

Daftar Pustaka

- Abdel-Shafi, H, H Ashrawi, and M Barghouti. *Urgent Call to World Civil Society: Break the Conspiracy of Silence, Act Before It Is too Late*. March 29, 2002.
- Abdulsalam, Husein. *Tirto.id*. December 8, 2018. <https://tirto.id/sejarah-intifada-1987-lemparan-batu-palestina-menampol-israel-dbeb> (diakses Juli 20, 2019).
- Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. "The Intifada : Campaign for a Homeland." In *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-violent Conflict* , by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- "Anti-Palestinian Legislation." 2016. palestinelegal.org/righttoboycott/ (diakses Januari 22, 2019).
- Auerbach, Yehudith. "National Narratives in a Conflict of Identity." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 99. Jerusalem: Institute of Israeli Studies, 2010.
- Assembly, UN General. "UN General Assembly Resolutions 3236 and 3237." [www.mideastweb.or](http://www.mideastweb.org/3236.htm). November 22, 1974. <http://www.mideastweb.org/3236.htm> (diakses October 9, 2019).
- . "United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine." <https://unispal.un.org>. November 10, 1975. <https://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/761C1063530766A7052566A2005B74D1> (diakses October 10, 2019).
- Badil Resource Centre for Palestinian Residency and Refugees. "BNC, United against Apartheid, Colonialism and Occupation: Dignity and Justice for the Palestinian People." *Badil*. November 2008. <http://www.badil.org/en/documents/category/11-civil-society-strategydocuments?download> (diakses Juni 10, 2019).
- Barghouti, Omar. *BDS: Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions : the Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights*. Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2011.
- Baroud, Ramzy. "Palestine's Global Battle that Must be Won ." In *Generation Palestine : Voices from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement*, by Rich Wiles, 3-4. London: Pluto Press, 2013.
- BDS. "About PACBI." *BDS Movement : Freedom Justice Equality*. 2005. <https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi> (accessed November 1, 2019).
- . *Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS*. July 9, 2005. www.bdsmovement.net.
- Beauchamp, Zack. *What are Israel and Palestine? Why are they fighting?* May 14, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080002/israel-palestine-conflict-basics> (diakses Februari 1, 2019).

Boyle, Francis. "The Al Aqsa Intifada and International Law (Lecture given at Illinois State University, Bloomington-Normal Illinois)." *Counterpunch : In Defense of a Divestment*

Brady, Thomas F. "GUERRILLAS BACK AT JORDAN CAMP; Attack by Israelis Failed to Destroy Base at Karameh or Wipe Out Commando." *New York Times*. Maret 23, 1968. <https://www.nytimes.com/1968/03/23/archives/guerrillas-back-at-jordan-camp-attack-by-israelis-failed-to-destroy.html> (diakses October 5, 2019).

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59 (winter) (International Organization), 2005: 145- 176.

Campaign Against Israel. November 30, 2000. www.counterpunch.org (accessed March 5, 2019).

Campaign, Caterpillar. *US Campaign to End the Occupation*. <http://www.endtheoccupation.org> (accessed March 4, 2019).

"Call for Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel." *PACBI.org*. 2005. <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=869> (diakses Januari 20, 2019).

Caplan, Bryan. "Terrorism: The Relevance of the Rational Choice Model." *Public Choice*, 2006: 91-107.

Davidson, L. "On Divestment." *Resisting Israeli Apartheid: Strategies and Principles Conference*. London: SOAS, 2004.

De Rooij, P. *London Conference, a Prelude to Academic Boycott of Israel*. Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, www.wrmea.org, 2005.

Declaration of the NGO Forum World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. *Palestinians and Palestine*. Durban, South Africa, September 1, 2001.

De Figueireido, Rui J. P. Jr., and Barry R. Weingast. "Vicious Cycles : Endogeneous Political Extremism and Political Violence." *UC Berkeley : Institute of Governmental Studies* (Institute of Governmental Studies), 2001.

Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization Vol. 49 Issue 3*, 1995: 379-414.

Gerstenfeld, Manfred. "The Academic Boycott against Israel." *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 2003.

Giacaman, Faris. "Political Representation and Armed Struggle." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2013: 24-40.

Giacaman, George, and Dag Jorund. *After Oslo: New Realities, Old Problems*. London: Pluto Press, 1998.

Hall-Cathala, David. *Peace Movement in Israel 1967-1987*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990.

Hallward, Maria Carter. *Transnational Activism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2013.

Halperin, Eran, Neta Oren, and Daniel Bar-Tal. "Socio-Psychological Barriers to Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis of Jewish Israeli Society." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 28-50. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute of Israeli Studies, 2010.

Harms, Gregory, and Todd M Ferry. *The Palestine Israel Conflict : A Basic Introduction*. London: Pluto Press, 2008.

Hasan, Akhmad Muawal. *Tirto.id*. May 28, 2018. <https://tirto.id/usai-plo-berdiri-jalan-moderat-arafat-bikin-faksi-komunis-kecewa-cKUU> (diakses Juli 24, 2019).

Hilal, Jamil. "The Polarization of the Palestinian Political Field." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 39 no.3, 2010: 26.

Hovsepian, Nubar. "Review: Eqbal Ahmad: Critical Outsider in a Turbulent Age, by Stuart Schaar." *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 46 No. 1, 2016: 77-79.

Hunt, Sally. *Israel Universities: Statement by AUT Secretary General Sally Hunt*. April 22, 2005. www.ucu.org.uk.

International, Amnesty. "Israel and the Occupied Territories: The Issue of Settlements must Be Addressed According to International Law." *Amnesty International AI Index: MDE 15/085/2003*. September 8, 2003. www.amnesty.org (diakses Juli 10, 2019).

Jamjoum, Hazem. "Not an Analogy: Israel and the Crime of Apartheid." *Common Dreams*. Maret 31, 2009. <http://www.commondreams.org/view/2009/03/31-15>; (diakses Juni 10, 2019).

Jamjoum, H. "The global campaign for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel." In *Nonviolent resistance in the second intifada*, by M.C. Hallward and J.M. Norman, 133-151. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Jaradat, Muhammad. "Reflections on the Palestine Return Movement." *al-Majdal*. 2008. <http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/130-reflectionson-the-palestine-return-movement>. (diakses Juni 10, 2019).

King, Mary Elizabeth. *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance*. London: Nation Books, 2007.

King, Mary Elizabeth. "Palestinian Civil Resistance against Israeli Military Occupation." In *Civilian Jihad : Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*, by Maria J Stephan, 131. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2009.

Kramer, Gudrun. *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Kriesberg, Louis. "Mediation and the Transformation of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 38, No. 3, 2001: 373-392.

Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extreme Violence." *International Organization* 56.2 (Spring), 2002: 263-296.

Landman, Shiri. "Barriers to Peace: Protected Values in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 135. Jerusalem: Institute of Israeli Studies, 2010.

Lavie, Ephraim, and Henry Fishman. "Strategic Decisions Taken During the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process as Barriers to Resolving the Conflict." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 300 - 339. Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2010.

Lewis, Paul. "The New York Times : U.N. Repeals Its '75 Resolution Equating Zionism With Racism." <https://www.nytimes.com>. Desember 17, 1991.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/17/world/un-repeals-its-75-resolution-equating-zionism-with-racism.html> (diakses October 10, 2019).

Mac Alliste, Karine. "Applicability of the Crime of Apartheid to Israel." *al-Majdal*. 2008.
<http://www.badil.org/en/al-majdal/item/72applicability-of-the-crime-of-apartheid-to-israel> (diakses Juni 5, 2019).

Masri, Mazen. "The PLO and the Crisis of Representation." *Muftah*. October 15, 2010.
<http://muftah.org/?p=321> (diakses Juni 1, 2019).

McAdam, Doug, Charles Tilly, and Sidney Tarrow. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Michael, Kobi. "The Geopolitical Environment as a Barrier to Resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-To, 340. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies , 2010.

Morris, Aldon, and Cedric Herring. "Theory and Research in Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Political Behavior Annual*, 1984: 3-6.

Morrison, Suzanne. "Organising the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement: the case of the 'We Divest' campaign." *Conflict, Security & Development*, 2015: 575-593.

Morrison, Suzanne. "The Emergence of the Boycott Divestment Sanctions Movement : Popular Resistance and Marginalized Activism Beyond the Arab Uprisings." In *Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, by Fawaz A. Gerges, 233. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Nieuwhof, Adri, and Maria Lherm. *Electronic Intifada : Legal action in France against Veolia and Alstom*. Maret 14, 2007. <http://electronicintifada.net/content/legal-action-france-against-veoliaand-alstom/6810> (diakses Februari 12, 2019).

—. *Electronic Intifada : Legal action in France against Veolia and Alstom*. Maret 14, 2007.
<http://electronicintifada.net/content/legal-action-france-against-veoliaand-alstom/6810> (diakses Februari 12, 2019).

Nieuwhof, Adri. "Derailing veolia." In *Generation Palestine : Voices from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement*, by Rich Wiles, 159-166. London: Pluto Press, 2013.

Omer, A. "It's nothing personal: The globalisation of justice, the transferability of protest, and the case of the Palestine solidarity movement." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2009: 497-518.

"Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS." *BDSMovement.net*. 2005.

<http://www.bdsmovement.net/cal> (diakses Januari 20, 2019).

Qumsiyeh, M. *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment*. London: Pluto Press, 2011.

Reinhart, T. "Academic Boycott: In Support of Paris IV." *Borderlands e-journal* 2 no.3, 2003.

Reiter, Yitzhak. "Religion as a Barrier to Compromise in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ." In *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 228. Jerusalem: Institute of Israeli Studies, 2010.

Rose, Hillary, and Steven Rose. "Why we Launched the Boycott of Israeli Institutions." *The Guardian*, July 15, 2002.

Rynhold, Jonathan. "Barak, the Israeli Left and the Oslo Peace Process." *Israel Studies Forum*, 2003: 9-33.

Rynhold, Jonathan. "Realism, Liberalism, and the Collapse of the Oslo Process: Inherently Flawed or Flawed Implementation?" In *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process? : A Comparative Analysis of Peace Implementation in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa*, by Guy Ben-Porat, 111-114. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2008.

Salam, Mohammad Abdel. "Normalization: A Changing Concept." *Lebanon Wire*. November 16, 2007. <http://www.lebanonwire.com/0711MLN/07111603BL.asp> (diakses Juni 1, 2019).

Samara, Adel. *Intellectuals in the Service of Others*. Ramallah: Al- Mashreq Center, 2003.

Swarthmore Global Nonviolent Action Database. October 2, 2011.

<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/palestinians-budrus-protest-israels-separation-barrier-2003-2004> (accessed March 14, 2019).

Sharp, Gene. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973)*; . Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.

—. *Social Power and Political Freedom*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1980.

Shlaim, Avi. " The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, by Louise Fawcett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Smith-Estrada, Carmen. "Palestinians in Budrus protest Israel's separation." *Global Nonviolent Action Database* . October 2, 2011. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/palestinians-budrus-protest-israels-separation-barrier-2003-2004> (diakses Maret 14, 2019).

Stephan, Maria J. *Civilian Jihad : Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*. New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2009.

Stephan, Maria J, and Erica Chenoweth. "Why Civil Resistance Works : The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2008: 7–44.

Swarthmore Global Nonviolent Action Database. October 2, 2011.

<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/palestinians-budrus-protest-israels-separation-barrier-2003-2004> (diakses Maret 14, 2019).

Tarrow, Sidney. *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co, 1979.

Tilly, Charles, and Sidney Tarrow. *Contentious Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

UN, General Assembly. "Resolution 181 Future government of Palestine." *unispal.un.org*. November 29, 1947.

<https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253> (diakses October 10, 2019).

"WCAR NGO Forum Declaration and Programme of Action." Durban, South Africa, 2001. 15-16, 24-25.

Zemlinskaya, Yulia. "Between Militarism and Pacifism: Conscientious Objection and Draft Resistance in Israel." *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies (CEJISS)*, 2010.