Uri Bialer: Israel's Foreign Policy – Aims

Background Readings:

A. Setting

1. *Jewish Historical*

Shlomo Avineri, "Statecraft without a State: A Jewish Contribution to Political History?" in Gabriella Gerladini (ed.) *Kontexte der Schrift – Ekkehard W. Stegemann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 2005) pp. 403-419.

Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State* (Harvard University Press, 1969) pp. 20-54, 251-375.

Aharon Klieman, "Zionist Diplomacy and Israeli Foreign Policy," *Jerusalem Quarterly,* no. 11 (1979), pp. 93-111.

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 16-55.

Sasson Sofer, *The Foundation of Israeli Diplomacy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) Ch 1, Conclusion.

Israel Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs," *Studies in Zionism*, no. 5 (1982).

Jehuda Reinharz. *Zionism, and the Great Powers: A Century of Foreign Policy* (Leo Baeck Institute, New York 1994).

Jehuda Reinharz and Evyatar Friesel, "The Zionist Leadership between the Holocaust and the Creation of the State of Israel," in A. Rosenfleld (ed.) *Thinking about the Holocaust: After Half a Century* (Bloomington 1997) pp. 83-116.

2. *Regional and International*

Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman (eds.) *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?* (Sussex University Press, 2005), pp. 93-113.

Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel* (Oxford University Press 1972) pp.23-64.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System," in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 29-53.

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), Chs. 1-2.

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 97-164.

3. *Internal Political, Ideological, Legal*

M. Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, pp. 117-134 and 211-372.

A. Klieman, *Israel & the World after 40 Years*, pp.107-130.

Avi Shlaim and Avner Yaniv, "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in Israel," *International Affairs*, Spring 1980, pp. 242-263.

Uru Bialer, *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948–1956* (Cambridge University Press 1990) pp.18-56.

Netanel Lorch, "The Knesset and Israel's Foreign Relations," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, no. 9, 1987, pp. 117-132.

Shlomo Aronson, *Conflict and Bargaining in the Middle East* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1978), pp. 1-81.

Yael Yishai, "Party Factionalism and Foreign Policy: Demands and responses," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, no. 3, 1977, pp. 53-70.

Yaacov Bar-Diman-Tov, "Ben-Gurion and Sharett: Conflict Management and Great Power Constraints in Israeli Foreign Policy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1968), pps. 330-356.

Neil Caplan, "'Oum Shmoom' Revisited: Israeli Attitude towards the UN and the Great Powers, 1948-1960" in Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Klieman (eds.) Global Politics (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 167-198.

Jonathan Rynhold, "Re-Conceptualizing Israeli Approaches to 'Land for Peace' and the Palestinian Question Since 1967"*, Israel Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2001), pp. 33-52.

Stewart Reiser, "The Religious Parties and Israel's Foreign Policy" in B. Reich and G. Kievel (eds.) *Israeli National Security Policy: Political Actors and Perspectives* (Greenwood Press, 1988) pp. 105-122.

Gershon R. Kieval, "The Foreign Policy of the Labor Party"; Ilan Peleg, "The Foreign Policy of Herut and the Likud"; and Maurice M. Roumani, "The Ethnic Factor in Israel's Foreign Policy," in B. Reich and G. Kieval, *Israeli National Security Policy.*

Uri Bialer, "Facts and Pacts: Ben Gurion and Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948–1956" in Ronald Zweig (ed) *Ben Gurion: Politics and Leadership in Israel* (Frank Cass 1991) pp. 216-235.

Hemda Ben Yehuda and Yehudit Aurbach, "Attitudes to an Existence Conflict: Allon and Peres on the Palestinian Issue 1967–1987," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, no. 35, 1991, pp. 519-546.

Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, pp. 211-372.

Gabi Sheffer, "Sharett's 'Line': Struggle, and Legacy," in S.I. Troen and N. Lucas (eds.) *Israel: The First Decade of Independence* (New York 1995) pp. 143-170.

Shmuel Sandler, *The State of Israel, The Land of Israel* (London: Greenwood Press, London) pp. 3-21, 105-235.

Yaacov Shavit, "Ideology, World View and National Policy: The Case of the Likud Government 1977–1984," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, no 9, 1987, pp. 101-116.

Shlomo Avineri, "Ideology and Israel's Foreign Policy," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 37, 1986, pp. 3-13.

Ehud Sprinzak, "Extremist Inputs into Israel's Foreign Policy: The Case of Gush Emunim," in Reich and Kievel, pp.123-144.

Yoram Peri, "Fall from Favor: Israel and the Socialist International", *Jerusalem Quarterly* no. 24, 1982, pp. 129-144.

Raanan Rein, "Outplaced by the West: Israel's Spanish Policy 1953–1956," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol., 8 no. 1, 1993.

Raanan Rein "Israel's Anti-Franconist Policy (1948–1953): Motive and Ideological Justifications," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1995.

Shmuel Sandler, *The State of Israel: The Statist Ethnonational Dimension of Foreign Policy* (London 1993) 3-21, pp. 235-261.

Nadav Shelef "From 'Both Banks of the Jordan' to the 'Whole Land of Israel' Ideological Change in Revisionist Zionism," *Israel Studies,* vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2004, pp. 125-148.

Gad Arzilai, *Wars, Internal Politics, and Political Order: A Jewish Democracy in the Middle East* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 3-24.

Raanan Kuperman, "Israeli Strategy: The Impact of Internal Politics on Israel's Reprisal Policy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1 (March 2001), pp. 1-28. (Hebrew)

Gabriel Sheffer, "Resolution vs. Management of the Middle East Conflict: A Re-examination of the Confrontation between Moshe Sharett and David Ben-Gurion", *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problems* no. 32.) Jerusalem: Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1980).

Alan Dowty, et al. *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peacemaking*, (Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1997).

Avraham Sella, "Custodians and Redeemers: Israeli Leaders Perception of Peace 1967–1979," in Lustick, I. (ed.) *Arab Israeli Relations: Vol. VII: The Conflict with the Arabs in Israeli Politics and Society* (New York 1994), pp. 248-263.

Sasson Sofer, (ed.), *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peacemaking* (Leonard Davis Institute, Jerusalem, 1997).

Arie Naor, A., "Lessons of the Holocaust Versus Territories For Peace, 1967–2001," *Israel Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 130-152.

Mordechai Bar On, *In Pursuit of Peace: A History of Israeli Peace Movement* (Washington, 1996).

Ehud Sprinzak, "Netanyahu's Safety Belt," *Foreign Affairs***,** vol. 77, no. 4 (Jul/Aug 1998), pp. 18-28.

Arye Naor, "Hawks' Beaks, Doves' Feathers: Likud Prime Ministers Between Ideology and Reality," Israel Studies, vol. 10, no. 3 (2005), pp. 154-191.

David Newman, "From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society," Israel Studies, vol. 10, no. 3 (2005), pp. 192-224.

H. Golan, "Israel's Experience with Legislative-Executive Relations in the Field of Foreign Relations," in M. Sondhi (ed.), Foreign Policy and Legislatures. An Analysis of Seven Parliaments (New Delhi 1988) pp. 86-91.

B. Aims: State Building

1. *General*

Uri Bialer, "Top Hat, Tuxedo and Cannons: Israeli Foreign Policy from 1948 to 1956 as a Field of Study," *Israel Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-80.

Aharon Klieman, *Israel & the World after 40 Years* (Pergamon Brassey's 1990), pp.5-84.

2. *Aliya-Immigration and Relations with the Jewish World*

Ioanid Adu, *The Ransom of the Jews. The Story of the Extraordinary Secret Bargain between Romania an Israel* (New York, 2005).

Uri Bialer, *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948–56* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 57-123.

Joseph Govrin. "The Beginnings of the Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration and its Impact on Israeli Soviet Relations" in Y. Ro'i (ed.) *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union* (London, 1995).

Benjamin Pinkus, "Israel's Activity on Behalf of Soviet Jews" in Selwyn Ilan Troen and Benjamin Pinkus (eds.) *Organizing Rescue: Jewish National Solidarity in the Modern Period* (London, 1992).

Fred A. Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration in American Politics: Israel versus the American Jewish Establishment* (Lanham, 2005).

Michael Laskier, "Jewish Emigration from Morocco to Israel: Government Policies and the Position of International Jewish Organizations, 1949–1956," *Middle Eastern Studies,* no. 3 (1989), pp. 323-362.

Reeva Spector, Simon Michael, Menachem Laskier, Sara Reguer (eds.) *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (Columbia University Press 2003).

Stephen Spector *Operation Solomon: The Daring Rescue of the Ethiopian Jews* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Efraim Inbar, "Jews, Jewishness and Israel's Foreign Policy," *Jewish Political Studies Review,* no. 2 (1990), pp.165-183.

Gabi Sheffer, "The Elusive Question: Jews and Jewry in Israeli Foreign Policy," *Jerusalem Quarterly* no. 46, 1988, pp. 104-114.

Shlomo Shafir, "The American Jewish Community's Attitude to Germany: The Impact of Israel," *The Journal of Jewish History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1997), pp. 237-254.

Ronald Zweig, *German Reparations and the Jewish World* (Boulder, 1987).

Alan Dowty, "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question," *MERIA Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, (Feb 1999).

William Safran, "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," *Israel Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2005), pp. 36-60.

Gabi Sheffer, "Is the Jewish Diaspora Unique? Reflections on the Diaspora's Current Situation," *Israel Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2005), pp. 1-35.

Noam Kochavi, "Idealpolitik in Disguise: Israel' Jewish Emigration from the Soviet Union, and the Nixon Administration 1969–1974," *International History Review*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2007, pp. 550-572.

3. *Recognition*

Elie Podeh, "The Desire to Belong Syndrome: Israel and Middle Eastern Defense 1948–1954," *Israel Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1999), pp. 121-144.

Michael Brecher, "Jerusalem: Israel's Political Decisions, 1947, 1977," *Middle East Journal*, no. 32 (1978), pp. 13-34.

Michael Oren, "The Diplomatic Struggle for the Negev 1946–1956," *Studies in Zionism,* no. 10 (1989), pp. 197-215.

Jacob Abadi, Israel's Quest for Recognition and Acceptance in Asia: Garrison State Diplomacy (London, 2004).

Yacov Bar Siman Tov, *Israel and the Peace Process, 1977–1982: In Search of Legitimacy* (New York 1994).

Kumaraswamy P. "India's Recognition of Israel, September 1950," Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 31, no. 1 (1995).

Shabtai Rosenne, "Israel and the U.N: Changed Perspectives 1945–1976," *American Jewish Year Book* (1978), pp. 3-59.

Michael Bar-Zohar on "Ben Gurion and the Policy of the Periphery," in Reinharz, Jehuda and Itamar Rabinovich, eds. *Israel in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford Press, 1984), Ch. 38.

Uri Bialer, "Israel and Nostra Aetate: The View from Jerusalem" in A. Melloni and Y. Lamdan (eds.) *Nostra Aetate: Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish-Catholic Relations* (Munster 2007) pp. 63-86.

Uri Bialer, *Cross on the Star of David: The Christian World in Israel's Foreign Policy 1948-1967* (Indiana University Press 2005).

4. *Water*

Nadav Morag, "Water, Geopolitics and State Building: The Case of Israel," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3 (July 2001), pp. 179-198.

Daniel Hillel, "The River Jordan" in *Rivers of Eden: The Struggle for Water and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East* (Oxford 1994) Ch. 7.

Miriam Lowi, *Water and Power: The Politics of Scarce Resources in the Jordan River Basin*, (Cambridge 1993).

5. *Oil*

Uri Bialer, *Oil and the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1948–63* (London 1999).

Uri Bialer, "Fuel Bridge across the Middle East: Israel, Iran and the Eilat–Ashkelon Oil Pipeline," *Israel Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2007), pp. 29-67.

6. *Arms*

Zach Levey, *Israel and the Western Powers, 1952–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

Zach Levey, "Anatomy of an Airlift: U.S. Military Assistance to Israel during the 1973 War," *Cold War History,* vol. 8, no. 4 (Nov 2008), pp. 481-501.

Zach Levey, "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Arms Race in the Middle East, 1950-1960," *The Journal of Strategic Studies,* vol. 24, no. 1 (2001), pp. 29-48.

David Rodman , "Phantom Fracas: The 1968 American Sale of F-4 Aircraft to Israel" *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 40, no. 6 (2004).

Z. Levey, "Israel's Pursuit of French Arms 1952–58," *Studies in Zionism*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1993), pp. 183- 210.

Yaacov Lifshitz, *The Economics of Producing Defense: Illustrated by the Israeli Case (*Kluwer Academic Publishers 2003).

David Tal, "Symbol not Substance? Israel's Campaign to acquire Hawk Missiles, 1960–1962," *International History Review,* vol. 22, no. 2 (June 2000) pp. 304-317.

Uri Bialer, "The Czech-Israeli Arms Deal Revisited," *Journal of Strategic Studies,* vol. 8, no. 3 (1985).

7. *Security*

Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York 1998).

Shlomo Yanai, *Israel's Core Security Requirement for a Two-State Solution* (The Saban Center at the Brooking Institution, Analysis Paper 3, 2005)

Avi Kober**, "**Great-Power Invol.vement and Israeli Battlefield Success in the Arab-Israeli Wars, 1948–1982," *Journal of Cold War Studies,* vol. 8, no. 1 (winter 2006), pp. 20–48.

Ariel Merari, "Israel Facing Terrorism," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan 2005), pp. 223–237.

Uri Bar-Joseph, "Towards a Paradigm Shift in Israel's National Security Conception," *Israel Affairs,* vol. 6, no. 3-4 (1999), pp. 99-114.

Yoram Peri, "The Political–Military Complex: The IDF's Influence Over Policy Towards the Palestinians Since 1987," *Israel Affairs,* vol. 11, no. 2 (April 2005), pp. 324–344.

Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, pp. 65-93.

Dan Horowitz, "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A.Yaniv (ed.) *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 1993) pp.11-54.

Michael Handel, *Israeli Political Military Doctrine* (Harvard Center for International Affairs 1973).

Israel Tal, "Israel's Doctrine of National Security," *Jerusalem Quarterly,* no. 4 (1977), pp. 44-57.

Avner Yaniv, *Deterrence without the Bomb: The Politics of Israel's Strategy* (Lexington Books 1987), pp. 1-26, 247-260.

David Rodman , "Israel's National Security Doctrine," *MERIA Journal,* vol. 5, no. 3 (Sept 2001).

Stuart Cohen and David Rodman, "A Discussion on Israeli Security Policy", *MERIA Journal,* vol. 5, no. 4 (Dec 2001).

Efraim Inbar, "Israeli Strategic Thinking after 1973," *Journal of Strategic Studies,* no. 6 (1983) pp. 36-58.

Louis Beres, *Security or Armageddon: Israel's Nuclear Strategy* (Lexington Books 1986) pp. 15-44.

Zeev Schiff, *Security for Peace: Israel's Minimal Security Requirements in Negotiations with the Palestinians* (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy 1989) pp. 13-68.

Efraim Inbar, "Israeli National Security, 1973-1996," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* no. 555 (Jan 1998) pp. 62-81.

Ariel Levite,"Israel's Security Conception and its Attitude towards Arms Control" in D. Gold (ed.), *Arms Control in the Middle East* (Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies 1990) pp. 124-131.

Shlomo Aronson, S. and Oded Brosh, *The Politics and Strategy of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East: Opacity, Theory and Reality 1960-1991, An Israeli Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992).

Zeev Maoz, Z., "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy," *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2003, pp. 44-77.

Ami Pedahsur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism,* (Columbia University Press, 2009).

Mordechai Gazit, "The Genesis of the US-Israeli Military-Strategic Relationship and the Dimona Issue," *Journal of Contemporary History,* vol. 35, no. 3 (2000), pp. 413-422.

Zaki Shalom, "Israel's Nuclear Option Revisited," *Journal of Israeli History,"* vol. 24, no. 2 (Sept 2005), pp. 267-277.

Binyamin Pinkus, "Atomic Power to Israel's Rescue: French-Israeli Nuclear Cooperation, 1949-1957," *Israel Studies,* vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 104-138.

8. *Economics*

Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, pp. 94-6.

Yoram Ben Porat (ed.), *The Israeli Economy: Maturing through Crises* (Harvard University Press, 1986) pp. 1-23, 173-191.

Gabriel Sheffer, "Political Aspects of Jewish Fundraising for Israel," in G. Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (Croom Helm 1986) pp. 258-293.

Eliezer Sheffer, "The Economic Burden of the Arms Race between the Confrontational States and Israel," in Zvi Lanir (ed.) *Israeli Security Planning in the 1980's: Its Politics and Economics* (Praeger 1984) pp. 142-165.

Gil Feiler, *From Boycott to Economic Cooperation: The Political Economy of the Arab Boycott of Israel* (London 1998).

Uri Bialer, "Sterling Balances and Claims Negotiations: Britain and Israel 1947-1952," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1992).

Yeshaayahu Jelinek. "Implementing the Luxembourg Agreement: The Purchase Mission and the Israeli Economy," *The Journal of Israeli History,* vol. 18, no. 2 (1997), pp. 191-210.

Yehuda Laufer *U.S Aid to Israel: Problems and Perspectives* (Jerusalem 1993).

9. *In Pursuit of Peace*

Zeev Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land* (Ann Arbor: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), Ch. 10.

Mordechai Gazit, "Egypt and Israel: Was there a Peace Opportunity Missed in 1971?" *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 97-115.

Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival*, vol. 43, no. 3, (Autumn 2001), pp. 31-45.

Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 53-62.

Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Strategy and Israel's Response* (New York: Free Press, 1977), pp. 79-156.

Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace* (Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 1-37.

Uri Bialer: Israel's Foreign Policy – Processes

Thursday, June 23, 9:30 AM – 12:00 PM

Essential Reading:

Aharon Klieman, *Israel & the World after 40 Years*, pp. 131-180 (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey Press).

Aharon Klieman *Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy*, pp. 36-83 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988).

MAPS: Population distribution, Land ownership, Borders.

Recommended Reading:

Yehuda Ben Meir, *National Security Decision Making: The Israeli Case* (Westview Press 1986), pp. 65-136.

Chuck Freilich, "National Security Decision Making in Israel: Processes, Strengths and Pathologies, *Middle East Journal*, vol 60 no 4 (Oct 2006) pp. 635-663.

Background Reading:

A. Policy Making

Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, pp. 373-541.

Aharon Klieman, *Israel & the World after 40 Years*, pp. 131-180.

Yehuda Ben Meir, *National Security Decision Making: The Israeli Case* (Westview Press 1986) pp. 65-136.

Aharon Klieman, *Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy* (Westview Press, 1988) pp. 36 – 83.

Kirsten Schulze, *Israel's Covert Diplomacy in Lebanon* (London 1999).

Yehuda Ben Meir, *Civil-Military Relations in Israel*, (Columbia Press, NY, 1995) pp. 30-145.

Chuck Freilich, "National Security Decision Making in Israel: Processes, Strengths and Pathologies," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 60, no. 4 (Oct 2006) pp. 635-663.

Aharon Klieman, "Israeli Negotiating Culture," in Wittes Tamar, (ed.), *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate*, (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005).

Zeev Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor, 2006) Chs. 11-13.

Yoram Peri, *Generals in the Cabinet Room: How the Military Shapes Israeli Policies*, (USIP, Washington DC, 2006).

Gershon Goremberg, "Creating Facts" in *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, (New York: 2006) Ch 2.

Uri Bar Joseph, "State-Intelligence Relations in Israel: 1948-1997," *Journal of Conflict Studies,* vol. 17, no. 2 (Fall 1997).

Shlomo Shapiro, "Know Your Enemy: West German–Israeli Intelligence Evaluation of Soviet Weapon Systems," *The Journal of Intelligence History*, vol. 4 (2004), pp. 57-73.

Yuval Elizur, "Formulating Israel's Foreign Trade Policy," Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 97-106.

B. Global Diplomatic Record

Bernard Reich, "Reassessing the Special Relationship," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1994) pp. 64-81.

Moshe Hirsch, "The 1995 Trade Agreement Between the European Communities and Israel: Three Unresolved Issues," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1996) pp. 87-123.

Ilan Greilsammer, and Joseph Weiler, *Europe's Middle East Dilemma: The Quest for a Unified Stance* (Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 99-109.

Dimitris Keridis, *Europe and Israel: What Went Wrong?* (Ramat Gan: BESA Center, 2004).

Ilan Greilsammer, and Joseph Weiler, (eds*.), Europe and Israel: Troubled Neighbours* (Walter de Gruyter 1988) pp. 11-42.

Zach Levy, "Israel's Strategy in Africa 1961-67," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Feb 2004), pp. 71-87.

Kumaraswamy, P.R., "India and Israel: Prelude to Normalization," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2 (winter 1995), pp. 53-73.

Dominique Trimbur, "Les Relations Franco-Israeliennes1948-2004," *Outre-Terre* vol. 9 (2004), pp. 405-416.

Efraim Inbar, "Indian-Israeli Entente" *Orbis*, vol. 48, no. 1 (2004) pp. 89-104.

Efraim Inbar, "The Resilience of Israel–Turkish Relations," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct 2005).

Michael M. Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo*, (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2004).

Zev Sufot, "Israel's China Policy 1950-92," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2000) pp. 94-118.

Abraham Ben-Zvi, "The Dynamics of the US-Israel Special Relationship," in Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Klieman (eds.), *Global Politics* (London 2001), pp. 219-235.

Trita Parsi, *Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran and the United States,* (New Haven 2008).

George Lavy, *Germany and Israel: Moral Debt and National Interest* (London 1996).

Moshe Yegar,"The Republic of Indonesia and Israel," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Jan 2006), pp.136-158.

Norman Finkelstein, *Friends Indeed: The Special Relationship of Israel and the United States* (New York 1998).

Eugene Fischer, "The Holy See and the State of Israel: The Evolution of Attitudes and Policies," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1987).

Harsh Pant, "India-Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Dec 2004).

Steven L. Spiegel, "The American-Israeli Relationship: Past and Future," Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, vol. 3 (2008), pp. 15-27.

Angelika Timm, "The Burdened Relationship Between the GDR and the State of Israel," Israel Studies, vol. 2, no. 1 (1997), pp. 22-49.

Jonathan Spyer, "An Analytic and Historical Overview of British Policy towards Israel," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 2 (June 2004).

Yosef Lamdan, "Vatican-Israel Relations, 2000-2003: An Insider's View," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2008), pp. 101-109.

Joel Peters, *Africa and Israel* (British Academic Press 1992), pp.1-62 and 85-177.

Alan Dowty, "Japan and the Middle East: Signs of Change?" *MERIA Journal*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Dec 2000) pp. 67-75.

Yaacov Bar Siman Tov, "The United-States and Israel since 1948–A 'special-relationship'?" *Diplomatic History*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1998) pp. 231-262.

George Gruen, "Dynamic Progress in Turkish-Israeli Relations," *Israel Affairs,* vol. 1, no. 4 (1995), pp. 40-70.

Naomi Chazan, "Israel in Africa," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1981), pp. 29-44.

Mak Tessler, "Moroccan–Israeli Relations and the Reasons for Moroccan Receptivity to Contact with Israel," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 10 (1988), pp. 76-108.

Jonathan Goldstein (ed.) *China and Israel 1948-1998: A Fifty Year Perspective* (New York 1999).

Zev Sufot, *A China Diary: An Account of the Discreet Exchanges and Contacts Behind the Bamboo Curtain Leading to the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Israel and China* (London 1997).

Moshe Yegar, "Israel in Asia," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1981), pp. 15-28.

Arie Oded, "Africa, Israel and the Arabs: On the Restoration of Israeli–African Diplomatic Relations," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 6 (1982–3), pp.48-69.

Avner Yaniv, "The French Connection: A Review of French Policy towards Israel," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 1 (1976) pp. 115-130.

Ilan. Greilsammer and Joseph Weiler (eds.), *Europe and Israel: Troubled Neighbours* (Walter de Gruyter 1988) pp. 11-42.

Howard Sachar, *Israel and Europe: An Appraisal in History* (New York 1999).

Yeshayahu Jelinek, "Konrad Adenauer and the State of Israel: Between Friendship and Realpolitik, 1953-1963," *Dueutsche Zeitschrift fur Politik und Witschaft des Orients*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2002), pp. 41-57.

Yeshayahu Jelinek, "Like a Ball in the Field: Israel between the Two Germanies, 1949-1965," in Haim Goren (ed.) *Germany and the Middle East* (Jerusalem 2003) pp. 291-303.

Ilan Greilsammer and Joseph Weiler "European Political Cooperation and the Palestinian–Israeli Conflict: An Israeli Perspective" in D. Allen and A. Pijpers (eds.), *European Foreign Policy Making and the Arab–Israeli Conflict* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 1984) pp. 121-160.

Sergio Minerbi, "Europe and the Middle East: An Israeli Perspective," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, vol. 10 (1981) pp. 118-128.

Yaacov Shimoni, "Israel and Europe," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 19 (1981), pp. 92-109.

Joel Barromi, "Israeli Policies towards Argentina and Argentinean Jewry during the Military Junta 1977-1983," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1998), pp. 27-44.

Carol Migdalovitz, "Israel: Background and Relations with the United States," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, vol. 8 (Sept 2008).

Jeremy Sharp, "U.S. Aid to Israel," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, vol. 2 (Jan 2008).

Uri Bialer, *Between East and West*, pp. 57-196.

Y. Ro'i, "Soviet–Israeli Relations 1947–1954" in S. Shamir and M. Confino (eds.), *The USSR in the Middle East* (John Willey and Sons 1973), pp. 123-146.

Eyal Inbar, "Improving Israel–EU Relations: The European Economic Area as a Possible Model," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1998), pp. 109-125.

Y. Govrin, *Israeli-Soviet Relations 1953-67* (London 1998).

Michael M. Laskier, "Israel and Algeria Amid French Colonialism and the Arab–Israeli Conflict, 1954–1978," *Israel Studies,* vol. 6, no, 2 (2001) pp. 1-32.

Mordechai Gazit, "The Genesis of US-Israel Military–Strategic Relationship and the Dimona Issue," *Journal of Contemporary History,* vol. 35, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 413-422.

Bulent Aras, "Post Cold War Realities: Israel's Strategy in Azerbaijan and Central Asia," *Middle East Policy*, vol. 5, no, 4 (1998) pp. 68-81.

Ilya Bourtman, "Putin and Russia's Middle East Policy," *MERIA Journal*, vol., 10 no, 2, 2006.

Zach Levey, "Israel's Exit from Africa, 1973: The Road to Diplomatic Isolation," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, (2008), pp. 205-226.

Hilde Henriksen Waage, "How Norway became one of Israel's Best Friends," *Journal of Peace Research,* vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 189-211.

Jacob Abadi, "Israel and Sudan: The Saga of an Enigmatic Relationship," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3 (July 1999), pp. 19-41.

Raanan Rein, in *The Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition: Israel's Relations with Francoist Spain* (New York 1997).

Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel and the Jews* (New York 2002).

Zach Levey, "Israel's Quest for a Security Guarantee from the United States, 1954-1956," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1-2 (1995), pp. 43-63.

Gabriel Gorodetsky, "The Soviet Union's Role in the Creation of the State of Israel," *The Journal of Israeli History,* vol. 22, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 4-20.

Yaacov Ro'i, "The Deterioration of Relations: From Support to Severance," *The Journal of Israeli History*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 21-36.

Matityahu Mintz, "Ben-Gurion and the Soviet Union's Invol.vement in the Effort to Establish a Jewish State in Palestine," *The Journal of Israeli History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (March 2007), pp. 67-78.

Shevach Weiss, "Israeli-Polish Relations: Shadows of the Past and Challenges for the Future," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 89-96.

Yosef Govrin, "One Step at a Time: Israeli-Hungarian Relations, 1967-1989," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 107-118.

C. The Regional Diplomatic Record

Efraim Inbar, "Arab–Israeli Co-Existence: The Causes, Achievements and Limitations" in Efraim Karsh (ed.) *Israel: The first Hundred Years–vol. II: From War to Peace* (London 2000), pp. 256-269.

Kaye D Dassa. *Beyond the Handshake: Multilateral Cooperation in the Arab-Israeli Peace Process*, *1991–1996* (Columbia University Press).

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), pp. 186-217.

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: a History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–2001,* (New York: Vintage Books 2001).

Michael Oren, "Secret Efforts to Achieve Egyptian–Israeli Peace Prior to the Suez Campaign 1952–1956," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 3 (1990), pp.351-370.

Uri Bialer, "The Iranian Connection in Israel's Foreign Policy 1948–1951," *Middle East Journal,* vol. 39 (1985), pp. 292-315.

Aharon Klieman, *Statecraft in the Dark,* pp. 94-112.

Avner Yaniv, "Syria and Israel: The Politics of Escalation" in M. Maoz and A. Yaniv (eds.), *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks* (St. Martin's Press, 1986), pp. 157-178.

Moshe Ma'oz, *Syria and Israel – From War to Peacemaking* (Oxford 1995).

Helena Cobban, *The Israeli–Syrian Peace Talks: 1991-96 and Beyond* (Washington 2000).

Itamar Rabinovitch , *Brink of Peace: The Israeli–Syrian Negotiations* (Princeton 1998).

Kenneth Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy* (New York 1999).

Adam Garfinkle, *Israel and Jordan in the Shadow of War: Functional Ties and Futilr Diplomacy in a Small Place* (St. Martin's Press 1992) pp. 15-50.

Benny Morris, "Israel and the Lebanese Phalange: The Birth of a Relationship 1948–1951," *Studies in Zionism*, vol. 5 (1984), pp. 125-144.

Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Strategy and Israel's Response*, (Free Press 1977), pp. 85-149.

Michael Oren, "Nuri Al-Said and the Question of Arab–Israeli Peace 1953-7," *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 24 (1990), pp. 267-282.

Dona Stewart, *Good Neighborly Relations: Jordan, Israel and the 1994–2004 Peace Process* (London 2007).

Ephraim Dowek, *Israel–Egyptian Relations 1980–2000* (London 2001).

Ibrahim Karawan, "Sadat and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Revisited," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1994), pp. 249-266.

Mordechai Gazit, "Egypt and Israel: Was There a Peace Opportunity Missed in 1971"? *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (1997), pp. 97-115.

Michael Barnett, "Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 5-36.

D. The Peace Process

1. *Israel and the Palestinians*

Alan Dowty, *Israel and Palestine* (2005), pp.137-203.

Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace* (Princeton, 2004), pp.1-37.

Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, (NY, 2004), pp. 583-590 and 650-779.

Robert Rothstein, *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Oslo and the Lessons of Failure*, (Sussex 2002).

Ian Bickerton, and Clara Klausner, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (NJ, 2005), pp. 1-20.

Laura Zitrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities*, (Bloomington 1998).

Ruth Lapidot, "Jerusalem and the Peace Process," *Israel Law Review*, vol. 28, no. 2-3 (Spring-Summer 1994), pp. 1-23.

David Makovsky, *Making Peace with the PLO*, (New York, 1996).

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, (Washington, 2005).

Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York, 2001).

Robert Friedman ed., *Middle East Peace Process: The Impact of the Oslo Agreement* (London, 1998).

Shlomo Ben-Ami, "So Close and Yet So Far: Lessons from the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Israel Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 72-90.

2. *Israel and Syria/Lebanon*

Yair Evron, *War and Intervention in Lebanon*, (London, 1987).

Itamar Rabinovich, *The Brink of Peace: Israel and Syria*, (Princeton, 1999).

Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon, 1970–1985*, (Ithaca, 1985).

Zeev Schiff and Ehud Yaari, *Israel's Lebanon War*, (New York, 1984).

D. Israel's Wars

For a thorough single volume see Mordechai Bar On, *A Never Ending Conflict: A Guide to Israeli Military History* (New York, 2004).

E. Historical Narrative

For a short historical narrative of a 20-year period of Israel foreign policy see Emanuel Navon, "From Yom Kippur to Oslo: Israel's Foreign Policy 1973-1993," *Israel Affairs,* vol. 10, no. 3 (2004), pp. 1-40.