



	Diplomatic History and US Engagement
	<i>Tomorrow is Yesterday</i>, by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley—In this searing post mortem of the Oslo “peace process” and Camp David 2000, Agha and Malley go beyond a technical analysis of the effort to arrive at a deal to examine how the peace process itself has been flawed. They draw a direct line between the failure at Camp David and October 7, 2023, arguing that October 7 revealed the underlying narratives and histories that have prevented a peace agreement that only addresses Israel’s 1967 occupation. They assert that nothing will be resolved without acknowledgement of deeper meaning (beyond linguistic or legalistic fixes), and coming to terms with 1948. There is insight on every page in this sober and rich volume.
	<i>Crossing the Red Line</i>, by Akbar Shahid Ahmed—This is a searing account of the ways that the Biden Administration enabled the Israeli genocide in Gaza, diplomatically and militarily. Based on hundreds of interviews, Ahmed offers a month-by-month account of the steps taken and debates had by the Administration, and the outcomes. What is clear is that the President himself was deeply committed to supporting Israel, even when he may not have agreed with Israel’s approach, and other high members of the Administration could not change the direction of US policy. Covering the Biden presidency and up to and through the 2024 Harris campaign and election loss, this is a critical and important account.
	<i>Blind Spot</i>, by Khaled el-Gindy—This book traces US diplomatic engagement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the 20th and into the 21st century, beginning with the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and ending with President Trump’s first 2 years in office. The main thesis el-Gindy asserts is that the US “blind spot” is Israeli power and Palestinian politics, i.e. that the US has done nothing to address the imbalance in power of the two parties (and has added to Israel’s) while focusing on Palestinian governance reform as a condition. This approach has led nowhere. This is a very good diplomatic historical analysis.
	<i>Paradigm Lost</i>, by Ian Lustick—According to Lustick, the conflict arose from two Israeli refusals: that of the Palestinian right of return (after 1948) and the formation of a Palestinian state (after 1967). In this historical exploration and analysis, Lustick looks at the impact of the “iron wall,” the Holocaust, and the “lobby” on the failure to bring about a two-state solution. He describes a one-state reality (not as a solution, but as a description), and suggests that Israeli annexation of parts (at least) of the West Bank would help move toward equal rights for Palestinians as citizens. This is a provocative logic, and perhaps optimistic, but should not distract from the valuable historical analysis.



	<i>Shattered Hopes: Obama's Failure to broker Israeli-Palestinian peace</i>, by Josh Ruebner—This is a clearly written and comprehensive chronology and analysis of Obama's first term engagement with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Divided into two parts, Ruebner first offers a history of events on the I/P front from 2008-2012, and then analyzes Washington's involvement thematically. Ruebner's indictment of US engagement is well-founded; his analysis and perspectives are clear and forthright. This book is essential as time for a two-state solution runs out.
	<i>A Path to Peace</i>, by George Mitchell and Alon Sachar—The proposal in this book is not groundbreaking, and falls along the generally-accepted outline for a 2-state solution between Israelis and Palestinians that the US has supported for several years. The value of this book is twofold: it offers an overview of history of US engagement in this issue and negotiations, and it provides some insight into the mainstream US approach. Mitchell and Sachar have been involved directly in negotiations, and this book would be better with more direct experiential narrative.
	<i>The Much Too Promised Land</i>, by Aaron David Miller—Miller recounts diplomatic history from the 1970's through the present, by someone on the inside of American administrations. Focusing on Kissinger, Carter, and James Baker, as well as Clinton, Miller offers some honest and helpful assessment of the US's role in seeking peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. Not overly partisan, Miller attempts to identify key issues and assess what the US has done right and wrong.
	<i>Innocent Abroad</i>, by Martin Indyk—Indyk, who served multiple Administrations in different capacities, offers an up-close and detailed narrative of the diplomatic efforts made to reach agreements between Israel and its neighbors. The value of this book is the unrivalled access, which allows for fascinating reading.
	<i>The Missing Peace</i>, by Dennis Ross—This dense volume is a very thorough account of the negotiations that took place at Camp David in July 2000, written by one of the central players. Written with much detail, and personal impressions, Ross's book is important as documentation of the meetings with Pres. Clinton, Prime Minister Barak, and Pres. Arafat.



	<i>The Truth About Camp David</i>, by Clayton Swisher—If you have read Dennis Ross’s 800-page account of Camp David 2000, this book will be very helpful in understanding Camp David through the eyes of insiders other than Ross, and provides perspectives that sometimes contradict Ross’s account. This book is indispensable in understanding what happened in the year leading up to the summit, during the days at Camp David, and in the weeks following it. It is well-researched and told in a very readable fashion.
	<i>Palestine, Peace not Apartheid</i>, by Jimmy Carter—While too much attention has been given to the title of Pres. Carter’s book, the content is more about his role in brokering the Camp David accords and how his emphasis on the occupation of Palestinian land has not been followed through. President Carter also helps to describe accurately the situation in the occupied West Bank.
	<i>We Can Have Peace in the Holy Land</i>, by Jimmy Carter—Pres. Carter spends much time recapitulating history, most insightfully with excerpts from his own journal. He shares impression of the people he engaged with as President, and much the work he has done since. He then offers analysis and some ideas for the new president on pursuing peace in the Middle East. His most important point is that it is immediately urgent to decide what Israel-Palestine will look like: a one- or two-state solution, and pursue that fervently, with the hard choices involved.
	<i>Thirteen Days in September</i>, by Lawrence Wright—In this briskly paced book, Wright chronicles the 1978 Camp David summit that led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty the following year. But this book is more than that; it provides important biographical background of Presidents Carter and Sadat, and Prime Minister Begin. It is a study of the characters involved and the historical contexts that led them each to Camp David. Positions staked out then have bearing on the state of the conflict today, and is therefore is an especially relevant as contemporary insight.
	<i>Cursed Victory</i>, by Aharon Bregman—In this comprehensive, insightful, and critical examination of the history of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands since 1967, Bregman relies on a variety of sources, including Israeli archives. Not only does he write of Israeli practices and strategies, but he also recounts diplomatic efforts to resolve various aspects of occupation. Bregman is critical of both the Israelis and the Palestinians in this account.
	<i>Genesis: Truman, American Jews, and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict</i>, by John B. Judis—This is a masterful history of Zionism since the late 19th century, American Zionism, and the engagement of the Truman engagement leading up to, and following, the declaration of recognition of the newly established State of Israel. Judis has combined extensive research, a clear and engaging writing style, and a focus on diplomatic—as well as moral—discussion to make this book indispensable.



	<i>A Safe Haven: Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel</i>, by Allis Radosh and Ronald Radosh—This book walks the reader through the internal debates within the Truman administration and the internal debates within the American Jewish community on the issue of Israel and Jewish statehood. It is most valuable for these two aspects, as the research is quite good.
	<i>Oslo: A Play</i>, by J.T. Rogers—What happened in the actual conversations and negotiations that led to the 1993 Oslo Accords/Declaration of Principles? This play speculates, and is at times deeply serious, and at other times, very funny. The script is not long, but it offers some ideas of how the conversations between Palestinian and Israeli representatives might have gone.
	<i>Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance</i>, by Warren Bass—Tracing the chronology of the Kennedy presidency in its Middle East engagements, this book will offer insight into the development of the “special relationship” between the U.S. and Israel from the early days. It treats on questions of military support as well as nuclear capabilities.
	<i>The Holy Land in Transit</i>, by Steven Salaita—Salaita states that US foreign policy related to Israel commenced in 1492. In this comparative study of the dispossession of Indigenous, Salaita considers the relationship between Native Americans and Palestinians in their dispossession at the hands of European settlers. His comparison includes literary criticism, and examines some important Native American and Palestinian literature, identifying parallels in their articulation of their circumstances. While somewhat academic, the volume is an important contribution.
	<i>Except for Palestine: The Limits of Progressive Politics</i>, by Marc Lamont Hill and Mitchell Plitnick—This book examines how American progressives have excepted Palestine among their issue advocacy, both those in government and among the activist community, and is a challenge to them to be consistent across issues in applying their principles. With four cases as examples—Israel's right to exist, the criminalization of BDS, President Trump's approach to Israel/Palestine, and the tragedy of Gaza—Hill and Plitnick recount and analyze the history of engagement by people across the political spectrum, especially progressives. They conclude by urging progressives not to ignore or exclude Palestine when advocating for justice and rights for all people.

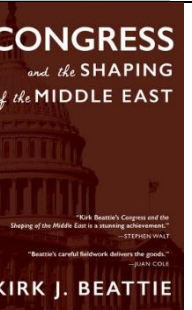
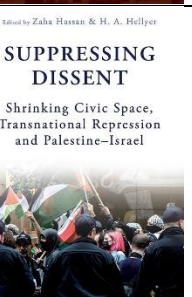


	<i>Our Vision for Liberation</i>, edited by Ramzy Baroud and Ilan Pappé—In this compiled volume, activists and academics, artists and authors share their experiences of the Palestinian struggle, the ways that they have resisted and countered injustice and oppression, and their ideas for a more hopeful future. At a time when despair seems to prevail, it is essential to hear voices of those deeply involved in seeking justice, across generations and across geography.
	<i>Freedom is a Constant Struggle</i>, by Angela Davis—The author, who has been deeply engaged in struggles for rights for African-Americans, for women, and for many oppressed people, makes the argument for the “intersectionality” of issues, including race, gender justice, and Palestine. This book, a collection of interviews, essays, and speeches, is an eminently readable presentation of the issues, including a special focus on the role of G4S and the privatization of prisons and security in the US and in Israel/Palestine.
	<i>A Shadow Over Palestine</i>, by Keith Feldman—The intersection of US racial politics and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is clearly elucidated in this smart analysis. In academic prose, Feldman delineates the connections between writings and public witness on the two issues. He demonstrates the marginalization of proponents of racial equality in the US and justice for the Palestinians, and clarifies links in narratives that point to an important aspect of the “special relationship” between the US and Israel. This is a challenging and rewarding volume.
	<i>Geographies of Liberation</i>, by Alex Lubin—In this unique book, Lubin traces the relationships between African-American and Black community movements and those of Zionism, pan-Arabism, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Covering more than 150 years of interesting convergences, this book offers history of each aspect that is less well-known but quite helpful, including discussion of the connections and affinities of black Americans have had with both political Zionism and Palestinian liberation movements.
	<i>Black Power and Palestine</i>, by Michael Fischbach—In this engaging history, Fischbach traces the involvement of different Black activist groups in the Israeli-Palestinian issue, starting with the 1967 war. This book not only situates the various movements, but recounts the backstories of their willingness to engage this issue (or lack thereof) and explores the reasons for the positions each took. The different groups were influenced by their institutional ties, their connections during the civil rights movement, and their members’ encounters in Israel/Palestine. This is an extremely helpful book.

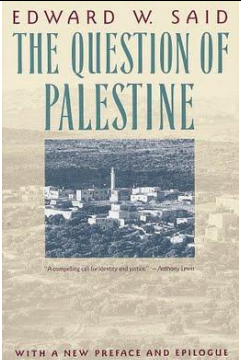
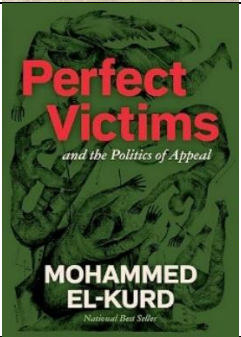
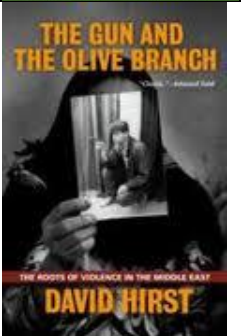
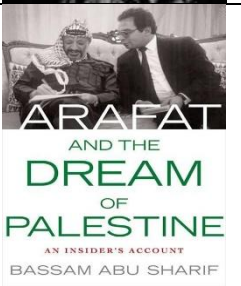


	<i>The Movement and the Middle East</i>, by Michael Fischbach—In this companion to <i>Black Power and Palestine</i>, Fischbach follows up with an examination of the ways that the Israeli-Palestinian issue impacted the American left in the 1960s and following, including in the socialist and progressive parts of the segment, among the anti-Vietnam war activists, and within the Jewish community. This is very good history, and remains relevant and reflective of politics today.
	<i>Before the Next Bomb Drops</i>, by Remi Kanazi—In this collection of evocative poems, Kanazi links Palestinian history, race in the US, activist movement, and political realities. The poems are short, but articulate very clearly the connections that exist, and the truths that are intertwined.
	<i>A Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the U.S.</i>, by Trita Parsi—A book full of interesting international relations history related to this triangle of apparent enemies, Parsi's book is quite stimulating and very informative. The book is divided into three parts: the Cold War, the post-Cold War, and prospects for the future. This book is well worth one's while to understand the differences between official rhetoric and actual dealings, as well as ideological vs. strategic approaches to international relationships. It is especially helpful in these days when Iran is at the center of much discussion.
	<i>They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby</i>, by Paul Findlay—Findlay was a US Congressman from Illinois for 22 years, but lost his reelection campaign, and tells the story of the impact and influence of AIPAC in that election. This book was written in 1985 and provides historical data for today's debate about the Israel Lobby.
	<i>The Israel Lobby</i>, by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt—This is an important book, and expanded version of their 2006 London Review of Books article on the same topic (http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby). Much debated, the co-authors, prominent professors, present the argument that several types of organizations (Jewish and non-Jewish) are quite influential in their lobbying in Washington, giving the state of Israel sufficient support in the US. Detailed and well-written, this book has become important in the short time since it was published.



	<i>Lobbying for Zionism on Both Sides of the Atlantic</i>, by Ilan Pappé—In this thorough and detailed historical examination of pro-Israel lobby efforts in the US and the UK, Pappé traces a chronological trajectory in each context with a focus on Jewish and non-Jewish advocacy efforts to advance pro-Israel policies. This is a long read, but worth the effort, as it examines the roots of Christian Zionism its adherents' advocacy, as well as that of various agencies.
	<i>Transforming America's Israel Lobby: The Limits of Its Power and the Potential for Change</i>, by Dan Fleshler—This book gives a “map” of the American Jewish community and its organizations, with discussion of the various approaches to Israel/Middle East policy by them. The author is partial to the new peace-related organizations, especially J Street, and is hopeful that it will have some impact. It discusses the relationship and work of some of the church organizations, as well, such as Churches for Middle East Peace. This is a very good contribution to the emerging literature, spawned by Mearsheimer and Walt's article and book a couple of years ago on this topic.
	<i>Congress and the Shaping of the Middle East</i>, by Kirk Beattie—In this book, Beattie combines political science and anecdotal evidence to show how Congress is influenced and why it behaves as it does on the Middle East, and specifically the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Over two periods of research in the 2000s, Beattie interviewed Congressional staffers, examined financial influence, and tracked the production of legislation and resolutions related to this conflict. His product is a fascinating insight into a “broken” institution—Congress.
	<i>Suppressing Dissent</i>, Zaha Hassan and H.A. Hellyer, eds. – In this collection of historical background and contemporary analysis, the several authors present the many ways that advocacy for Palestinian rights has been suppressed in Israel and in the US. The book also explores the implications of this suppression. This is a valuable collection of chapters shows how many sectors have been engaged, and the impact on civil society. The ebook is available free online at this website: https://oneworld-publications.com/work/suppressing-dissent/.
	<i>Our American Israel</i>, by Amy Kaplan—The United States and Israel share some essential foundational narratives, a “shared exceptionalism,” and a projected sense of “extreme vulnerability” juxtaposed with “fundamental indomitability.” Kaplan explores these ideas over the course of the second half of the twentieth century in this cultural and political analysis. Her approach is keen and insightful, critical and expository. This book is essential for those interested in the intersection of historical, political, and cultural narrative.
	Historical, theological, political, and sociological analysis



	<i>The Question of Palestine</i>, by Edward W. Said—Every so often, one should read Said, an intellectual giant. This book is one of his so-called trilogy, which also includes <i>Orientalism</i> and <i>Covering Islam</i>. This book treats the question of Palestine through an intellectual and analytical approach. Said weighs the good of Zionism for the Jewish people against the dispossession of land, property, and life for Palestinians; he treats the idea of representation in depth; and he looks at the political situation of the early 1980s, when the book was written. He also focuses on the imperative of Palestinian self-determination.
	<i>Perfect Victims and the Politics of Appeal</i>, by Mohammed el-Kurd—El-Kurd is the author of the collection of poetry named for his grandmother, <i>Rifqa</i>. He has become a globally known activist who is known for his family's forced expulsion by religious Jewish settlers from the Shaikh Jarrah district in Jerusalem. In this book of short essays, el-Kurd addresses a global audience with critical questions about how the world views Palestinians, including their very humanity. Sharp and clear, el-Kurd does not hesitate to confront those outside. This is an important set of critical essays.
	<i>The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East</i>, by David Hirst—In this masterful historic analysis of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Hirst offers much more than narrative history; he offers an alternative point of view that is likely to disturb one's understanding of history. Well-documented, this book complements the mainstream presentation of the last century of conflict in the Middle East. With Zionism and Israel at the center of this telling, Hirst has written a book that has been described as "classic." The second edition ends with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its consequences (1982-3), and the third edition takes the reader through Oslo and its impact.
	<i>Arafat and the Dream of Palestine</i>, by Bassam Abu Sharif—Abu Sharif was Yasir Arafat's personal advisor and close friend. This biography of Arafat is written from a place of close familiarity and personal affinity. It is a presentation of the history of the Palestinian struggle from the inside, with a special attention to backstories not otherwise known. It starts early in Arafat's life, and quickly moves to the establishment of the PLO, and concludes with Israel's siege of Arafat's compound in Ramallah and his death.



	<i>Bibi</i>, by Anshel Pfeffer—This book is an extremely insightful biography of Israel's longest-serving prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Tracing his early life and formation through his political career and legal troubles, Pfeffer identifies the influences in Netanyahu's life, identifying his ideological and career development. This is not a glorification of Netanyahu, but a critical treatment of Netanyahu's path, thorough in its research and writing.
	<i>Killing a King</i>, by Dan Ephron—This is a well-researched and compelling read about the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995, the assassin Yigal Amir, the religious right from which he came, and the historical implications of the assassination itself on Israeli and regional politics. Ephron has immersed himself in the events and the investigation, and the result is a book that offers insightful detail and analysis. At first alternating between Rabin's and Amir's lives, Ephron then brings the strands together at the assassination. This book helps the reader understand the trajectories of Rabin's program, and that of the religious right in Israel, and which has emerged triumphant for the time being.
	<i>Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History</i>, by Nur Masalha—In this illuminating and sweeping history and historiography, Masalha demonstrates the presence of Palestine on the map and in the accounts of the region over millennia. His main argument is that the Zionist settler-colonial endeavor has attempted to remove traces of this long and proud history from the annals and from the land itself. Most of the volume is an account of how historians have discussed Palestine (using the same name, or a close variation) and what Palestine looked like on the historical map. His introduction and concluding chapter deal directly with the question of erasure and supersession by the new colonists. This is a thought-provoking and highly valuable book
	<i>The Bible & Zionism</i>, by Nur Masalha—Masalha makes analyzes the current reality through the lens of biblical archaeology and themes that have been appropriated to serve the agenda of Zionism—both Jewish and Christian. In a sweeping book, Masalha explores the uses of the ideas of Maimonides, various religious extremist groups, archaeological minimalists, and liberation theology, as well as Edward Said's contributions. He explores how biblical themes have been used to justify the transfer of Palestinians. This book is especially valuable in its discussion of biblical archaeology and liberation theology.



	<i>The Palestine Nakba</i>, by Nur Masalha—This critical historical study focuses on the efforts to erase the Palestinian presence from the map. The erasure has been attempted through narrative, academic, topographical, linguistic, and legal means, as well as military, resulting in the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. Masalha undertakes a comprehensive project to show how Israelis in different positions of colonial power have participated in this effort. An especially forceful chapter focuses on the “new historians” who have had access to parts of the Israeli archives to describe what happened in 1948 and their different conclusions. He concludes by asserting the need to listen to the subaltern voices who don’t usually appear in official records.
	<i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i>, by Nur Masalha—This is deeply researched volume using Israeli archival materials to trace the history of the idea of Palestinian expulsion, starting with the first Zionist Congresses in the late 19th century. The idea of the transfer of Palestinians from the land on which they have lived was present from very early on. It was debated among Zionist leaders, and strategies were discussed on how to implement such a plan, as well as where Palestinians should be transferred to. This book is important as the idea of transfer of Palestinians still has currency in Israel among some Israeli leaders.
	<i>The Politics of Denial</i>, by Nur Masalha—This is an important volume on the genesis of the Palestinian refugee crisis and experience, and examination of the ways that it has been treated over the decades. Especially important is the way that Masalha presents the research, analysis, and reception to the Israeli “new historians” as well as the historic political avoidance of the issue of Palestinian refugees – including the matter of responsibility for causing their displacement – over the course of international negotiations seeking to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
	<i>Mapping Exile and Return: Palestinian Dispossession and a Political Theology for a Shared Future</i>, by Alain Epp Weaver—Employing the actual and metaphoric idea of maps, Weaver, a Mennonite theologian, explores the contesting narratives of Palestinians and Israelis. The ideas of exile and return are central in this theological analysis; Weaver draws on post-colonial concepts to work toward a possible resolution of competing claims as he seeks to contribute to a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on shared space and mutual acknowledgement of presence.



	<i>More Desired than Our Own Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism</i>, by Robert O. Smith—In this sweeping and revelatory examination of the evolution of Christian Zionism, Smith traces the Anglo-American strands of this influential movement. Bookended by discussions of contemporary manifestations of Christian Zionism, this book focuses on its roots, including ideas regarding the place of Jews, Muslims, and the Catholic Church.
	<i>The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood</i>, by Rashid Khalidi—Khalidi is an historian and that shows through very clearly in this small but filled book about Palestinian efforts to achieve statehood. Tracing the movement back in time, Khalidi demonstrates the consistency of the movement, and the obstacles it faced.
	<i>Balfour's Shadow</i>, by David Cronin—Starting with the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, Cronin tracks British policy toward Palestine and Israel over the decades up to the current period. British policy's foundation was set with the commitment to a state for the Jewish people, and that support has been consistent since the early 20th century. Meticulous and analytical, this is a fast and helpful read.
	<i>The Commander</i>, by Laila Parsons—In this biography of Fawzi al-Qawuqji, Parsons traces his life from his birth in Tripoli, Lebanon, through his involvement in the struggle for Arab independence from 1914-1948. A pan-Arabist, al-Qawuqji was deeply involved in the fight against European colonialism in the Levant, and later for Palestinian independence. Parsons' account is intimate while exploring grand themes in Middle East history of the period.
	<i>The Mufti of Jerusalem</i>, by Philip Matar—In this critical biography, Matar offers an analytical perspective on al-Hajj Amin al-Hussaini, the infamous mufti of Jerusalem who has been both a symbol of Palestinian nationalism and resistance, and discredited for his support of the Germans and the Axis in WWII. Matar revisits the life story of al-Hussaini, presenting essential historical context of the role and decisions al-Hussaini undertook. This is an important corrective to portrayals of the mufti that both glorify and demonize him.
	<i>The 1936-39 Revolt in Palestine</i>, by Ghassan Kanafani—Written by the prominent Palestinian author better known for his novellas, this small book is a social, economic, and political analysis of the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine. Kanafani focuses on the factors that led to the Palestinians' revolt.



	<i>Palestine 1936</i>, by Oren Kessler—In this historical narrative of the 1936-39 clashes in Palestine, Kessler offers an accessible and readable account. He tries to show the actions and motivations of all involved: Palestinians, Jewish immigrants, and the British. He also demonstrates that many of the practices and realities of today have forerunners almost a century ago, including separation fences/walls, for example.
	<i>Israel's Dead Soul</i>, by Steven Salaita—In this collection of essays, Salaita addresses a number of issues, joined together by his critique of Zionism and the ways that critics of Zionism have been attacked. He addresses construction of narrative, Arab Palestinians living in Israel, and even framing of issues in some movies. Salaita is a thoughtful and thorough writer and academic, and his logic is clear and direct.
	<i>The Least of All Possible Evils</i>, by Eyal Weizman—In this tight but replete volume, Weizman explores war theory and issues related to proportional damage, with a focus on an “acceptable threshold.” What sacrifices become acceptable to avoid greater loss and death in times of war? Weizman uses Gaza as a paradigm and demonstrates the philosophical difficulties of determining what is acceptable—concluding that no death is what should be understood. In forensics, witness accounts are replaced with scientific investigations to “reconstruct” attacks and to determine what “really” took place. Layers of destruction prevent an accurate “reconstruction,” Weizman points out, layering decades of destruction on top of each other.
	<i>Rise and Kill First</i>, by Ronen Bergman—This is a comprehensive narrative of Israel's targeted assassination program since even before Israel was established. Bergman clearly has unmatched sources and access, which he has parlayed into a disturbing account of many instances of secret operations, the political discussions and debates that have accompanied them, and the development of the program technologically. The outcome is a sad commentary on the extent to which this conflict has been deadly for people in both communities.
	<i>Itineraries in Conflict: Israelis, Palestinians, and the Political Lives of Tourists</i>, by Rebecca L. Stein—Two quotes stand out from the last pages of this book: “The Palestinians have emptied our cafés. We Israelis have emptied their nation.” And “The foreigners will fill the streets of our cities in masses, until it is no longer clear who lives here and who is a tourist.” Both of these refer to the dynamics and directionality of tourism and pleasure in the Middle East. This book is an important study of Israeli tourism before, during, and after the Oslo process, both throughout the Middle East and within Israel/Palestine. It is clear that that the main actors, and indeed the marketing audience, are Ashkenazim, and not Sephardim or Mizrahim, let alone Palestinian Israelis, West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, or other Arabs. The stratification is important and the paradigm is natural in Stein's post-colonial reading of tourism.



	<i>BDS: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights</i>, by Omar Barghouti—No matter your position on boycott, divestment, and sanctions in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this book is a must-read to understand the history and logic of the movement as articulated by Palestinian civil society. Barghouti helps the reader understand the debates and discussion about BDS, and the arguments used against it. More than that, he re-centers the debate on the issues the BDS campaign seeks to address: occupation, rights of Israeli Arabs, and those of refugees.
	<i>The Case for Sanctions</i>, ed. Audrea Lim—This volume is a series of articles, essays, and statements in support of various aspects of BDS. Whether you support this idea or not, it is worth hearing activists—including Palestinians, Israelis, and people from all over the world—articulate their case. The bottom line is that, for them, this is an asymmetric conflict and the BDS approach can help level the playing field. BDS is a tactic/strategy to offer solidarity, pressure, and morale.
	<i>Beyond the Two-State Solution</i>, by Jonathan Kuttab—In this concise and direct book, Kuttab lays out why the two-state solution is beyond recovery, focusing on the reasons the two-state solution's proponents adhere so firmly to it and the situation on the ground that render it impossible. He address both ideological/narrative issues and practicalities. He proceeds to lay out an alternative solution – a one-state solution – and what would be necessary for that to come to fruition. Kuttab skillfully and knowledgably offer a clear pathway for a future that is based on rights and needs, recognizing that not everyone will accept the proposal and that there are aspects that will need to be worked out. Even so, it is helpful to have a creative and clear proposal. [This book is available for free download here: https://www.nonviolenceinternational.net/beyond2states.]
	<i>One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse</i>, by Ali Abunimah—The value of this book is less in the proposal for ending the conflict—indicated by the title—but rather in the critique of various plans that have come before. The rather short book is an entirely accessible critique of various proposals, and concludes with the idea of a single state—an idea that is taking on a vogue in the mainstream more and more. There is a section in this book on the churches' work and advocacy, and the UCC is noted.
	<i>Overcoming Zionism</i>, by Joel Kovel—This book has drawn so much attention as a challenging book in the debate on Israel and Palestine. Kovel is highly critical of Zionism as an historical and current reality, and concludes by arguing for a one-state solution, what Kovel calls “Palesrael,” joining four letters from each entity and linking them with the “s” that is common in both.



	<i>After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine</i>, Anthony Loewenstein and Ahmed Moor, eds.—In this collection of essays written by Palestinians, Israelis, and non-Israeli Jews, provocative questions are posed about Zionism and its character, what a post-Zionist Israel would look like, and even what a post-Israel Zionism would look like. Authors may not completely agree on a possible solution to Israel/Palestine, but there is general consensus on some form of a single state. They all agree on the importance of a rights-based approach.
	<i>The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine</i>, by Ilan Pappé—Another of Israel's “new historians,” Pappé presents research in this book supporting the claim that the creation of 750,000 refugees at the time of the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 was not simply the consequences of war, but was part of a plan. Controversial and provocative, this book provides insight into the issue of Palestinian refugees, one of the central points of disagreement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
	<i>Palestine Hijacked</i>, by Thomas Suárez—Relying heavily on archival materials, Suárez' volume is an indispensable compendium of the extent to which the Zionist militias and later the Israeli army went to silence criticism and to reframe the conflict. Most striking is the effort to silence alternative Jewish voices who did not support the creation of Israel, or who were in favor of rescuing Jews from the Holocaust and European anti-Semitism without resettling them in Palestine/Israel.
	<i>Citizen Strangers</i>, by Shira Robinson—This study focuses on the period beginning with the establishment of the State of Israel and looking at its first decade. The focus is on the laws and practices that affected Palestinian citizens of Israel, not only in terms of how they might obtain legal status, but also the application of laws and military rule to ensure a separate status for them. It is remarkable that such legal and practical norms of the late 1940s and through the 1950s in Israel are recognizable in the occupied Palestinian territories today. This book is especially valuable for its insight and extensive documentation.
	<i>The Forgotten Palestinians</i>, by Ilan Pappé—In this important book, Pappé chronologically and analytically presents the tension of the Palestinian presence in Israel, from 1948 to the present. Pappé describes Israel as an “ethnocracy” in which Palestinians are viewed and treated as a fifth column—a security threat to the state. He shows the legal and practical barriers to full inclusion and the reality of discrimination, unhelpful legislation, and state violence.



	<i>How Long Will Israel Survive?</i> by Gregg Carlstrom—This book examines the crisis inside Israeli society and politics, focusing on the current state of polarization. Carlstrom relies on his coverage of Israel as a journalist to portray a citizenry that is fracturing and shifting to the right. He asserts that this is neither healthy for Israel's long-term survival, nor for its relations with the Palestinians. This is a good introduction to today's Israel, full of anecdotes and examples.
	<i>The Wall Between</i>, by Raja Khouri and Jeffrey Wilkinson—Writing from North America, a Palestinian and a Jew take head on the narratives that each community tells, and attempt to take the discourse beyond a zero-sum-game. For the two communities, the Holocaust, the <i>Nakba</i>, and the ongoing trauma have defined the context and prevented a just resolution. Khouri and Wilkinson take a psycho-social approach to suggest an alternative way to engage each other productively.
	<i>Pumpkin Flowers</i>, by Matti Friedman—This book is replete with short reflections on war and conflict, in the setting of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon in the 1990s, leading up to withdrawal in May 2000. Friedman offers a thoughtful book on the absurdity of the occupation, from the point of view of a previous soldier there, Avi, the Israeli mothers who opposed the Israeli presence, then his own experience there, and finally his own return, as a Canadian tourist to Lebanon some time later. Lucid and arresting, this book is nonetheless one that can be critiqued for its perspective.
	<i>Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within</i>, by Ilan Peleg and Dov Waxman—This scholarly examination of the socio-political-economic realities of the Palestinian citizens of Israel is enlightening and very readable. In exploring the history of Arab Palestinian citizens of Israel, their rights in relation to Jewish rights, and the political engagement of this community (which is a little over 20% of Israel's citizenry), Peleg and Waxman conclude that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be adequately resolved without addressing this issue as well. They provide some outlook and possible approaches, including a possible definition of Israel as a “Jewish homeland and state for all its citizens.”
	<i>The Wrath of Jonah: The Crisis of Religious Nationalism in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict</i>, by Rosemary Radford Ruether and Herman Ruether—This book explores religious and secular Zionism and its impact on the development of the conflict's history. Not sympathetic to Israeli religious nationalism, this book is nevertheless a helpful analysis.
	Books about Israel by Israelis and American Jews



	<i>From Enemy to Friend: Jewish Wisdom and the Pursuit of Peace</i>, by Rabbi Amy Eilberg—Focusing on active and engaged listening, Rabbi Eilberg explores Jewish teachings to propose ways for conflict resolution in personal, social, and political contexts. She uses the Israeli-Palestinian context as a major example of a place of disagreement, not only globally, but within the Jewish community, to test ways to approaching disagreement. This is a thoughtful presentation of Judaism's traditions, teachings, and global presence.
	<i>Israel: What Went Wrong?</i> by Omer Bartov—Written by a prominent Israeli-American scholar of the Holocaust and genocide, Bartov explores how Zionism has developed over time and the current set of crises in Israel. The shift from what was a liberatory movement to an ethno-nationalist state is a main culprit in answering the question of the title. Israel's rule over 14 million people – half of whom are Israeli Jews and the other half who are Palestinian – on the same geography with different rights is a reality that Israel has never reckoned with, including not writing a constitution. Bartov, who came to conclude that Israel's assault on Gaza is a genocide, looks at history and current events through an historian's eye to offer this sharp critique of what Israel has become and what might be possible in the future.
	<i>"Thou Shalt Not Stand Idly By,"</i> edited by Susan Landau—In this collection of quotes and citations, Landau has compiled an important contribution to how Jewish luminaries have spoken clearly for truth and justice on Israel/Palestine over the decades. With a special emphasis on Jewish critique of Zionism, Landau brings together voices from across contemporary history that together refute the claims of automatic Jewish support for Israel and its policies. The book is available free online here: https://www.openbookpublishers.com/books/10.11647/obp.0481.
	<i>Goliath: Life and Loathing in Greater Israel</i>, by Max Blumenthal—In this troubling account of the rise and influence of the far right in Israel today, Blumenthal offers important background and personal encounter to reveal a culture of discrimination and racism. The rise of the right wing is a trend that is familiar to followers of Israeli politics and society, but the documentation Blumenthal provides is especially troubling. His reporting is brave—not only in what he writes, but his willingness to experience the culture and encounter the people he writes about, first hand. [Here is a link to Part 1 of an interview with the author on Democracy Now: http://www.democracynow.org/2013/10/4/max_blumenthal_on_goliath_life_and]



	<i>We Are Not One</i>, by Eric Alterman—Focusing on the debate in the US over Israel, Alterman traces chronologically the different viewpoints and the influence they have had on US policy. Alterman focuses primarily on the viewpoints of American Jewish groups, but also includes an examination of American evangelicals who have been strong supporters of Israeli policies and of a particular pro-Israel agenda in Washington.
	<i>The State of Israel vs. The Jews</i>, by Sylvain Cypel—In this methodical and detailed tome, translated from its original French, argues that Israel and its policies toward the Palestinians have gone far beyond what is acceptable from a moral point of view. Cypel writes as an anti-Zionist Jew, and is highly critical of French (and American) Jewish establishment, as well as Israel's. He illustrates each facet of critique with insight from Israeli and Jewish life in a powerful rejection of more mainstream narratives about Israel. This is an important contribution to current engagement and debate.
	<i>The Crisis of Zionism</i>, by Peter Beinart—In this challenging volume, Beinart describes the differences between the political realities in Israel and in the occupied Palestinian territories, in terms of democracy and rights. He then looks at the intellectual history of Zionism to suggest two main strands, one of which has resulted in those important differences. This tight and clear presentation is an important contribution to understanding Israeli, and American Jewish, perspectives and engagement on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
	<i>Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish romance with Israel is coming to an end</i>, by Norman Finkelstein—Not one to shy away from clear and searing critique of mainstream narrative, Finkelstein's book is an enlightening read in which he proposes that American Jews must choose between their progressive liberalism and their support for Israel, as the two are at odds. The main section (and appendix) of the book is a critical analysis of published works that echo the traditional Israeli narrative. Finkelstein uses available information to challenge that narrative and show that there are plenty of sources to offer a more correct perspective on the conflict.
	<i>The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine</i>, by Miko Peled—This inspiring memoir of family is a poignant account of two generations of the Peled family and their principled stand on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Miko traces—and discovers—his father's (the Israeli general) public engagement with Palestinians, and conveys his own discovery of the reality of occupation. This narrative can serve as a model of how Israelis might explore the occupation and the impact on individual Palestinian lives. [Click here to watch Mr. Peled speak: www.youtube.com/watch?v=vL2Lzj1aH_U.]

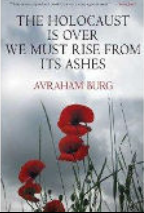
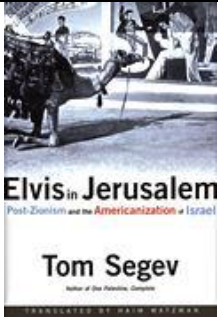
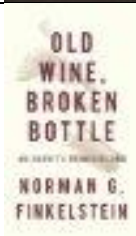


	<i>The Girl Who Stole My Holocaust: A Memoir</i>, by Noam Chayut—This is a poignant memoir written by a former Israeli Defense Forces soldier who is now a member of Breaking the Silence. Chayut poses very profound questions about collective memory and individual responsibility, and offers perspective on the ways and means of Israeli occupation in the Palestinian territories. He hopes to convey those truths to the reader, acknowledging his role, all the while hoping that the book's eponymous girl can hear.
	<i>Freedom and Despair</i> and <i>Dark Hope</i>, by David Shulman—These books are both a diary of the author's activism opposing occupation in the South Hebron Hills and the West Bank, and a philosophical and moral reflection on what he calls "wickedness." Shulman is a member of Ta'ayush, and engages in direct presence, facing off through non-violence with soldiers and settlers, with Palestinians. As a Jew, and an ethicist, Shulman bravely confronts those who challenge a vision for justice and peace. This is an opportunity to see the occupation through the eyes and mind of a dissenting Israeli.
	<i>How I Stopped Being a Jew</i>, by Shlomo Sand—In this lucid extended essay, Sand expounds in a provocative and profound way that it means to be Jewish historically and in the context of 20th century Zionism, especially in Israel today. He discusses strands of Jewish identity, not least among them religious and secular, but also historical, geographical, and linguistic. Which of these identities have been dominant, at the expense of the others? He also discusses Jewish relations with Jews, and with non-Jews, including Palestinians and Arab Israelis.
	<i>Haifa Republic</i>, by Omri Boehm—In this long essay, Boehm attempts to reconcile historic (pre-1930's) Zionism with the reality on the ground today. He is critical of what Israel has become, and seeks to recover an idea put forth by Menachem Begin in 1978, which would have established a one-state solution that seems impossible to debate today. He laments this, but through his analysis and conclusions, proposes that the purpose of any ultimate effort will be for cohabitation and not separation. This is a challenging and timely book.
	<i>The Hebrew Republic</i>, by Bernard Avishai—Avishai, an Israeli, discusses with sharpness the legal and economic realities in Israel, particularly engaging the issue of Israel as a Jewish state. His first chapter is especially pertinent, as he discusses the lack of an Israeli constitution and the implications for rights and responsibilities, as well as the important distinction between "Israeli citizen," which covers Jews and non-Jews, and "Israeli national" who are only Jewish citizens of Israel—and of course, the differences between the two, and the discrimination against "non-national" citizens.



	<i>We Look Like the Enemy: The Hidden Story of Israel's Jews From Arab Lands</i>, by Rachel Shabi—An often overlooked aspect of the social reality in Israel is the stratification of Jewish populations. Shabi attempts to offer a perspective not often understood or available about the Mizrahi and Sephardic communities, those who came to Israel from Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East. This book sheds light on their experience in a place where the Ashkenazim have enjoyed the power and have been able to direct the ideology of the state. Shabi also explores some of the difficulties of Zionism for Arab Jews.
	<i>How Israel Lost: The Four Questions</i>, by Richard Ben Cramer—A journalist, Ben Cramer is an American Jew who has spent significant time in the Middle East professionally, and personally. This book is an engaging read. The “four questions” is a format that Jews use during the Passover seder, but Ben Cramer has changed the context to deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. His critique of both sides is strong, and while the book is now several years old, much of the critique holds up. He is critical of both the Israeli and Palestinian establishment, and perhaps most importantly, examines why the continuation of the conflict is in the interest of both elite. He concludes with some hope for peace (dated, but yet hope!). Ben Cramer is a clear writer and observer, and his journalist’s style makes this a book that is hard to put down.
	<i>Tracing Homelands</i>, by Linda Dittmar—This book is a memoir and an exploration. Dittmar, a Jewish Israeli, comes to terms with the country’s past, particularly the <i>Nakba</i> and narrates a reflection on memory, history, discovery, and place. The memoir is an effort to come to terms with a history that is not taught in Israeli curricula, and is not generally discussed. Dittmar discusses much of her learning process, as well as her engagement with the people and places of Palestine. Poignantly written, this is a powerful reflection that is an acknowledgment of the past and a perspective on the present and future.
	<i>Three Worlds</i>, by Avi Schlain—In this poignant and unique memoir, Schlain remembers intercommunal life in Iraq for his family before 1950 and the place of the Jewish community there before and after the establishment of Israel. After being forced out, Schlain’s family felt marginalized in Israel as an Arab Jewish family that spoke Arabic. From there, Schlain studied and ultimately settled in the UK, where different dynamics as a Jewish person were at play
	<i>The Other Side of Israel: My Journey Across the Jewish/Arab Divide</i>, by Susan Nathan—The relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish Israelis is not often discussed. Nathan, who immigrated to Israel from the UK, makes a decision to live in an Arab village in Israel, and what she discovers is the subject of this important book.



	<i>The Holocaust is Over: We Must Rise from Its Ashes</i>, by Avraham Burg—This book is a challenging look at Judaism and its predominant paradigms through which to view history. Naturally, Burg asserts, the Holocaust is one of them. He discusses ways that the Holocaust has been used in memory and to convince the reader to honor that memory but transcend it.
	<i>Elvis in Jerusalem: Post-Zionism and the Americanization of Israel</i>, by Tom Segev—Segev is among the “new historians” of Israel, and this book-length essay is an excellent discussion of Zionism’s origins, its critics, and its development into post- and post-post-Zionism. The book also traces the impact of American culture on Israel, and how that has affected national sentiment in Israel.
	<i>Old Wine, Broken Bottle</i>, by Norman Finklestein—In straightforward style, this short book is rather a long (and scathing) critique of Ari Shavit’s <i>My Promised Land</i>. Given the extensive positive media attention Shavit’s book has received, Finklestein does not hold back in identifying inconsistencies and highlighting what Shavit failed to include as it relates to the Occupation and treatment of Palestinians.