

**“History of Israeli Foreign Policy”**  
**HIST 285-006 (cross-listings: JS271-002; MESAS270-002)**  
**Undergraduate**  
**Spring 2015 Ziv Rubinovitz**

The course will analyze Israel's foreign relations, and will examine the tension between Israel's geographic location in the Middle East and its Western orientation. It will look at how Israel's foreign relations emerged from Israel's Jewish origins, the Palestine Mandate, Israel's relations with the great powers, and the superpowers as well as its regional quest for recognition.

This will also include Israel's quest for normalization in the mist of being thrust into wars and engaging in subsequent negotiations with its neighbors. The discussion will take into account global changes that affected Israel, especially the Cold War, the end of the Cold War, economic globalization, proliferation of WMDs, terrorism, and local insurgencies. Each of these topics and other major international events changed Israel's position and status, both in the region and in relation to non-regional powers. We will discuss the question of Israel's apparently growing dependence on the West, especially the United States, and the question of Israel's future relations with its neighbors in the Middle East.

**Requirements**

1. Attending class and participating in discussions (10%). You are expected to attend all classes. However, if you cannot attend, please notify me, preferably in advance, and provide applicable justification.
2. A brief presentation in class (5-7 minutes), followed by a 2-3-page paper. This will be an individual assignment coordinated in advance with the instructor. The presentation and paper will be about Israel's relations with a specific state or region that we will discuss and will open our class discussions (20%).
3. A 50-minutes Midterm exam will be in class on Monday, March 4 (25%). Please note that the exam will take 50 minutes of the class.
4. Final exam on Monday, May 4, 2015, 11:30 am – 2:00 pm in the regular classroom (45%).

**Note: The Emory University Honor Code applies in this course.**

**Topics**

1. **Introduction: Origins of Israeli Foreign Policy**
2. **Israel and the Middle East; the Middle East and Israel**

3. **Not only War and Peace – Reparations from Germany, the Jewish Diaspora and anti-Semitism**
4. **Israel's relations with the great powers**
5. **The Palestinian-Israeli conflict**
6. **Israel's relations with Latin America, Africa and Asia**
7. **The wars of the first decade, 1948 & 1956**
8. **Israel's "Periphery alliance"**
9. **1967, Jerusalem, Occupied Territories**
10. **Between Euphoria and Despair: 1967-1973**
11. **The wars of 1982, 2006; the intifada of 1987-1992 and 2000-2005**
12. **Peace efforts**
13. **Nuclear Middle East**
14. **Dealing with new challenges**
15. **Conclusion: can Israel feel "at home"?**

### **Disclaimer**

Minor changes to the syllabus may apply during the course. Updates will be announced, and when applicable the “Blackboard” will be updated.

### **Required books**

The following books are required. You may purchase or rent copies at the bookstore or find hardcopies (also electronic copies, except for Uri Bialer's book) at the library.

Uri Bialer. *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948-1956*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Charles D. Freilich. *Zion's Dilemma: How Israel Makes National Security Policy*.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: 2011.

### **Recommended reference:**

Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg. *Historical Dictionary of Israel, Second Edition*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2008.

The Knesset website: [www.knesset.gov.il](http://www.knesset.gov.il)

Major Knesset Debates (1948-1981): <http://jcpa.org/article/major-knesset-debates-1948-1981/>

Israel's Foreign Policy – Historical Documents: [http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MFADocuments/Pages/Documents\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_Israel.aspx](http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MFADocuments/Pages/Documents_Foreign_Policy_Israel.aspx) - see volumes in the left side column.

Jewish Virtual Library: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/indexrestore.html>  
- many topics within the library are relevant, especially Israel's international relations: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/intltoc.html>; history: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/history.html>

Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS): <http://history.state.gov/> - see volumes re the Middle East and Arab-Israeli conflict.

### **Detailed course outline**

Required readings signed by an asterisk (\*).

#### **1. Introduction: Origins of Israeli Foreign Policy: early 20<sup>th</sup> century lessons from Zionism, the British Mandate, and holocaust – January 14, 21**

\* Charles D. Freilich. *Zion's Dilemma: How Israel Makes National Security Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012, chs. 1-2.

\* Shlomo Avineri. "Ideology and Israel's Foreign Policy." *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 37, 1986, pp. 3-13.

Isaiah Friedman. "How Trans-Jordan Was Severed from the Territory of the Jewish National Home". *Journal of Israeli History* 27 (1), 2008, pp. 65-85.

Shlomo Aronson. "Israel's Security and the Holocaust: Lessons Learned, but Existential Fears Continue," *Israel Studies* 14 (1), 2009, pp. 65-93.

Jørgen Jensehaugen, Marte Heian-Engdal & Hilde Henriksen Waage. "Securing the State: From Zionist Ideology to Israeli Statehood". *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 23 (2), 2012, pp. 280-303.

Uri Bialer, "Top Hat, Tuxedo and Cannons: Israeli Foreign Policy From 1948 to 1956 as a Field of Study," *Israel Studies* 7 (1), 2002, pp. 1-80.

Michael Brecher, "The Middle East Subordinate System and Its Impact on Israel's Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 117-39.

Alan Dowty, "Jewish Political Culture and Zionist Foreign Policy." In Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Kleiman, eds., *Global Politics: Essays in Honour of David Vital*, Frank Cass, 2001, pp. 309-326.

Evyatar Friesel. "On the Myth of the Connection between the Holocaust and the Creation of Israel". *Israel Affairs* 14 (3), 2008, pp. 446-466.

David Horowitz. *State in the Making*, Knopf, New York, 1954.

David Horowitz, "The Israeli concept of national security", in Avner Yaniv (ed.) *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 1993), pp.11 – 54.

#### **2. Israel and the Middle East; the Middle East and Israel – January 26, 28**

\* Elie Podeh, "The Desire to Belong Syndrome: Israel and Middle-Eastern Defense, 1948-1954," *Israel Studies* 4 (2), 1999, pp. 121-149.

- \* Elie Podeh, "Israel in the Middle East or Israel *and* the Middle East- a Reappraisal," in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman (eds.), *Arab – Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Resolution?* (Brighton: Sussex University Press, 2006), pp. 93-113.
- David Ohana. *Israel and Its Mediterranean Identity*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Jonathan Schneer. *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Bloomsbury, London, 2010.
- Gideon Biger. "The Boundaries of Israel – Palestine Past, Present and Future: A Critical Geographical View". *Israel Studies* 13 (1), 2008, pp. 68-93.

### **3. Not only War and Peace – Reparations from Germany, the Jewish Diaspora and anti-Semitism – February 2, 4**

- \* Alan Dowty. "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question". *MERIA* 3 (1), 1999, pp. 1-13.
- \* Uri Bialer. *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 57-77.
- \* Yechiam Weitz. "The Reparation Negotiations in Israeli Politics: An Introduction". In Yaakov Sharett (ed.). *The Reparations Controversy: The Jewish State and German Money in the Shadow of the Holocaust 1951-1952*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2011, pp. 1-22.
- Yehudit Auerbach. "Ben-Gurion and Reparations from Germany". In Ronald W. Zweig (ed.). *David Ben-Gurion: Politics and Leadership in Israel*. London and Jerusalem: Frank Cass and Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1991, pp. 274-292.
- George Lavy. *Germany and Israel: Moral Debt and National Interest*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996, chs. 1, 3.
- Ronald W. Zweig. "'Reparations Made Me': Nahum Goldmann, German Reparations, and the Jewish World". In Mark A. Raider (ed.). *Nahum Goldmann: Statesman without a State*. SUNY Press, 2009, pp. 233-253.

### **4. Israel's relations with the great powers – February 9 (Soviet Union/Russia and France), 11 & 16 (The United States, the United Kingdom)**

- \* Uri Bialer. *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation 1948-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 1-53, East: 133-193, West: 197-255.
- \* Robert O. Freedman. "Russia, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict under Putin". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 131-150.
- \* Oded Eran. "Israel and the US: Is It Really That Bad?" In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 151-158.
- \* Kenneth W. Stein. "US-Israeli Relations 1947-2010: The View from Washington". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 159-176.
- \* Gadi Heimann. "From Friendship to Patronage: France-Israel Relations, 1958-1967". *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 21 (2), 2010, pp. 240-258.
- Joel S. Migdal. *Shifting Sands: The United States in the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

- David Tal, "Seizing Opportunities: Israel and the 1958 Crisis in the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37 (1), 2001, pp. 142-158.
- Michael J. Koplow. "Value Judgment: Why Do Americans Support Israel?" *Security Studies* 20 (2), 2011, pp. 266-302.
- Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov. "The United States and Israel since 1948: A 'Special Relationship'?" *Diplomatic History* 22 (2), 1998, pp. 231-262.
- Abraham Ben-Zvi, "The Dynamics of the US-Israel Special Relationship," in Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Klieman (eds.), *Global Politics* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 219-235.
- Zach Levey, "Israel's Quest for a Security Guarantee from the United States, 1954-1956," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 1995 22(1-2): 43-63.
- Orna Almog, *Britain, Israel and the United States, 1955-1958* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 34-56.
- Zach Levey, "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Arms Race in the Middle East 1950-1960," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 2001 24(1): 29-48.
- Zach Levey. *Israel and the Western Powers 1952-1960*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1997.
- Yossi Goldstein. "France or the US? The Struggle to Change Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1956-64 (Part I)," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 4 (2), 2010, pp. 99-113.
- Avi Kober. "Great-Power Involvement and Israeli Battlefield Success in the Arab-Israeli Wars, 1948-1982," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8 (1), 2006, pp. 20-48.
- Neill Lochery. "Debunking the Myths: Margaret Thatcher, the Foreign Office and Israel, 1979-1990," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 21 (4), 2010, pp. 690-706.

## 5. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict – February 23 & 25

- \* **READ FOR CLASS:** "Resolution 181" and "Resolution 194". In Itamar Rabinovich and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008.
- \* Itamar Rabinovich. "Israel faces the Palestinians". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 79-86.
- \* Manuel Hassassian. "The Intractable Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Future Perspectives". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 87-96.
- \* Efraim Karsh. "Zionism and the Palestinians". *Israel Affairs* 14 (3), 2008, pp. 355-373.
- Gideon Biger. *The Boundaries of Modern Palestine, 1840-1947*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004, pp. 190-219.
- Efraim Karsh. "How Many Palestinian Arab Refugees Were There?" *Israel Affairs* 17 (2), 2011, pp. 224-246.
- Benny Morris. *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Benny Morris. "Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives on Jewish Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 42-56.

- Morris, Benny. "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 37- 59.
- Kenneth W. Stein. "One Hundred Years of Social Change: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," in Laurence J. Silberstein (ed.) *New Perspectives on Israeli History*, New York, pp. 57-81.
- Rashid Khalidi. "The Palestinians and 1948 the underlying causes of failure," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (ed.) *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, (Cambridge University Press), 2001, pp. 12-36.
- Avi Shlaim. "The Debate about 1948," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (3), 1995, pp. 287-304.
- Gideon Biger. "The Boundaries of Israel – Palestine Past, Present and Future: A Critical Geographical View," *Israel Studies* 13 (1), 2008, pp. 68-93.
- Raphael Cohen-Almagor. "The Failed Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process 1993-2011: An Israeli Perspective," *Israel Affairs* 18 (4), 2012, pp. 563-576.
- Michal Shamir and Jacob Shamir. "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Israeli Elections," *International Political Science Review* 28 (4), 2007, pp. 469-491.

## **6. Israel's relations with Latin America, Africa and Asia – February 26**

- \* Mario Sznajder. "Israel and (in?) Latin America". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 177-188.
  - \* Carlos Escude. "Israeli-Latin American Relations, 1948-2010". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 189-208.
  - \* Naomi Chazan. "Israel facing Africa: Patterns and Perceptions". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 209-224.
  - \* Joseph Ayee. "Africa's Perception of Israel". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 225-238.
  - \* Yitzhak Shichor. "My Heart is in the West and I am at the ends of the East: Changing Israeli Perceptions of Asia". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 239-258.
- Yiyi Chen. "China's Relationship with Israel, Opportunities and Challenges: Perspectives from China," *Israel Studies* 17 (3), 2012, pp. 1-21.
- Arye Oded. "Africa in Israeli Foreign Policy – Expectations and Disenchantment: Historical and Diplomatic Aspects". *Israel Studies* 15 (3), 2010, pp. 121-142.

## **7. The wars of the first decade, 1948 & 1956 – March 2, 4**

- \* Benny Morris. *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*. Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 1-36 (background only), 37-74, 375-420.

- \* David Tal, "The Road to the 1956 War," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 28 (1996), pp. 59-81.
- Zeev Maoz. *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- David Tal, "Seizing Opportunities: Israel and the 1958 Crisis in the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan. 2001), pp. 142-158.
- Avi Shlaim, "Israel, the Great Powers, and the Middle East Crisis of 1958," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1999 27(2): 177-192.
- Avi Shlaim. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*. New York, 2000.
- Pnina Lahav. "A Small Nation Goes to War: Israel's Cabinet Authorization of the 1956 War," *Israel Studies* 15 (3), 2010, pp. 61-86.
- Guy Laron. "'Logic dictates that they may attack when they feel they can win': The 1955 Czech-Egyptian Arms Deal, the Egyptian Army, and Israeli Intelligence," *Middle East Journal* 63 (1), 2009, pp. 69-84.
- Jack S. Levy and Joseph R. Gochal. "Democracy and Preventive War: Israel and the 1956 Sinai Campaign," *Security Studies* 11 (2), 2001, pp. 1-49.

## **Midterm exam, 50 minutes, on March 4.**

### **SPRING BREAK March 9-13**

#### **8. Israel's "Periphery alliance" - March 16**

- \* Uri Bialer. "Fuel Bridge across the Middle East – Israel, Iran, and the Eilat-Ashkelon Oil Pipeline," *Israel Studies* 12 (3), 2007, pp. 29-67.
- \* Michael Bar-Zohar, "Ben-Gurion and the Policy of the Periphery, 1958: Analysis" in Itamar Rabinovitch and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.) *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, 1948-Present*, Waltham, MA, Brandeis University Press, 2007, pp. 191-197.
- \* Umut Uzer. "Turkish-Israeli Relations: Their Rise and Fall". *Middle East Policy* 20 (1), 2013, pp. 97-110.
- Uri Bialer, "The Iranian Connection in Israel's Foreign Policy - 1948-1951," *Middle East Journal* 39 (2), 1985, pp. 292-315.
- Jacob Abadi, "Israel and Sudan: The Saga of an Enigmatic Relationship," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, (July 1999), 19-41.

- **Elections in Israel - March 17. We will discuss them on the day before and after with the results.**

#### **9. 1967, Jerusalem, Occupied Territories - March 18, 23**

- \* **READ FOR CLASS:** "Administering the West Bank", "The Land-for-Peace principle", "Yigal Allon on the West Bank and Gaza". In Itamar Rabinovich and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008.
- \* Moshe Elad. "The Birth of the Core Issues: The West Bank and East Jerusalem under Israeli Administration 1967-76 (part 1)". *Israel Affairs* 18 (4), 2012, pp. 577-595.
- \* Avi Raz. "The Generous Peace Offer that was Never Offered: The Israeli Cabinet Resolution of June 19, 1967". *Diplomatic History* 37 (1), 2013, pp. 85-108.
- \* Nadav G. Shelef. "From 'Both Banks of the Jordan' to the 'Whole Land of Israel': Ideological Change in Revisionist Zionism". *Israel Studies* 9 (1), 2004, pp. 125-148.
- Arie Arnon. "Israeli Policy towards the Occupied Palestinian Territories: The Economic Dimension, 1967-2007," *Middle East Journal* 61 (4), 2007, pp. 573-595.
- Eitan Barak. "Between Reality and Secrecy: Israel's Freedom of Navigation through the Straits of Tiran, 1956-1967," *Middle East Journal* 61 (4), 2007, pp. 657-679.
- Eitan Barak. "The Freedom that Never Was: Israel's Freedom of Overflight Over the Straits of Tiran Prior to the Six Day War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 43 (1), 2008, pp. 75-91.
- Michael B. Oren. *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Presidio Press, 2003.
- Ami Gluska. *The Israeli Military and the Origins of the 1967 War: Government, Armed Forces and Defence Policy 1963-67*. Routledge, London, 2006.

## **10. Between Euphoria and Despair: 1967-1973 – March 25, 30**

- \* **READ FOR CLASS:** "The Khartoum resolutions". In Itamar Rabinovich and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008.
- \* Uri Bar-Joseph. "Last Chance to Avoid War: Sadat's Peace Initiative of February 1973 and its Failure". *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (3), 2006, pp. 545-556.
- \* Boaz Vanetik and Zaki Shalom. "The White House Middle East Policy in 1973 as a Catalyst for the Outbreak of the Yom Kippur War," *Israel Studies* 16 (1), 2011, pp. 53-78.
- \* Ziv Rubinovitz. "Blue and White 'Black September': Israel's Role in the Jordan Crisis of 1970," *International History Review* 32 (4), 2010, pp. 687-706.
- James Stocker. "Diplomacy as counter-revolution? The 'moderate states', the Fedayeen and State Department initiatives towards the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1969-1970," *Cold War History* 12 (3), 2012, pp. 407-428.
- Meir Chazan. "Goldmann's Initiative to Meet with Nasser in 1970". In Mark A. Raider (ed.). *Nahum Goldmann: Statesman without a State*. SUNY Press, 2009, pp. 297-324.

## **11. The wars of 1982, 2006; the intifada of 1987-1992 and 2000-2005 – April 1, 6**

- \* Charles D. Freilich. *Zion's Dilemma: How Israel Makes National Security Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012, chs. 5, 6, 8 and 9.
- Oren Barak. "Ambiguity and Conflict in Israeli-Lebanese Relations," *Israel Studies* 15 (3), 2010, pp. 163-188.
- Benjamin S. Lambeth. "Israel's War in Gaza: A Paradigm of Effective Military Learning and Adaptation," *International Security* 37 (2), 2012, pp. 81-118.
- Benjamin S. Lambeth. "Learning from Lebanon: Airpower and Strategy in Israel's 2006 War against Hezbollah," *Naval War College Review* 65 (3), 2012, pp. 83-105.
- Zeev Maoz. "Evaluating Israel's Strategy of Low-Intensity Warfare, 1949-2006," *Security Studies* 16 (3), 2007, pp. 319-349.
- Evan Braden Montgomery and Stacie L. Pettyjohn. "Democratization, Instability and War: Israel's 2006 Conflicts with Hamas and Hezbollah," *Security Studies* 19 (3), 2010, pp. 521-554.

## **12. Peace efforts – April 8, 13, 15**

- \* **READ FOR CLASS:** "The Autonomy Plan", "The Camp David Accords", "Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt", "Oslo Accords", "Oslo II Accords", "Peace Treaty between Jordan and Israel", "The Arab Peace Initiative". In Itamar Rabinovich and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008.
- \* Charles D. Freilich. *Zion's Dilemma: How Israel Makes National Security Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012, chs. 3 and 7.
- \* Yoram Meital. "Perceptions of Peace: Israel, Egypt and Jordan". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 29-38.
- \* Walid Kazziha. "Egyptian Perceptions of Israel". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 39-44.
- \* Moshe Maoz. "The Israeli-Syrian Conflict: The Role of Strategic, Ideological and Psychological Factors". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 45-62.
- \* Radwan Ziadeh. "Do Images Change through Negotiations? – The Syrian-Israeli Experience". In Alfred Wittstock (ed.). *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011, pp. 63-78.
- Galia Golan. *Israeli Peacemaking Since 1967: Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and Failures*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Jerome Slater. "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948-2001". *International Security* 27 (1), 2002, pp. 79-106.
- Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov. *Israel and the Peace Process, 1977-1982: in search of legitimacy for peace*. SUNY Press, 1994.
- William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

- Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, And The Quest For Arab-Israeli Peace*, New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Myron J. Aronoff. "Camp David Rashomon: Contested Interpretations of the Israel/Palestine Peace Process," *Political Studies Quarterly* 124 (1), 2009, pp. 143-167.
- Raphael Cohen-Almagor. "The Failed Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process 1993-2011: An Israeli Perspective". *Israel Affairs* 18 (4), 2012, pp. 563-576.
- Janice Gross Stein. "The Turning Point: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israel Conflict," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 4 (2), 1999.
- Arie M. Kacowicz. "Rashomon in Jerusalem: Mapping the Israeli Negotiators' Positions on the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1993-2001," *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (2), 2005, pp. 252-273.
- Jonathan Rynhold. "The US and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process: Conflict Management versus Conflict Resolution," In Eytan Gilboa and Efraim Inbar (eds.). *US-Israeli Relations in a New Era: Issues and Challenges after 9/11*. Routledge, London, 2009, pp. 140-157.

### **13.Nuclear Middle East – April 20**

- \* Shlomo Aronson. "David Ben-Gurion, Levi Eshkol and the Struggle over Dimona: A Prologue to the Six-Day War and its (Un)Anticipated Results," *Israel Affairs* 15 (2), 2009, pp. 114-134.
  - \* Gadi Heiman. "Diverging Goals: The French and Israeli Pursuit of the Bomb, 1958-1962". *Israel Studies* 15 (2), 2010, pp. 104-126.
  - \* Whitney Raas and Austin Long. "Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities". *International Security* 31 (4), 2007, pp. 7-33.
- Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Avner Cohen. "Israel and Chemical/Biological Weapons: History, Deterrence, and Arms Control". *The Nonproliferation Review* 8 (3), 2001, pp. 27-53.
- Shai Feldman. "The Bombing of Osirak – Revisited". *International Security* 7 (2), 1982, pp. 114-142.
- Matteo Gerlini. "Waiting for Dimona: The United States and Israel's Development of Nuclear Capability," *Cold War History* 10 (2), 2010, pp. 143-161.
- Zeev Maoz. "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy," *International Security* 28 (2), 2003, pp. 44-77.
- Yoel Cohen. "Vanunu, *The Sunday Times*, and the Dimona Question". *Israel Affairs* 16 (3), 2010, pp. 416-433.

### **14.Dealing with new challenges – April 22**

- \* Daniel Byman. "Israel's Pessimistic View of the Arab Spring". *Washington Quarterly* 34 (3), 2011, pp. 123-136.
  - \* Yoel Guzansky. "Tacit Allies: Israel and the Arab Gulf States," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* V: 1, 2011, pp. 9-17.
- Tami Amanda Jacoby. "Israel's Relations with Egypt and Turkey during the Arab Spring: Weathering the Storm," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 7 (2), 2013, pp. 29-42.

Yehezkel Dror and Sharon Pardo. "Approaches and Principles for an Israeli Grand Strategy towards the European Union". *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (1), 2006, pp. 17-44.

**15.Conclusion: can Israel feel "at home"? – April 27**