

## *Israeli Policing, Arms, and Security Complex*

### *Suggested Titles*

Breaking the Silence, **Our Harsh Logic: Israeli Soldiers' Testimonies from the Occupied Territories, 2000-2010**. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2012. ("The soldiers in Our Harsh Logic have come forward to rouse the conscience of their fellow citizens....Anyone who thinks the IDF limits itself to confiscating weapons and punishing terrorists when patrolling the occupied territories would do well to consider what its own members say." —*The Nation* "Random brutality, Kafkaesque bureaucracy, hatred, and dehumanization: that's the face of Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza as described by disaffected soldiers in this troubling oral history....Our Harsh Logic conveys a truth about the inescapable ugliness of Israel's military rule over its neighbors." —*Publishers Weekly* "Humanitarian activists and opponents of illegal Israeli settlements will find much ammunition in these pages." —*Kirkus Reviews*)

Gordon, Neve. **Israel's Occupation**. Berkeley: University of California Press: 2008. ("What is most interesting in Gordon's analysis is the way in which the renovation of occupation practices are identified as an immanent outcome of the 'excesses and contradictions' within the system itself." —*Times Higher Education* / The website for *Israel's Occupation* contains a vast assortment of reports, documents, and images dealing with the occupation.)

Halper, Jeff. **War Against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification**. London: Pluto Press, 2015. "Military and security organizations are rebuilding the social and political space in which we live. Anyone who wants to understand this process should read this book. It is not only a key to deciphering Israeli policies in Palestine, but also one of the clearest explanations that I have ever read on how important Israel/Palestine is in the world....Jeff Halper's book addresses with clarity and structure one of the most complex and yet extremely important topics of the securitization of our society. His book has opened my eyes and was a fascinating read." --Shir Hever, author of *The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation* "For 18 years Halper has been on the front lines of the Israel-Palestine conflict, helping to rebuild Palestinian homes in the occupied territories demolished by Israel. War Against the People suggests that Israel provides a unique window on some of the most important recent developments in what he terms "securocratic warfare". The book's central thesis emerged as he tried to understand why tiny Israel hits way beyond its weight economically, politically and militarily." --*Counterpunch*)

Ophir, Adi, Michael Givoni, and Sarah Hanafi, eds. **The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.** New York: Zone, 2009 (“This is a remarkably powerful book whose very form underscores the precision and thoughtfulness of its conception. For those readers interested in the most incisive analyses to date of the principles that inform the multiple and intricate technologies of Israeli governance over Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, these essays are unparalleled. In a breathtaking set of essays that provide the chronologies of the occupation, the geographies of disaster, and the visual archives of destruction, this collaboration yields more than new insights into how governance is intensified and sustained. It offers an incisive vocabulary that traces the nature of violence in the past and its contemporary acceleration. The Power of Inclusive Exclusion critically recasts what we have understood about the nature of colonization in Palestine while it demands that we ask better questions about the ongoing violence of colonization across a broader global terrain.—Ann Laura Stoler, Willy Brandt Distinguished University Professor of Anthropology and Historical Studies, The New School for Social Research)

### ***Related Titles***

Aruri, Naseer, ed. **Occupation: Israel Over Palestine.** 2nd edition. Belmont, Mass: AAUG Press, 1989. (“It is well documented with frequent footnotes to authoritative sources, abundant maps, and various statistical tables. The analytical content is of an equally high level of quality.” —*Choice: The Library Magazine*)

Azoulay, Ariella, and Adi Ophir. **The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine.** Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013. (“This book is a meticulous exploration of the post-1967 Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. In laying bare Israel's structural, conceptual and bureaucratic regimes of settler, civilian and military authorities over the Palestinian inhabitants, authors Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir analyze and consider consequences and solutions for the entire region to the operationalized Jewish principle of self-segregation.” --- Susan Slyomovics University of California, Los Angeles, author of *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village*)

Beit-Hallahmi, Benjamin. **Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel.** New York: Olive Branch Press, 1993. (“*Original Sins* is to date the best brief overview published in English of the definition and history of Zionism in theory and practice.” —*Middle East Policy*)

Bergman, Ronen. **Rise and Kill First: The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations.** New York, Random House, 2018. ("This remarkable account of Israel's targeted-killing programs is the product of nearly eight years of research into what is arguably the most secretive and impenetrable intelligence community in the world. Bergman, an investigative reporter and military analyst, interviewed hundreds of insiders, including assassins, and obtained thousands of classified documents."—*The New Yorker* "America's difficult relationship with targeted killing and the dilemmas we may face in the future are beautifully illuminated by the longer story of Israel's experiences with assassination in its own endless war against terrorism. . . . Americans now have a terrific new introduction to that story with publication of Ronen Bergman's *Rise and Kill First*. It's easy to understand why Bergman's book is already a bestseller. It moves at a torrid pace and tells stories that would make Jason Bourne sit up and say 'Wow!' It is smart, thoughtful and balanced, and the English translation is superb. It deserves all of the plaudits it has already received."—*The New York Times Book Review* "Blending history and investigative reporting, Bergman never loses sight of the ethical questions that arise when a state, founded as a refuge for a stateless people who were targets of a genocide, decides it needs to kill in order to survive. . . . This book is full of shocking moments, surprising disturbances in a narrative full of fateful twists and unintended consequences."—*The New York Times*)

Cohen, Avner. **Israel and the Bomb.** New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. ("Until now, there has been no detailed account of Israel's nuclear history. Previous treatments of the subject relied heavily on rumors, leaks, and journalistic speculations. But with *Israel and the Bomb*, Avner Cohen has forged an interpretive political history that draws on thousands of American and Israeli government documents — most of them recently declassified and never before cited — and more than one hundred interviews with key individuals who played important roles in this story. Cohen reveals that Israel crossed the nuclear weapons threshold on the eve of the 1967 Six-Day War, yet it remains ambiguous about its nuclear capability to this day. What made this posture of "opacity" possible, and how did it evolve? Cohen focuses on a two-decade period from about 1950 until 1970, during which David Ben-Gurion's vision of making Israel a nuclear-weapon state was realized." — Columbia University Press)

Cohen, Avner. **The Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb.** New York: Columbia University Press, 2010. ("Israel has made a unique contribution to the nuclear age. It has created a special 'bargain' with the bomb. Israel is the only nuclear-armed state that does not acknowledge its possession of the bomb, even though its existence is a common knowledge throughout the world. It only says that it will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the Middle East. The bomb is Israel's collective ineffable — the nation's last great taboo. This bargain has a name: in Hebrew, it is called *amimut*, or opacity. By adhering to the bargain, which was born in a secret deal between Richard Nixon and Golda Meir, Israel has created a code of nuclear conduct that encompasses both governmental policy and societal behavior. The bargain has deemphasized the salience of nuclear weapons, yet it is incompatible with the norms and values of a liberal democracy. It relies on secrecy, violates the public right to know, and undermines the norm of public accountability and oversight, among other offenses. It is also incompatible with emerging international nuclear norms." — Columbia University Press)

Cohen, Hillel. **Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948-1967.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010. (“[A] damning book detailing the use of the Israeli security forces to suppress the civil liberties and cultural expression of citizens of Palestinian descent who the state thinks of as a potential fifth column and a security risk. Good Arabs describes the deep penetration of intelligence agencies into Palestinian society and its extensive use of Palestinian collaborators to intimidate and control the Arab population. Although the book is mostly about the military government imposed upon the Palestinian citizens of Israel until 1966, it contains much material relevant to the present-day. It is a real eye-opener.” --Ira Glunts)

Cypel, Sylvain. **Walled: Israeli Society at an Impasse.** New York: Other Press, 2006. (“In this survey of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (translated anonymously from the French), Cypel, an editor at *Le Monde* who spent twelve years in Israel, writes with the ardor of a believer and the critical eye of a distant observer, producing a nuanced assault on the blindness and inertia that have afflicted both sides. Cypel is a harsh critic of the failures of Palestinian leadership—he excoriates the "Oriental despot" Arafat and the "impotent" regime he built—but believes that Israel needs to be saved from its own incipient brutalization. This process, which he carefully documents, is marked by a "cult of force," a denial of history, an obsession with security at the expense of human rights, and a shocking willingness to discuss, publicly, the forcible cleansing of Palestinians from Israeli territory. These are symptoms of occupation, Cypel argues, and they can be cured only by its end.” --*New Yorker*)

Dershowitz, Alan. **Terror Tunnels: The Case for Israel's Just War against Hamas.** New York: Rosetta Books, 2014. (“The recent operation in Gaza demonstrated once again the lengths to which Hamas terrorists will go to murder innocent Israeli civilians. Not satisfied with suicide bombings and rocket attacks on Israeli cities, Hamas built an extensive network of terror tunnels for the purpose of dispatching death squads into Israel. In *Terror Tunnels*, Alan Dershowitz has focused his internationally recognized expertise and clarity of vision on addressing this evolving terrorist tactic. Dershowitz's conclusion is unequivocal: Israel has both the right and the obligation to defend itself against subterranean terrorist attacks. ---Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Prime Minister)

Dolphin, Ray. **The West Bank Wall: Unmaking Palestine.** London: Pluto Press, 2006. (“This valuable book gives a unique close-up on the deteriorating everyday life of Palestinians whose education, health, and livelihoods have been so dramatically affected by Israel's building of the illegal Wall' -- Victoria Brittain, journalist and former Associate Foreign Editor of the *Guardian* “A great injustice is being perpetrated on the Palestinian people through the instrument of the Wall. Ray Dolphin's book is a timely account of this injustice” -- John Dugard, Professor of International Law, University of Leiden; Special Rapporteur to the Commission on Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory 'A top pick for any college-level Middle East collection' -- *Internet Bookwatch* 'Offers insightful analysis of the political genesis and significance of the route Israeli planners staked out, with a particular focus on Jerusalem' --*Journal of Palestine Studies*)

Finkelstein, Norman. **Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History.** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. ("Very little of Dershowitz's widely acclaimed defense of Israel's occupation policies escapes Finkelstein's withering scrutiny. Behind Dershowitz's firm assurances that Israel is dealing with its adversaries justly and humanely, Finkelstein discerns ugly realities, including brutal torture of Palestinian prisoners and lethal disregard for Palestinian children and noncombatants. In Finkelstein's assessment, Israel is grievously violating Palestinian rights because its leaders deliberately choose to ignore both the humanity of the Palestinian people and the justice of international law. And in the claim that will perhaps stir the fiercest debates, Finkelstein asserts that when Dershowitz and his allies defend Israel with shoddy and mendacious scholarship, they actually stoke the very anti-Semitism they claim to be combating." —*Booklist*)

Freilich, Charles. **Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy.** Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012. "This volume is by one of the foremost analysts of Israel's national security policy (NSP)... It analyzes seven case studies dealing with NSP toward the Palestinians, Gaza, and Lebanon, and the building of the Lavi jet fighter.... Freilich argues that it is imperative for Israel to correct its NSP failures in order to meet expected strong challenges in the future. Those interested in Israel's NSP and its foreign policies will benefit greatly from this study.... Summing Up: Highly recommended."--*Choice* "The extraordinarily important Zion's Dilemmas is the authoritative book on the making of Israel's national security policy. Charles D. Freilich lays out fundamental institutions of Israel's national security infrastructure, identifies five pathologies, and takes the reader through several cases of decision making around war, peace, and weapons procurement."--Janice Gross Stein, Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management, University of Toronto)

Fuerstein, Ofir. **Ghost Town: Israel's Separation Policy and Forced Eviction of Palestinians from the Center of Hebron.** Jerusalem: Association for Civil Rights in Israel, 2007. (This joint report from B'Tselem and ACR examines Palestinian abandonment of Hebron's city center under the following conditions: restrictions of Palestinian movements and closing of Palestinian businesses, lack of protection of Palestinians and their property from violent settlers, harm to Palestinians by soldiers and Palestinian police, and Israel's policy from a legal perspective. —CJPIP)

Grinberg, Lev. **Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine: Democracy Versus Military Rule.** New York: Routledge, 2009. ("The Israeli regime is a paradox. Considered a democracy, it has no recognized borders and controls the majority of Palestinians by military rule, while the resistance of non-citizen Palestinians exerts major influence over politics and policies. Drawing on detailed academic research and a broad knowledge of Israeli politics and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this book narrates and analyzes the political developments of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and the conflict with Hezbollah and Hamas, explaining the dangers to future negotiations and how hopes for a settlement have been dashed by the ongoing violence. The author explores the internal Israel and Palestinian politics, showing how they influence the conflict and explaining the central role of military organizations in shaping the relations towards the other nation. He analyzes the Unilateral Disengagement from Gaza and the second Lebanon War, explaining the need for international mediation in order to reach a peace agreement and suggesting a new innovative model for future Israeli-Palestinian relations." —Amazon)

Hajjar, Lisa. **Courting Conflict: The Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza.** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. ("With a stunning display of academic mastery, Hajjar provides a definitive and remarkably balanced account of how Israeli military courts operate in the occupied Palestinian territories. Illuminating this hitherto neglected facet of Israel/Palestine by empirically grounded research is also a major contribution to the wider role and limits of law in situations of acute conflict."—Richard Falk, author of *The Great Terror War* "Hajjar's sociological and political achievement is both more focused and more general than her study's historical frame. She shows exactly how the military court system in the Occupied Territories was and is a cruel parody of justice—yet also a faithful representation of Israel's liberal legality."—Stanley Cohen, Martin White Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics)

Hever, Shir. **The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression beyond Exploitation.** London: Pluto Press, 2010. ("Shir Hever has emerged as one of the most incisive analysts of the critical Israeli Left' -- Jeff Halper, Director, The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD))

Kimmerling, Baruch. **Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians.** London: Verso, 2007. ("One of Israel's well-known leftist academics, Kimmerling trains his polemical sights here on Ariel Sharon. Israel's prime minister, he argues, is pursuing "politicide," which he defines as activities designed to "destroy the political national existence of a whole community of people and thus deny it the possibility of self-determination." This policy, Kimmerling says, has long been Sharon's goal, whether as a daring commander in retaliatory raids during the 1950s, in the 1982 Lebanon war or in his policies as prime minister. Sharon, he argues, is using the latest peace plan-the Bush administration-backed "road map"-as a pretext: he is counting on the Palestinians to give him an excuse to further his aims. The 1967 Six-Day War is the critical moment in Kimmerling's analysis. Israel's victory in that war gave it control over the West Bank and emboldened nationalists and messianists to blind themselves to the Palestinians and their fundamental rights. As a result, both sides have become locked into mindsets that preclude a satisfactory peace treaty." —*Publishers Weekly*)

Kretzmer, David. **The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories.** Albany: SUNY Press, 2002. ("This book offers a very vivid picture of how a court in a system that attaches great importance to law grapples with serious security issues. It is also an excellent case study of the administration of a long-term belligerent occupation and a remarkably textured examination of the operation of a foreign legal system." -- Michael Reisman, Yale Law School "This is the definitive work on the issue of the Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories. Kretzmer does a splendid job explaining the Court's constraints and evolving jurisprudence in this area." --Pnina Lahav, Boston University School of Law)

Maoz, Zev. **Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006. ("Defending the Holy Land is the most comprehensive analysis to date of Israel's national security and foreign policy, from the inception of the State of Israel to the present. Author Zeev Maoz's unique double perspective, as both an expert on the Israeli security establishment and esteemed scholar of Mideast politics, enables him to describe in harrowing detail the tragic recklessness and self-made traps that pervade the history of Israeli security operations and foreign policy...Demonstrating that Israel's national security policy rested on the shaky pairing of a trigger-happy approach to the use of force with a hesitant and reactive peace diplomacy, *Defending the Holy Land* recounts in minute-by-minute detail how the ascendancy of Israel's security establishment over its foreign policy apparatus led to unnecessary wars and missed opportunities for peace. A scathing and brilliant revisionist history, *Defending the Holy Land* calls for sweeping reform of Israel's foreign policy and national security establishments. This book will fundamentally transform the way readers think about Israel's troubled history." — Amazon)

Omer, Mohammed. **Shell-Shocked: On the Ground under Israel's Gaza Assault.** Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015. ("The horrors inflicted on the 1.8 million people of the Gaza Strip are hidden from most people in the West. "Shell-Shocked" draws back the curtain to tell us what it is like to live in a small besieged and enclosed area, subject to savage bombardment, systematic deprivation, and callous imprisonment. Written with painful immediacy, these are more than dispatches from a war zone: they convey the human reality of people who manage to survive and endure in conditions that have grown grimmer and more inhumane over the years. This book is a wake-up call to those who allow these war crimes to continue unpunished, while lauding the aggressor's right to "self-defense." —Rashid Khalidi, Columbia University)

Pappé, Ilan. **The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories.** New York: Oneworld, 2018. ("Pappé is one of the leading writers of Israel's "New Historians," a group that, by delving into Israeli archives, challenges readers to confront Israel's past and upend the dominant "David and Goliath" narrative. Here, Pappé brings that critical eye to the structures created around the West Bank and Gaza following the 1967 June War. He describes the Israeli occupation as the imposition of a "mega prison" that assumes two forms: an "open air prison" that allows some semblance of "autonomous life under ... Israeli control," and a "maximum security prison" that strips away even that limited autonomy and imposes harsh penalties. This is not a comprehensive history of the occupation, nor does it focus on the Palestinians, other than to explain movements in reaction to the prison policies (including the rise of the PLO and the two intifadas). However, Pappé's book is critical for understanding the present situation and looking forward to possible solutions." --D. E. Jenison, Kent State University *CHOICE*)

Pedahzur, Ami. **The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism**. New York: Columbia University, 2009. (“This is a remarkably powerful book whose very form underscores the precision and thoughtfulness of its conception. For those readers interested in the most incisive analyses to date of the principles that inform the multiple and intricate technologies of Israeli governance over Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, these essays are unparalleled. In a breathtaking set of essays that provide the chronologies of the occupation, the geographies of disaster, and the visual archives of destruction, this collaboration yields more than new insights into how governance is intensified and sustained. It offers an incisive vocabulary that traces the nature of violence in the past and its contemporary acceleration. *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion* critically recasts what we have understood about the nature of colonization in Palestine while it demands that we ask better questions about the ongoing violence of colonization across a broader global terrain.” —Ann Laura Stoler, Willy Brandt Distinguished University Professor of Anthropology and Historical Studies, The New School for Social Research)

Ploakow-Suransky, Sasha. **The Unspoken Alliance: Israel’s Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa**. New York: Pantheon, 2010. (“This is a major, long overdue study of the rise and demise of one of the most intriguing alliances of our time, Israel’s hidden partnership with white South Africa. Dr. Polakow-Suransky has written a masterfully researched history that reads like a thriller unraveling the secrets of an alliance between two embattled societies under siege. Weaved into the author’s fascinating narrative lies the disturbing debate about the degree of moral and political congruence that might have existed between the two allies, Israel’s political and defense establishment on the one hand and the Afrikaner ‘master race’ on the other.” — Shlomo Ben-Ami, Foreign Minister of Israel, 2000-2001)

Quigley, John. **Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice**. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990. (“Quigley argues that the Zionist movement that established Israel did so by violating many of the conventions and agreements of international law. Ultimately, Quigley claims, the Palestinians who lost the opportunity for statehood hold good legal title to that territory.” – Duke University Press)

Raviv, Dan and Melman, Yossi. **Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel’s Intelligence Community**. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990. (“Basing their work on interviews with former operatives and on declassified documents, CBS news correspondent Raviv and Israeli journalist Melman here produce a revealing critical history of the rise and decline of Israel’s vaunted security and intelligence arm, from the idealistic pioneering days to the current disarray in the face of the Palestinian intifada and the shocking vulnerability of the intelligence community to material corruption.” —*Publishers Weekly*)

Shahak, Israel. **Israel’s Global Role: Weapons for Repression**. Introduction by Noam Chomsky. Belmont, Mass.: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1982. (“A pathbreaking study of the relations of the Israeli state with repressive governments around the world, with a special emphasis on arms sales. Drawing primarily from the Hebrew press, Professor Israel Shahak of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem documents Israeli support of such governments as the junta in El Salvador, Somoza’s Nicaragua, South Africa, and the Shah’s Iran.” – AAUG)

Shahak, Israel. **Open Secrets: Israeli Foreign and Nuclear Policies.** London: Pluto Press, 1997. (“Shahak has the courage to say what most Israelis do not dare to say and definitely do not want to hear ... [He] is a knowledgeable insider who builds his argument carefully on the best information ... The lessons to be drawn from what Shahak tells us are self-evident.” —*London Review of Books*)

Smith, Grant F. **Divert!: NUMEC, Zalman Shapiro and the Diversion of US Weapons Grade Uranium into the Israeli Nuclear Weapons Program,** Washington, DC: Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy, 2012. (“Based on an exhaustive review of formerly classified government documents – as well as previously unexplored corporate filings, office diaries and unguarded interviews – Grant F. Smith has written a riveting story of the 1960s diversion of US weapons-grade nuclear material from an Israeli front company in Pennsylvania into the clandestine Israeli atomic weapons program. The talented but highly conflicted founder of the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC)-Dr. Zalman Mordecai Shapiro alongside his close friend and financial backer David Lowenthal-engaged in a ferocious clandestine drive to funnel the most valuable military material on earth...” —IRmep)

Sorkin, Michael, ed. **Against the Wall: Israel's Barrier to Peace.** New York: New Press, 2005. (“Called a “security fence” by the Israeli government and the “apartheid wall” by Palestinians, the barrier currently under construction in the West Bank has been the subject of intense controversy since the first olive tree was uprooted in its path. In violation of a ruling by the International Court of Justice and a resolution by the United Nations General Assembly, the structure juts deep inside Palestinian territory, altering not only the geographical landscape, but the political one as well. This groundbreaking book includes a collection of outstanding original pieces, along with photographs and maps, that offer a frank critique of the wall from a range of perspectives—legal, historical, architectural, and philosophical. Renowned writer and architect Michael Sorkin has assembled commentary from various international experts, including both Israeli and Palestinian voices. Together they reinforce a view widely held around the world (though not by the government of the United States): Israel's wall can act only as a barrier to future peace.” —Amazon)

Tyler, Patrick. **Fortress Israel: The Inside Story of the Military Elite Who Run the Country—and Why They Can't Make Peace.** New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012. (“In this exceptional book, Patrick Tyler demonstrates with meticulous documentation and revealing interviews with the country's national security experts how Israel's founding military and intelligence leaders were essential to the survival of a young nation. Tyler also tackles the vexed question of our era: Will Israel's warrior ethos and its legacy of zero-sum strategies for dealing with its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians prevent it from crafting a lasting peace? Tyler's analysis of how much the world lost with the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin is definitive and heartbreaking. Fortress Israel is essential reading for students of the Middle East.” —Howell Raines, former executive editor of *The New York Times* “With *Fortress Israel*, Patrick Tyler takes his place in the first rank of historians of Israel and the modern Middle East. He presents a provocative but objective look at the militarism that has driven Israel's leaders since the founding of the state and explains vividly--without ideological cant or bias--why generations of tough-minded sabras have found it so difficult to convert their battlefield successes into a lasting peace.” —Terence Smith, Israel correspondent for *The New York Times* during the Six-Day and Yom Kippur Wars)

## *Living under Occupation and Blockade: The Palestinian Plight*

### ***Suggested Titles***

Roy, Sara.  **Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. ("This is the most perceptive analysis available not only of the evolution of the social institutions of Hamas, but also of the extraordinary pressures brought to bear on Palestinian society under occupation. Roy's book is leavened by her profound empathy for the lives of ordinary people, and it is suffused by a moral clarity that is rare in works of this level of acuity and scholarly rigor. No one seriously interested in Palestine or Israel can afford to ignore this powerful book."--Rashid Khalidi, author of *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*)

Sfard, Michael. **The Wall and the Gate: Israel, Palestine, and the Legal Battle for Human Rights**. Metropolitan Books: 2018. ("Engaging, highly informative, and thought-provoking, this is a book that only an activist, scholar, and top human rights lawyer like Michael Sfard could have written. It should be required reading for anyone wanting to understand the struggle for human rights in occupied Palestine." —Raja Shehadeh, author of *Where the Line Is Drawn: A Tale of Crossings, Friendships, and Fifty Years of Occupation in Israel-Palestine* "At a time of surging ethnic nationalism, the legal struggle to prevent injustice against Palestinians is especially difficult. Michael Sfard is at the forefront of this struggle and his account is both a compelling story and an important contribution to understanding how battles for human rights are fought in the courts." —Aryeh Neier, former executive director of the ACLU "Comprehensive, detailed, reflective, troubling, thought-provoking and rooted in universal human principles, *The Wall and the Gate* is the definitive study of the struggle for Palestinian human rights under occupation—a must read." —Naomi Chazan, former member of Knesset and president, the New Israel Fund)

Shehadeh, Raja. *Where the Line Is Drawn: A Tale of Crossings, Friendships, and Fifty Years of Occupation in Israel-Palestine*. The New Press, 2017. ("Writing has allowed Shehadeh to continue crossing into these territories, even as they become increasingly off-limits to him. His books are maps, painstakingly pieced together, of regions lost to senseless division, to bad choices, and to lies." —*The Nation* "Remarkable and hopeful . . . a deeply honest and intense memoir." —Gal Beckerman, *The New York Times Book Review* "Shehadeh describes with courage and grace the internal struggle to remain fair." —*The New Yorker* "No one else writes about Palestinian life under military occupation with such stubborn humanity, melancholy, and fragile grace. . . . One feels the loss in every paragraph Shehadeh writes, but also the inescapable beauty that remains, which both softens and deepens the rage." —*The Guardian*)

### ***Related Titles***

Allen, Lori. **The Rise and Fall of Human Rights: Cynicism and Politics in Occupied Palestine**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013. ("In her exceptional book . . . anthropologist Lori Allen explores a complex set of interlocking themes about the role of human rights in the Palestinian nationalist agenda, viewed through the prism of cynicism . . . This book is a must read—with relevance far wider than the case of Palestine." ---Deena R. Hurwitz *Middle East Journal*)

Arrigoni, Vittorio. **Gaza: Stay Human**. Leicestershire, UK: Kube Publishing, 2010. (“During the Israeli offensive against the Gaza Strip in 2008-9, Arrigoni acted as a human shield while working with the Palestinian Red Crescent ambulances. Working as a freelance journalist for the Italian daily, *Il Manifesto*, Arrigoni’s daily dispatches, written between bombing raids and patchy internet access, ended with the plea, ‘stay human’, which became the motto of the anti-Israeli peace protests in his native Italy. His authoritative and deeply-moving eyewitness account was later published in 2010 in Italian, French, German and English, which the historian Ilan Pappé described as the ‘account of an everyman and a true humanist.’” —Kube)

Bayoumi, Mustafa, ed. **Midnight on the Mavi Marmara: The Attack on the Gaza Freedom Flotilla and How It Changed the Course of the Israel/Palestine Conflict**. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010. (“[A] range of activists, journalists, and analysts piece together the events that occurred that May night. Mixing together first-hand testimony and documentary record with hard-headed analysis and historical overview, *Midnight on the Mavi Marmara* reveals why the attack on the Gaza Freedom Flotilla may just turn out to be Israel’s Selma, Alabama moment . . .” —Haymarket Books)

Christison Kathleen and Bill Christison. **Palestine in Pieces: Graphic Perspectives on the Israeli Occupation**. London: Pluto Press, 2009. “This book brings personal and pictorial perspectives to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. Former CIA political analysts Kathleen and Bill Christison give a comprehensive description of the occupation and the ways in which Israel dominates the Palestinians: Israeli settlements, the Separation Wall, roads restricted to cars with Israeli license plates, home demolitions on a massive scale, imprisonment, mass assassinations and wanton sniper and artillery fire. 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.” —Pluto Press.)

Davis, Rochelle. **Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced**. Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. (“[O]ver four hundred Palestinian villages were depopulated in the 1947-1949 war. With houses mostly destroyed, mosques and churches put to other uses, and cemeteries plowed under, Palestinian communities were left geographically dispossessed. Palestinians have since carried their village names, memories, and possessions with them into the diaspora, transforming their lost past into local histories in the form of “village memorial books”. Numbering more than 100 volumes in print, these books recount family histories, cultural traditions, and the details of village life, revealing Palestinian history through the eyes of Palestinians. . . .this book analyzes individual and collective historical accounts of everyday life in pre-1948 Palestinian villages as composed today from the perspectives of these long-term refugees.” —Stanford University Press.)

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Keshet, Yehudit. **Checkpoint Watch: Testimonies from Occupied Palestine.** London: Zed Books, 2006. ("This important book offers an insightful perspective of the system of Israeli military checkpoints and blockades in the West Bank, their devastating impact on the Palestinian population, and the arbitrary use of a control mechanism for reasons which often have little to do with security considerations. The first-hand accounts and observations of the Watchers - Israeli women from all walks of life - also provide an interesting insight into how different sectors of Israeli society see - or fail to see - the impact of such a system and its injustices! Donatella Rovera, Researcher on Israel and the Occupied Territories, Amnesty International 'It is impossible to guess when and how the harsher Israeli version of the Apartheid Pass System will collapse. When it does, *CheckpointWatch* will have had an important role in its collapse.'" --Amira Hass)

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Macintyre, Donald. **Gaza: Preparing for Dawn.** London: Oneworld, 2017. ("Donald Macintyre's Gaza is a deeply informed and elegant portrait of this small but profoundly important and misunderstood part of the world. Not only are Gaza's history and politics made compellingly accessible, so too are her sight, sound and smell. In this way Macintyre challenges any notion of Gaza's irrelevance and perhaps more importantly does what few authors writing on Gaza have done: elevates the ordinary in a manner that will endure, helping the reader understand that no matter who we are and where we are from, in Gaza we can recognise ourselves. This book speaks to something greater than Gaza's pain; it speaks to Gaza's soul." --Sara Roy, Senior Research Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University)

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White, Ben. **Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy**. London: Pluto Press, 2011. (“This book debunks convincingly and forcefully the myth of Israel being ‘the only democracy’ in the Middle East. As this book shows, the treatment of the Palestinians in Israel is the ultimate proof that the Jewish State is anything but democratic.” —Professor Ilan Pappé, University of Exeter)