

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Banks, William. *Counterinsurgency Law: New Directions in Asymmetric Warfare*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199941445.001.0001>.
- Bird, Kai, and Martin J. Sherwin. *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- Chimni, B. S. *International Law and World Order: A Critique of Contemporary Approaches*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Cirincione, Joseph. *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Erakat, Noura. *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019.
- Feinstein, Andrew. *The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.
- Fleming, D. F. *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917–1960: Volume One 1917–1950*. New York: Routledge, 1961. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003094838>.
- Gray, Christine. *International Law and the Use of Force*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hickey, James E. *Precision-Guided Munitions and Human Suffering in War*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Jones, Vincent C. *Manhattan, the Army and the Atomic Bomb*. Vol. 8. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1985.
- Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. New York: International Publishers, 1963.
- McCoubrey, Hilaire. *International Humanitarian Law: Modern Developments in the Limitation of Warfare*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 1998. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429202568>.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

In the Shadow of the Destroyer of Worlds: Confronting the International Legal Legacy of Self-Defense in Israel's Carpet Bombing of Gaza

Aqiela Syalaisa, Fajri Matahati Muhammadin, S.H., LL.M., Ph.D.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Melman, Seymour. *Pentagon Capitalism: The Political Economy of War*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Murray, Williamson, and Allan R. Millett. *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Ndiaye, Pap. *Nylon and Bombs: DuPont and the March of Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Overy, Richard. *The Bombers and the Bombed: Allied Air War over Europe, 1940–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Pahuja, Sundhya. *Decolonising International Law: Development, Economic Growth, and the Politics of Universality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Pearce, Fred. *Fallout: A Journey Through the Nuclear Age, from the Atom Bomb to Radioactive Waste*. London: Portobello Books, 2018.

Rae, John B. *Climb to Greatness: The American Aircraft Industry, 1920–1960*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968.

Rhodes, Richard. *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986.
Shaw, Malcolm N. *International Law*. 6th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Sutherland, Benjamin. *The Economist: Modern Warfare, Intelligence and Deterrence: The Technologies That Are Transforming Them*. London: Profile Books, 2011.

Toland, John. *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936–1945*. New York: Random House, 1970.

Legal Precedents (OSCOLA)

Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions (8 June 1977).

Chemical Weapons Convention (opened for signature 13 January 1993, entered into force 29 April 1997) 1974 UNTS 45.

Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons (Advisory Opinion) [1996] ICJ Rep 226.

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (adopted 17 July 1998, entered into force 1 July 2002) 2187 UNTS 3.

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (opened for signature 1 July 1968, entered into force 5 March 1970) 729 UNTS 161.

United Nations Charter (adopted 26 June 1945, entered into force 24 October 1945) 1 UNTS XVI.

Journal Articles

- Abdulhadi, Rabab. "Israeli Settler Colonialism in Context: Celebrating (Palestinian) Death and Normalizing Gender and Sexual Violence." *Feminist Studies* 45, no. 2–3 (2019): 541–73. <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.45.2-3.0541>.
- Abdyraeva, Cholpon. "The Use of Cyberspace in the Context of Hybrid Warfare: Means, Challenges and Trends." *International Journal for Conventional and Non-Conventional Warfare* 1, no. 3 (2024): 36.
- Abumbe, Gabriel T., Alagh Terhile, and Dede Chinyere Helen. " Hamas-Israel Conflicts in Gaza and Its Implications for Middle East Stability." *Global Journal of Social Sciences* 23, no. 1 (2024): 157–78.
- Ali, Cheikhmous. "Syrian Heritage Under Threat." *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies* 1, no. 4 (2013): 351–66.
- Ali, Murad. "Aid and Human Rights: The Case of US Aid to Israel." *Policy Perspectives* 15, no. 3 (2018): 29–46. <https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.15.3.0029>.
- Amidžić, Goran, and Milan Aščerić. "Hybrid Warfare as a Modern Form of Security Threat." *Strategic Impact* 57 (2015): 19–26.
- Asi, Yara, et al. "'Nowhere and No One Is Safe': Spatial Analysis of Damage to Critical Civilian Infrastructure in the Gaza Strip During the First Phase of the Israeli Military Campaign, 7 October to 22 November 2023." *Conflict and Health* 18, no. 1 (2024): 24. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-024-00636-9>.
- Awad, Hani. "Understanding Hamas: Remarks on Three Different and Interrelated Theoretical Approaches." *AlMuntaqa* 4, no. 2 (2021): 42–62. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48651943>.
- Baker, Mark B. "Terrorism and the Inherent Right of Self-Defence (A Call to Amend Article 51 of the United Nations Charter)." *Houston Journal of International Law* 10, no. 1 (1987): 25–50.
- Bar, Shmuel. "Israeli Strategic Deterrence: Doctrine and Practice." *Comparative Strategy* 39, no. 4 (2020): 321–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2020.1772624>.
- Beadle, Alexander William. "Protection of Civilians—Military Planning Scenarios and Implications." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 44, no. 3 (2019): 325–59.
- Beckley, Michael, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Jennifer M. Miller. "America's Role in the Making of Japan's Economic Miracle." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (2018): 1–21. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26856285>.

- Beier, J. Marshall. "Discriminating Tastes: 'Smart' Bombs, Non-Combatants, and Notions of Legitimacy in Warfare." *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (2003): 411–25.
- Biddle, Tami Davis. "Bombing by the Square Yard: Sir Arthur Harris at War, 1942–1945." *The International History Review* 21, no. 3 (1999): 626–64.
- Blank, Laurie R. "International Law and Cyber Threats from Non-State Actors." *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights* 43 (2013): 111–39.
- Bukhari, Syed Rizwan Haider, Nasir Iqbal, and Amir Ullah Khan. "Israel's Military Actions in Palestine and Lebanon: A Critical Analysis of Humanitarian, Political, and Strategic Implications." *Journal of Development and Social Sciences* 5, no. 3 (2024): 577–86.
- Byman, Daniel, and Natan Sachs. "The Rise of Settler Terrorism: The West Bank's Other Violent Extremists." *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 5 (2012): 73–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41720862>.
- Cassese, Antonio. "The Geneva Protocols of 1977 on the Humanitarian Law of Armed Conflict and Customary International Law." *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 3 (1984): 55.
- Cohen, Gal. "Mixing Oil and Water? The Interaction between *Jus Ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello* during Armed Conflicts." *Journal on the Use of Force and International Law* 9, no. 2 (2022): 352–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20531702.2022.2059154>.
- Dahlstrom, K. Elizabeth. "The Executive Policy Toward Detention and Trial of Foreign Citizens at Guantanamo Bay." *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 21 (2003): 662.
- Demenchonok, Edward. "From Power Politics to the Ethics of Nonviolence and Co-Responsibility." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 68, no. 1 (2009): 9–50.
- Desai, Radhika. "The Long Shadow of Hiroshima: Capitalism and Nuclear Weapons." *International Critical Thought* 12, no. 3 (2022): 349–69.
- DeVore, Marc R. "Armaments after Autonomy: Military Adaptation and the Drive for Domestic Defence Industries." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 44, no. 3 (2019): 325–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1612377>.
- Elessi, Khamis. "Save Gaza Residents from Imminent Catastrophe." *The Lancet* 402, no. 10412 (2023): 1522–23.
- El-Shewy, Mohamed, Mark Griffiths, and Craig Jones. "Israel's War on Gaza in a Global Frame." *Antipode* 57, no. 1 (2025): 75–95.
- Eskridge, William N., and Philip P. Frickey. "Statutory Interpretation as Practical Reasoning." *Stanford Law Review* 42, no. 2 (1990): 321–84. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1228963>.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

In the Shadow of the Destroyer of Worlds: Confronting the International Legal Legacy of Self-Defense in Israel's Carpet Bombing of Gaza

Aqiela Syalaisa, Fajri Matahati Muhammadin, S.H., LL.M., Ph.D.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Ezdi, Asif. "Self Defence Under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter: A Critical Analysis." *Pakistan Horizon* 27, no. 2 (1974): 29–51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41393212>.
- Greig, D. W. "Self-Defence and the Security Council: What Does Article 51 Require?" *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1991): 366–402. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759729>.
- Gunawan, Yordan, and Muhammad Ervival Rizqy Pane. "Responsibility for Excessive Infrastructure Damage in Attacks: Analysing Russia's Attack in Ukraine." *Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum dan Syariah* (2024).
https://repositori.upf.edu/bitstream/handle/10230/59969/Gunawan_kaj_resp.pdf.
- Hecht, Eado, and Eitan Shamir. "The Case for Israeli Ground Forces." *Survival* 58, no. 5 (2016): 123–48.
- Henderson, Ian. "The Firebombing of Tokyo and Other Japanese Cities." In *Beyond Victor's Justice? The Tokyo War Crimes Trial Revisited*, 311–21. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Hutchinson, Allan C., and Patrick J. Monahan. "Law, Politics, and the Critical Legal Scholars: The Unfolding Drama of American Legal Thought." *Stanford Law Review* 36, no. 1/2 (1984): 199–245. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1228683>.
- Jensen, Eric Talbot. "Shelling in Urban Area: When Does Imprecision Become Indiscriminate?" In *Proceedings of the 16th Bruges Colloquium: Urban Warfare*, 16–26. 2015.
- John Langan. "The Elements of St. Augustine's Just War Theory." *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 12, no. 1 (1984): 19–38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40014967>.
- Kang, David. "Hybrid Warfare: Blurring the Lines Between Conventional and Non-Conventional Tactics." *International Journal for Conventional and Non-Conventional Warfare* 1, no. 3 (2024): 42–51.
- Kimmerling, Baruch. "Patterns of Militarism in Israel." *European Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 2 (1993): 196–223.
- Kjaer, Poul F. "The Law of Political Economy as Transformative Law: A New Approach to the Concept and Function of Law." *Global Perspectives* 2, no. 1 (2021): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2021.23669>.
- Kretzmer, David. "The Inherent Right to Self-Defence and Proportionality in *Jus Ad Bellum*." *European Journal of International Law* 24, no. 1 (2013): 235–82. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chs087>.
- Laing, Jessica. "The Use of Nuclear Weapons Under the Doctrine of Self-Defence." *International Law Review* 45 (2019): 1–35.
- Lifton, Robert J. "Oppenheimer's Tragedy—and Ours." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 79, no. 4 (2023): 216–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2023.2223073>.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

In the Shadow of the Destroyer of Worlds: Confronting the International Legal Legacy of Self-Defense in Israel's Carpet Bombing of Gaza

Aqiela Syalaisa, Fajri Matahati Muhammadin, S.H., LL.M., Ph.D.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Majchút, Ivan, and Michal Vajda. "Hybrid Warfare: Military Response Options." *Ante Portas* 18, no. 1 (2022): 129-43.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I*. Translated by Ben Fowkes. London: Penguin Classics, 1976.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*. Translated by Samuel Moore. Edited by Gareth Stedman Jones. London: Penguin Classics, 2002.
- Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Translated by Terrell Carver. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1996.
- McDonnell, Thomas Michael. "Cluster Bombs over Kosovo: A Violation of International Law?" *Arizona Law Review* 44 (2002): 31-78.
<https://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/282/>.
- McMahan, Jeff. "The Sources and Status of Just War Principles." *Journal of Military Ethics* 6, no. 2 (2007): 91-106.
- Miles, Rufus E. "Hiroshima: The Strange Myth of Half a Million American Lives Saved." *International Security* 10, no. 2 (1985): 121-40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538830>.
- Minow, Martha. "Outsourcing Power: How Privatizing Military Efforts Challenges Accountability, Professionalism, Democracy." *Boston College Law Review* 46 (2004): 989-1036.
- Munteanu, Răzvan. "Hybrid Warfare—The New Form of Conflict at the Beginning of the Century." *Strategic Impact* 57 (2015): 19-26.
- Murphy, Ray. "Prisoner of War Status and the Question of the Guantanamo Bay Detainees." *Human Rights Law Review* 3 (2003): 257-78.
- Nijim, Mohammed. "Genocide in Palestine: Gaza as a Case Study." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 27, no. 1 (2022): 165-200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2022.2065261>.
- Norris, Robert S., and Hans M. Kristensen. "Global Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945-2006." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 62, no. 4 (2006): 64-66.
- Okajima, Shunzo, et al. "Radioactive Fallout Effects of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb." *Health Physics* 34, no. 6 (1978): 621-33.
- Osimen, Goddy Uwa, Oluwamurewa Newo, and Oluwakemi Morola Fulani. "Artificial Intelligence and Arms Control in Modern Warfare." *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024): Article 2407514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2407514>.
- Paust, Jordan J. "Controlling Prohibited Weapons and the Illegal Use of Permitted Weapons." *McGill Law Journal* 28, no. 3 (1983): 608-27.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

In the Shadow of the Destroyer of Worlds: Confronting the International Legal Legacy of Self-Defense in Israel's Carpet Bombing of Gaza

Aqiela Syalaisa, Fajri Matahati Muhammadiyah, S.H., LL.M., Ph.D.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Paust, Jordan J. "The Nuclear Decision in World War II—Truman's Ending and Avoidance of War." *International Law* 8 (1974): 160-89.
- Popp, Roland. "Introduction: Global Order, Cooperation between the Superpowers, and Alliance Politics in the Making of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime." *The International History Review* 36, no. 2 (2014): 195-209.
- Quéguiner, Jean-François. "The Principle of Distinction: Beyond an Obligation of Customary International Humanitarian Law." In *The Legitimate Use of Military Force*, 161-87. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Regilme, Salvador Santino F., Jr. "Private Military and Security Companies and the Militarization of Humanitarianism." *Journal of Developing Societies* 38, no. 1 (2022): 50-80.
- Rubinstein, Amnon, and Yaniv Roznai. "Human Shields in Modern Armed Conflicts: The Need for a Proportionate Proportionality." *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 22, no. 1 (2011): 93-128. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1861161>.
- Saint-Amour, Paul K. "Bombing and the Symptom: Traumatic Earliness and the Nuclear Uncanny." *Diacritics* 30, no. 4 (2000): 59-82.
- Sarvarian, Arman. "The Lawfulness of a Use of Force Upon Nuclear Facilities in Self-Defence." *Journal of the Use of Force and International Law* 1, no. 2 (2014): 247-72.
- Sari, Aurel. "War Diffused: Warfare between Metaphor and Reality." *University of St. Thomas Journal of Law & Public Policy* 16 (2023): 594-615.
- Sheng Hongsheng. "The Evolution of Law of War." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 1, no. 2 (2006): 267-301. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48615600>.
- Shomar, Basem. "Water Scenarios in the Gaza Strip, Palestine: Thirst, Hunger and Disease." *International Journal of Environmental Studies* 68, no. 4 (2011): 477-93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207233.2011.584328>.
- Smits, Jan M. "What Is Legal Doctrine? On The Aims and Methods of Legal-Dogmatic Research." In *Rethinking Legal Scholarship: A Transatlantic Dialogue*, edited by Rob van Gestel, Hans-W. Micklitz, and Edward L. Rubin, 207-28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Suchman, Mark C., and Dana P. Eyre. "Military Procurement as Rational Myth: Notes on the Social Construction of Weapons Proliferation." *Sociological Forum* 7, no. 1 (1992): 137-61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/684356>.
- Townley, Stephen. "Indiscriminate Attacks and the Past, Present, and Future of the Rules/Standards and Objective/Subjective Debates in International Humanitarian Law." *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 50, no. 5 (2017): 1223-1280.
- Yavenditti, Michael J. "The American People and the Use of Atomic Bombs On Japan: The 1940s." *The Historian* 36, no. 2 (1974): 224-47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24443683>.

Articles (Newspapers, Magazines, etc.)

Al Jazeera. "Countries Sever Ties with Israel over Its War on Gaza." *Al Jazeera*, November 7, 2023. <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/inside-story/2023/11/7/countries-cut-off-diplomatic-ties-with-israel-in-response-to-gaza-war>.

AP News. "Palestinians Flee Northern Gaza after Israel Orders 1 Million to Evacuate as Ground Attack Looms." October 14, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/israel-palestinians-gaza-hamas-war-c8b4fc20e4fd2ef381d5edb7e9e8308c>.

CNN. "US Intelligence Assessment Says Nearly Half of Israeli Munitions Dropped on Gaza Are 'Dumb' Bombs." *CNN*, December 13, 2023. <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/12/13/politics/intelligence-assessment-dumb-bombs-israel-gaza/index.html>.

MEE Staff. "Nobel Winning Hiroshima Survivor's Gaza Comparison Angers Israel." *Middle East Eye*, 2024.

Reuters. "Netanyahu, Gantz Agree to Form Emergency Israel Government: Statement." *Reuters*, October 11, 2023. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/netanyahu-gantz-agree-form-emergency-israel-government-statement-2023-10-11/>.

Reports & Institutional Publications

Action Against Hunger. *Psychosocial Impact of Hunger: Addressing Mental Health and Well-Being in Crisis Situations*. New York: Action Against Hunger, 2022. https://www.actionagainsthunger.org/app/uploads/2022/09/ACF_Psychosocial_Impact.pdf

Amnesty International. "Israel's Decision to Cut Off Electricity Supply to Gaza Desalination Plant 'Cruel and Unlawful.'" *Amnesty International*, March 2025. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/03/israels-decision-to-cut-off-electricity-supply-to-gaza-desalination-plant-cruel-and-unlawful/>.

Congressional Research Service. *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel*. RL33222. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2006. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL33222/40>.

Human Rights Watch. *Hopeless, Starving, and Besieged: Israel's Forced Displacement of Palestinians in Gaza*. November 14, 2024. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/11/14/hopeless-starving-and-besieged/israels-forced-displacement-palestinians-gaza>.

Action Against Hunger. *Psychosocial Impact of Hunger: Addressing Mental Health and Well-Being in Crisis Situations*. New York: Action Against Hunger, 2022. https://www.actionagainsthunger.org/app/uploads/2022/09/ACF_Psychosocial_Impact.pdf

Geneva Call. *Armed Non-State Actors: Current Trends & Future Challenges*. DCAF Horizon 2015 Working Paper No. 5, 2015. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/144858/ANSA_Final.pdf.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

In the Shadow of the Destroyer of Worlds: Confronting the International Legal Legacy of Self-Defense in Israel's Carpet Bombing of Gaza

Aqiela Syalaisa, Fajri Matahati Muhammadin, S.H., LL.M., Ph.D.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Human Rights Watch. *Hopeless, Starving, and Besieged: Israel's Forced Displacement of Palestinians in Gaza*. November 14, 2024. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/11/14/hopeless-starving-and-besieged/israels-forced-displacement-palestinians-gaza>.

Theses & Dissertations

Fortunati, Lorenza. "Civil Applications of Autonomous Systems: Implications for the Military Sector." Master's thesis, Charles University, 2023.

Starodubtseva, Albina. "Russian Hybrid Warfare in Ukraine: Comparative Analysis of Two Cases and Identification of Critical Elements in the Successful Application of Hybrid Tactics." PhD diss., Vilniaus universitetas, 2021.

Websites & Online Resources

Palestine Solidarity Campaign. "Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions (BDS) Movement." *Palestine Solidarity Campaign*. <https://palestinecampaign.org/campaigns/bds-2/>.

The Witness. "Siemens." *Israel Boycott Guide*. <https://boycott.thewitness.news/target/siemens>.