



## The Popular University of the Palestinian Youth Movement Presents Our History of Popular Resistance: Palestine Reading List

As Palestinians, we are bearers of a rich and beautiful history. **Our history is not defined by Zionism, but by our people's steadfast popular resistance to Zionist colonization and imperialism.** For over 75 years, our people have faced Zionist ethnic cleansing and for over 75 years we have risen in struggle against it. Even prior to the 1948 *Nakba*, Palestinians consistently rose up against British imperialism and the Zionist movement, as exemplified in the 1936-9 Arab Revolt. Our history and struggle, therefore, cannot be defined by victimhood. Instead, they are defined by a relentless persistence toward liberation, even under the most brutal colonial conditions.

Today is no exception. In a moment when the word is rising up for Palestinian freedom, we must emphasize that popular uprisings across Palestine are deeply and firmly rooted in our history. **For this reason, our recommended reading list offers historical context on Palestine through the prism of popular resistance, which continues to be our main resource in the fight for land, return, and liberation.** We include sources in English and Arabic on popular resistance ranging from political histories, interviews, memoirs, poetry, films, and primary documents. By popular resistance we refer to all forms of resistance taken up by Palestinians: in the form of economic resistance, women's organizations, unions and labor organizing, and military/armed resistance.

As the Popular University, a committee of the Palestinian Youth Movement, we believe that education must be wielded in service of struggle. Our viewpoint finds inspiration

and guidance from the [Popular University in Palestine](#), of which the martyred Basel al-Araj was a part. In our meeting with an educator in this project, Khaled Odeitallah, he emphasized how the political role of pedagogical strategies inspired the objective and vision of the Popular University. He asked: “What is the *political* role that knowledge production must play?” From this perspective we seek to motivate, engage and facilitate a robust engagement on the history and present of our struggle. Study and struggle are intimately tied to one another. We do not learn and produce knowledge on Palestinian history for academic or careerist pursuits; we produce knowledge in service of our political struggle for Palestinian liberation.

**We encourage you to use this reading list to educate yourself on the history of Palestine beyond the objective facts of colonial domination. This is a political responsibility for anyone concerned with Palestine’s liberation.** Through engagement with our history of resistance, we may join the struggle armed with knowledge and a continued commitment not to our suffering, but to our collective strength.

**Note:** We included a number of texts in Arabic that offer analysis and context for this battle that is rarely offered in the English media outlets. Even if you do not read Arabic, we recommend copy pasting the texts in Arabic into Google Translate or another translation service. The translation, while imperfect, will provide you with an overall sense of the arguments and main points being made.

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**This reading list is organized in the following sections:**

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## Introductory and Archival Materials

- [Decolonize Palestine](#)
- مكتبة سبيل (الصفحة العربية)
- Sabil Library ([English Site](#))
- [Learn the Revolution](#)
- [باب الواد - الجامعة الشعبية](#)

## Revolution and Rebellion under the British Occupation:

- [The Revolution of 1936-1939 in Palestine: Background, Details, and Analysis](#), Ghassan Kanafani
- "ثورة 1936-1939: خلفيات وتفاصيل وتحليل." غسان كنفاني (1972)
- [Memories of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past](#), Ted Swedenburg (1995)
- أبو جلدة والعرميط [Abu Jilda & Al 'Armit](#)
- "Abu Jilda, Anti-Imperial Hero: Banditry and Popular Rebellion in Palestine," Alex Winder (2015)
- "A century of Palestinian resistance: the legacy of Izz ad-Din al-Qassam," The East is a Podcast (2021)
- [Palestine: A Modern History](#), Abdul-Wahhab Kayyali (1978)

## Palestinian Resistance 1948 - 1993<sup>1</sup>

- [Palestinian history doesn't start with the Nakba](#) by PYM (May, 2023)
- [Armed Struggle and the Search for a State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1948 - 1993](#), Yezid Sayigh (1997)
- "معنى النكبة" قنسطنطين زريق (1948)
- [Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries](#), Rosemary Sayegh (1979)
- "من التحرير إلى الدولة: تاريخ الحركة الوطنية الفلسطينية، 1948-1988" هيلغا بوبغارتن (2006)
- [Green March Black September: The Story of the Palestinian Arabs](#), John Cooley (1973)
- "Interview with Fr. Shehadeh Shehadeh on the First Land Day Protest." Sharif Hamadeh (2005)

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<sup>1</sup> This section is loosely organized in chronological order of the events and histories addressed in each text.

- [Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement](#), Julie Peteet (1991)
- ["What the Uprising Means,"](#) Salim Tamari (1988)
- ["The Stone and the Pen: Palestinian Education During the 1987 Intifada"](#) Yamila Hussein (2005)
- [Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment](#), Mazin Qumsiyeh (2011)
- ["وقع الانتفاضات الشعبية الديمقراطية - تاريخ المنظمة و الحركات" جميل هلال \(2011\)](#)
- ["Fighting on Two Fronts: Conversations with Palestinian Women"](#) Soraya Antonius (1979)
- ["100 Years of Palestinian Popular Resistance"](#) by Nasreen Abd Elal (May, 2023)

## Contemporary Palestinian Resistance

- [Zionism in crisis: Palestinian resistance forges a new horizon](#) (April, 2023)
- ["The Palestinians' inalienable right to resist"](#) Louis Allday (2021)
- ["No Choice but to Break Free: An Interview with Ahmed Abu Artema"](#) Ahmed Abu Artema and Lara Sheehi (2019)
- [Interview with Ahmad Saadat, Leading from Prison, Ending Negotiations, and Rebuilding the Resistance](#) (2013)
- ["Palestinian Resistance and Sheikh Jarrah"](#) Devyn Springer, Mohammed el-Kurd, and Abu Shuwarib, *Groundings Podcast* (2021)
- [Notes from the Great March of Return w/ Tareq Loubani](#), The East is a Podcast (2022)
- ["هبة باب العامود: نصر جديد وتحد جديد 2"](#) خالد عودة الله (2021)
- ["حراك «طالعات» الفلسطيني: لا وجود لوطن حرّ إلا بنساء حرّة"](#) حلا مرشود (2019)
- [Operation Sword Edge \[2018\] - Sayaret Matkal's Covert Operation](#) Silah Report (2021)
- [Battle of Shujaiya - The 51 Day War: Ruin and Resistance in Gaza](#)
- [The Evolution of the Palestinian Resistance and Its New Strategy](#) (October, 2022)
- [On the Joint Operations Room](#)

## Palestinian Institutions and Political Parties

- [PLO: History of a Revolution](#) - Six-part documentary series about history of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (2009)
- *The PLO: The Struggle Within*, Alain Gresh (1985)
- ["The Joy of Flying 1967-73"](#) in *The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power, and Politics*, Helena Cobban (1984)

- [“The Palestinian National Covenant.”](#) published in *Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement*, Leila Kadi (ed.) (1969)
- [“PLO Institutions: The Challenge Ahead.”](#) Jamil Hilal (1993)
- [“A New Hamas Through Its New Documents,”](#) Khaled Hroub (2006)

## Worker Mobilization, Labor Movements, and Economic Resistance

- [“When pickles become a weapon: Economy of the first Intifada,”](#) *Palestinian Journeys*
- [“أداء المؤسسات الاقتصادية في المناطق المحتلة قبل الانتفاضة وخلالها”،](#) عادل سمارة (1990)
- [“Developing a Palestinian Resistance Economy through Agricultural Labor,”](#) Rayya El-Zein (2017)

## Resistance in Zionist Prisons

- [كلام الأسرى.. عيون الكلام](#) (2021)
- [Video: Steadfastness and Resistance — the Palestinian prisoner’s movement and the case of Ahmad Sa’adat](#)
- [“One Man as a Whole Generation: The Unfinished War of Zakaria Zubeidi,”](#) Ramzy Baroud (2021)
- [“Liberating a Palestinian Novel from Israeli Prison”](#) Danya Al-Saleh and Samar Al-Saleh (2023)
- [“The Prisoner Walid Daqqah: a stubborn conscience that cannot be seared”](#) Wisam Rafeedie (2023)
- [“Freedom or Martyrdom: Walid Daqqah’s fate is in our hands.”](#) PYM (2023)
- [“Resistance and Revolutionary Will: Soha Bechara and Nawal Baidoun’s Testimonies of Khiam Prison,”](#) Mary Turfah (2023)

## Role of Palestinian Women in the Resistance

- [Interview with Samira Salah](#) (2013)
- [Behind the intifada: Labor and Women’s Movements in the Occupied Territories,](#) Joost R. Hiltermann (1991).
- [Palestinian Women and the Intifada,](#) Rana Houry (1995)
- [“The Palestinian women’s autonomous movement: Emergency, dynamics and challenges,”](#) Rabab Abdulhadi (1998)
- [“Women of the Intifada: gender, class and national liberation,”](#) Nahla Abdo (1991)
- [Women, War, and Peace: Reflections from the Intifada,](#) Nahla Abdo (2002)
- [Palestinian Women’s Activism,](#) Islah Jad (2018)

## Memoirs and Personal Profiles

- [“Committed to Liberation: Remembering Soha Bechara’s Clandestine Mission”](#) (includes chapter 7 of *Resistance: My Life for Lebanon* by Soha Bechara)
- [My People Shall Live](#), Leila Khaled, (1971)
- Jamjoum, Hazem. [Liberation, Wonder, and the ‘Magic of the World’: Basel al-Araj’s I Have Found My Answers](#), (2021)
- “وجدت أجوبتي: هكذا تكلم الشهيد باسل الأعرج” باسل الأعرج (2018)
- “مذكرات نجاتي صدقي” ،تقديم وإعداد حنا أبو حنا، (2001)
- [“I Went to Defend Jerusalem in Cordoba, Memoirs of a Palestinian Communist in the Spanish International Brigades,”](#) Najati Sidqqi, (2015)
- [“Two Portraits in Resistance - Abu ‘Umar and Mahjub ‘Umar,”](#) Jehan Helou and Elias Khoury (2012)
- [My Life in the PLO: The Inside Story of the Palestinian Struggle](#), Shafiq al Hout and Jean Said Makdisi (2019)
- [Lightning through the Clouds: ‘Izz al-Din al-Qassam and the Making of the Modern Middle East](#), Mark Sanagan (2020)
- [جيفارا غزة - القصة الكاملة لبطل فلسطيني حارب الاحتلال ببسالة](#)
- [جيفارا غزة - وثائقي الميادين](#)

## Historical fiction, literature, and poetry

- [The Trinity of Fundamentals](#), Wisam Rafeedie
- [“Live Like a Porcupine, Fight Like a Flea,”](#) A Translation of an Article by Basel Al-Araj
- [“Here We Will Stay,”](#) Tawfiq Zayyad (1966)
- [Poetry of Resistance in Occupied Palestine](#), translated by Sulafa Hijjawi (Baghdad, Ministry of Culture and Guidance, 1968)
- [Returning to Haifa](#), Ghassan Kanafani (1969)
- [“الأدب الفلسطيني المقاوم تحت الإحتلال 1968-1948”](#) ,غسان كنفاني
- [“Resist My People. Resist Them.”](#) Dareen Tatour (2015)
- [“نظرية اللعبة”](#) خالد عودة الله (2018)
- [Rifqa, Mohammed El-Kurd](#) (2021)
- [‘A Place Without a Door’ and ‘Uncle Give me a Cigarette’—Two Essays by Palestinian Political Prisoner. Walid Daqqah](#) (2023)
- [On Zionist Literature](#), Ghassan Kanafani (1967 original, 2022 English translation)

## Films

- [Fedayin: Georges Abdallah’s Fight](#) (2021)

- *Naila and the Uprising* (2017)
- [Off Frame AKA Revolution Until Victory](#) (2015)
- [When I Saw You/ Lamma Shoftak](#) (2012)
- [Slingshot Hip Hop](#) (2008)
- [Leila Khaled: Hijacker](#) (2005)
- [Jenin Jenin](#) (2002)
- [Naji al Ali An Artist With a Vision](#) (1999)
- [Tell Your Tale Little Bird](#) (1993)
- [Everything and Nothing](#) (1991)
- [They do not exist](#) (1974)

### [Palestine Books Library](#)

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