politics since 1967 (Brookings Institution, 1988)

**Edward Said** (to be completed eventually...)

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


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


**Hala Sakakini**  
*Jerusalem and I: A Personal Record* (Amman: Economic Press, 160 pages, 1990; held at Warwick University)

**Frank C. [Charles] Sakran**  
*Whose Jerusalem?* (American Council on the Middle East, 10 pages, 1968)  
*And So Moscow Moved In* (1965)  

**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.”  
*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.”

**Dr. Mohsen Mohammed Saleh**  

**Walid Salem** (Al-Quds University lecturer; Director of the Center for Democracy and Community Development [C CDC] in East Jerusalem)  
*Bridging the Divide: Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Lynne Reinner Publishing, 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.

**Rubha Salih** (SOAS) & **Sophie Richter-Devroe** (Exeter University & Doha Institute)  

**Maha Sammam** (Technical University of Delft)
Trans-Colonial Urban Space in Palestine: Politics and Development (Routledge, 2017)

Jessie Ethel Sampter, editor

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.

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
The Invention of the Land of Israel: from Holyland to Homeland (Verso, 2012)
The Invention of the Jewish People (Verso, 2009)

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)  

**Saliba Sarsar**  

**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.”

**Fayez A. 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)  
*A Palestinian View* (General Union of Palestine Students, 14pp, ca. 1970s)  
*Do Jews Have a ‘Divine Right’ to Palestine?* (Beirut; PLO Research Center, 13pp, 1967)  
as Sayegh: *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine* (Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, 78 pages, 1965)  
Note: available online  

**Rosemary Sayigh**  

The Palestinian Experience Viewed as Socialization (Beirut : American University Beirut, 1997) with other authors, including Adel Samara

Palestine : Profile of an Occupation (Zed Books, 1989)

See also : Orayb Aref Najjar & Kitty Warnock [Rosemary Sayigh : introduction]

Portraits of Palestinian Women (University of Utah Press, 1992)

Yezid Yusuf Sayigh

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 (Brassey’s 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, 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 Eakes : Palestine – Background to Conflict (Petra Publishing, ca. 1975)

Towards a Peace in Palestine (Beirut : Lebanon Fifth of June Society, 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.
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).  

Robert Schick  

Ze’ev Schiff [Israeli journalist of military activities for *Ha’aretz* newspaper]  
*Israel’s Lebanon War* (Simon & Schuster, 1989) Edited & translated by Ina Friedman  
with Raphael Rothstein ~ *Fedayeen : The Story of the Palestinian Guerillas* (Vallentine Mitchell, 1972)  
*A History of the Israeli Army, 1874 to the Present [sic]* (Macmillan, 1974, 1985)  
*Israel’s Lebanon War –* with Ehud Ya’ari [state-run Channel 1 TV] (Simon & Schuster, 1984)  
*October Earthquake : Yom Kippur 1973*  
*The Fedayeen : The Story of the Palestinian Guerillas* –with Raphael Rothstein  
(Vallentine Mitchell, 1972)

Abdullah Schliefer [American Jewish journalist who became a Muslim]  

Jonathan Schneer  
*The Balfour Declaration : The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Bloomsbury, 2010)

Itzhak Schnell  
(Tel Aviv University)  
See also : Israel Drori *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.”

**Ralph Schoenman** (personal secretary to Bertrand Russell and became general secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation)  

**Erika Schwarze**  

**Michael Scott-Baumann**  
*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)

**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 naive 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**

**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!*

**Sherene Seikaly**
*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:

**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.

**Jan Selby** (University of Sussex)
*Dependence, Independence and Interdependence in the Palestinian Water Sector* (report : Birzeit University, 2012)

Lance Selfa, editor
The Struggle for Palestine (Heymarket Books, 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 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.”

Cath Senker, editor

Nabil Sha’ath aka Nabeel Shaath (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, 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
Not the Enemy: Israel’s Jews from Arab Lands (Yale University Press, 2009) – aka 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 (Arab-Jews) 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
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 – 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)

Israel Shalak & 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.

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)

Peter A. Shambrook (Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford University / Programme Director for the British–Arab University Association)


Meir Shamgar, editor


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.”


Itzhak Shamir (Stern Gang)

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 Flow sheds 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 Derek J. Penslar : Israeli Historical Revisionism : From Left to Right  (Frank Cass Publishing, 2002)
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)

Yonathan Shapiro
_Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897-1930_ (University of Illinois Press, 1971)

Hisham Sharabi (Editor of the _Journal of Palestine Studies_)  
_Palestine Guerillas : Their Credibility and Effectiveness_ (Beirut : Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)  
_Palestine and Israel : The Lethal Dilemma_  (Pegasus Press, 1969)

Amer A. Sharif
_A Statistical Study of the Arab Boycott on Israel_ (Beirut : Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970)

Dr. Mohammed Badi Sharif (Iraqi educator & Director of the Arab League Office in London, from 1969)  
Palestinian history overview

Regina S. Sharif  
_United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict, 1977_ (Beirut : Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978)

Daphna Sharfman (Western Galilee College)  
_Refugees, Human Rights and Realpolitik : The Clanestine 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.”

_The Second World War : Strategic Pland 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.”

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.

**Gene Sharp**  

**Ari Shavit** (former editor for Ha’aretz)  
*My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (Scribe Publications, 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.”

**Gabriel Sheffer & Oren Barak**  
*Militarism and Israeli Society* (Indiana University Press, 2010) Notes the security network as wider than the military, with undefined boundaries.

**Ruth Sheldon** (Birkbeck College)  
*Tragic Encounters and Ordinary Ethics: Palestine-Israel in British Universities* (Manchester University Press, 2016)

**Moshe Shemesh** (former IDF senior intelligence officer; Ben-Gurion University)
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 -translated by Dimi Reider [of +972 news website] (Polity Press, 2012) – 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.
AJ Sherman
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 Shibli
*The Palestinian Refugee Issue: A Palestinian Perspective* (Royal Institute of International Affairs [Chatham House], 2009)
with Uri Davis: *Civil and Citizenship Rights of Palestinian Refugees* (Jerusalem: Shami, 1995)

Faris al-Shidyaq
*Leg over Leg* (Two Volumes, Translated by Humphrey Davies – travel, UK anshammoundt France / NYUP, 2012) 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.

Abdel Monem Said Aly, Shai Feldman, & Khalil Shikaki *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan (2013)

Margolit Shilo

Colin Shindler (SOAS)
*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)


*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: Detente, 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


*Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (Times Books/Random House & Bloomsbury) Includes coverage of the massacres at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps.

**Avi Shlaim** (Oxford University)


*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**: *Rewriting the Palestine War: 1948 and the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)


-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; Penguin 1995) Shalim: “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.

Abdullah Schleifer
The Fall of Jerusalem (Monthly Review Press, 1972)

Ronen Shnayderman

Dov Shinar (Hadassah College, Jerusalem)
Palestinian Voices: Communication and Nation Building in the West Bank (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Press, 1987)

Ella Shohat (New York University)
Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices (Duke University Press, 2006)

David Shulman

Martin Sicker
Reshaping Palestine: From Muhammad Ali to the British Mandate, 1831-1922 (Praeger, 1999)

Henry Siegman (University of London)

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.
Sanford R. Silverburg, editor  
with Bernard Reich:  
*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**  
*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**  
Despite having the same title as Ilan Pappé’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

**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**  

**Georgina Sinclair** (Open University)  
*At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame, 1945-1980* (Manchester University Press, 2006)

**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, and contains back-story to his lifetime cartographic effort. Equally important are political and personal insights not found elsewhere. No index. – 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)

The Palestinian Nakba 1948: The Register of Depopulated Communities in Palestine (Palestinian Return Centre, 2000)
The Right of Return: Sacred, Legal, Possible (Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding/CAABU, 1999)

Rev. Stephen Sizer
Zion’s Christian Soldiers: The Bible, Israel and the Church (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2007)


Leonard Slater
The Pledge (Simon & Schuster 1970 / Pocket Book, 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)

Golda, the Uncrowned Queen of Israel: A Pictorial Biography (Middle Village, New York: J. David, 1981)


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.

David Smiley
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

Gary V. Smith, editor (Professor of Christian Studies, Union University, Jackson, Tennessee)
Zionism, The Dream and the Reality – A Jewish Critique (David & Charles, 1974)

George Adam Smith
The Historical Geography of the Holy Land (Hodder & Stoughton, 1984 plus numerous editions to 1936 / Glasgow : Collins, 1973)

Grant F. Smith

Pamela Ann Smith
Palestine and the Palestinians, 1876-1983 (Croom Helm, 1985)

Sammy Smooha
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)
The Orientation and Politicization of the Arab Minority in Israel (University of Haifa Press, 1984)

Stephen J. Sniegoski
The Transparent Cabal: The Neoconservative Agenda, War in the Middle East, and the National Interest of Israel –with foreword by former Congressman Paul Findley and introduction by Paul Gottfried (Norfolk, Virginia: Enigma Editions, 2008)

Society of Friends [Quakers]

Ben Soedendorp (Leiden University)

Tamir Sorek (University of Florida)
Palestinian Commemoration in Israel: Calendars, Monuments, and Martyrs (Stanford University Press, 2015)

Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: The Integrative Enclave (Cambridge University Press, 2007) Israeli football as an unlevel playing field.

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.

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)

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
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.

Leonard Stein
Weizmann and the Balfour Declaration (Rehovoth, Israel: Yad Chaim Weizmann, 1964) Text of speech.
The Balfour Declaration (Vallentine Mitchell, 1961)

Ori Stendel
The Arabs in Israel (Sussex Academic Press, 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.”
Richard P. Stevens

Andrea L Stanton (University of Denver)
*“This is Jerusalem Calling” : State Radio in Mandate Palestine* (University of Texas Press, 2013)

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 may 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.”

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’

Included is a Fulbright scholar from Palestine.

Kenneth W. Stein


Yael Stein

**Ze’ev Sternhell**


**Russell Stetler**, editor


**Desmond Stewart** (biographer of Theodor Herzl)


*The Middle East: Temple of Janus* (Hamish Hamilton, 1972)

**Walter Francis Stirling** (C.E. Lawrence’s Chief of Staff, later Times correspondent)


**Nancy L. Stockdale** (University of North Texas)


**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)

1: Reading Statelessness: Arendt’s Kafka
2: Arendt’s Message of Ill-Tidings
PART TWO: PLACELESS PEOPLE
3: Orwell’s Jews
4: Weil’s Uprooted
5: Beckett’s Expelled
PART THREE: SANDS OF SORROW
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 Sharon Stone: Zionism and American Jewry (pamphlet, ca. 1975)

(Sir) Ronald Storrs (Military Governor of Jerusalem, 1917-1926)
Orientations (Nicholson & Watson, 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)

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.

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

*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.

Sandy Sufian & Mark LeVine, editors


Antony Thrall Sullivan
Palestinian Universities under Occupation  (American University in Cairo Press, 1988)

Sunday Times Insight Team
Israel and Torture: A Special Investigation  (Sunday Times / Arab Dawn, 34 pages, 1978)

Tariq M. Suwaidan

Lewis Mark Suzman

Ted Swedenburg (American University in Cairo)
as co-editor, with Smadar Lavie (University of California at Davis): Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity  (Duke University Press, 1996)


Marcelo Svirsky (University of Wollongong, Australia) – See also online work by his 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 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."

Barbara Swirski
with Yael Hasson: Invisible Citizens: Israel Government Policy Toward the Negev Bedouin (Tel-Aviv: Adva Center, 2006) Translated by Ruth Morris
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)

Lina Mikdadi Tabbara
Survival in Beirut: A Diary of Civil War -translated from French by Nadia Hijab (Onyx Press, 1979)

Mala Tabory

Simon Taggart
Workers in Struggle: Palestinian Trade Unions in the Occupied West Bank (Editpride, 79pp, 1985)

Lex Takkenberg (UNRWA officer since 1989)
The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law (Clarendon Press, 1998)

Alon Tal (Arava Institute for Environmental Studies, Israel)
Pollution in a Promised Land: An Environmental History of Israel (University of California Press, 2002)

Hassan Bin Talal (HRH El Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan)
Christianity in the Arab World – with foreword by HRH The Prince of Wales (SCM Press, 1998)
Search for Peace: The Politics of the Middle Ground in the East (Macmillan, 1984)
A Study of Jerusalem (publisher unconfirmed, 1979)
Ghada Hashem Talhani
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.”

Azzam Tamimi

Salim Tamari
*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.

as editor: *Jerusalem 1948 : The Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War* (Jerusalem : Institute of Jerusalem Studies / Badil Resource Centre for
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)
See also: Khalil Nakhleh

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.”

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)
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, 1961; 28pp pamphlet)
Towards a Better Understanding between the Arab World and the United States (New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1960; 14pp pamphlet)
Tension and Peace in the Middle East...an Account of the Tragedy of the Holy Land (New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1957; 40pp pamphlet)
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, 1956; 24pp pamphlet)
Professor Guillaume (possibly with Izzat Tannous’ involvement): Zionism and the Bible (New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1956; 6pp pamphlet)
The Christian West and the Arab World (New York City: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1952; 12pp pamphlet)
Palestine – The Way to Peace (London: The Arab Centre, 12pp pamphlet, ca. 1939)
**Jamie Tarabay** (international news journalist in Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Israel, the Occupied West Bank, Gaza, Iraq, and Cairo)

**Gadi Taub**

**Raymonda Hawa Tawil** (Palestinian publisher, journalist and poet, aka Tawil Hawa, Yasser Arafat’s mother-in-law)

**Alan Ros Taylor**
*The Zionist Mind: The Origins and Development of Zionist Thought* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973)

**Jim Taylor**
*Pearl Harbour II: The True Story of the Sneak Attack by Israel on the USS Liberty, June 8, 1967* (Regency Press, 1980)

**Roselle Tekiner, Samir Abed-Rabbo & Norton Mezvinsky**, editors

**Janice Terry** (Eastern Michigan University)
*William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI-WWII* (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.”

Mark A. Tessler
_A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict_ (Indiana University Press, 2009) 1040pp. – See also Ann Mosely Lesch and Robert O. Freedman
_Arabs in Israel_ (Hanover, New Hampshire : American Universities Field Staff, 25 pages, 1980)

Sybilla G. Thicknesse
_Arab Refugees : A Survey of Resettlement Possibilities_ (Royal Institute for International Affairs [aka Chatham House, today], 1949)

Elizabeth Thompson (University of Virginia)

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

Merle Thorpe, Jr.

Abdul Latif Tibawi

Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine: A Study of Three Decades of British Administration (Luzac & Co, 1956)

Virginia Tilley
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, 2005)

Edward Tivnan
The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy (Simon & Schuster, 1987)

Seth Tobocman (Jewish-American from Cleveland)


Sandy Tolin
The Lemon Tree: An Arab, a Jew, and the Heart of the Middle East (Bloomsbury, 2007)

Jason Tomes

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)

Jamil I. Toubbeh

Patricia Toye & Angela Seay, editors
Israel: Boundary Disputes with Arab neighbours, 1946-1964 (Slough: Archive Editions, 1995)

Patricia Toye, editor

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)

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

Harry S. Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace [sic] (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) :
Yehoshua Ben-Arieh : *Trilateral Land Exchange between Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Egypt – A Solution for Promoting Peace between Israel and the PA* (2004)
Hayiel Hino : *The Effects of Economic and Social-Cultural Factors on Retail Modernization – The Case of the Arab-Israeli Community* (2007)
Jacob M. Landau : *The “Young Turks” and Zionism – Some Comments* (ca. 1980s)
Leah Tsemel & Ingrid Gassner-Jaradat

see also Ingrid Gassner Jaradat

Barbara Tuchman
*Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* (New York University Press, 1956 / later editions via Macmillan, Phoenix)

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* (translated by Olive E. Kenny (autobiography) & Naomi Shihab Nye (poetry); edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi; Women’s Press / St Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 1990)” “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

Leslie A. Turnberg (Lord Turnberg, gastroenterologist)
*Beyond the Balfour Declaration: The 100-Year for Isareli-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

Mark Twain
*Innocents Abroad* (numerous editions, since 1869). Intendedly humorous travelogue that was taken out of context by Zionists to show no Arab society 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

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 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)


[UNRWA] Issam Nassar & Rasha Salti, editors: I Would Have Smiles – 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 (Palestine Return Centre, 2009)

The European Commission and UNRWA: Improving the Lives of Palestine Refugees (UNRWA, 2007)

[UNRWA] 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 Around the Clock (Gaza: UNRWA, 1998)


UNRWA (Vienna International Centre / UNRWA, ca. 1985)


[UNRWA] Health for Palestine Refugees ~ Two Decades of World Concern (Beirut: UNRWA, 1972)

UNRWA/UNESCO Educational Services for Palestine Refugees (UNWRA, ca. 1971)


[UNRWA] Twice in a Lifetime (UNRWA, 1968)


UNRWA Reviews : A Background Information Series, (Beirut: UNRWA, 1950-1962)

UNRWA in Pictures (Beirut, UNRWA, ca. 1958)


United Nations – There are countless UN publications, both under the UNRWA and the larger body, such as:

- Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question (21 pages, in English and French, 29 November 1947)
- The Arab Refugee Problem and How it Can be Solved : Proposals Submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, December, 1951 (1951)
- Statistical Summary for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (Beirut : UNRWA, 1958)
- UNRWA Reviews : A Background Information Series – at least five volumes (Beirut: UNRWA. December 1948-December 1962)
- The Right of Return of the Palestinian People (1979), and much of this material would be available via the British Library.

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.

Graham Usher (foreign correspondent, married to BBC Middle East/UN correspondent Barbara Plett Usher) 
Dispatches from Palestine : The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process (Pluto Press, 1999)
Palestine in Crisis : The Struggle for Peace and Independence after Oslo (Pluto Press, 1995)

Campaign to Free Morachai Vanunu
Voices for Vanunu – Papers from the International Conference, Tel Aviv, October 1997 [symposium, tangential to Palestine] (London : CFMV, 1997) 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 Yaroshinshkaya, Dr Yehuda Melzer, Thomas B. Cochran, Dr Amzi Bishara, Patti Browning, Rabby Philip Bentley, Marwan Darweish, Avigdor Feldman.

Pierre Van Paassen (Dutch-Canadian-American journalist; influential early non-Jewish Zionist)
Jerusalem Calling! (New York City : Dial Press, 1950)
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
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.”

Lorenzo Veracini (Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne; Editor of the journal Settler Colonial Studies)
The Settler Colonial Present (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
Settler Colonialism : A Theoretical Overview (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
Israel and Settler Society (Pluto Press, 2006)

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."


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)


Bertha Spafford Vester


P.J. (Panayiotis Jarasimof) Vatikiotis (Born Jerusalem 1928, SOAS)

The Middle East – From End of Empire to the Cold War (Routledge, 1997)


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) 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


A Voice of Reason – Hanan Ashrawi 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.

Milton Viorst


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)

Hilde Hendriksen Waage

Donald E. Wagner
*Anxious for Armageddon: A Call to Partnership for Middle East and Western Christians* – with foreword by Elias Chacour (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1996)
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)

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.

Tim Wallace-Murphy
*Genesis of a Tragedy: A Brief History of the Palestinian People* (Grave Distractions Publications, 2017)

John & Janet Wallach

Archie (Archibald) G. Walls
Archibald (Archie) G. Walls & Amal Abul-Hajj

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.

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)

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.

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
Days and Nights in the Old City: Sketches of Arab Life in Jerusalem (Tel Aviv: Olympia, ca. 1946)
What the Palestinians Say (Jerusalem: author, 1974)
Israel’s Arabs at a Turning Point (Jerusalem: author, 1974)
Israel’s Presence in East Jerusalem (Jerusalem: author, 157 pages, 1973)
Arabs and Israelis: A Life Together (Jerusalem: author, 1973)
Life under Israel Occupation (Jerusalem: author, 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)

Nathan Weinstock
Zionism: False Messiah (translated from the French by Alan Adler (Paris: François Maspero, 1969; Ink Link, 1979, contains interview with Moshe Machover; Pluto 1987). 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**


**David Weisburd** (criminologist)


**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.”

Abraham [Abie] Weizfeld

Stephan E.C. Wendehorst
*British Jewry, Zionism, and the Jewish State, 1936-1956* (Oxford University Press, 2012) Includes, as Thomas Suarez notes, the Hagana’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.”

David A Wesley


West Bank Data Project – David Grossman : *The Jewish and Arab Settlements in the Tulkarm Sub-District* (Jerusalem, 1985)


West Bank Data Project – Michael Romann : *Jewish Kiriyat Arba versus Hebron* (Jerusalem Post, 1986)

Brian Whitaker (extensively-travelled former *Guardian* Middle East journalist)

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*)


Let Us Be Free: A Narrative Before and During the Intifada (Clifton, New Jersey: Kingston Press, 1989)

Keith W. Wightlam
The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History (Routledge, 1997)

Suzy Wighton
One Day at a Time: Diaries from a Palestinian Camp [Beirut] (Hutchinson, 1990)

Paul Wilkinson, editor

Ian Williams

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).

Rachel Beckles Willson (Royal Holloway historian and player-researcher of the oud)
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

Major RD (Ronald Dare) Wilson (Royal Northumberland Fusiliers)

Rodney Wilson
The Palestinian Economy and International Trade (University of Durham Centre for Middle eastern and Islamic Studies, 1994)

Helen Winternitz

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? RAF 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, 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 biggotry.

**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


**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**


**Martin Wright**, editor

*Israel and the Palestinians* (contributors include Paul Cossali; Longmans, 1989)

**Ehud Ya’ari** [state-run Channel 1 TV] and Zeev Schiff
Israel’s Lebanon War – wit (Simon & Schuster, 1984) – edited and translated by Ina Friedman

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)
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.”

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 Yafaat Weiss 2. A Tale of Two Houses – Mahmoud Yazbak and Yafaat 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

“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

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)


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].

Dov Yermiya (aka Dov Irmiya)


Oren Yiftachel


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.

Ronen J. Young

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)

A.B. Zahlan, editor (American University of Beirut)
*The Reconstruction of Palestine* (Kegan Paul International, 726 pages, 1997) Compendium volume with focused areas of institutional planning and housing policies; land use and tenure; building codes.
*Zenobia between Reality and Legend : A Rexamination 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
*A Beggar at Damascus Gate* (Sausalito, Calif. : Post-Apollo Press, c1995)
*Thoughts on Arab Education with Relevance to English Secondary Education* (Institute of Education, University of London, 1954)
See also : FICTION

Dov S. Zakheim
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
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.”

Isaac Zarr

Beirut : al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations – various publications with authors and editors including Firas Abu Hilal, Hasan Ibhaiis, Mariam Itani, Ahmad el-Helah, Salma al-Houry, Sami al-Salahat, Muhammad Arif Zakaullah, Mohsen M. Mohammed Saleh & Ishtaiq Hossain:
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

Sydney H Zebal
Balfour : A Political Biography (Cambridge University Press, 1973)

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
*Israel’s Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood* – Translated by Chaya Galai (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

*From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel* (University of California Press, 1998)

**Idith Zertal & Akiva Eldar**


**Stephen E. Zipperstein** (UCLA, Tel-Aviv Law School, former US Federal prosecutor)

*Law and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Trials of Palestine* (Routledge, 2020)

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.”

**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, 2010)

*What Arabs Think: Values, Beliefs, and Concerns* (Zogby International, 2002)

*Palestinians, the Invisible Victims* (American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; co-founder of the Arab American Institute; 1981, 2018). Notes the difference between political, intellectual, and religious Zionism.


See also: Jane Hunter

**Zochrot** (Israeli anti-occupation tour group highlighting 1948 Nakba sites) / co-authors: **Tomer Gardi, Umar al-Ghubari, Noga Kadman, Aviv gros-alan**

*Once Upon a Land* [Omrim Yeshna Eretz] (Zochrot/Sediq : A Journal of the Nakba That is Here, 509 pages, 2012) Guide offering 18 tours in Palestinian neighbourhoods and villages that were ethnically cleansed in the Nakba. English content unknown. See also: Yifat Gutman

**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]


Constantine K. Zurayk
The Meaning of the Disaster (1948 / 1956 translation by Richard Bayly Winder; Beirut: Khayat’s College Book Cooperative) Ronit Lentin: “an early theorisation of the conquest of Palestine in settler colonial terms.” Note: no known copies in UK university libraries or the British Library.

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, David Lyon & Yasmeen abu-Laban, editors: Surveillance and Control in Palestine/Israel: Population, Territory & Power (Routledge, 2010-

*The Palestinians in Israel : A Study in Internal Colonialism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979)

**Ronald W. Zweig**


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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
- see also illustrations used in Nassar Ibrahim and Dr Majed Nassar : *Small Dreams – 14 Short Stories from Palestine* (Ramallah : Bailason Design, 2003)

Farah Aboubakr
The Folktales of Palestine: Cultural Identity, Memory and the Politics of Storytelling (IB Tauris, 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.”

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. 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. (San Francisco: McSweeney’s, 24pp, 2004) Transcript adapted into small comic book format.

Aida Refugee Camp
The Boy and the Wall (Aida Refugee Camp Lajee Centre, 2016) Bilingual book by children at the camp.


Ziva Amir
Arabesque: Decorative Needlework from the Holy Land (Van Nostrand Reinhold / Israel: Masada Press, 1977)

Suad Amiry
Traditional Floor Tiles in Palestine (Ramallah: RIWAQ Centre for Architectural History, 2000)

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).

Gannit Ankori (Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

Peter F. [Frederick] Anson

Marcus Armstrong
Palestine – Black and White [photographs] (Milton Keynes: Blue on Blue, 2014)

Iasmin Omar Ata
Mis(h)adra (Simon & Schuster, 2017) Graphic novel merging Palestinians with non-Palestinians who have disabilities, in this case, Epilepsy.

Türkkaya Ataöv
The Independent Personality of the Palestinians Through Their Arts (International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 16pp pamphlet, 1981)
See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section.

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

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.

Ariella Azoulay
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.”

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.


-see also Azoulay in PALESTINE HISTORY.

**Itab Azzam & Dina Mousawi**

*Syria: Recipes from Home* (Trapeze, 2017) Authors’ research includes work with Syrian refugee women in Lebanon.

**Anna Ball** (Nottingham Trent University)

*Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective* (Routledge, 2012)

**Fred Berk**, editor


*Waiting for the Barbarians: A Tribute to Eric Said* (Verso, 2008)

**Golbarg Bashi**


**Bluecoat Gallery** (Liverpool)

*I Exist (In Some Way)* (Bluecoat Gallery, Liverpool, 2013) Includes Palestinian photographers.

**Kamal Boullata**

*Palestinian Art 1850-to the Present* (London: Saqi aka Al Saqi Books, 2009) see: Steve Sabella

**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.

**Martin Bunton**


**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.

Catalogue: 5th Craftsman and Designer exhibition, Oxford (Oxford University, 1956)
Includes Violet Barbour: Muslim Embroideries / Grace Crowfoot: The Embroidery of Ramallah /

Elena Cheah

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)
Note also handicrafts and related in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.

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.

Ilan Danjoux (Hebrew University Jerusalem)
Political Cartoons and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Manchester University Press, 2015) Research based on 1,200 political cartoons ~ 125 of them included in this book.

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]

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’).

Samih K. Farsoun
Culture and Customs of the Palestinians (Greenwood Press, 2004)

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.”

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;

Shimon Gibson
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.”

Sarah Graham-Brown

Hilma [Natalia] Granqvist [1890-1972]
*Muslim Death and Burial* (Helsinki, 1965)
*Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: A Study of a Muhammadan Village in Palestine* (Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1947)

Mia Gröndahl
*Gaza Graffiti: Messages of Love and Politics* (Thames & Hudson, 2013) - with Gösta Flemming
*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
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.

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.”


*Mona Hatoum* (Internationally known Palestinian artist born in Lebanon); Numerous exhibition catalogues, such as:

*You are Still Here / Hâlâ buradasın* (Istanbul: Arter, 2012)

*Mona Hatoum: The Entire World is a Foreign Land* (Tate Gallery, 2000)


*Mona Hatoum* (Centre Georges Pompidou, 1994)

Jennifer Heath (editor)

Rachel S. Harris & Ranen Omer-Sherman, editors.
*Narratives of Dissent: War in Contemporary Israeli Arts and Culture* (Wayne State University Press, 2013)

Robert Hillenbrand (University of Edinburgh)

Adina Hoffman
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

Jabra Ibrahim Jabra
A Celebration of Life : Essays on Literature and Art (Baghdad : Dar Al-Ma’mun, 1989)

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.

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

**Wasif Jawhariyyeh**  
*Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904-1948* – translated and edited by Salim Tamari, Issam Nassar, and Nada ElZeer, with foreword by Rachel Beckles Willson. (Northampton, Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2014) 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.

**Nazmi al-Jubeh**, editor  

**Joudie Kalla**, with photography by Ria Osbourne  
*Baladi Palestine: A Celebration of Food from Land and Sea* (Interlink Publications, 2018) 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 kamun (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 makhlobeh (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, 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

Widad Kamel Kawar
Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage (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.

Margarita Skinner
The Journeys of Motifs : From Orient to Occident (Rimal Books, 2018)

Widad Kamel Kawar, Tania Tamari Nasir, Assali Dajani, Hala Tomeh Ibrahim & Farideh Saleh Mayer
**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**  
*The Palestinian Table* (Phaidon Press, 2017) 150 recipes, noting regional preferences within Palestine.

**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.

**Mazen Kerbaj**  

**Tex Kerschen**  

**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.

**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 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.

**Yasmin Khan**  
*Zaitoun: Recipes and Stories from the Palestinian Kitchen* (Bloomsbury, 2018)

**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 Baedeker’s Travel Guides."

**Lina Khatib** (SOAS / Head Middle East analyst, Chatham House)
*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)

**Khalid Kishtainy**
*Arab Political Humour* (Quartet Books, 1985) Some coverage of post-Naksa sentiments in the region. See also OLDER PALESTINIAN HISTORY section.

**Kent Klich** (photographer)
*Black Friday* (Kehrer Verlag, 2015) Subjects: Salah al-Din, Oroba, Deir Yassin and Al Najaar

**Zia Krohn & Joyce Lagerweij**
*Concrete Messages: Street Art on the Israeli-Palestinian Separation Barrier* (Stockholm: Dokument; London: Turnaround [distributor], 2010)

**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 junctures 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.”
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, 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* (ElSabbar 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)  
-See also: Faten Nastas Mitwasi

**Samar Martha** (curator) & **Nicola Gray**, editors  
*The Other Shadow of the City* (London: ArtSchool Palestine/Platform for Contemporary Arts, 2010)

**Rania Matar** (photography), **Anthony Shadid** (text), and **Lisa Majaj** (poetry)  
*Ordinary Lives* (WW Norton, 2009)  
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.”

Sonja Mejcher-Atassi

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.”

Salwa Mikdadi (New York University at Abu Dhabi; curator for the first Palestinian Pavilion at the Venice Biennial, 2009)

co-editor, with Hossein Amirsadeghi & Nada Shabout : *Newvision – Arab Contemporary Art in the 21st Century* (Thames & Hudson, 2009)


Faten Nastas Mitwasi


*Sliman Mansour* (Michael Imhof Verlag, 2008) – bilingual, German & English.

Hanan Karaman Munayyer (co-founder and President of the Palestinian Heritage Foundation)

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)

Bahaa Ed-Din Ossama

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.

William Parry
*Against the Wall: The Art of Resistance in Palestine* (Pluto Press, 2010)

People’s Museum, Birzeit
*People’s Museum Birzeit* (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.

Charles Pocock, Samar Faruqi, & Noura Haggag, editors

Elizabeth Price
*Embroidering a Life: Palestinian Women and Embroidery* (Jerusalem: Sunbula / Palestine Heritage Center, 1999, 48 pages) Interviews with twenty women from the West Bank, Gaza, and a Bedouin community in the Negev.

Ali Qleibo
Hani Raheb

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)

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)

Mohammad Sabaaneh

Steve Sabella (Jerusalem-born, Berlin-residing Palestinian artist-photographer)
*Archaeology of the Future* (Maretti Editore, 2014)

Joe Sacco
*Footnotes in Gaza* (Jonathan Cape, 2009)
see also: Naji al-Ali

Elias Sanbar

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.

Dr. Nabil Sha’ath & Hasna Reda Mekdashi Palestine Stamps, 1865-1981 (Rimal Books, 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.”

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 Oddesey* (Al Ekbal, 2000)


*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, 1972)

**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.”

**Magid Shihade**

*Not Just a Soccer Game: Colonialism and Conflict among Palestinians in Israel* (Syracuse University Press, 2011)

**Nadia R. Sirhan** (PhD, SOAS)

*Reporting the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Linguistic Analysis of British Newspapers* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) 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.

**Margaret Skinner & Widad Kamel Kawar**


**Olivia Snaije & Mitchell Albert**


**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 tangential relevance; several short pieces are written by Palestinians: *Suad Amirym, Raja Sehahadeh, & Ghasan 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 Pappé, Rebecca L. Stein, Ted Swedenburg & Salim Tamari
Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Popular Culture (Duke University Press, 2005)

Yedida 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.”

Sami Tamimi & Tara Wigley

Sami Tamimi & Yotam Ottolenghi

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)

Larry Towell


Eli Valley

Gabriel Varghese  (Kenyenb Institute/Council for British Research in the Levant, East Jerusalem)  
Palestinian Theatre in the West Bank  (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020)  Focus on post-1990 theatre.

Annelys De Vet

Archie (Archibald) G. Walls
Archibald (Archie) G. Walls & Amal Abul-Hajj

Shelagh Weir  (The British Museum)
Palestinian Costume  (British Museum, 1989 / 1990; Interlink Publications, 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.

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)

Rachel Beckles Willson  
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

Nadia Yaqub (University of North Carolina)  
Palestinian Cinema in the Days of Revolution (University of Texas Press, 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.”

Palestine Fiction
Leila Abdelrazaq
*Baddawi* (Charlottesville, 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*

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

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
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.”
In Steven Salaita, editor: Modern Arab American Fiction – A Reader’s Guide (Syracuse University Press, 2011)

Wadji Al-Ahdal (Yemini novelist, screenwriter – Literature degree from Sanaa University)
A Land without Jasmine (translated by William N. Hutchins, Garnet Publishing, 2012) 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.

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.”

**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) See also: POETRY

**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*, translated by Kay Heikkinen (American University in Cairo Press, 2013, 2018) 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* -translated by Barbara Romaine (Bloomsbury Qatar, 2013)
*Spectres*, – translated by Barbara Romaine (Arabia, 2010)

**Gharib Asqalani, Huzama Habayeb, Akram Haniyya & Mahmoud Shukair**, edited and translated by **Jamal Assadi**
Jamal Assadi (Sakhnin College) and Saif Abu Saleh (An-Najah University), both authors and translators


Majed Atef [Ramallah & Jerusalem]


Laila al-Atrash [Jordan]


—as Leila al-Atrash:

*A Woman of Five Seasons* – translated by Nora Nweihid Halwani and Christopher Tingley (Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 1990 / 2002). 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 fulfillment. 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*.

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
Salt Houses (Windmill Books, 2018) Novel spanning 50 years. See also POETRY

Ibtisam Azem [novelist, NYC television journalist]
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 neighbors 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 neighbor, 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 Azaam [Jaffa, now West Bank]
Her Tale Short stories : Time and Humanity and Feast from the Western Window.

Fadhil Al-Azzawi
The Traveller and the Innkeeper (translated by William M. Hutchins; American University in Cairo Press, 2011)
Cell Block Five (novel on political prisoners in Iraq; Arabia Press, 2008)
The Last of the Angels (translated by William M. Hutchins; American University in Cairo Press, 2007)

Liana Badr
Balcony over the Fakihani (translated by Peter Clark with Christopher Tingley, Interlink Books, 2002) “These novellas effectively represent war and suffering from the point of view of disenfranchised peoples, both Beiruts 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)


**Halim Isber Barakat** (renowned Syrian-Lebanese sociologist-novelist, from American University Beirut, the University of Texas, and Harvard University)


**Hoda Barakat** (novelist with a focus on the Lebanese civil war – now living in Paris)

*Disciples of Passion* (Syracuse University Press, 2005)

*The Tiller of Waters* (translated by Marilyn Booth; American University in Cairo Press, 2001)

*The Stone of Laughter* (translated by Sophie Bennett, Interlink Books, 1995) Set during the Lebanese civil war and insightful regarding the urban civilian population’s behaviour 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)
Note: other pieces and interviews in issues of periodicals: *Wasafiri, Modern Poetry in Translation*, and *Bookbird*. See also: BIOGRAPHY and OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY sections.

**Eyad Barghuthy** [Acre resident]
*A Fateful Meal*, short story translated by **John Peate**, in *Banipal* 45.

**Eileen G. Baron**

**Raji Bathish** [poet + five collections of short stories, not in English]
*Nakba Lite*, short story translated by **Suneela Mubayi**, in *Banipal* 45 (2012)

**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**

**Issa J Boulatta**
*A Retired Gentleman and Other Stories* (Banipal Publications, 2007) Issa J Boulatta’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 Boulatta regales his readers with a collection of tales that looks resolutely and quietly at life’s hopes, dreams and loves. Issa J Boulatta 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 Boulatta’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** (Tamun/Jenin/Ramallah writer-broadcaster)
**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 emphasizing Arab Jewish heritage.

**Miriam Cooke** (Duke University)  
*Hayati, My Life* (Syracuse University Press, 2015)  
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.”

**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* [stage play based on the activist’s diaries; Corrie 1979-2003] Edited by Alan Rickman and Katharine Viner (Nick Hern Press, 2005)

**Selma Dabbagh**  
*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.

**Susan Muaddi Darraj** (Harford Community College, Maryland & Johns Hopkins University)  
*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?”


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-declared “lowly prison guard” whose real love is boozin’, 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.”

Susan Muaddi Durraj

Fadia Faqir [Amman born, in 1980s at the University of East Anglia; lectured at Durham University]
Willow Trees Don’t Weep (Heron, 2014)
Cry of the Dove (Grove Press / Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007)
My Name is Salma (Doubleday, 2007)
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’).

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: NewSouth 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
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.

terrorist thriller.

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 Ruhia 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: Ruhia 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 Ruhia’s deed.” —Publishers Weekly. Ruhia 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. Ruhia 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 fulfillment, be it earthy or otherwise.” —The National. See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY.

David Grossman
*To the End of the Land* (Jonathan Cape, 2010) Israeli epic novel includes power relations between Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

Emile Habiby
*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* (translated by Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Trevor LeGassick, Interlink Books, 2001 / Zed Books, 1985 + other editions). 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.”

**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**  
*The Parisian* (Jonathan Cape, 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.”

**Barbara Harlow**  

**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.

**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 – with introduction by Jeff Halper (Dublin: OtherWorld / O’Brien Press, 2007)

Mischa Hiller [Cambridge]

Sabra Zoo (Sabra & Beirut-set, Telegram Books, 2010) A young Palestinian man’s right of passage, to see if he’s up to the struggle.

Shake Off (Telegram Books/Mulholland Books, 288pp, 2011, 2013) 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, published in Banipal 23 (2005)

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 (illustrations by Naji al-Alix; Ramallah : Bailasan Design, 2003)
see also : Palestine History Today

Sonallah Ibrahim [The Egyptian ‘Franz Kafka’]
The Smell of It, and other stories (translated by Denys Johnson-Davies, 1978)

Jabra Ibrahim Jabra
The Journals of Sarab Affan : A Novel -translated by Shassan Nasr (Syracuse University Press, 2007)
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)
see also OLDER PALESTINE 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).

Randa Jarrar (b.Chicago, Kuwait, Egypt, Texas)
A Map of Home (New York, Other Press, 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)
Ghassan Kanafani (b. 1936 in Akka [Acre], exiled in 1948, later a politically active journalist in Beirut during the 1960s. Killed in the explosion of his booby-trapped car in July 1972. Note: his complete works in Arabic were published as a 17-book set by Rimal Publications in 2014.

All That’s Left to You – A Novella and other stories (translated by May Jayyusi & Jeremy Reed; intro. by Roger Allen; Interlink Publications, 2004) 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.


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)

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; see also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY and relevant chapters in books by Barbara Harlow and Bashir Abu Manneh.

_Sayed Kashua_ (Palestinian-Israeli author, contributor to Ha’aretz and writer of Israeli television sitcom, Arab Labor, now in USA) 
_Exposure_ (translated from Hebrew by Mitch Ginsburg) (Chatto & Windus, 2013)
_Let it be Morning_ (translated from Hebrew by Miriam Shlesinger; Atlantic Books, 2006/7)


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.


Sahar Khalifeh (Nablus native, on faculty of University of Florida, resides in Amman) Author who recognises the resentment by migrant workers of the Palestinian elite.

The End of Spring (translated by Paula Haydar, Interlink Books, 2008) 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 (translated by Aida Bamia; Cairo : American University in Cairo Press, 2007) 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 (Translated by Trevor LeGassick & Elizabeth Fernea, Saqi Books, 2005) 1970s classic 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.

**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.”

**Chaker Khazaal** (New York City writer)


**Elias Khourey**

*My Name is Adam: Children of the Ghetto, Volume 1* – translated by **Humphrey Davies** (MacLehose Press, 2018) Publisher’s blurb: “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.


*As Though She Were Sleeping* – translated by **Humphrey Davies** (MacLehose Press, 2011) – 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.”

*The Kingdom of Strangers* – translated by **Paula Haydar** (University of Arkansas Press, 2009) 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”), author of Besieged (1991).

Yalo - translated by Humphry Davies (MacLehose, 2009) Translator’s observation: “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.”

Gate of the Sun - translated by Humphry Davies (Seven Stories 2003 / Harvill Secker, 2005 / Vintage 2006) Translator’s observation: “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.”


Little Mountain – translated by Maia Tabet with foreword by Edward Said (Carcanet, 1989)

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.

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.
A Little Piece of Ground (Macmillan Childrens, 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.”

Raba’i al-Madhoun
“Destinies: Concerto of the Holocaust and Nakba” (Soon to be published in English – won the International Prize for Arab Fiction, April 2016)
The Lady from Tel Aviv (translated by Elliott Colla, Telegram Books/Al-Saqi, 2013) 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

Lisa Suhair Majaj
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)
see also POETRY section.

Manar H. Makhoul
Palestinian Citizens in Israel: A History through Fiction, 1948-2010 (Edinburgh University Press, 2020) Publisher’s description: “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 “This book uses the methodology of sociology and literary studies to come to terms with the reality of Palestinian citizens of Israel across several generations. It explores the evolution of Palestinian identity from one that struggled for independence and self-determination up to 1948, to one that now presses the call for civil rights and civic equality. What were the forces that shaped this transformation over six decades?”

Bashir Abu-Manneh
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.”

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 [the first and for many decades the ONLY novel about the Nakba written in English] (Hutchinson, 255pp, 1963)
Note: further 1960s Middle East-focused books are both fiction and politically lensed ‘travel’ books, with further inclusion of the Palestinian camps’ way of life, with the word 'squalid' frequently employed.

Elham Mansour
I Am You : A Novel on Lesbian Desire in the Middle East (translated by Samar Habib, unknown Palestinian relevance; Cambria Press, 2008)

Ahmed Masoud (author, playwright, founder of the Zaytouna Dance Theatre)
The Shroud Maker (Oberon Books, 2018) Stage drama. Publisher’s blurb: “Hajja Souad, and 8-year-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.”

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.

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

Birds of Amber, translated by Farouk Abdel Waheb – (Suez War setting, American University in Cairo Press/Bloomsbury, 2005)

No One Sleeps in Alexandria Translated by Farouk Abdel Waheb (Muslim-Copt relationships, American University in Cairo Press, 354pp, 1999, 2006)
The Other Place Translated by Farouk Abdel Waheb (Gulf workers theme, American University in Cairo Press, 1997)

Faysal Mikdadi
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. see also POETRY section.

Mona N. Mikhail
Seen and Heard : A Century of Arab Women in Literature and Culture (Northampton, Massachusetts ; Interlink, 2002). 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.

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: Speak, Bird, Speak Again: Palestinian Arab Folktales (University of California Press, 1989)

Abdelrahman Munif
Cities of Salt (translated by Peter Theroux: Jonathan Cape, 1988 / Vintage, 1994) 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 bedouin 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 bedouin 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.

Akram Musallam

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]

**Hamida Na’na** (Syria-born philosopher, journalist, with UNESCO 1974-1977)

**Tamara Naser** [Palestinian from Toronto]

**Amjed Nasser**
*Land of No Rain* (Bloomsbury Qatar, 2014) Former political exile returns to country ruled by military.

**Ibrahim Nasrallah** (Palestinian author-poet-teacher-journalist-translator-painter...)
*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, 2014)
*A Time of White Horses* (Zaman al-khilib al-biضاء / ابراهيم نصر الله) 2007 / translated by Nancy Roberts (American University in Cairo Press, 634pp, 2012 / Hoopoe, 2016) 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.


*Inside the Night*, translated by Bakr R. Abbas, American University Press in Cairo, 176pp, 2007 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.”

**Naomi Shihab Nye** (Palestinian, now in San Antonio, Texas)  
*Local Hospitality*  
*You & Yours* (2005)  
*Time You Let Me In : 25 Poets under 25* (Greenwillow, 2010)  
*Going Going* (Greenwillow, 2005)  
*19 Varities of Gazelle, Poems of the Middle East* (Greenwillow, 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*  
*Red Suitcase* (poetry, BOA Editions, 1994)  
*Words under the Words*  
*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)  
….other non-Palestinian children’s books.

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)  

**Lipika Pelham** (Bangladesh international journalist and filmmaker, also with the BBC World Service)  
*The Unlikely Settler* (Other Press, 2014) One-state 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
Ayesha Ryder detective series (featuring a Palestinian-British academic historian as investigator):
*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 the 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 labeled 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.”

Ahmad Rasmi Qabaha (An-Najah University)
*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."

**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.

**Gila Ramras-Rauch**


**Matt Rees**

The ‘Omar Yussef’ mystery series: (featuring a school teacher-sleuth who solves murders while dodging both the guilty parties and the PA)

**Kamal Ruhayyim**

*Diary of a Jewish Muslim* (translated by Sarah Enany; American University in Cairo Press, 2014) Identity drama, set 1930s-1960s.

*Days in the Diaspora* (translated by Sarah Enany; American University in Cairo Press, 2012) Jewish Egyptian’s exile to Paris in the 1960s.

**Etar Rum** (Palestinian-American teacher)


**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**


Tayyeb Saleh
Season of Migration to the North (translated by Denys Johnson-Davies; Heinemann, 1969 / Penguin 2003) 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

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. Layla uncovers the unholiest of secrets on her path to redemption and discovers the truth of her family’s history.”

Yitzhak Shami

Anton Shammas
Arabesques (Viking, 1988) translated from Hebrew by Vivian Eden.
Hanan al-Shaykh  
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  
*Touch* (Translated from the Arabic by Paula Haydar, Clockroot / Interlink, 2010) 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* Translated from the Arabic by Paul Starkey; Northampton, Massachusetts : Interlink, 2004) “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.

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 lighthearted, *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* (Interlink Publications, 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 enthralls, 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)

*In the Eye of the Sun* (Bloomsbury, 1999) – Egypt focus but includes Palestine.

**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.

**Lilas Taha**  
*Bitter Almonds* (Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation, 2016) Set in refugee community in Damascus.

**Mohammad Ali Taha**  

**Basima Takrouni** (b. Jerusalem 1982.)  
*Tales from the Azzinar Quarter, 1984-1987*  

**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* (translated by Chip Rossetti) (Bloomsbury/Qatar, 2009, 2011) Author regarded as sci-fi. Some may find this unchallenging, despite the worthy plot of quasi-Israel in Egypt.

**Jonathan Wilson** (Tufts University)  

**Yahya Yakhlif**  
*A Lake Beyond the Wind* –translated by May Jayyusi & Christopher Tingley from the original novel, published Beirut: Dar Al-Adab, 1991 (Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink, 1999, 2003). 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 Pappé.

S. Yizhar (Yizhar Smilansky)  
Khirbet Khizeh (translated by Nicholas de Lange & Yaacob Dweck; 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 (translated by Michele Hartman; Arabia Books, 2010)

Samir el-Youssef  [London author, born in Rashidia camp in Lebanon]

The Illusion of Return  (Halban Books, 2007)

Samir El-Youssef & Etgar Keret  

Yasmine Zahran (archeologist & novelist)  
See also  OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY

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.


*I am Yusuf and This is My Brother* (Methuen Drama, 2010) – 1948 setting.

Short Story Compilations:

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 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)

Muhammad Aurangzeb Ahmad & Ahmed Khan, editors

Refaat Alareer, editor
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: 
Nibal Thawabteh: *My Shoe Size and Other People's Views on the Matter!*

**Salma Khadra Jayyusi**, 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, selections from 2 novels, plus extracts from 6 personal accounts, all in 745 pages.

**Denys Johnson-Davies**, editor

**Hatim Kanaaneh**

**Susan Atefat Peckham**
*Talking Through the Door: An Anthology of Contemporary Middle Eastern American Writing* – with foreword by Lisa Suhair Majaj (Syracuse University Press, 2014)
Atef Abu Saif, editor
*The Book of Gaza* (Comma Press, 2014)

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’.

This anthology brings together some of the pioneers of the Gazan short story from that era, as well as younger exponents of the form, with ten stories that offer glimpses of life in the Strip that go beyond the global media headlines; stories of anxiety, oppression, and violence, but also of resilience and hope, of what it means to be a Palestinian, and how that identity is continually being reforged; stories of ordinary characters struggling to live with dignity in what many have called ‘the largest prison in the world’.

**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 McKea Parmenter
*Giving Voice to Stones : Place and Identity in Palestinian Literature* (University of Texas Press, 1994)

Walid Ikhlassi
*Whatever Happened to Antara, and Other Syrian Short Stories* – translated by Asmahan Sallah (University of Texas Press, 2004)

M.J.L. Young, editor – translation by Michel G. Azrak

Ghassan Zaqtan (born Beit Jala, Director of the Literature section of the Palestinian Ministry of Culture)
*Where the Bird Disappeared* (Seagull Books, 2018)
Palestine Poetry

A sample of the important books - see other lists -

Compiled by Andy Simons
suggestions welcome
palestinebooksnet@gmail.com

Tamim Al-Barghouti
In Jerusalem and other Poems – Poetry from 1996-2016, translated by Radwa Ashour (the poet’s mother) and Ahdaf Soueif (Northampton, Massachusetts : Interlink Publications, 2017)

Susan Abulhawa
My Voice Sought the Wind (Charlottesville, Virginia : Just World Books, 2013)

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)

**Samih Al-Qasim** (Palestinian-Iraqi poet and literary historian)

*All Faces but Mine* (Syracuse University Press, 2015) Translated by *Abdulwahid Lu’lu’a*


**Atef Alshaer** (SOAS Research Fellow and translator; University of Westminster)


*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**

*Four Cities* (Black Lawrence Press, 2015) – Poems ranging from Detroit to Haifa to Tripoli (Lebanon) to Brooklyn


**Anonymous/various**

*They Claim There is No Resistance* (Al Fateh / Palestine National Liberation Movement, 20pp, ca. 1968) – translated by *Sulafa Hijjawi*

**Myriam Antaki**


**Naseer Hasan Aruri** (1934-2015) & **Edmund Ghareeb,** editors


**Fouzi el-Asmar** (Haifa-born; editor of Mapam-owned Arabic weekly *Al Fajer;* eventually exiled to USA)

Jamal Assadi & Simon Jacobs  

Asma’a Azizieh  
She won the A.M. Qattan Foundation’s Young Writer Award in 2010 and published her first collection of poetry ‘Liwa’ in 2011. 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 *Banijpal, no. 45.*

Fouzi Asmar  
*Dreams from a Mattress of Thorns* (Gazelle Publications, 1976)  

Hala Alyan (Palestinian-American clinical psychologist in New York City)  
*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  
See also: FICTION

Fadhil Al-Azzawi  

Clinton Bailey  
See also: OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section for non-poetry regarding Bedouin society.

Mourid Barghouthi  
*Midnight and other Poems* translated by his wife, the Egyptian novelist Radwa Ashour (Todmorden : Arc Publications, 2008)

Iasmin Omar Ata  
*Mis(h)adra* (Simon & Schuster, 2017) Graphic novel merging Palestinians with non-Palestinians who have disabilities, in this case, Epilepsy.

Jehan Bseiso (Doctors without Borders) and Becky Thompson, editors


Reja-e Busailah (Jerusalem Nakba exile, Indiana University)

Mishael Caspi

Helen Constantine & David J. Constantine, editors

Kevin Coval
Mahmoud Darwish (Palestine’s most 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 – translated by Mahmoud Darwish (Hesperus, 2010)

In the Presence of Absence – translated by Sinan Antoon (Archipelago Books, 2011)


Mural and The Dice Player – translated by Rema Hammami & John Berger (Verso, 2009)

The Butterfly’s Burden – translated by Fady Joudah (Bloodaxe, 2007)

A River Dies of Thirst – translated by Catherine Cobham (e-book via Cleveland, Ohio: Overdrive, 2012) Poetic diary from his time in Ramallah, in 2006, when Israel was attacking Lebanon and Gaza.

The Adam of Two Edens (Syracuse University Press, 2015)

And from Stones a State for Lovers Will be Built (PLO Department of Culture, poster illustrated by Naji al Ali, 1985)

Memory of Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982 – translated with an introduction by Ibrahim Muhawi (University of California Press, 1995)

Music of Human Flesh – translated by Denys Johnson-Davies (Heinemann, 1980)


-also: Mahmoud Darwish, Adonis, & Samih al-Qasim

Victims of a Map: A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry (Saqi Books, 2005)

See also OLDER PALESTINE HISTORY section and Najat Rahman, below.

Najwan Darwish

Aidan Andrew Dun
Unholyland: The Rambam (Hesperus Press, 2012)

Sharif Elmusa (University of Cairo, United Nations)

Najwa Kawar Farah
To Palestine with Love (Rimal Books, 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

Ashraf Fayadh (Palestinian-Saudi poet)
Instructions Within (The Operating System, 2016) translated by Mona Kareem.

Khaled Furani
Silencing the Sea : Secular Rhythms of Palestinian Poetry (Stanford University Press, 2012)

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.

Suheir Hammad (born in Jabal Husayn refugee camp in Amman)
breaking poems (New York City : Cypher Books, 2008)
Born Palestinian, Born Black & The Gaza Suite (UpSet Press, 2010)
Born Palestinian, Born Black (Harlem River Press, 1996)
Also note : Drops of This Story (Writers & Readers, 1996), a memoir.

Nathalie Handal (Bethlehem born)
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 co-editor, with Tina Chang: Language for a New Century : Contemporary Poetry from the Middle East, Asia, and Beyond (WW Norton, 2008)

Sulafa Hijjawi
Poetry of Resistance in Occupied Palestine (Baghdad : Directorate of General Culture, 1968)

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

Nahida Izzat aka Nahida Izzat Ghaith (Jerusalem born 1967 exile)
Note Palestine, The True Story, a self-published photo essay book, was also published in 2003; See also: nahidaexiledpalestinian.wordpress.com

Daud Kamal
A Remote Beginning : Poems (Budleigh Sudaltern : Interim Press, c.1985)

Nuh Ibrahim (1910-1938; famous Palestinian resistance poet)
: http://www.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/77928

Salma Khadra Jayyusi, editor
Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature – 52 poets in translation, 14 Palestinian poets writing in English, short stories from 25 authors, extracts from 6 personal accounts, all in 745 pages.

Fady Joudah
Poems in : 80 New Poems (Banipal No. 46, 2013)
The Earth in the Attic (Yale University Press, 2008)
Note: Joudah also translated Mahmoud Darwish : The Butterfly’s Burden (Bloodaxe, 2007) and Ghassan Zaqtan : Like a Straw Bird it Follows Me (Yale University Press, 2012)

Marwan Makhoul published his first book of poetry Ard al-passiflora al-hazinah (Land of the Sad Passiflora) in 2007 with Al-Jamal Publishers. That same year a second edition of the book was published in Haifa and then a third edition in
Cairo in 2012. In 2009 he won the prize of best playwright in the Acre Theatre Festival for his first play.

**Remi Kanazi**

*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.


**Walid Khazendar** (b. Gaza, 1950)


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

**Lisa Suhair Majaj**

*Geographies of Light* (Web del Sol Association, 2009)

see also FICTION section

**Iman Mersel**  
University of Alberta (Edmonton)

*These Are Not Oranges, My Love*, a selection of Mersal’s work translated into English by Khaled Mattawa, (Sheep Meadow Press, 2008); 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.


**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.”

**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.”
Nora Lester Murad (American mother of three Palestinian-American daughters) & Danna Masad (artist and architect from Zeita village and Ramallah)
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.

Ibrahim Nasrallah (see also FICTION)
Rain Inside – Selected Poems Translated by Omnia Amin [Zayed University, Dubai] & Rick London (Curbstone Press, 2009)

Amjad Nasser


Taha Qaraqeh
Palestine Calls (Pilgrim Magazine, 1993)

Ali Qleibo

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)
Samad al-Shaik [Gaza via Saudi Arabia, poet with short stories]
Short story in Qissat (Jo Glanville, ed., Telegraph Press, 2006), plus in Palestinian compilations.

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

Naomi Shehab-Nye
Transfer (BOA Editions, 2011)
You and Yours (BOA Editions, 2005; received the Isabella Gardner Poetry Award)
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)

Lena Khalaf Tuffaha
Fadwa Tuqan


Fawaz Turki

Vacy Vlanza, editor / poetry by Ramzy Baroud, Jehan Bseiso & Samah Sabawi
*I Remember My Name* (Novum Pro, 2016)

Nadia Yaqub (University of North Carolina)

Ghassan Zaqtan (born Beit Jala, Director of the Literature section of the Palestinian Ministry of Culture)
*Like a Straw Bird, it Follows Me – and other Poems* (Yale University Press, 2013) translated by Fady Joudan.

Rafeef Ziadeh
London-based performance poet with no printed publications but an audio CD, *Hadeel*, and is famous for *We Teach Life, Sir*, not on the CD but available on YouTube.

Lorene Zarou Zouzounis (Palestinian-American San Francisco poet)
*Inquire Within : Selected Poems* (San Francisco: University of Mars, 1987)

Liz Hochlead, Henry Bell, Sarah Irving, editors
*A Bird is Not a Stone* (anthology)

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Palestine Biography
Faiha Abdulhadi

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.

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.”

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.

Ibtisam Barakat (Palestinian-American memoirist, educator and poet)

Gabi Baramki
*Peaceful Resistance : Building a Palestinian University under Occupation* (co-founder of Birzeit University) (Pluto Press, 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.

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

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.

Elias Chacour with Alain Michel; Anthony Harvey, editor: Faith Beyond Despair: Building Hope in the Holy Land (Canterbury Press, 2011)

Rajie Cook (Palestinian-American graphic designer, notable for airport and other transport pictograms)

Wadad Makdisi Cortas (Principal of the Ahlijah 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.”

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)

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.”
Fadia Faqir, editor, with translation by Shirley Eber
*In the House of Silence : autobiographical Essays* (Garnet Publishing Arab Women Writers Series, 1998/1999) 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-Man’ (Iraq); Ahlem Mosteghanemi & Zhor Ounissi (Algeria); Hamida Na’Na (Syria); & Aroussia Nalouti (Tunisia).

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)

Laila El-Haddad

Mahdi Abdul Hadi (PASSIA founder and educator)
*The Other Side of the Coin : A Native Palestinian Tells His Story* (PASSIA, 1998)

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)

Ben Hecht
*A Child of the Century* (Simon & Schuster, 1954) The most successful Hollywood screenwriter of his era, who became a Zionist protégé of Peter Bergman (Hillel Kook) and was indisputably responsible for the championing the Zionist cause to
assimilated American Jews and the wider Stateside public via 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); Adina Hoffman: Ben Hecht ~ Fighting Words, Moving Pictures (Yale University Press, 2019)

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 -translated by Issa J. Boullata (University of Arkansas Press, 2005)
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 Reja-e Busailah’s In the Land of My Birth – A Palestinian Boyhood
See also: FICTION

Fay Afaf Kanafani

Ghada Karmi (Palestine-born doctor of medicine, academic and noted author)
Return: A Palestinian Memoir (Verso Books, 2015)
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.

Anbara Salam Khalidi
Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and Activism of Anbara Salam Khalidi (translated by Tarif Khalidi; Pluto Press, 2014)

Felicia Langer
An Age of Stone (Quartet Books, 1988)
These are My Brothers: Israel and the Occupied Territories, Part 2 (Ithaca Press, 1979)

Ofra Yeshua-Lyth (Journalist with Ma’ariv)

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)
Teta, Mother and Me (Saqi Books & WW Norton & Co, 2005 & 2007)
as co-editor with Martin Asser, Shafiq Al-Hout; translated by Hader al-Hout and Laila Othman: My Life in the PLO – The Inside Story of the Palestinian Struggle (Pluto, 2011) 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.

Mike Marqusee
If I am not for Myself: Journey of an Anti-Zionist Jew (Verso, 2008) Focused on the author’s New York family background and how they, typically of Left-leaning American Jews, didn’t twig the disconnect between social justice and 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)
**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.

**Nora Lester Murad**, editor

**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.

**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 traveled 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 With foreword by Alice Walker(Just World Books, 2012) 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.

Eric Rouleau

Truths and Lies in the Middle East : Memoirs of a Veteran Journalist, 1952-2012 (American University in Cairo Press, 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.”

Karl Sabbagh

Britain in Palestine : The Story of British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948 (Skyscraper Publications, 2012) Accompaniment to the SOAS/Brunei Gallery exhibition. Many important illustrations, but reproduced in a compact format. 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


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

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.

Yusif Abdallah Sayigh
(edited by Rosemary Sayigh):

Nabil Sha’ath aka Nabeel Shaath (long-time Palestinian negotiator, Fatah Central Committee)
My Life from Nakba to Revolution (unconfirmed in English, 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.

Raja Shehada (Jaffa-born, Ramallah lawyer and author; founder of human rights organisation, Al-Haq)
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, 2010)
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)
Note: see also the chapter titled Limestone, in Robert McFarlane’s walking travel book, The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot (Hamish Hamilton, 2012)

Faris al-Shidyaq
Leg over Leg (Two Volumes, Translated by Humphrey Davies – travel, UK and France / New York University Press, 2012) 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**

*Does the Land Remember Me? A Memoir of Palestine* (Syracuse University Press, 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.”

**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.

**Richard Stubbs** (the final Press Officer of the British Mandate Government in Palestine, with **Ann Swithenbank**


**Raedi Taha**

*A Single Metre – Ali, a biog of her father Ali Taha* (2002); short stories also.

**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**

Fadwa Tuqan
_A Mountainous Journey : An Autobiography_ translated by Olive Kenny / with poetry translated by Naomi Shihab Nye; editor Salma Khadra Jayyusi (London : Women’s Press / / St Paul, Minnesota : Graywolf Press, 1990) 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

Hanan Ashwari (Palestinian legislator and author)

Farouq Wadi
_Homes of the Heart : A Ramallah Chronicle_ Translated by Dina Bosio and Christopher Tingley (Northampton, Massachusetts : Interlink Publishing, 2007) 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.


[Wael Zuaiter – aka Zwaiter – translator, PLO representative in Italy, assassinated in London, for retribution for Munich atrocity, 1972]

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.
Albert Aghazarian
*Out of Jerusalem? Christian Voices from the Holy Land*  (Palestinian General Delegation to the United Kingdom, 1997)


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


**Naim Ateek, Cedar Duaybis** and **Maurine Tobin**, editors *Challenging Christian Zionism: Theology, Politics, and the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (Melisende, 2005) [symposium, 2004]


Gary M. Burge


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.”


**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 **Alain Michel; Anthony Harvey**, editor: *Faith Beyond Despair : Building Hope in the Holy Land* (Canterbury Press, 2011)  

**Colin Gilbert Chapman** (Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut)  
*Whose Promised Land ? The Continuing Crisis over Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford: Lion, 2002)

**Kenneth Cragg** (Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, academic, with numerous books on Christianity and Islam)  
*Palestine : The Prize and Price of Zion* (Cassell, 1997)

**Marc H. Ellis** and **Rosemary Radford Ruether**, editors  

**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)

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]

Arthur Gish

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?”

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 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)
Bethlehem Speaks: Voices from the Little Town Cry Out (SPCK, 2008)
Pilgrims and Peacemakers: A Journey Towards Jerusalem (BRF – Bible Reading Fellowship, 1996)
Numerous other books and recordings.

Institute for Palestine Studies

Kathleen Kern

Walid Khalidi (founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, later in Washington DC, and then Boston, Massachusetts)
Islam, the West, and Jerusalem (Washington DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, 1996)

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.

Samuel J. Kuruvilla
Radical Christianity in Palestine and Israel: Liberation and Theology in the Middle East (IB Tauris, 2013)

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.”

Bruce Masters
Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
Ibrahim Nasrallah (Palestinian author-poet-teacher-journalist-translator-painter…)
*A Time of White Horses* (زمن الخيول البيضاء / إبراهيم نصر الل) 2007 / translated by Nancy Roberts (American University in Cairo Press, 634pp, 2012) FICTION – 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: “I’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.”

Anthony O’Mahony

Michael Prior, editor, with foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Mitri Raheb, 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.

Mitri Raheb & Fred Strickert, with photography by Garo Nalbandian and introduction by Yassir Arafat

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)
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 Rehab, 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)

Rev. Stephen Sizer
*Zion’s Christian Soldiers? The Bible, Israel and the Church* (Nottingham : InterVarsity Press, 2007)  
*Christian Zionism: Roadmap to Armageddon?* (Nottingham : Inter-varsity, 2004)

Hassan Bin Talal (HRH El Hassan Bin Talal / Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan)
Christianity in the Arab World – foreword by in Middle East insightful HRH The Prince of Wales (SCM Press, 1998)

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.

Donald E. Wagner
Anxious for Armageddon: A Call to Partnership for Middle East and Western Christians – with foreword by Elias Chacour (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1996)
as co-editor, with Walter T. Davis
Zionism and the Quest for Peace in the Holy Land (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014)

Alain Epp Weaver

Raed Zanoon & Julie-Anne Skyley

Palestine LGBT
Rabab Abdulhadi, Evelyn Alsultany & Nadine Naber, editors

Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle

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* – translated by Samar Habib (Cambria Press, 2008) [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]  