

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- European Economic Community (1973) London Declaration
- European Economic Community (1980) Venice Declaration
- European Union, (1992) Treaty on the European Union
- European Union (1993) Maastricht Treaty
- European Union (2016) Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
- Council of Europe (1953) European Convention on Human Rights
- United Nations. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- United Nations (1990) Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law
- Abuelaish, I., & Myers, J. J. (2015). I Shall Not Hate: A Gaza Doctor's Journey on the Road to Peace and Human Dignity. *Revista Científica General José María Córdova*, 13(16), 19-32.
- Afana, R. (2023). The occupation–colonialism continuum: Impact on transitional justice in Palestine/Israel. In *Prolonged occupation and international law* (pp. 133-158). Brill Nijhoff.
- Aidonojie, P. A., Agbale, O. P., Odojor, O. A., & Ikubanni, O. O. (2021). Human rights: between universalism and cultural relativism. *AJLHR*, 5, 97.
- Akgül-Açıkmeşe, S., & Özel, S. (2024). EU policy towards the Israel Palestine conflict: the limitations of mitigation strategies. *The International Spectator*, 59(1), 59-78.

Al-Attas, S. M. N. (1993). *Islam and Secularisation*. Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of ISTAC [Islamic Thought and Civilisation]. P.25

Anghie, A. (2007). *Imperialism, sovereignty and the making of international law* (Vol. 37). Cambridge University Press.

Antkowiak, T. M., & Gonza, A. (2017). *The American Convention on Human Rights: essential rights*. Oxford University Press

Asderaki, F. (2021). The EU in the Eastern Mediterranean: Multilateral and Bilateral Relations. In *The New Eastern Mediterranean Transformed: Emerging Issues and New Actors* (pp. 31-67). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Augusto, O. (2024). *International Law and Humanitarian Assistance: Obligations and Positions of the European Union and Its Member States. The Case of Gaza*

Bantekas, I., & Jaber, S. S. (2025). The human rights obligations of belligerent occupiers: Israel and the Gazan population. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 30(1), 103-120.

Barabash, I. H., Serdiuk, O. V., & Steshenko, V. M. (2020). Ukraine in European human rights regime: Breaking path dependence from Russia. In *The EU in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for the European Integration Process* (pp. 247-270). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Behr, H. (2007). The European Union in the legacies of imperial rule? EU accession politics viewed from a historical comparative perspective. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(2), 239-262.

Bicchi, F., & Voltolini, B. (2021). The European Union and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: How Member States came together only to fall apart again. In *Routledge Handbook of EU–Middle East Relations* (pp. 311-320). Routledge. See also,

Blanke, H. J., & Mangiameli, S. (Eds.). (2021). *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union: A Commentary*. Springer.

BLUNTSCHLI, J. (1881). *Droit international codifié, traduit de l'Allemand par*

MC Lardy.

Bofill, H. L. (2023). *Nostalgic Empires: The Crisis of the European Union Related to Its Original Sins*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Bosse, G. (2022). Values, rights, and changing interests: The EU's response to the war against Ukraine and the responsibility to protect Europeans. *Contemporary security policy*, 43(3), 531-546

Brems, E. (2021). *Human rights: Universality and diversity*(Vol. 66). Brill.

Bruce, D. D. (1992). WEB Du Bois and the idea of double consciousness. *American Literature*, 64(2), 299-309.

Budiakivska, Y. (2024). *Foreign policy in the agenda of European Commission: case of Ukraine* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Warsaw)

Bulut, E. (2010). *European involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict*. Chaillot Paper, 124.

Burak, S., Bratsuk, I., Gutnyk, V., Petlenko, Y., & Yavorska, I. (2022). Direct and indirect effect of European Union directives in the context of European Union Court of Justice decisions. *Revista de la Universidad del Zulia*, 13(38), 89-106.

Chimni, B. S. (2003). *Third world approaches to international law: a manifesto*. In *The third world and international order*(pp. 47-73). Brill Nijhoff.

Chinkin, C. (2010). *Laws of occupation. Multilateralism and International Law with Western Sahara as a Case Study*, 197-204.

Davidovic, M. (2021). The law of 'never again': Transitional justice and the transformation of the norm of non-recurrence. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 15(2), 386-406

Donnelly, J. (1984). Cultural relativism and universal human rights. *Hum. Rts. Q.* 6, 400

Duranti, M. (2021). The European Convention on Human Rights and postwar history: why origins matter. In *The European Court of Human Rights* (pp. 90-108). Edward Elgar Publishing

Dvaladze, G. (2022). Non-discrimination under international humanitarian and human rights law. In *Research Handbook on Human Rights and Humanitarian Law* (pp. 411-434). Edward Elgar Publishing.

El Akkad, O. (2025). *One Day, Everyone Will Have Always Been Against This*. Knopf

Erakat, N. (2020). *Justice for some: Law and the question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.

Ferstman, C. (2021). Do guarantees of non-recurrence actually help to prevent systemic violations? Reflections on measures taken to prevent domestic violence. *Netherlands International Law Review*, 68(3), 387-405.

Field, R. (2023). The International Law of Siege and Starvation: The Case of Gaza After October 7, 2023. *Buff. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.*, 30, 161.

Fitzmaurice, A. (2017). Scepticism of the civilizing mission in international law. *International law and empire: Historical explorations*, 359-384.

Galariotis, I., & Gianniou, M. (2021). EU foreign policy incoherence in the United Nations: The case of the Middle East. In *Routledge Handbook of EU–Middle East Relations*(pp. 169-180). Routledge.

Geçeci, E. (2022). *Perceptions of the European Union in Israel*. Middle East Technical University (Turkey).

Golder, B. (2021). Critical humanities and the human of international human rights law. *Routledge Handbook of International Law and the Humanities*, 148-156.

Golder, B. (2021). Critiquing human rights. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 12(2), 226-238.

Gorgiladze, M. (2024). Challenges of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union after Russia-Ukraine War. *Teisė*, 130, 44-54.

Greene, T., & Rynhold, J. (2023). Europe and Israel: Between conflict and cooperation. In *Survival* 60.4 (pp. 91-112). Routledge.

Greilsammer, I. (1991). The non-ratification of the EEC-Israel protocols by the European parliament (1988). *Middle Eastern Studies*, 27(2), 303-32

Guasti, M. (2020). Israeli Territory, Settlements, and European Union Trade: How Does the Legal and Territorial Jurisdictional Regime that Israeli Imposes throughout Israel-Palestine affect the EU-Israel Association Agreement and the EU-Palestinian Authority Association Agreement?. *The Palestine Yearbook of International Law Online*, 21(1), 3-31.

Haldemann, F., Unger, T., & Cadelo, V. (Eds.). (2018). *The United Nations principles to combat impunity: A commentary*. Oxford University Press

Harris, D. J., O'boyle, M., Bates, E., & Buckley, C. (2023). *Law of the European convention on human rights*. Oxford university press.

Huber, D. (2022). Equal rights as a basis for just peace: A European paradigm shift for Israel/Palestine. *Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)*.

Hůlová, E. (2022). The position of guarantees of non-repetition within transitional justice.

Ibhawoh, B. (2008). *Imperialism and human rights: Colonial discourses of rights and liberties in African history*. State University of New York Press.

Jäntti, B. *Designed to fail: EU Foreign Policy vis-à-vis Israel's encroachment on the Occupied Palestinian Territories*.

Kaliser, M. S. (2007). A Modern Day Exodus: International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law Implications of Israel's Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip. *Ind. Int'l & Compar. L. Rev.*, 17, 187.

Kant, I. (1795). Toward perpetual peace. In *Theories of federalism: A reader* (pp. 87-99). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Kapur, R. (2012). Human rights in the 21st century: Take a walk on the dark side. In *Wronging Rights?* (pp. 23-60). Routledge India

Kapur, R. (2018). *Gender, alterity and human rights: Freedom in a fishbowl*. Edward Elgar Publishing

Kapur, R. (2025). Under the Shadow of ‘the Bullet’: TWAIL Reflections on the ‘Worth’ of War and Peace. *Queen Mary Law Research Paper*, (464).

Khalidi, R. (2020). *The hundred years' war on Palestine: A history of settler colonialism and resistance, 1917–2017*. Metropolitan Books

Khosla, M. (2007). The TWAIL discourse: The emergence of a new phase. *Int'l Comm. L. Rev.*, 9, 291.

Kimber, N. R. (2023). *The Human Right to Development: Historical and Contemporary Linkages to Colonialism* (Master's thesis, The University of Western Ontario (Canada)),

Kotova, A., & Tzouvala, N. (2022). In defense of comparisons: Russia and the transmutations of imperialism in international law. *American Journal of International Law*, 116(4), 710-719.

Krivenkova, M. V. (2017). Assurances and guarantees of non-repetition as a form of international responsibility. *QUID: Investigación, Ciencia y Tecnología*, (1), 1341-1346

Laffan, B. (1993). The Treaty of Maastricht: political authority and legitimacy. *The state of the European Community*, 2, 35-51.

Laursen, F., & Vanhoonacker, S. (2019). The Maastricht Treaty: Creating the European Union. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*

Maharmeh, I. (2025). *Starvation in a Time of Genocide: A Weapon of Israeli Settler Colonialism in Gaza*. Policy Analysis

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2021). On the coloniality of human rights. In *The pluriverse of human rights: The diversity of struggles for dignity* (pp. 62-82). Routledge.

Mayer-Rieckh, A. (2017). Guarantees of non-recurrence: An approximation. *Human rights quarterly*, 39(2), 416-448.

McDowall, D. (2014). Clarity or ambiguity? The withdrawal clause of UN Security Council Resolution 242. *International Affairs*, 90(6), 1367-1381. And
McDowall, D. (2014). Clarity or ambiguity? The withdrawal clause of UN Security Council Resolution 242. *International Affairs*, 90(6), 1367-1381.

Mitchell, S. M., & Atanga, L. L. *The African Human Rights Regime. Legalization of Human Rights in Africa*, 85-100.

Moeckli, D. (2017). Equality and non-discrimination. In *Equality and Non-Discrimination under International Law* (pp. 53-70). Routledge

Moor, L., & Simpson, A. B. (2005). Ghosts of colonialism in the European Convention on Human Rights. *British year book of international law*, 76(1), 121-194.

Murphy, R., Ferrara, A., & Power, S. (2023). The Occupation of Palestine from a TWAIL Lens. In *Prolonged Occupation and International Law* (pp. 52-68). Brill Nijhoff.

Mutua, M. (2023). Human Rights: A TWAIL Blazer Critique. *Denv. J. Int'l L. & Pol'y*, 52, 185.

Nowak, M. (2021). *Introduction to the international human rights regime*.

Pardo, S. (2015). *Normative power Europe meets Israel: Perceptions and realities*. Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.

Pardo, S., & Peters, J. (2009). *Uneasy neighbors: Israel and the European union*.

Lexington books

Pérez-Bernárdez, C. (2023). The human rights sanctions regime and the rule of law: towards a stronger European Union?. In *Enhancing the rule of law in the European union's external action* (pp. 132-161). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Petersen, N. (2018). The principle of non-discrimination in the European Convention on Human Rights and in EU Fundamental Rights Law. *Contemporary Issues in Human Rights Law*

Pfleging, J. (2025). *Paying Without Playing?: Assessing the European Union's Actorness in the Middle East Peace Process*. College of Europe

Ramati, N. (2020). The rulings of the Israeli military courts and international law. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 25(1), 149-169.

Rosas, A. (2022). The Court of Justice of the European Union: A Human Rights Institution? *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 14(1), 204-214.

Samson, C. (2020). *The colonialism of human rights: Ongoing hypocrisies of western liberalism*. John Wiley & Sons.

Sarkin, J. J. (2021). Towards a greater understanding of guarantees of non-repetition (GNR) or non-recurrence of human rights violations: How GNR intersects transitional justice with processes of state (re) building, the rule of law, democratic governance, reconciliation, nation building, social cohesion and human rights protection. *Stan. J. Int'l L.*, 57, 191.

Schuerch, R. (2017). European colonialism and neo-colonialism. In *The International Criminal Court at the Mercy of Powerful States: An Assessment of the Neo-Colonialism Claim Made by African Stakeholders* (pp. 19-41). The Hague: TMC Asser Press

Shala, N. (2024). *Guarantees of Non-repetition in International Human Rights Law and Transitional Justice: Building Peace After Conflict*. Routledge.

Sharma, V. (2024). Human rights are a form of neo-colonialism and cannot, therefore, address the neo-colonial injustices of the neoliberal global order.

Authorea Preprints.

Sierp, A. (2020). EU memory politics and Europe's forgotten colonial past. *Interventions*, 22(6), 686-702

Steinberg, G. M. (2025). *Righting Wrongs: Three Decades on the Front Lines Battling Abusive Governments*: by Kenneth Roth (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2025), 434 pages.

Tartir, A. (2019). Securitizing Peace: The EU's Aiding and Abetting Authoritarianism. *Palestine and Rule of Power: Local Dissent vs. International Governance*, 227-247

Triffterer, O. (1999). Commentary on the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 7.

Veuthey, A. (2023). *EU foreign policy Via sectoral cooperation: The EU joined-up approach towards Switzerland, Israel and Morocco*. Springer Nature.

Veuthey, A. (2023). EU-Israel. In *EU Foreign Policy via Sectoral Cooperation: The EU Joined-up Approach Towards Switzerland, Israel and Morocco* (pp. 123-202). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Wolff, G. B. (2022). The EU without Russian oil and gas. *Intereconomics*, 57(2), 66.

Ziller, J. (2019). The Lisbon Treaty. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Zohadi, R. L. (2004). The Generations of Human Rights. *Int'l Stud. J.*, 1, 95.