

Palestinian Governance and Resistance

Suggested Titles

Baconi, Tareq. *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. ("Groundbreaking, rigorously researched, and strikingly fair-minded, Hamas Contained is essential reading to understand Middle East politics today. Tareq Baconi weaves a counter-narrative, upending common assumptions about the controversial Islamic organization. He persuasively argues that there can be no solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict without diplomatic engagement with Hamas." --Avi Shlaim author of *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*)

King, Mary Elizabeth. Introduction by Jimmy Carter. **A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance**. New York, NY: Nation Books, 2007. ("A scholar of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience, King contends that the first Palestinian intifada (1987-1993) was explicitly peaceful from its inception....she draws on a wealth of documentary and statistical evidence to demonstrate that the Palestinians exercised remarkable restraint during the first years of the intifada. Tying together the threads of civil society, political mobilization and social change, she delivers a fascinating account of a nation in transition. In the occupied territories, she argues, the Israeli military brutally repressed the wedging open of nongovernmental political space and development of institutions not under official purview and deepened the Palestinians' desire for change." --*Publishers Weekly*)

Qumsiyeh, Mazin B. **Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment**. London: Pluto Press, 2011. ("Qumsiyeh's inspiring accounts of both the everyday and the most extraordinary acts of Palestinian indigenous resistance to colonialism expose the misguided claims that Palestinians have never tried nonviolence; in fact, they are among the experts, whose courage, creativity, and resilience are an inspiration to people of conscience everywhere." -- Anna Baltzer; "[T]his is a work of enormous significance....a must read for anyone interested in justice and how to produce the necessary breakthrough in the Israel-Palestine conflict." --Nur Masalha.)

Sayigh, Yezid. **Armed Struggle and the Search for Statehood: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993**. London: Oxford University Press, 1998. ("A younger Palestinian scholar, Yezid Sayigh, shows by contrast that the political narrative can be reconstructed. Sayigh's monumental new history of the Palestinian national movement, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State* does this in all its bewilderingly intricate detail."--*Independent Saturday Magazine* "...an achievement which will be with us long after hundreds of books on the subject are forgotten."--*The Spectator*)

Related Titles

Abu-Amr, Ziad. **Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad.** Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. (“This book is a worthwhile expert's guide to the history, strategy and thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood, noted for its political wing, Hamas, and the smaller, more purist Islamic Jihad. The two growing Islamic fundamentalist groups have been challenging the authority of the secular, nationalist PLO. Abu-Amr, has a dry academic style, but he draws valuably from a range of Arabic sources and personal interviews. He charts the groups' roles in the intifada, which began in 1987, including the Muslim Brotherhood's evolution from a nonviolent group to armed resistance through Hamas. This move brought the Brotherhood closer to the previously hostile Islamic Jihad. The author concludes that the Palestinian secular tradition and the desire for pluralism may hamper the Islamic movement; but he also predicts that if the PLO fails to achieve self-determination, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which have links to a growing world Islamic movement, will continue to gain influence.” —*Publishers Weekly*)

Al-Hout, Shafiq. **My Life in the PLO.** London: Pluto Press, 2011. (“This is the inside story of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), from its beginnings in 1964 to the signing of the Oslo agreement in 1993. For over three decades, the main goal of the PLO was to achieve a just peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to build a democratic state in Palestine for all its citizens. Shafiq Al-Hout, a high ranking PLO official until his resignation in 1993, provides previously unavailable details on the key events in its history such as its recognition by the UN and the Oslo peace negotiations. Taking us right to the heart of the decision making processes, this book explains the personalities and internal politics that shaped the PLO's actions and the Palestinian experience of the twentieth century. Although he was an insider, Al-Hout's book does not shy from analysing and criticising decisions and individuals, including Yasser Arafat. This book is an essential piece of history that sheds new light on the significance of the PLO in the Palestinian struggle for justice.”— Amazon)

Boyle, Francis. Palestine, **Palestinians and International Law.** Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2009. (“[A] valuable historical (and legal) record for those analyzing Palestinian decision-making in the late 1980s and early 1990s.” —*Journal of Palestine Studies*.)

Brenner, Björn. **Gaza under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Government.** London: I.B. Taurus, 2017. (“In *Gaza under Hamas*, Björn Brenner provides an inside view of Hamas in power, based on extensive fieldwork alongside trenchant insights and incisive analysis. His book is an important contribution to the literature by greatly enhancing our understanding of the evolution of terrorist organizations from grassroots violence to formal governance.” -- Bruce Hoffman, Georgetown University “This is one of the rare books about Hamas that manages to be both balanced and insightful. Based on a broad range of primary sources, this in-depth study of Gaza under Hamas rule provides as full and comprehensive a picture as possible. A must-read for scholars, students, and diplomats alike!” ---Peter Neumann, King's College London)

Brynen, Rex. **Sanctuary and Survival: The PLO in Lebanon**. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990. (“Examines the PLO's Lebanese era in the broader theoretical context of relations between a national liberation movement and a sanctuary state. The author analyzes the PLO's relations with the Lebanese government, its role in the civil war, and the consequences of escalating conflict with Israel.” --Amazon)

Brown, Nathan. **Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. (“This timely and critically important work does what hostilities in the Middle East have made nearly impossible: it offers a measured, internal perspective on Palestinian politics, viewing emerging political patterns from the Palestinian point of view rather than through the prism of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Based on groundbreaking fieldwork, interviews with Palestinian leaders, and an extensive survey of Arabic-language writings and documents, *Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords* presents the meaning of state building and self-reliance as Palestinians themselves have understood them in the years between 1993 and 2002. Nathan J. Brown focuses his work on five areas: legal development, constitution drafting, the Palestinian Legislative Council, civil society, and the effort to write a new curriculum... Providing a clear and urgently needed vantage point on most of the issues of Palestinian reform and governance that have emerged in recent policy debates—issues such as corruption, constitutionalism, democracy, and rule of law—Brown’s book helps to put Palestinian aspirations and accomplishments in their proper context within a long and complex history and within the larger Arab world.” —Amazon)

Brynjar, Lia. **A Police Force without a State: A History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza**. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2006. (“This work is, and is likely to remain, the definitive account of its topic’ Rex Brynen, McGill University. The strength [of the book] lies in the detailed and careful examination of both the social order and policing problems as they have arisen in Palestine and in the problems and processes of donor assistance. Nothing like this ... exists right now on any other police reform and assistance project.” --Otwin Marenin, Washington State University)

Cardici, Paola. **Hamas: From Resistance to Government**. Translated by Andrea Teti. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012. (“Paola Caridi, Italian journalist and historian, exploits her mastery of the pen and eye for historical detail to provide a rich, balanced view of the Palestinians’ leading Islamist organization—Hamas. Skillfully translated by Andrea Teti, Caridi’s book draws heavily upon extensive interviews with Palestinian elites and regular citizens to chart Hamas’s rise to popularity and power. A superb addition to the literature on the Palestinians.” —Kirk J. Beattie, Simmons College, Boston)

Carey, Roane, ed. Introduction by Noam Chomsky. **The New Intifada: Resisting Israel’s Apartheid**. London: Verso, 2001. (“Edited by *Nation* copy chief Carey, the book tells a compelling story of repression and resistance and of the triumphs and tragedies of ordinary Palestinians with extraordinary resolve to bring dignity to their daily lives. Contributors to this volume include distinguished activist academics, such as Edward Said and Noam Chomsky, as well as a number of other writers with a long history of either academic, journalistic, or activist involvement in Middle Eastern affairs, such as Robert Fisk, Sara Roy, and Azim Bishara. Although supportive of the plight of the Palestinians, the essays in this volume provide critical analyses of the Palestinian leadership and its tactics and strategies in the conflict.” —*Library Journal*)

Chehab, Zaki. **Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of Militants, Martyrs, and Spies.** London: I.B. Tauris, 2007. ("Zaki Chehab's new book, *Inside Hamas*, lives up to its title. Chehab, a prominent Palestinian journalist born in a refugee camp, has the credentials to tell this secret history of the radical Muslim group that now dominates Palestinian politics. Chehab draws on his interviews with Hamas leaders and Palestinian sources to draw vivid portraits of Hamas, their suicide bombers--and of its wheelchair-bound founder, Sheik Yassin. It's all here--from Hamas's Iranian connection to its secret war with the mainstream Fatah movement. Reading this book, it's obvious that Chehab has had access to some of the PLO's most sensitive files." ---David Ignatius, *Washington Post* columnist and author of *Body of Lies*)

Chehab, Zaki. **Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement.** New York: Nation Books, 2008. ("In this compelling and sober portrayal, Chehab, an intrepid Palestinian journalist (who was nearly blown up in 2002), explains how the highly organized and notoriously militant Islamic group Hamas was elected to head the Palestinian government in January 2006, to the surprise of much of the world. Having tracked Palestinian resistance for decades, Chehab gained extraordinary access to key players in Hamas, like Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the group's spiritual leader until his 2004 assassination, and political leader Dr. Abdul Aziz Al Rantisi, also assassinated that year. Along the way, he details the group's history, from the dawn of the first intifada in 1987 to the present day and looks to the political and economic dilemmas that hang over the group's future...The book is likely to be recognized as among the most definitive and important accounts of this divisive organization, whose goal remains to "reclaim the whole of Palestine as it had been before 1948... and to dismantle the [Israeli] settlements." – *Publishers Weekly*)

Cohen, Esther R. **Human Rights in the Israeli-occupied Territories, 1967-82.** Manchester [UK]: Manchester University Press (Melland Schill Monographs in International Law), 1985. ("This book is in a class of its own. The US Department of State uses this book's legal arguments as a basis for its position, that the 4th Geneva Convention does indeed apply to the Israeli occupation of the West bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and East Jerusalem." –Amazon)

Darweish, Marwan, and Andrew Rigby. **Popular Protest in Palestine: The History and Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance.** London: Pluto Press, 2015. "Darweish and Rigby, authors of *Popular Protest in Palestine*, discuss many of the major settings for Palestinian nonviolent resistance to the occupation—the villages of Bil'in, Nabi Salih, the Jerusalem neighborhoods of Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah, the South Hebron Hills, and so on. It is certainly true, as I can attest from personal experience, that one meets many remarkable, courageous, and astonishingly articulate people in these settings." ---*New York Review of Books*)

Feldman, Ilana. **Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule., 1917-1967.** Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. ("Through a historical ethnography of everyday bureaucratic practices in British- and then Egyptian-ruled Gaza, this pathbreaking and lucidly written book offers challenging new perspectives on what government is and how it operates. *Governing Gaza* is a work of remarkable theoretical sophistication that makes a unique contribution to the anthropology of government and the state while remaining firmly grounded in the specificities of this crisis-ridden place and in the experience of its long-suffering people."—Zachary Lockman, author of *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948*)

Gunning, Jeroen. **Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence**. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. (“Based on Jeroen Gunning's theoretical acuity, prolonged field work, and interviews conducted with Hamas cadres in the Gaza Strip, this in-depth analysis offers rich and multidimensional insights into Hamas. The result is an eye-opening study that transcends conventional or simplistic explanations and gets inside the movement and its authority structures.” - --Menachem Klein, Bar Ilan University, and author of *A Possible Peace Between Israel and Palestine*)

Hafez, Mohammed. **Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers**. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006. (“In this slim but remarkably balanced, informative, and insightful volume, Mohammed Hafez delves beneath the surface as he explores the case of Palestinian suicide bombers during the al-Aqsa intifada that began in 2000. Drawing on extensive research in the West Bank and Israel, Hafez reveals an intricate web of factors that fueled the campaign of suicide attacks. To understand the bombings, he argues, we must examine the interrelation among the motives of the individual “martyrs,” the calculations of the organizations that deployed them, and the attitudes of a victimized society. This approach yields not only a penetrating look at suicide bombers but also policy-relevant lessons for dealing with extreme political violence in places such as Iraq, Chechnya, and Afghanistan. – Amazon)

Halper, Jeff. **An Israeli in Palestine: Resisting Dispossession, Redeeming Israel**. London: Pluto Press, 2008. (“In this book, the Israeli anthropologist and activist Jeff Halper throws a harsh light on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the point of view of a critical insider. While the Zionist founders of Israel created a vibrant society, culture and economy, they did so at a high price: Israel could not maintain its exclusive Jewish character without imposing on the country's Palestinian population policies of ethnic cleansing, occupation and discrimination, expressed most graphically in its ongoing demolition of thousands of Palestinian homes, both inside Israel and in the Occupied Territories.” --Pluto Press)

Hroub, Khaled. **Hamas: Political Thought and Practice**. Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 2000. (“Khaled Hroub's book on Hamas is excellent, providing a detailed and carefully constructed analysis of the movement that goes well beyond and far beneath the sensationalist and often distorted reporting of this organization and its role in Palestinian politics. As such, Hroub's study, which is not an apology, provides a much-needed corrective that should be required reading for policymakers, scholars, politicians and students of the Middle East.” -- Sara Roy, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University)

Hroub, Khaled. **Hamas: A Beginner's Guide**. New York: Pluto Press, 2006. (“Hroub expertly answers every important question . . . concisely, lucid and invaluable” – James Piscatori, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies / “Hroub has written a lucid and extremely valuable introduction to this complex and often misunderstood organization.” --Sara Roy, Senior Research Scholar at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard)

Hunter, Robert. **The Palestinian Uprising**. University of California Press, 1993. ("Combining the historian's depth of knowledge and perspective with vivid reportage that only first-hand experience of an event can bring, *The Palestinian Uprising* provides a compelling account of the Intifada's first two years. While in the Middle East, the author conducted extensive interviews with Palestinian journalists, academics, lawyers, teachers, physicians, former political prisoners, popular committee leaders, other activists, and residents of villages, refugee camps, towns, and cities all over the West Bank and Gaza. Augmenting these oral sources with extensive research in secondary published sources, Hunter brings the Intifada to life, conveying the aspirations, motives, viewpoints, and experiences of the people who actually created this revolt." —Amazon)

Jamal, Amal. **The Palestinian National Movement: Politics of Contention, 1967-2005**. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. ("A comprehensive, up-to-date account of the dynamics in the Palestinian political arena." —Ann M. Lesch, Villanova University "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." —Amazon)

Jensen, Michael. **The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective**. Translated by Sally Laird. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009. ("Hamas is best-known to outsiders as a military organisation. Its political wing has received less attention, and it is often assumed that the schools, hospitals and universities it runs are merely instruments for the dissemination of a jihadist ideology. Following its surprise victory in the 2006 Palestinian elections, it is more important than ever to understand its politics. How serious is its commitment to democracy? Did people vote for Hamas despite or because of its Islamic agenda? Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Gaza, Michael Irving Jensen addresses these questions, and offers the first multidimensional portrait of this complex organisation. Based on interviews with the leadership, the rank-and-file, and ordinary Palestinians, Jensen shows how Hamas's officially stated goals relate to the social and political realities of the West Bank and Gaza. In doing so he lays the groundwork for a more accurate way of understanding the organisation, and the direction in which its war with Israel is travelling." —Amazon)

Khalili, Laleh. **Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. ("Khalili is to be congratulated for her perception that commemorative practices would offer an illuminating path to reworking a history that combines tragedy and resistance in unusual measure. The skill with which she brings together wide-ranging archival research and live-in observation has produced an outstanding study that balances cool analysis with lively sympathy." ---*Middle East Report*, Winter 2007)

Khan, Mushtaq, George Giacaman, and Inge Amundsen, eds. **State Formation in Palestine: Viability and Governance during a Social Transformation.** London: Routledge Curzon, 2004. (“This book examines key questions and challenges the widely prevalent view that the Palestinian Authority collapsed because of its internal governance failures, its lack of commitment to democracy, and corruption. It argues that the analytical framework of 'good governance' is not appropriate for assessing state performance in developing countries, and that it is especially inappropriate in conflict and post-conflict situations. Instead, an alternative framework is proposed for assessing state performance in a context of economic and social transformation. This is then applied in detail to different aspects of state formation in Palestine, showing that the institutional architecture set up by the Oslo agreements was responsible for many of the serious failures.” — Amazon)

Levitt, Matthew. **Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad.** New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006. (“How does a group that operates terror cells and espouses violence become a ruling political party? How is the world to understand and respond to Hamas, the militant Islamist organization that Palestinian voters brought to power in the stunning election of January 2006? This important book provides the most fully researched assessment of Hamas ever written. Matthew Levitt, a counterterrorism expert with extensive field experience in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, draws aside the veil of legitimacy behind which Hamas hides. He presents concrete, detailed evidence from an extensive array of international intelligence materials, including recently declassified CIA, FBI, and Department of Homeland Security reports. Levitt demolishes the notion that Hamas’ military, political, and social wings are distinct from one another and catalogues the alarming extent to which the organization’s political and social welfare leaders support terror. He exposes Hamas as a unitary organization committed to a militant Islamist ideology, urges the international community to take heed, and offers well-considered ideas for countering the significant threat Hamas poses.”---Amazon)

Lockman, Zachary and Joel Benin. **Intifada: Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation.** Boston: South End Press, 2001. (“This collection of critical essays includes eyewitness accounts from the West Bank and Gaza, discussions of Palestinian society and politics, and analyses of the role of the United States in the Middle East and Palestine.” —Amazon)

Ma’oz, Moshe. **Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of the Mayors Under Jordan and Israel.** New York: Routledge, 2015. (“This book, first published in 1984, examines this remarkable change in the role of the West Bank Palestinian mayors, and their transformation since the early 1970s from conservative-moderate figures into radical-nationalist leaders. Against the background of the developing Palestinian and Israeli militant nationalism in the West Bank, the study analyses the complex relations between these new leaders and the governments of Israel and Jordan as well as the PLO command, until their final eviction by Israel in 1982.” —Amazon)

Milton-Edwards, Beverly, and Stephen Farrell. **Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. ("This is the essential book on the Palestinian Islamist movement, Hamas. Drawing on decades of experience and meetings with the founders of Hamas (like assassinated leaders Sheikh Ahmad Yassin and Abdul Aziz Rantisi) as well as its current leadership, the authors provide a compelling portrait of Hamas as a nationalist party, a social welfare network, as well as a violent resistance organization. Engagingly written, this book makes abundantly clear why there is no solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict without Hamas." ---Eugene Rogan, Director, The Middle East Centre, St Antony's College)

Nassar, Jameal, and Roger Heacock, eds. **Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads**. New York: Praeger, 1990. ("The theme is the struggle for Palestinian national liberation from colonial rule, of which the uprising since December 1987 is seen as the latest and most powerful phase. Most of the contributors are professionals in the occupied territories (in sociology, economics, political science, public health, etc.), and they write as scholars and firsthand observers as well as supporters of the intifada. There is much interesting material on the respective roles of villagers, urban workers, the merchant class and Palestinian women, as well as on the competing secular and Islamic wings of the nationalist movement." ---*Foreign Affairs*)

Nüsse, Andrea. **Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamas**. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998. ("The ideology of Islamic fundamentalists is of central importance in the modern world, but it is often distorted or misunderstood by the international media. This insightful study provides a detailed analysis of the Palestinian Hamas movement's world-view and shows how the theoretical framework developed by thinkers such as Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and al-Mawdudi is applied to a specific political, social and economic context. Nüsse explains the fundamentalist position on recent events, such as the Gulf War, the Madrid peace negotiations and the Hebron massacre, and helps to dissipate myths surrounding modern fundamentalist movements and their overwhelming success as opposition movements in the modern world." —Amazon)

Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela. **The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence**. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. ("Two Israeli scholars weigh in with a provocative argument that runs counter to much of the false received wisdom on the subject.... A convincing intervention in the public debate regarding Hamas? A debate that is mainly dominated by the group's demonization." -- Rashid Khalidi, author of *Palestinian Identity* "This work makes a significant and long overdue contribution to scholarship on Hamas and Islamist groups.... Mishal and Sela have made here an excellent contribution to the field with a thoughtful, analytical, and well-documented case study which goes far in revealing a realist, 'de-demonized' Hamas." ---*Middle East Journal*)

Pappe, Ilan. **The Forgotten Palestinians**. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011. ("...historian Ilan Pappé examines how Israeli Palestinians have fared under Jewish rule and what their lives tell us about both Israel's attitude toward minorities and Palestinians' attitudes toward the Jewish state. Drawing upon significant archival and interview material, Pappé analyzes the Israeli state's policy towards its Palestinian citizens, finding discrimination in matters of housing, education, and civil rights." --Yale University Press]

Pearlman, Wendy. **Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. ("Pearlman offers a commanding and comprehensive account on the use of non-violent and violent forms of protest. Examining the first and second Palestinian Uprisings in meticulous detail, Pearlman provides valuable theoretical and empirical insights about the ways in which organizational cohesion influences the content and form of protests. Her potent argument not only advances our understanding of the dynamics of Palestinian political society, but her findings have significant implications for the study of conflict and violence in comparative perspective." --Amaney Jamal, Princeton University "While most national liberation movements historically have adopted violent tactics to press their cause, a handful went the route of non-violence. Pearlman's masterful book argues that organizational cohesion is essential for non-violent tactics to prevail as the weapon of choice. When Palestinian leadership was cohesive, as it was in the early years of the first intifada, resistance was overwhelmingly non-violent; as Palestinian leadership fragmented during the 1990s, it inevitably led to violent (and fruitless) tactics during the second uprising. Informed by both theory and extensive fieldwork, Pearlman's book makes an outstanding contribution to scholarship on social movements and on Palestinian political history." -- Glenn Robinson, Naval Postgraduate School)

Robinson, Glenn. **Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution**. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1997. ("An analysis that is as intricate and flawless as it is devastating... [Robinson's] presentation is powerful and compelling and his scholarship impeccable." —MESA Bulletin "An excellent book. In just 200 pages, Glenn Robinson manages to give the clearest and most concise analysis of the changing political and social structure of the West Bank and Gaza and of current political realities that I have read." —*Digest of Middle Eastern Studies* "A fair and sensitive account and contains the best available assessment of the Intifada's political aftermath among Palestinians. An added bonus is that the book is written in an accessible style with enough historical background and contextual explanation to make it ideal as a text for courses in Middle East politics or the politics of revolutions." —*American Political Science Review*)

Rubin, Barry. **Revolution until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO**. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994. ("This is the best and clearest political and historical analysis of the Palestine Liberation Organization to appear to date. Rubin, author of *Cauldron of Turmoil: America in the Middle East* (LJ 12/92) provides richly detailed examination of how a group of Palestinians, not part of the old guard dominated by the prominent Jerusalem families, created an organization to fulfill a political agenda and achieve a grandiose objective: to establish a Palestinian Arab state in the place of the already existing state of Israel. He examines how the organization groped for a method of operation, fruitlessly employing terrorism, then searching for a more acceptable approach after the 1983 war, and finally moving toward a more diplomatic approach and facing the dilemma of the intifada as a non-PLO initiative. Rubin's effort takes the reader up through the agreement signed with the Israelis in Washington in September 1993. Well suited for a wide range of audiences." —*Library Journal*)

Said, Edward. **The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994.** New York: Vintage Books, 1995. (“As this fascinating collection of essays confirms, no other liberation movement has had such a passionate, coherent, and objective voice as that given by Edward Said to the Palestinian people. Especially at this time of alleged transition in Israeli-Palestinian relations, Said's extraordinary moral imagination, political range, and cultural awareness provide a unique perspective. Anyone who claims concern with the past, present, and future fate of the Palestinian struggle needs to read and ponder Said's brilliantly sustained assessments.”--Richard Falk, on *The Politics of Dispossession*)

Schanzer, Jonathan. **Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. (“The best scholars look at what everyone else looks at but see what others don't see. In *Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine*, Jonathan Schanzer joins the ranks of the most insightful observers the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli conflict by focusing his attention at "the struggle" that may have the greatest impact on the future disposition of the Palestinian independence movement * the intra-Palestinian contest between rival factions Hamas and Fatah, not the clash between Palestinians and Israelis. His fresh, timely and accessible account of the internal battle to control Palestinian identity over the past two decades is a signal contribution. This is must reading for our current and would-be secretaries of state.” ---Robert Satloff, executive director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy)

Steinberg, Matt. **In Search of Modern Palestinian Nationhood.** Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2016. (“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 a vis Israel as the intimate adversary. It shows that in spite of the authenticity of the Palestinian transformations, they might be reversible if they are not acknowledged and responded to by Israel and the international community. —Amazon “A magisterial study by the leading Israeli scholar of Palestine.” --*New York Review of Books*)

Stohlman, Nancy and Aladin, Laurieann. **Live from Palestine: International and Palestinian Direct Action Against the Israeli Occupation.** Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2003. (“This book tells two stories that have become intertwined in the Middle East: the Palestinians who, tired of waiting for U.N. peacekeepers, have called upon the world's activists for protection, and the people who are putting their lives on the line answering that call. Together these Americans, Palestinians, Israelis, and Europeans are making a non-violent, grassroots attempt to challenge the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.” --South End.)

Tamimi, Azzam. **Hamas: A History from Within**. Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2007. (“In this trenchant history spanning from the first days of the 1987 intifada to the sweeping democratic victory of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in the Palestinian elections of January 2006, London-based scholar Tamimi argues that seeing Hamas as merely another face of Al Qaeda obscures more than it elucidates. A successor to the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas comes out of a transnational Islamic reform movement that grew among Palestinians in the 1970s, largely in reaction to Arab nationalism's failure to champion the Palestinian cause. Increasingly, against a string of failed peace processes and the corruption and concessions of the PLO-led secular leadership, Hamas's popular support has rested heavily on its stance as a militant resistance movement wedded to the Palestinian dream of regaining pre-1948 Palestine, and as provider of essential social services. Tamimi draws extensively on the words of insiders in carefully charting and contextualizing the development of Hamas's highly resilient organization, shifting outlook and embrace of various tactics, including the offer of a truce with Israel and, most controversially, suicide bombing. Although mostly dispassionate and at times critical, this is a generally sympathetic analysis. It will be a key resource in English for any serious assessment of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.” —*Publishers Weekly*)

