Bibliography

- A Dalloul, Motasem. 'The New Leader of Hamas in Gaza Is Yahya Al-Sinwar'.

 Middle East Monitor, 13 February 2017. https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170213the-new-leader-of-hamas-in-gaza-is-yahya-al-sinwar/.
- al-Abbasi, Abu Yunus. 'Limadha La Tatbiq Hamas Al-Shari'a?' Jannat 54 (2008): 44–45.
- Abou El Zalaf, Ahmed. The Muslim Brotherhood and State Repression in Egypt: Secrecy and Militancy in an Islamist Organization. London: I.B. Tauris, 2023.
- Abou Jalal, Rasha. 'Islamic Jihad Gains Support in Gaza as Hamas Declines'. al-Monitor, 10 April 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/04/islamicjihad-support-gaza-expense-hamas.html.
- Abu Amer, Adnan. 'Former Hamas Official Speaks Out'. al-Monitor, 20 May 2015. https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2015/05/hamas-war-gaza-ahmed-youssef-ismail-haniyeh-advisor.html.
- ——. 'Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami: Al-Nash'a Wa-l-Tatawwur Wa-l-Mawaqif al-Siyasiyya'. *Adnan Abu Amer's Blog*, 16 January 2018. http://adnanabuamer.com/post/120.
- ——. 'Report Outlines How Iran Smuggles Arms to Hamas'. *al-Monitor*, 9 April 2021. https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/04/report-outlines-how-iran-smuggles-arms-hamas.
- Abu Amer, Ahmad. 'Has Iran's Influence Increased in Palestinian Arena?' al-Monitor, 15 October 2018. https://web.archive.org/web/20210623165351/https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2018/10/palestinian-islamic-jihad-elections-iran-influence.html.
- Abu Taha, Anwar. Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin: Nash'atan Wa Minhajan. Beirut: Palestinian Islamic Jihad, 2001.
- Abu Tayr, Muhammad. Sayyidi Umar: Dhikriyat al-Shaykh Muhammad Abu Tayr Fi al-Muqawama Wa Thalatha Wa Thalathin 'Aman Min al-I'tiqal. Beirut: Markaz al-Zaytuna li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Istisharat, 2017.
- Abu-Amr, Ziad. 'Hamas: A Historical and Political Background'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 4 (1993): 5–19.
- ——. Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Abufarha, Nasser. The Making of a Human Bomb. An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

- Abusada, Mkhaimar. 'The Strongest Man in Gaza: Inside the Mind of Hamas Leader Yahya Sinwar'. *Haaretz*, 17 January 2024. https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/2024-01-17/ty-article-opinion/.premium/the-strongest-man-in-gaza-inside-the-mind-of-hamas-leader-yahya-sinwar/0000018d-1732-d695-a3dd-5737fe6c0000.
- Acinapura, Antonella. 'A Framing-Sensitive Approach to Militant Groups' Tactics: The Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine and the Radicalisation of Violence during the Second Intifada'. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 16, no. 1 (2023): 123–145.
- Adwan, Atif. Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yassin: Hayatuhu Wa Jihaduhu. n.p.: al-Markaz al-Filastini li-l-I'lam, 1991.
- Ahmad, Rif'at Sayyid. 'Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf'. In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 43–119. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- Ajamieh, Yazan, Antonio Bassanetti, Thomas Laursen and Hania Qassis. 'West Bank and Gaza: Selected Issues'. World Bank, 2006. https://documents.world-bank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/561841468141888729/West-Bank-and-Gaza-Education-sector-analysis-impressive-achievements-under-harsh-conditions-and-the-way-forward-to-consolidate-a-quality-education-system.
- al-Akhbar. 'Inqisam Yankhur 'al-Jihad al-Islami''. al-Akhbar, 7 November 2008. www.al-akhbar.com/node/102789.
- al-Jazeera. 'Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yasin Shahid Ala Asr al-Intifada', Episode 6. 22 May 1999.
- al-Jazeera. 'Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yasin Shahid Ala Asr al-Intifada', Episode 1. 17 April 1999.
- al-Jazeera. 'Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yasin Shahid Ala Asr al-Intifada', Episode 3. 1 May 1999.
- al-Jazeera. 'Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yasin Shahid Ala Asr al-Intifada', Episode 2. 24 April 1999.
- Alhaj, Wissam, Nicolas Dot-Pouillard and Eugénie Rebillard. De La Théologie à La Libération? Histoire Du Jihad Islamique Palestinien. Paris: La Découverte, 2014.
- Alresalah. 'Al-Jihad Tanfi Mughadarat Mas'uli al-Haraka Bi-Dimashq'. *Alresalah*, 21 July 2012. http://alresalah.ps/ar/index.php?act=post&id=55981.
- Amadnews. 'Al-Quds: Shallah Yughadir Teheran Wa Khilafat Kabira Awqafat Da'm Iran Li-l-Haraka'. *Amadnews*, 20 May 2015. www.amad.ps/ar/Details/74235.
- American Jewish Committee. 'What Hamas Is Hiding'. ajc.org, 7 October 2023. https://www.ajc.org/news/what-hamas-is-hiding.

- Amnesty International. 'Gaza's "Great March of Return," Six Months On'. Amnesty International, 19 October 2018. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2018/10/gaza-great-march-of-return/.
- Araj, Bader and Robert J. Brym. 'Opportunity, Culture and Agency: Influences on Fatah and Hamas Strategic Action during the Second Intifada'. *International Sociology* 25, no. 6 (2010): 842–868.
- Arranz, Adolfo, Jonathan Saul, Stephen Farrell, Simon Scarr and Clare Trainor. 'Inside the Tunnels of Gaza'. *Reuters*, 31 December 2023. https://www.reuters.com/graphics/ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS/GAZA-TUNNELS/gkvldmzorvb/.
- Asakira, Karim. 'Madha Yahduth Dakhil Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami?' Ma'n News, 16 May 2015. www.maannews.net/Content.aspx?id=777821.
- Associated Press. '2 Killed in Clashes between Hamas and Islamic Jihad'. Associated Press, 2 August 2007. www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-343 2921,00.html.
- Azad, Hasan. '(Im)Possible Muslims: Hizb Ut-Tahrir, the Islamic State, & Modern Muslimness'. PhD diss., Columbia University, 2017.
- Baconi, Tareq. Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018.
- Badran, Husam. *Katibat Al-Shimal. al-Sabiqun Ila al-Janna*. n.p.: al-Maktab al-I'lami li-Kata'ib al-Shahid Izz al-Din al-Qassam, 2010.
- Balousha, Hazem. 'Hamas a Spectator in Latest Gaza-Israel Clash'. al-Monitor, 14 March 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/03/hamas-islamic-jihad-gaza-israel-rockets-siege-egypt.html.
- ——. 'Islamic Jihad's Coffers Run Dry'. al-Monitor, 2 June 2015. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/palestine-islamic-jihad-financial-crisis-money-iran-hezbolla.html.
- Barak, Michael. The "Tunnel Strategy" Among Palestinian Armed Factions in the Gaza Strip. Herzliya: International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), 3 February 2019.
- Barak, Oren. 'The Failure of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1993-2000'. Journal of Peace Research 42, no. 6 (2005): 719–736.
- BBC News. 'Profile: Hamas Activist Jamal Mansour'. BBC News, 31 July 2001. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1467082.stm.
- ——. 'Obituary: Nizar Rayyan'. BBC News, 1 January 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7807430.stm.
- Beaumont, Peter. 'Election of New Hamas Gaza Strip Leader Increases Fears of Confrontation'. *The Guardian*, 13 February 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/13/hamas-elects-hardliner-yahya-sinwar-as-its-gaza-strip-chief.

- Ben-Dror, Elad. "We Were Getting Close to God, Not Deportees": The Expulsion to Marj al-Zuhur in 1992 as a Milestone in the Rise of Hamas. *The Middle East Journal* 74, no. 3 (2020): 399–416.
- Bergman, Ronen. 'Gilad Shalit and the Rising Price of an Israeli Life'. *The New York Times*, 9 November 2011. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/13/magazine/gilad-shalit-and-the-cost-of-an-israeli-life.html.
- ———. Rise and Kill First: The Secret Story of Israel's Targeted Assassinations. New York: Random House, 2018.
- Berti, Benedetta. 'Non-State Actors as Providers of Governance: The Hamas Government in Gaza between Effective Sovereignty, Centralized Authority, and Resistance'. *The Middle East Journal* 69, no. 1 (2015): 9–31.
- Bhasin, Tavishi and Maia Carter Hallward. 'Hamas as a Political Party: Democratization in the Palestinian Territories'. In *Violence, Elections, and Party Politics*, edited by Mary Beth Altier, Susanne Martin and Leonard B. Weinberg, 75–93. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Bishara, Azmi. *Moral Matters in Hard Times*. Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2023.
- Blitzer, Wolf. 'Who Was Ismail Abu Shanab?' CNN, 21 August 2003. https://edition.cnn.com/2003/US/08/21/wbr.hamas.leader/.
- Bloch, Marc. The Historian's Craft. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Brenner, Björn. Gaza under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017.
- Britannica. 'Hundred Flowers Campaign'. Encyclopædia Britannica, 29 December 2023. https://www.britannica.com/event/Hundred-Flowers-Campaign.
- ——. 'Bombing of Dresden'. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14 September 2024. https://www.britannica.com/event/bombing-of-Dresden.
- ———. 'Palestine The Arab Revolt'. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 17 December 2024. https://www.britannica.com/place/Palestine/The-Arab-Revolt.
- ——. 'The Blitz'. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 31 August 2024. https://www.britannica.com/event/the-Blitz.
- Brooke, Steven and Neil Ketchley. 'Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam'. *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 2 (2018): 376–394.
- Brown, Pamela and Zachary Cohen. 'Hamas Operatives Used Phone Lines Installed in Tunnels under Gaza to Plan Israel Attack over 2 Years, Sources Familiar with Intelligence Say'. CNN, 24 October 2023. https://www.cnn.com/2023/10/24/politics/intelligence-hamas-israel-attack-tunnels-phone-lines/index.html.

- Brym, Robert J. and Bader Araj. 'Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada'. *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (2006): 1969–1986.
- B'Tselem. Human Rights in the Occupied Territories: Annual Report 2007. Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 2008.
- ——. Operation Defensive Shield. Soldiers' Testimonies. Palestinian Testimonies. Jerusalem, 2002.
- ——. 'Military Fired Teargas at Family Tents Far from Fence during Gaza Protests, Injuring Hundreds'. B'Tselem, 20 April 2018. http://www.btselem.org/gaza_strip/20180419_military_fires_tear_gas_at_gaza_protest_tents.
- ———. 'And Now for the Whitewashing'. B'Tselem, 24 May 2021. https://www.btselem.org/gaza_strip/20210524_whitewash_time.
- Bunzel, Cole. 'Gaza and Global Jihad'. Foreign Affairs, 2 November 2023. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/middle-east/gaza-and-global-jihad.
- Burgat, François. Face to Face with Political Islam. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.
- Burke, Jason. 'What Is Palestinian Islamic Jihad and What Is Its Relationship with Hamas?' *The Guardian*, 18 October 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/18/what-is-palestinian-islamic-jihad-and-what-is-its-relationship-with-hamas.
- Byman, Daniel. 'Curious Victory: Explaining Israel's Suppression of the Second Intifada'. Terrorism and Political Violence 24, no. 5 (2012): 825–852.
- Carroll, Rory. 'Israel Shows Footage of Hamas Killings 'to Counter Denial of Atrocities'. *The Guardian*, 23 October 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/23/israel-shows-footage-of-hamas-killings-to-counter-denial-of-atrocities.
- Caspit, Ben. 'Why Some in Israel Are Wary of Hamas' New Gaza Boss'. al-Monitor, 15 February 2017. www.al-monitor.com/originals/2017/02/israel-gaza-new-hamas-leader-yahya-sinwar-security.html.
- Charbel, Ghassan. 'Ziyara Li-Dhakirat al-Amin al-Amm Li-Harakat 'al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin' 4. Shallah: Talabtuhu Bi-Tashkil Tanzim Wa Hin Kashaf al-Sirr Baya'tuhu Bay'at 'al-Jihad' al-Shiqaqi an Hassan Nasrallah: Sayakun Khumayni al-Arab Idha 'Ash'. al-Hayat, 10 January 2003. www.da-harchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2003/1/10/ زيارة-الذاكرة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-شلح-طالبته-بتشكيل-تنظيم-وحين-كشف-السر-بايعته- العام-لحركة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-شلح-طالبته-بتشكيل-تنظيم-وحين-كسف-السر-بايعته-

- Charbel, Ghassan. 'Ziyara Li-Dhakirat al-Amin al-Amm Li-Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin 1. al-Jihad Itlaqat Awwal Amaliyya Istishhadiyya Fi Filastin 'Am 1993 Wa-l-Muqawama al-Lubnaniyya Iftahat al-Amaliyyat al-Istishhadiyya Bi Tafjir Maqarr al-Marinz Fi 1983'. al-Hayat, 7 January 2003. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2003/1/7/-نيارة-الأمين-العام-لحركة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-1-شلح-الجهاد-اطلقط-أول-عملية-استشهادية-في-فلسطين-عالخالمين-العام-لحركة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-عالخالمين-العام-لحركة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-عالمين-العام-لحركة-الخهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-عالمين-العلم-لحركة-الجهاد-اللهيم ألمين-العلم-لحركة-الحمائية المحلون-العلم ألمين-العلم-لحركة-الحمائية المحلون-العلم ألمين-العلم ألمين-الع
- ——. 'Ziyara Li-Dhakirat al-Amin al-Amm Li-Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin 3. Shallah: Lam Yu'ayyid Qatal al-Madaniyyin Fi 11 Aylul Wa Sha'artu Bi-Shamata Wa-l-Shafqa Qara' al-Zawahiri Hadithi an al-Yahud Fi al-Wasat Fa Ba'ath Ilayy Bi-Risala Itab'. al-Hayat, 9 January 2003. ht-tps://daharachives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2003/1/9/زيارة-لذاكرة-الجهاد-الإسلامي-في-فلسطين-شلح-لم-يؤيد-قتل-المدنيين-في-11-أيلول-وشعرت-html.
- Cheal, Beryl. 'Refugees in the Gaza Strip, December 1948-May 1950'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 18, no. 1 (1988): 138–157.
- Claims Conference. 'Survivor Story: Shoshana Ceizler'. Claims Conference, 20 January 2017. https://www.claimscon.org/regions/israel/survivor-story-shoshana-ceizler/.
- Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. A History of the Modern Middle East. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2009.
- CNN. 'Sharon: 'We Can Defeat Forces of Evil''. CNN, 12 September 2001. https://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/east/09/11/terror.reax/index.html.
- ——. 'Abna' an I'tiqal Najl Qiyadi Fi 'al-Jihad al-Islami' Bi-Suriya'. *CNN*, 17 June 2012. http://archive.arabic.cnn.com/2012/middle_east/5/17/Shiqaqi-Syria-Arrest/index.html.
- Cohen, Amnon. Political Parties in the West Bank under the Jordanian Regime, 1949-1967. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Commins, David. 'Taqī Al-Din al-Nabhānī and the Islamic Liberation Party'. The Muslim World 81, nos. 3-4 (1991): 194–211.
- Daly, M. W. 'The British Occupation, 1882-1922'. In *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Volume 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, edited by M Daly W., 239–251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Diakonia International Humanitarian Law Centre. '2023 Hostilities and Escalating Violence in the oPt | Factual Account of Events'. *Diakonia International Humanitarian Law Centre*, 17 November 2023. https://www.diakonia.se/ihl/news/2023-hostilities-in-gaza-and-israel-factual-account-of-events/.

- Dot-Pouillard, Nicolas and Eugénie Rébillard. 'The Intellectual, the Militant, the Prisoner and the Partisan: The Genesis of the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine (1974-1988)'. *Muslim World* 103 (2013): 1–20.
- Economist. 'A Hamas Hardliner'. Economist, 31 January 2008. https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2008/01/31/a-hamas-hardliner.
- ——. 'The Leader of Hamas in Gaza Is the Most Influential Man in Palestine'.

 Economist, 26 May 2018. https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2018/05/26/the-leader-of-hamas-in-gaza-is-the-most-influential-man-in-palestine.
- Eiland, Giora. 'The IDF in the Second Intifada'. Strategic Assessment 13, no. 3 (2010): 27–37.
- Eldar, Shlomi. 'Hamas Trapped between Israel, Islamic Jihad'. *al-Monitor*, 14 March 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/03/israel-hamas-gaza-iran-islamic-jihad-rival-rockets.html.
- ——. 'Why Hamas Refused to Return IDF Remains'. al-Monitor, 5 July 2016. https://web.archive.org/web/20210423162311/https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2016/07/israel-turkish-agreement-hamas-refuses-to-return-idf-remains.html.
- ——. 'How Hamas' New Gaza Leader Came to Power'. al-Monitor, 14 February 2017. https://web.archive.org/web/20220323232849/https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2017/02/gaza-palestinians-hamas-israel-mohammed-al-deif-yahya-sinwar.html.
- Ennab, Wael R. Population and Demographic Developments in the West Bank and Gaza Strop until 1990. Report UNCTAD/ECDC/SEU/1. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 1994-06-28.
- Evans, Richard J. In Defense of History. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997.
- Fighel. 'The Mujaheed Sheikh Dr. Nizar Rayyan: The Spiritual Mentor of Iz A-Din Al Qassam Brigades'. International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), 22 October 2021. https://ict.org.il/the-mujaheed-sheikh-dr-nizar-rayyan-the-spiritual-mentor-of-iz-a-din-al-qassam-brigades/.
- Filastin al-Yawm. 'Al-Sira al-Dhatiyya Li-l-Amin al-Amm al-Muntakhab Li-Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami al-Ustadh al-Nakhala'. *Filastin al-Yawm*, 27 September 2018. https://paltoday.ps/ar/post/332124/-المنتخب-/lul-الاسلامي -الأستاذ الخاتية -اللامي -الأستاذ الحركة -الجهاد -الإسلامي -الأستاذ .
- Filiu, Jean-Pierre. 'The Origins of Hamas: Militant Legacy or Israeli Tool?' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 3 (2012): 54–70.
- . Gaza: A History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Finkelstein, Norman G. Gaza. An Inquest Into Its Martyrdom. California: California University Press, 2018.

- Fisk, Robert. 'Hamas Mourns Its Greatest Martyr'. The Independent, 29 November 1993. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/hamas-mourns-its-greatest-martyr-robert-fisk-in-marj-alzohour-southern-lebanon-hears-how-a-palestinian-came-to-die-for-the-islamic-revolution-in-israel-1507460.html.
- Foundation for Defense of Democracies. '10 Things to Know About Hamas'. FDD, 16 October 2023. https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2023/10/16/10-things-to-know-about-hamas/.
- Frisch, Hillel. 'Has the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Become Islamic? Fatah, Islam, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades'. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 3 (2005): 391–406.
- Gardner, Frank. 'Yahya Sinwar: Who Is the Hamas Leader in Gaza?' BBC News, 21 November 2023. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67473719.
- Gershoni, Israel. 'The Muslim Brothers and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (1986): 367–397.
- al-Ghoul, Asmaa. 'Hamas, Islamic Jihad Clash over Mosque'. al-Monitor, 21 August 2013. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/sites/almonitor/contents/articles/originals/2013/08/hamas-islamic-jihad-mosque-clash-shiite.html.
- ——. 'Islamic Jihad: 'We Will Not Accept a State on the 1967 Borders'. al-Monitor, 12 May 2013. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/05/islamicjihad-gaza-palestine-choices.html.
- ——. 'Gaza Political Cartoonist Faces Censorship, Death Threats'. *al-Monitor*, 26 February 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/02/cartoonist-caricature-gaza-islamic-jihad.html.
- ——. 'Hamas Isolated as Iran Boosts Ties with Islamic Jihad, Fatah'. *al-Monitor*, 12 February 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/02/islamic-jihad-fatah-hamas-iran-palestinians.html.
- ——. 'Islamic Jihad's Popularity Grows after Gaza War'. al-Monitor, 25 September 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/islamic-jihad-movement-gaza-palestine.html.
- al-Ghoul, Asmaa and Ibraheem Abu Mustafa. 'Islamic Jihad Takes Mediator Role between Hamas, Fatah'. *al-Monitor*, 26 January 2015. https://www.almonitor.com/originals/2015/01/palestinian-gaza-islamic-jihad-mediation-hamas-fatah.html.
- Groisman, Maayan. 'Iran to Renew Financial Support for Islamic Jihad after Two-Year Hiatus'. *The Jerusalem Post*, 25 May 2016. https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/reembracing-islamic-jihad-iran-to-renew-financial-aid-for-palestinian-terror-group-454968.
- Gunning, Jeroen. 'Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation'. *International Affairs* 80, no. 2 (2004): 233–255.

- Gunning, Jeroen. 'Babies and Bathwaters: Reflecting on the Pitfalls of Critical Terrorism Studies'. *European Political Science* 6, no. 3 (2007): 236–243.
- ——. Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence. London: Hurst & Company, 2009.
- Gupta, Dipak K. and Kusum Mundra. 'Suicide Bombing as a Strategic Weapon: An Empirical Investigation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad'. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 4 (2005): 573–598.
- Gvaryahu, Avner. 'The Myth of Israel's "Moral Army"'. Foreign Affairs, 4 March 2024. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/israel/myth-israels-moral-army.
- Haberman, Clyde. '12 Die as Arafat's Police Fire on Palestinian Militants'. *The New York Times*, 19 November 1994. https://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/19/world/12-die-as-arafat-s-police-fire-on-palestinian-militants.html.
- HaLevi, Ezra. 'Hamas Cracks down on Fatah Media, Clashes with Islamic Jihad'.

 Arutz Sheva, 2 August 2007. www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/123265.
- Hanif, Noman. 'Hizb Ut Tahrir: Islam's Ideological Vanguard'. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 39, no. 2 (2012): 201–225.
- Harel, Amos. 'Chilling Warnings Picked up by Israeli Intelligence Months before October 7 Massacre'. *Haaretz*, 27 November 2023. https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-11-27/ty-article/.premium/chilling-warnings-picked-up-by-israeli-intelligence-months-before-october-7-massacre/0000018c-1261-dd2e-a5ae-d36ba6240000.
- Hashish, Riyad Salih. Rihlat Haya Bayn Al-Bilad Wa-l-Shahada. Gaza: al-Kalima li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi', 2018.
- Hatina, Meir. *Islam and Salvation in Palestine*. Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and Africa Studies, 2001.
- al-Hayat. 'Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Tu'akkid Annaha Sa-Tunzil Anasirha Ila Shawari' Lafad Ayy Ishtibakat Musallaha. Ghazza: Muqtal Filastiniyyin Fi Ishtibakat Musallaha Fi Jabalya Wa Ikhtitaf Qiyadi Min 'Hamas''. al-Hayat, 12 January 2007. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/ 2007/1/5/-الإسلامي-تؤكد-انها-سنتزل-عناصرها-الى-الشوارع-لفض-اي-الشباكات-12007/1/5/. مسلحة-غزة-مقتل-فلسطينيين-في-اشتباكات. html.
- ——. 'Hamas Tawaqqaf Unsurayn Min 'al-Jihad' Ba'd Itlaq Qadha'if Athna' Tawaghul Isra'il'. *al-Hayat*, 15 November 2013. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2013/11/15/-عماس-توقف-عنصرين-من-الجهاد-بعد-إطلاق-قذائف-/html.
- Hecht, Eado. 'Gaza: How Hamas Tunnel Network Grew'. BBC News, 22 July 2014. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28430298.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

- Hilal, Jamil. 'Hamas's Rise as Charted in the Polls, 1994-2005'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 3 (2006): 6–19.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. On History. New York: The New Press, 1997.
- ———. Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 'Understanding Hamas's Genocidal Ideology'. *The Atlantic*, 10 October 2023. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2023/10/hamas-covenant-israel-attack-war-genocide/675602/.
- Høigilt, Jacob. 'Prophets in Their Own Country? Hizb al-Tahrir in the Palestinian Context'. *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 15, no. 4 (2014): 504–520.
- Hourani, Albert. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1939. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hovdenak, Are. Al-Qaida: A Challenge for Hamas? Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2009.
- ——. 'Hamas in Transition: The Failure of Sanctions'. *Democratization* 16, no. 1 (2010): 59–80.
- Howell, Martha and Walter Prevenier. From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Hroub, Khaled. *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice*. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000.
- ——. 'Between Islam and Nationalism'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 3 (2002): 108–109.
- ———. Hamas: A Beginner's Guide. London: Pluto Press, 2006.
- ———. 'Salafi Formations in Palestine and the Limits of a De-Palestinised Milieu'. *Holy Land Studies* 7, no. 2 (2008): 157–181.
- ——. 'A Newer Hamas? The Revised Charter'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 46 (2017): 100–111.
- Hubbard, Ben. 'Key Hamas Plotters of Oct. 7 Elude Israel's Grip on Gaza'. *The New York Times*, 21 December 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/21/world/middleeast/hamas-leaders-sinwar-israel-gaza.html.
- Humaid, Maram. "We Want to Return to Our Lands without Bloodshed or Bombs". al-Jazeera, 30 April 2018.
- Human Rights Watch. 'Gaza: Armed Palestinian Groups Commit Grave Crimes'.

 Human Rights Watch, 12 June 2007. https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/06/12/gaza-armed-palestinian-groups-commit-grave-crimes.

- Human Rights Watch. 'Gaza: Halt Morality Enforcement Campaign'. *Human Rights Watch*, 2 March 2011. https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/03/02/gaza-halt-morality-enforcement-campaign.
- ——. 'Gaza: Israeli Aid Obstruction Inflaming Polio Outbreak'. *Human Rights Watch*, 26 August 2024. https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/08/26/gaza-israeli-aid-obstruction-inflaming-polio-outbreak.
- Humeidi, Ibrahim. 'Islamic Jihad Leader Discusses Iran, Reconciliation, Syria'. al-Monitor, 22 May 2014. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/05/palestine-syria-iran-islamic-jihad-interview-reconciliation.html.
- Hunter, James Davison. Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America. New York: Basic Books, 1991.
- Hunter, Shireen. 'Iran's Pragmatic Regional Policy'. *Journal of International Affairs* 56, no. 2 (2003): 133–147.
- al-Husayni, Jihan. 'Masadir Qariba Min 'al-Jihad al-Islami' Tahmal Ala Qiy-adat Hamas Wa Fatah'. *al-Hayat*, 5 August 2007. https://daharchives.al-hayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/عمل-على-قيادة-/html.
- Ibrahim, Hani. 'Hamas' Growing Rivalry with Islamic Jihad'. *al-Akhbar*, 16 April 2014. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/19438.
- Ingram, David. 'Israeli Government Sparks Outcry with Videos Saying 'There Are No Innocent Civilians' in Gaza'. NBC News, 14 June 2024. https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/israel-posts-video-saying-are-no-innocent-civilians-gaza-rcna157111.
- International Crisis Group. Inside Gaza: The Challenge of Clans and Families. 71. 2007.
- ——. Radical Islam in Gaza. 104. Crisis Group, 29 March 2011.
- Issacharoff, Avi. 'Hamas Masses Troops on Israeli Border, Trains for New Round of Fighting'. *The Times of Israel*, 28 June 2015. http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-masses-troops-on-border-trains-for-new-round-of-fighting/.
- ——. 'Rising New Hamas Leader Is All Too Familiar to Israel'. *The Times of Israel*, 18 December 2015. http://www.timesofisrael.com/rising-new-hamas-leader-is-all-too-familiar-to-israel/.
- ——. 'Hamas Spends \$100 Million a Year on Military Infrastructure'. *The Times of Israel*, 8 September 2016. http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-spends-100-million-a-year-on-military-infrastructure/.
- Jaeger, David A., Esteban F. Klor, Sami H. Miaari and M. Daniele Paserman. 'Can Militants Use Violence to Win Public Support? Evidence from the Second Intifada'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 3 (2015): 528–549.

- Jamal, Manal A. 'Beyond Fateh Corruption and Mass Discontent: Hamas, the Palestinian Left and the 2006 Legislative Elections'. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 40, no. 3 (2013): 273–294.
- al-Jamal, Muhammad and Fayiz Abu Aoun. 'Al-Hudu' Yukhayyim Mujaddidan Ala Rafah Ba'd Sarayan Ittifaq Li-Waqf al-Iqtital Bayn 'Hamas Wa-l-Jihad''. *al-Ayyam*, 23 October 2007. www.al-ayyam.ps/ar_page.php?id=3 e3336ay65221482Y3e3336a.
- al-Jawhari, Shaker. Musa Abu Marzuq: Mishwar Hayat. Dhikriyat al-Luju' Wal-Ghurba Wa Sanawat al-Nidal. Beirut: Markaz al-Zaytuna li-l-Dirasat wal-Istisharat, 2019.
- al-Jazeera. 'Photos: 200 Days of Israel's War on Gaza'. *al-Jazeera*, 23 April 2024. https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2024/4/23/photos-200-days-of-israels-war-on-gaza.
- ——. 'Ab'ad Da'wat Abbas Li-l-Hiwar Ma' Hamas'. *al-Jazeera*, 16 June 2008. https://www.aljazeera.net/programs/withoutbounds/2008/6/16/- أبعاد-دعوة-عباس.
- ——. 'Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Taghadar Suriya'. *al-Jazeera*, 3 August 2012. www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2012/8/3/الجهاد-تغادر-سوريا.
- ——. 'Salah Shahada. Harakat Hamas Shahada Tarikhiyya'. al-Jazeera, 31 July 2002. http://web.archive.org/web/20090212021948/http://www.aljazeera.net/Channel/archive/archive?ArchiveId=90907.
- Jensehaugen, Jørgen. 'A Palestinian Window of Opportunity? The PLO, the US and the Iranian Hostage Crisis'. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 4 (2021): 596–610.
- Jensen, Michael Irving. ''Re-Islamising' Palestinian Society 'From Below': Hamas and Higher Education in Gaza'. *Holy Land Studies* 5, no. 1 (2006): 57–74.
- Jones, Rory and Abu Bakr Bashir. 'Hamas Puts Militant Yahya Sinwar in Charge of Gaza'. Wall Street Journal, 13 February 2017. https://www.wsj.com/articles/hamas-puts-militant-yahya-sinwar-in-charge-of-gaza-1487001168.
- al-Kassim, Mohammed. 'Saleh Al-Arouri Killing Deals Blow to Hamas but Conflict May Still Widen'. *The Jerusalem Post*, 5 January 2024. https://www.jpost.com/israel-hamas-war/article-780960.
- Ketchley, Neil, Steven Brooke and Brynjar Lia. 'Who Supported the Early Muslim Brotherhood?' *Politics and Religion* 15, no. 2 (2022): 388–416.
- al-Khalidi, Ismail Abdel Aziz. '60 'Aman Fi Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin', 2010. https://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=60_عاما_ في جماعة _ الإخوان _ المسلمين.

- Khalidi, Rashid. 'The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure', 2nd ed., edited by Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, 12–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- ———. Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- ———. The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020.
- Khashoqji, Jamal, Faysal al-Shaboul and Abd al-Latif Furati. ''Hamas' Tukhattit Li-Warithat al-Munazzama. Mu'arada Li-l-Iqtital Murfaqa Bi-Tahdhir Li-l-Shurta al-Filastiniyya Ightiyal Mas'ul Fi 'Fath' Wa Ghazza Takhsha al-Rasasa al-Ula'. al-Hayat, 27 September 1993. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Wasat magazine/1993/9/27/مالفقة-بتحلط-لوارثة-المنظمة-الفلسطينية-اغتيال-مسؤول-في-فتح-وغزة-تخشي-الرصاص-الأولى. html.
- Khatib, Rasha, Martin McKee and Salim Yusuf. 'Counting the Dead in Gaza: Difficult but Essential'. *The Lancet* 404, no. 10449 (2024): 237–238.
- Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel S. Migdal. *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Klein, Menachem. 'Competing Brothers: The Web of Hamas-PLO Relations'. Terrorism and Political Violence 8, no. 2 (1996): 111–132.
- Knell, Yolande. 'Gaza Economic Protests Expose Cracks in Hamas's Rule'. BBC News, 18 March 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-47616809.
- Kober, Avi. 'Targeted Killing during the Second Intifada:: The Quest for Effectiveness'. *Journal of Conflict Studies* 27, no. 1 (2007): 94–114.
- Kristianasen, Wendy. 'Challenge and Counterchallenge: Hamas's Response to Oslo'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, no. 3 (1999): 19–36.
- Lendon, Brad. 'How Does Hamas Get Its Weapons? A Mix of Improvisation, Resourcefulness and a Key Overseas Benefactor'. CNN, 12 October 2023. https://www.cnn.com/2023/10/11/middleeast/hamas-weaponry-gaza-israel-palestine-unrest-intl-hnk-ml/index.html.
- Lesch, Ann M. 'Israeli Deportation of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 1967-1978', 1979, 101–131.
- Levitt, Matthew. 'Sponsoring Terrorism: Syria and Islamic Jihad'. *The Washington Institute*, 1 December 2002. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/sponsoring-terrorism-syria-and-islamic-jihad.
- Lia, Brynjar. The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998.
- ——. A Police Force Without A State: A History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2006.

- Løvlie, Frode. 'Explaining Hamas's Changing Electoral Strategy, 1996–2006'. Government and Opposition 48, no. 4 (2013): 570–593.
- ———. 'Questioning the Secular-Religious Cleavage in Palestinian Politics: Comparing Fatah and Hamas'. *Politics and Religion* 7, no. 1 (2014): 100–121.
- ——. 'The Institutional Trajectory of Hamas: From Radicalism to Pragmatism and Back Again?' PhD diss., University of Bergen, 2015.
- Lyberger, Loren D. Identity & Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism & Secularism in the Occupied Territories. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- al-Manar. 'Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Tu'akkid Mawqifha al-Thabit Ila Janib al-Sha'b al-Yamani Didd al-'Adw'. *al-Manar*, 1 June 2016. http://almanar.com.lb/308988.
- Manasra, Adham. 'Intakhabat "al-Jihad al-Islami": Tiba'ud Ma' Iran?' al-Mudun, 30 September 2018. https://www.almodon.com/arabworld/2018/9/30/انتخابات-الإسلامي-تنافر-أكبر-مع-إيران.
- Mansur, Jamal. Al-Tahawwul al-Dimuqrati al-Filastini. Nablus: Markaz al-Buhuth wa-l-Dirasat al-Filastiniyya, 1999.
- al-Maqadma, Ibrahim. Ma'alim Fi al-Tariq Li-Tahrir Filastin. 2nd ed. n.p.: n.p., 2002.
- Mardawi, Thabit. Namut Fi Al-Watan.. Wa Lan Nughadir. Malhamat Jinin Bi-Shahadat al-Asir al-Mujahid Thabit Mardawi. Gaza: al-Markaz al-Filastini li-l-Tawasul al-Hadari, 2006.
- Al-Markaz al-Filastini li-l-Ilam. 'Dabit Majmu'at al-Shuhada'', 19 February 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20100219095715/http://www.palestine-info.com/arabic/books/emad_aqael/emad6.htm.
- Markaz Ru'ya li-l-Tanmiya al-Siyasiyya. 'Khadr Habib', 18 April 2023. https://vision-pd.org/خضر-حبيب/.
- Marks, Monica. 'What the World Gets Wrong About Hamas'. *TIME*, 30 October 2023. https://time.com/6329776/hamas-isis-gaza/.
- Masalha, Nur. The Palestine Nakba: Decolonizing History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory. London: Zed Books, 2012.
- al-Masdar. 'Tawasul Al-Azma al-Maliyya Li-l-Jihad al-Islami'. *al-Masdar*, 28 December 2015. www.al-masdar.net/تواصل-الأزمة-المالية-للجهاد-الإسلامي.
- Matta, Nada and René Rojas. 'The Second Intifada: A Dual Strategy Arena'. European Journal of Sociology 57, no. 1 (2016): 65–113.
- McDowall, David. Palestine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Mendelsohn, Barak. 'Al-Qaeda's Palestinian Problem'. Survival 51, no. 4 (2009): 71–86.

- Milan, Louis and Benjamin Brown. "Reasonable Grounds' to Believe Israel Is Committing Genocide in Gaza, UN Rights Expert Says'. CNN, 27 March 2024. https://www.cnn.com/2024/03/27/middleeast/israel-committing-genocide-in-gaza-un-rights-expert-says-intl/index.html.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley. *Islamic Politics in Palestine*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1999.
- ------. 'Prepared for Power: Hamas, Governance and Conflict'. Civil Wars 7, no. 4 (2005): 311–329.
- ———. 'Hamas: Victory with Ballots and Bullets'. Global Change, Peace & Security 19, no. 3 (2007): 301–316.
- ———. 'Islamist Versus Islamist: Rising Challenge in Gaza'. Terrorism and Political Violence 26, no. 2 (2014): 259–276.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley and Alastair Crooke. 'Elusive Ingredient: Hamas and the Peace Process'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no. 4 (2004): 39–52.
- ——. 'Waving, Not Drowning: Strategic Dimensions of Ceasefires and Islamic Movements'. *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (2004): 295–310.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley and Stephen Farrell. *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.
- Mishal, Shaul. 'The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective'. Armed Forces & Society 29, no. 4 (2003): 569–589.
- Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela. *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Mitchell, Richard P. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 'Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects'. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 26, no. 2 (2003): 65–92.
- Molavi, Shourideh C. Environmental Warfare in Gaza: Colonial Violence and New Landscapes of Resistance. London: Pluto Press, 2024.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 'Active Citation: A Precondition for Replicable Qualitative Research'. PS: Political Science & Politics 43, no. 1 (2010): 29–35.
- Morris, Benny. 1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- ——. 'Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948'. In *The War for Palestine*, edited by Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, 37–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- ——. The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Morris, Loveday and Hazem Balousha. 'Israelis Kill More than 50 Palestinians in Gaza Protests, Health Officials Say'. Washington Post, 14 May 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/gaza-protests-take-off-ahead-of-new-us-embassy-inauguration-in-jerusalem/2018/05/14/eb6396ae-56e4-11e8-9889-07bcc1327f4b story.html.
- Mostyn, Trevor. 'Nizar Rayan'. *The Guardian*, 3 January 2009. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/03/obituary-nizar-rayan-hamas.
- Motadel, David. 'Islamic Revolutionaries and the End of Empire'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, edited by Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson, 555–579. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Al-Mughrabi, Nidal and Maayan Lubell. 'Deep Underground, Mohammed Deif Shapes Hamas War with Israel'. *Reuters*, 14 August 2014. https://www.re-uters.com/article/idUSKBN0GE1R5/.
- Muhammad, Yusuf Arif al-Hajj. Al-Masira al-Jihadiyya Li-Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin. Gaza: Muhjat al-Quds, 2011.
- Muhjat al-Quds. 'Man Nahnu?' Muhjar al-Quds, 27 April 2014. www.almuhja.com/news27301a4.html.
- Murphy, Brett. 'Israel Deliberately Blocked Humanitarian Aid to Gaza, Two Government Bodies Concluded. Antony Blinken Rejected Them.' *ProPublica*, 24 September 2024. https://www.propublica.org/article/gaza-palestine-israel-blocked-humanitarian-aid-blinken.
- Muru, Muhammad. Fathi Al-Shiqaqi: Sawt al-Mustad'afin Fi Muwajahat Mashru' al-Haymana al-Gharbi. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1997.
- al-Nabhani, Taqi al-Din. *Mafahim Hizb Al-Tahrir*. 6th ed. n.p.: Manshurat Hizb al-Tahrir, 2001.
- ——. Nizam Al-Islam. 6th ed. n.p.: Manshurat Hizb al-Tahrir, 2001.
- ——. *Al-Dawla al-Islamiyya*. Beirut: Dar al-Umma li-l-Taba'a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi', 2002.
- Nazzal, Nasouh. 'Palestine: Hamas and Jihad Trade Barbs as Clash Looms'. Gulf News, 23 June 2013. http://gulfnews.com/news/mena/palestine/palestine-hamas-and-jihad-trade-barbs-as-clash-looms-1.1200880.
- NBC News. 'Abbas Vows to Protect West Bank from Hamas'. NBC News, 20 June 2007. https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna19335843.
- Neuman, Scott, Anas Baba and Daniel Wood. 'In Gaza, Months of War Have Left Palestinians with Barely the Necessities to Survive'. NPR, 6 January 2024. https://whttps://www.npr.org/2024/06/01/g-s1-1780/gaza-israel-infrastructure-water-schools-hospitalsww.opb.org/article/2024/06/01/in-gaza-months-of-war-have-left-palestinians-with-barely-the-necessities-to-survive/.

- Norris, Jacob. 'Repression and Rebellion: Britain's Response to the Arab Revolt in Palestine of 1936–39'. The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 36, no. 1 (2008): 25–45.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 'Gaza: UN Experts Decry Bombing of Hospitals and Schools as Crimes against Humanity, Call for Prevention of Genocide'. *OHCHR*, 19 October 2023. https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/10/gaza-un-experts-decry-bombing-hospitals-and-schools-crimes-against-humanity.
- ——. 'UN Experts Warn International Order on a Knife's Edge, Urge States to Comply with ICJ Advisory Opinion'. *OHCHR*, 18 September 2024. https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2024/09/un-experts-warn-international-order-knifes-edge-urge-states-comply-icj-advisory.
- Ostovar, Afshon. 'Iran, Its Clients, and the Future of the Middle East: The Limits of Religion'. *International Affairs* 94, no. 6 (2018): 1237–1255.
- Pacchiani, Gianluca. 'As IDF Advances in Gaza, Hamas Chief Haniyeh Claims to Seek 'Political Negotiations'. *The Times of Israel*, 2 November 2023. https://www.timesofisrael.com/as-idf-advances-in-gaza-hamas-chief-haniyeh-claims-to-seek-political-negotiations/.
- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. *Palestine in Figures 2011*. Ramallah, Palestine: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012.
- Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Forward, O March of Sacred Struggle. Communiqué, 18 December 1987.
- ——. No title. Communiqué, 11 December 1987.
- O World, Listen for a Moment, and Hear the Cries of Our Children and Mothers. Communiqué, 29 January 1988.
- . Masirat Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin. Beirut: PIJ, 1989.
- ——. Jadwal tafsili bi-amaliyyat harakat al-jihad al-islami mundhu nash'atha hatta (2006/2). Document in author's possession.
- Pappe, Ilan. A History of Modern Palestine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- ——. The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008.
- ——. The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories. London: Oneworld Publications, 2017.
- Paris, Gilles and Hélène Sallon. 'How Hamas Became the Leader of the Palestinian National Movement'. Le Monde, 26 November 2023. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/11/26/how-hamas-became-the-leader-of-the-palestinian-national-movement_6290585_4.html.

- Paz, Reuven. 'The Development of Palestinian Islamic Groups'. In *Revolutionaries and Reformers Contemporary Islamist Movements in the Middle East*, edited by Barry Rubin, 23–40. New York: SUNY Press, 2003.
- ——. 'Jihadis and Hamas'. In Self-Inflicted Wounds: Debates and Divisions within al-Qa'ida and Its Periphery, edited by Assaf Moghadam and Brian Fishman, 183–201. West Point: Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, 2010.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 'Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process'. *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2008–9): 79–109.
- ——. Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Pelham, Nicolas. 'Hamas's Deadly "Phantom": The Man behind the Attacks'. The Economist, 20 October 2023. https://www.economist.com/1843/2023/10/20/hamass-deadly-phantom-the-man-behind-the-attacks.
- Pelham, Nicolas and Max Rodenbeck. 'Which Way for Hamas?' *The New York Review of Books*, 5 November 2009, no. 17. https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2009/11/05/which-way-for-hamas/.
- Piper, Andrew. Can We Be Wrong? The Problem of Textual Evidence in a Time of Data. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Press, Michael. 'Hussein's Head and Importance of Cultural Heritage'. The Ancient Near East Today 11, no. 3 (2014).
- Pressman, Jeremy. 'The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict'. *Journal of Conflict Studies* 23, no. 2 (2003): 114–141.
- Al-Qassam Brigades. 'Yasir Al-Namruti'. al-Qassam, no date. https://www.alqassam.ps/arabic/specialfiles/details/24.
- Al-Quds Brigades. 'Khabar: Butulat Ramadaniyya. "Mustafa Abu Sariyya" Wa "Abd al-Karim Na'isa". Abtal al-hujum al-naw'iyya al-mazduj Ala Madinat al-Afula'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 22 August 2010. https://saraya.ps/post/6526/ بطولات-
- ——. 'Al-Shahid al-Qa'id 'Issam Musa Brahma': Awwal Qa'id 'Askari Li-l-Jihad al-Islami Bi-l-Diffa al-Muhtalla'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 29 June 2011. ht-tps://saraya.ps/post/3636/-الإسلامي-للجهاد-الإسلامي-القائد-عصام-عزيز-براهمة-أول-قائد-عسكري-للجهاد-الإسلامي-بالضفة-المحتلة المحتلة المحتلة.
- ———. 'Al-Shahid al-Qa'id Misbah al-Suri: Khaddab Bi-Dammihi Judran Sijn Ghazza al-Markazi'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 6 October 2011. https://saraya.ps/post/7354/-الشهيد القائد-مصباحح-الصورى-خضب-بدمه-جدران-سجن-غزة-مركزى.

- Al-Quds Brigades. 'Al-Shahid al-Qa'id Muhammad Sa'id al-Jamal: Dhikhra Butulat Ta'abba al-Nisyan'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 6 October 2011. https://saraya.ps/post/7355/الشيان الشهيد-/الجمل-ذكرى-بطولة-تأبى-النسيان.
- ———. 'Abu Sarhad Yarwi Li-l-Ilam al-Harbi Adaq Tafasil Amaliyyat al-Hurub al-Mu'jiza Li-l-Marra al-Ula ... Suwwar'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 3 October 2013. https://saraya.ps/post/31570/-أدق-تفاصيل-عملية-الهروب-lbq-disparsion-ilaginary. المعجزة-اللمرة-الأولى-صور
- ——. 'Khabar: Al-Qiyadi al-Shami Li-"l-I'lam al-Harbi" al-Shiqaqi Sana' Mashru' Islami Thawri Shamil'. *al-Quds Brigades*, 27 October 2013. https://saraya.ps/post/31997/-القيادي التقالي التعالم التع
- ———. 'Dhikra 'al-Shiqaqi' Fi Dhakirat 'al-Shami''. *al-Quds Brigades*, 7 January 2015. https://saraya.ps/post/38783/ذكرى-الشقاقي-في-ذاكرة-الشامي.
- ———. 'Suwwar ... al-Shahid al-Qa'id Mahmud al-Khawaja: Haqqan Annahu Rajul La Yatakarrar'. al-Quds Brigades, 22 November 2015. https://saraya.ps/post/41860/-صور الشهيد-القائد-محمود-الجواجا-حقا-انه-رجل-لا-يتكرر.
- ———. 'Al-Shahid al-Qa'id Umar al-Khatib'. *al-Quds Brigades*, n.d. https://saraya.ps/martyr/87/الخطيب.
- Rabbani, Mouin. 'A Hamas Perspective on the Movement's Evolving Role: An Interview with Khalid Mishal: Part II'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 37, no. 4 (2008): 59–81.
- ———. 'Interview with Ramadan Shallah (Part II)'. Journal of Palestine Studies 44, no. 3 (2015): 39–48.
- al-Rantisi, Abdel Aziz. *Mudhakirat Al-Shahid al-Duktur Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi*. Cairo: Dar al-Tawzi' wa-l-Nashr al-Islamiyya, 2004.
- Regular, Arnon. 'Leading Hamas Preacher Warns of Clash with Islamic Jihad'. *Haaretz*, 15 December 2004. www.haaretz.com/leading-hamas-preacher-warns-of-clash-with-islamic-jihad-1.143912.
- Reuters, Cristoph. My Life Is a Weapon. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Al-Rifa'i, Abu Imad. Harakat Al-Jihad al-Islami Fi Filastin: Bidayat al-Mashru' al-Jihadi Wa Samatihi. Beirut: Palestinian Islamic Jihad, 2001.
- Robinson, Glenn E. 'Palestinian Tribes, Clans, and Notable Families'. *Strategic Insights* 7, no. 4 (2009).
- Rosensaft, Menachem Z. 'Hamas Terrorists Have Genocide In Their Hearts. They Say So Themselves'. *Newsweek*, 12 October 2023. https://www.newsweek.com/hamas-terrorists-have-genocide-their-hearts-they-say-so-themselves-opinion-1834360.

- Rosmer, Tilde. The Islamic Movement in Israel. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2022.
- Roy, Sara. 'The Political Economy of Despair: Changing Political and Economic Realities in the Gaza Strip'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 58–69.
- ——. 'Civil Society in the Gaza Strip: Obstacles to Social Reconstruction'. In *Civil Society in the Middle East*, edited by August Richard Norton, 2:221–258. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- ——. The Gaza Strip: The Political Development of De-development. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995.
- ——. 'Why Peace Failed: An Oslo Autopsy'. Current History 101, no. 651 (2002): 8–16.
- ———. 'Hamas and the Transformation(s) of Political Islam in Palestine'. *Current History* 102, no. 660 (2003): 13–20.
- ———. Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Sacco, Joe. Footnotes in Gaza. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009.
- Samii, Abbas William. 'A Stable Structure on Shifting Sands: Assessing the Hizbullah-Iran-Syria Relationship'. *The Middle East Journal* 62, no. 1 (2008): 32–53.
- Samur, Sarri. 'Fashal al-Thuwar al-Afghan Ahraj wa Ad'af al-Tayar al-Salafi fi Hamas'. *al-Jazeera*, 10 September 2019. www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2019/9/10/-فشل الثقار-الأفغان-أحرج-وأضعف-التيار.
- Sanagan, Mark. Lightning through the Clouds: Izz al-Din al-Qassam and the Making of the Modern Middle East. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2020.
- Sanchez, Raf and Abu Bakr Bashir. 'Why Hardline Hamas Leader Yahya Sinwar Is Gambling on an Unlikely Truce with Israel'. *The Telegraph*, 3 October 2018. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/10/03/hardline-hamas-leader-yahya-sinwar-gambling-unlikely-truce-israel/.
- al-Sarsawi, Muhammad and Adnan Ali. D. Fathi al-Shiqaqi al-Shahid Wa-l-Shahid. n.p., 1996.
- Sasson, Avi (Avraham). 'Historical Geography of the Palestine Southern Coastal Plain in the Late Ottoman Period the Ashkelon Region as a Case Study'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 55, no. 6 (2019): 974–1004.
- Sayigh, Yezid. 'Turning Defeat into Opportunity: The Palestinian Guerrillas after the June 1967 War'. *Middle East Journal* 46, no. 2 (1992): 244–265.

- Sayigh, Yezid. Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949–1993. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- ——. "We Serve the People" Hamas Policing in Gaza. Washington, DC: Brandeis University, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, 2011.
- Schweitzer, Yoram. 'Salafi Jihadism in Gaza as Opposition to Hamas Rule'. In *The Crisis of the Gaza Strip*, edited by Anat Kurz, Udi Dekel and Benedetta Berti, 61–66. Tel Aviv: The Institute for National Security Studies, 2018.
- Sela, Avraham. 'The West Bank under Jordan', edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 277–294. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Seurat, Leila. The Foreign Policy of Hamas: Ideology, Decision Making and Political Supremacy. London: I.B. Tauris, 2022.
- ——. 'Hamas's Goal in Gaza'. *Foreign Affairs*, 11 December 2023. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/israel/hamass-goal-gaza.
- Shadid, Mohammed K. 'The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the West Bank and Gaza'. *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 658–682.
- Shaked, Roni. 'And the Loser Is: Hamas'. al-Monitor, 21 March 2012. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2012/03/the-big-loser-hamas.html.
- Shalash, Bilal. 'Tahawwulat Al-Muqawama al-Musallaha Li-Harakat Hamas Fi al-Diffa al-Gharbiyya Athna' Intifadat al-Aqsa Min al-Markaziyya Ila al-Shazaya al-Mutafajjara'. In *Qadiyat Filastin Wa Mustaqbal Al-Mashru' al-Watani al-Filastini al-Juz' al-Awwal: Fi al-Hawiya Wa-l-Muqawama Wa-l-Qanun al-Duwwali*, 417–464. Doha: Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, 2015.
- ———. Al-Qassam Fi Shahr (Kanun al-Thani Janayir). Document in author's possession.
- Shallah, Ramadan. *Haqa'iq Wa Mawafiq*. Damascus: Mu'assasat al-Aqsa al-Thaqafiyya, 2007.
- al-Shami, Abdallah. 'Falsafat Al-Shahada'. Muhjat al-Quds, 2000. www.almuhja.com/news25854a62.html.
- Shihab, Zaki. ''al-Jihad al-Islami' al-Filastini Fi Ghayab Qa'idihi: Shallah 'Ala Nahj al-Shiqaqi al-Siyasa... Wa 'Amaliyyat Intihariyya'. al-Hayat, 6 November 1995. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Wasat magazine/1995/11/6/-الجهاد https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Wasat magazine/1995/11/6/-الدسلامي-الفلسطيني-في-غياب-قائده-شلح-على-نهج-الشقاقي-سياسة-وعمليات-انتحارية
- al-Shiqaqi, Fathi. *Al-Khumayni: Al-Hall al-Islami Wa-l-Badil*. Cairo: al-Mukhtar al-Islami, 1979.
- ——. 'Al-Tarikh Limadha..?' al-Tali'a al-Islamiyya 11 (1983): 58–65.

- al-Shiqaqi, Fathi. 'Afghanistan: Judhur al-Sira'.. al-Thawra.. al-Mustaqbal. Hal Huwa Inbi'ath Salibi Jadid?' In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf:* Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 127–146. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- ——. 'Al-Harakat al-Islamiyya Wa Tatawwurat al-Qadiya al-Filastiniyya'. In Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 1212–1223. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- . 'Al-Intifada Ba'd Madrid'. In Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 537–548. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- . 'Al-Ittifaq Hall al-Mashakil Allati Yu'ani Minha al-Kayan al-Sahyuni Mundhu Ihtilal 1967 Hatta Alan'. In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, 909–913. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- ——. 'Al-Jihad: Al-Qissa al-Haqiqiyya'. In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 1139–1150. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- . 'Al-Qadiya al-Filastiniyya: Hiya al-Qadiya al-Markaziyya Li-l-Haraka al-Islamiyya ... Limadha?' In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 172–189. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- . 'Al-Thawra al-Islamiyya Fi Iran Wa-l-Thawra al-Filastiniyya'. In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 558–564. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- ——. 'Al-Usuliyya Wa-l-Ilmaniyya', edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 588–596. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- ——. 'Filastin Nuqtat Al-Sidam Ma' al-Mashru' al-Gharbi al-Isti'mari'. In Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 707–718. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- ——. 'Iran Al-Thawra Wa-l-Dawla'. In Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi, edited by Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, 190–199. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.
- . 'Markaziyyat Filastin Wa-l-Mashru' al-Islami al-Mu'asir'. In *Rihlat Al-Damm Alladhi Hazam al-Sayf: Al-A'mal al-Kamila Li-l-Shahid al-Duktur Fathi al-Shiqaqi*, 428–455. Cairo: Markaz Yafa li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Abhath, 1996.

- Shlaim, Avi. 'Peace Confounded'. Index on Censorship 30, no. 1 (2001): 50–55.
- al-Shuruq. 'Mumarasat Hamas fi Ghazzah hiya allati Khalaqat hadhihi al-Jama'ah al-Takfiriyyah'. *al-Shuruq*, 16 August 2009. https://www.echoroukonline.com/-ممارسات.
- Sibah, Fathi. 'Hukumat Haniya Tunashid Fasa'il al-Muqawama 'tajannub' Qasf al-Ma'abir al-Hududiyya'. *al-Hayat*, 14 September 2007. https://daharchives.al-hayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2007/9/14/- حكومة-هنية-تناشد-قصائل-المقاومة-html.
- Sick, Gary. 'Iran: The Adolescent Revolution'. *Journal of International Affairs* 49, no. 1 (1995): 145–166.
- Sing, Manfred. 'Brothers in Arms: How Palestinian Maoists Turned Jihadists'. Die Welt des Islams 51, no. 1 (2011): 1–44.
- Sinwar, Yahya. Al-Shawk Wa-l-Qaranful. n.p.: n.p., 2004.
- Skare, Erik. Digital Jihad: Palestinian Resistance in the Digital Era. London: Zed Books, 2016.
- ——. 'Digital Surveillance/Militant Resistance: Categorizing the "Proto-state Hacker". *Television & New Media* 20, no. 7 (2019): 670–685.
- ——. A History of Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Faith, Awareness, and Revolution in the Middle East. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- ——. 'Controlling the State in the Political Theory of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad'. *Religions* 12, no. 11 (2021): 1010.
- ———. Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Islamist Writings on Resistance and Religion. London: I.B. Tauris, 2021.
- ——. 'Affluent and Well-Educated? Analyzing the Socioeconomic Backgrounds of Fallen Palestinian Islamist Militants'. *The Middle East Journal* 76, no. 1 (2022): 72–92.
- ——. 'Insulated Eruptions of Discontent: Palestinian Protests in the Absence of Trusted Organisations'. *Contemporary Levant* 7, no. 2 (2022): 106–117.
- ——. 'Iran, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad: A Marriage of Convenience'. European Council on Foreign Relations, 18 December 2023. https://ecfr.eu/article/iran-hamas-and-islamic-jihad-a-marriage-of-convenience/.
- ——. 'Texts or Praxes: How Do We Best Understand Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad After October 7?' *CTC Sentinel* 16, no. 10 (2023): 34–39.

- al-Smadi, Fatima. 'Analysis: Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Redefining Relations with Iran'. *al-Jazeera*, 20 September 2015. http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/re-ports/2015/09/201592084340199169.html.
- Staniland, Paul. Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014.
- Stork, Joe. Erased In A Moment: Suicide Bombing Attacks Against Israeli Civilians. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002.
- Strindberg, Anders. 'The Damascus-Based Alliance of Palestinian Forces: A Primer'. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000): 60–76.
- The Sydney Morning Herald. 'Wounded Hamas Leader Vows to Fight Israel'. The Sydney Morning Herald, 11 June 2003. https://www.smh.com.au/world/middle-east/wounded-hamas-leader-vows-to-fight-israel-20030611-gdgwux.html.
- Taji-Farouki, Suha. A Fundamental Quest: Hizb al-Tahrir and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate. London: Grey Seal, 1996.
- Talhami, As'ad. 'Awsat Isra'iliyya Ta'tabir 'al-Jihad' al-Rabih al-Akbar Wa Wazir Yad'u Ila Dars Furas al-Tafawud Ma' Hamas'. al-Hayat, 15 March 2012. https://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/Hayat INT/2012/3/15/-أوساط html. اسرائيلية-تعتبر-الجهاد-الرابح-الاكبر-ووزير-يدعو-الى-درس-فرص-التفاوض-مع-حماس.
- Tamimi, Azzam. Hamas: Unwritten Chapters. London: Hurst & Company, 2009.
- The Times of Israel. 'In Interview with Israeli Paper, Hamas Chief Defends Group's Terror Tactics'. *The Times of Israel*, 5 October 2018. https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-interview-with-israeli-paper-hamas-chief-defends-groups-terror-tactics/.
- Tuastad, Dag. 'Hamas and the Clans: From Islamisation of Tribalism to Tribalization of Islamism?' *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal* 6, nos. 1-3 (2021): 88–104.
- UN Human Rights Council. Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Protests in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. A/HRC/40/74. 25 February 2019.
- United Nations. Human Rights in Palestine and Other Occupied Arab Territories: Report of the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict. Geneva: United Nations, 2009.
- ——. 'Human Rights Council Hears That the Current Israeli Plan to Double the Settler Population in the Occupied Syrian Golan by 2027 Is Unprecedented, and That 700,000 Israeli Settlers Are Living Illegally in the Occupied West Bank | The United Nations Office at Geneva', 28 March 2023. https://www.ungeneva.org/en/news-media/meeting-summary/2023/03/afternoon-human-rights-council-hears-current-israeli-plan-double.

- United Nations Human Rights Council. Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Protests in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. A/HRC/40/74. 28 February 2019.
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 'Food Insecurity in the oPt: 1.3 Million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip Are Food Insecure'. *OCHA*, 14 December 2018. http://www.ochaopt.org/content/foodinsecurity-opt-13-million-palestinians-gaza-strip-are-food-insecure.
- United States District Court Middle District of Florida Tampa Division. United States of America v. Sami Amin al-Arian, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, Bashir Musa Mohammad Nafi, Sameeh Hammoudeh, Muhammad Tasir Hassan al-Khatib, Abd al-Aziz Awda, Ghassan Zayed Ballut, Hatim Naji Fariz. Case No. 8:03-CR--T-, 2003. https://irp.fas.org/ops/ci/al-arian_indict 022003.pdf.
- Universität Hamburg. 'The Bombs, Their Meaning, and the Consequences Today', 24 July 2023. https://www.uni-hamburg.de/en/newsroom/im-fokus/2023/0724-80-jahre-feuersturm-althoff.html.
- UNRWA. Special Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East Covering the Period 1 November 1956 to Mid-December 1956. Special report of the Director SUP-PLEMENT No. 14A (A/3212/Add.1). New York: United Nations, 1957.
- Wagemakers, Joas. 'Legitimizing Pragmatism: Hamas' Framing Efforts From Militancy to Moderation and Back?' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 3 (2010): 357–377.
- Wakid, Ali. 'Qiyadi Fi Al-Jihad al-Islami: 'Al-Iraniyyun Lam Ya'udu Yaqbalun Mawaqif Muhayida''. *al-Masdar*, 28 May 2015. www.al-masdar.net/قيادي-ل قيادي-ل.
- Al-Watan Voice. 'Azmat Al-Jihad al-Islami al-Maliyya Tatasa'ud: Hal Hasalat al-Haraka Ala Tamwil Min al-Jaza'ir?' *al-Watan Voice*, 28 December 2015. www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2015/12/28/840378.html.
- Whitaker, Brian. 'Sharon Likens Arafat to Bin Laden'. *The Guardian*, 14 September 2001. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/14/israel.september11.
- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Wispelwey, Bram and Yasser Abu Jamei. 'The Great March of Return: Lessons from Gaza on Mass Resistance and Mental Health'. *Health and Human Rights Journal* 22, no. 1 (2020): 179.
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins. Liberty and Property: A Social History of Western Political Thought from the Renaissance to Enlightement. New York: Verso Books, 2012.

- Wood, Ellen Meiksins. Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism. New York: Verso Books, 2016.
- Wood, Graeme. 'A Record of Pure, Predatory Sadism'. *The Atlantic*, 23 October 2023. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/10/why-israeli-officials-screened-footage-hamas-attack/675735/.
- al-Zaydawi, al-Mahdi. 'Yahya Al-Sinwar.. Rajul Alladhi Tukhshah Isra'il Hayyan Wa Maytan'. *Maydan*, 11 October 2023. www.aljazeera.net/midan/real-ity/politics/2023/10/11/2-يحيى.
- Zerrouky, Madjid. 'Hamas's Relentless Efforts to Build up Its Military Arsenal in Gaza'. Le Monde, 11 October 2023. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/10/11/hamas-s-relentless-efforts-to-build-up-its-military-arsenal-in-gaza_6165123_4.html.
- Ziboun, Kifah. 'Hamas Elects Yahya Sinwar New Leader in Gaza Strip'. Asharq al-Awsat, 14 February 2017. https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/kifah-ziboun/news-middle-east/hamas-elects-yahya-sinwar-new-leader-gaza-strip.
- Zochrot. 'Al-Jura (Gaza)'. Zochrot, n.d. https://www.zochrot.org/villages/village details/49069/en.
- -----. 'Ijzim', n.d. https://www.zochrot.org/villages/village_details/48978/en?Ijzim.