

# US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

**Prof. Martin Kramer**

*SA.860.746 (01)*

*Nitze Building, N410*

## **The course:**

The relationship between United States and Israel is often described as “special.” Yet the two countries are not bound by a formal alliance. Leaders of the two countries emphasize shared values and interests, yet the history of the relationship is punctuated by divergences. The relationship has many passionate supporters in both countries – and also passionate detractors. An army of journalists and scholars explores the complex dynamics of the US-Israeli relationship, as a prime case study in the interaction of foreign and domestic politics. Some believe that no relationship between any two states is more important in international relations today. In some respects, they may be right.

The objective of this course is to impart a deeper understanding of the history, inner workings, and context of the US-Israel relationship. While many people hold strong opinions about U.S.-Israel ties, there is a widespread ignorance of their precise history, the course of their development, and the way in which they have functioned in times of peace and war. We will work together in this course to acquire an insider’s knowledge of the relationship, through reading, discussion, and writing. And by the end of this course, you’ll be an expert.

By way of introduction, I am the Schusterman Visiting Professor at SAIS, as well as the Wexler-Fromer Fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and the president-designate of Shalem College in Jerusalem. I am a native Washingtonian, and a resident of Israel for more than thirty years. I am a citizen of both countries. My own understanding of the relationship is informed by years of close observation in Washington and Jerusalem, and long-standing friendships with key players, both American and Israeli.

The structure of the course will be evident from the syllabus. An initial overview will be followed by a series of interesting case studies, focused on key episodes in the evolution of the relationship. Many of these studies center upon crisis situations, which tested the relationship and redefined it. Following this in-depth probing of case studies, we will proceed to discuss some of the more controversial contemporary aspects of the subject. This will include an examination of the “Israel lobby” question, as well as the debate over whether Israel is an American strategic asset – or not. We will conclude with a look to the future. And as this is a presidential election year, we will make time throughout the term to analyze the role the relationship is playing in the campaign.

It is important to emphasize what this course is *not*. It is not a course on the Arab-Israeli conflict or the peace process. Both of these subjects are covered in depth in a course offered by another SAIS faculty member, in the spring semester. Inevitably, we will touch upon aspects of war and peace. But we will not be detained by the cut and thrust of battles, or the intricate details of

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

negotiations to bring peace – a decades-long preoccupation of American diplomacy. In the foreground is the bilateral relationship between United States and Israel; the Arab states and the Palestinians, and their own complex relations with United States, are in the background. For this reason, too, our primary interest is in the perspectives of Americans and Israelis. Other perspectives on the relationship, especially European and Arab ones, are not irrelevant, but deserve their own study.

For our reading, we will range widely. There are a number of works which could serve as comprehensive textbooks for this course. But using them would limit the range of views and research methods to which you would be exposed. Instead, I have selected journal articles and book chapters, taken from a wide range of authors, so that by the end of this course, you will have read something by most of the recognized authorities in this field. If the reading appears a bit daunting, bear in mind that it includes many repetitions. There are also several documentary films and video clips of presentations by key figures.

I run this course as a seminar. While I will provide an overview in each session, I will assume that you have done the reading, and will expect active participation in discussions and debates. In anticipation of each class session, I will ask each of you, via Blackboard, to send a paragraph constituting a “reader’s response” to the readings, so that together we can identify problem areas that can be explored more fully in class.

From time to time, we will be visited by guests who have played roles as practitioners. They will not appear as lecturers, but as resources and informants, to whom you can pose informed questions that arise from your own study.

### **Grading:**

- 15 percent of the grade is determined by class (and possibly on-line) participation. (I am new to Blackboard, but I have lots of experience in blogging and social media, so I will give it a try during the first weeks of class, to see whether it works for us.)
- 20 percent of the grade is determined by a short mid-term “state of the art” paper (maximum 1,200 words), surveying the secondary and primary sources for a subject in the early history of U.S.-Israeli relations, and assessing the reliability and limitations of the source materials. This is the sort of preliminary survey you would do before embarking on a major research project. This short paper will be due on Friday, October 19.
- 65 percent of the grade is determined by a final paper, the topic of which you will choose in consultation with me.

# US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

## Calendar:

You will note that there are readings for 13 sessions, and *that includes the first session*. The first class session will be devoted to my overview. I recommend that you read the overview articles either before or after the first session, as a supplement to the overview I will provide in class. I have provided URLs for the articles, but you should be able to access these items via electronic reserves. The URL is for future reference, should you want to revisit the readings after the course.

I will hold an office hour immediately after class, or you may make an appointment if you have something else in that slot. Just message me through Blackboard.

Tuesday, September 18, is one of the two days of the Jewish New Year, and we will not have class on that day. The class will meet instead on the following day, Wednesday, September 19, from 12:15 to 2pm in N507.

## Readings

### 1. Overview

Abraham Ben-Zvi, "The United States and Israel: 1948-2008," *Israel Studies: An Anthology*, Jewish Virtual Library, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/isdf/text/benzvi.pdf>

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The United States and Israel since 1948: A 'Special Relationship'?" *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 231–262. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-7709.00115>

Robert J. Lieber, "America and Israel after 60 Years," *Demokratiya*, no. 13 (Summer 2008), pp. 148-155. [http://dissentmagazine.org/demokratiya/article\\_pdfs/d13Lieber.pdf](http://dissentmagazine.org/demokratiya/article_pdfs/d13Lieber.pdf)

Samuel W. Lewis, "The United States and Israel: Evolution of an Unwritten Alliance," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Summer, 1999), pp. 364-78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4329351>

### 2. Israel on America's Mind

Walter Russell Mead, "The New Israel and the Old: Why Gentiles Back the Jewish State," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2008, pp. 28-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032714>

Mark A. Raider, *The Emergence of American Zionism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), Ch. 1, "The American Setting," pp. 5-29.

Jonathan D. Sarna, "A Projection of America as It Ought to Be: Zion in the Mind's Eye of

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

American Jews,” in Alon Gal, ed., *Envisioning Israel: The Changing Ideals and Images of North American Jews* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1996), pp. 41-59.

### 3. Recognizing Israel

Michael J. Cohen, “Truman and Palestine, 1945-1948: Revisionism, Politics and Diplomacy,” *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Feb., 1982), pp. 1-22. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1396127>

Bruce J. Evensen, “Truman, Palestine and the Cold War,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1992), pp. 120-156. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4283481>

Bruce J. Evensen, “The Limits of Presidential Leadership: Truman at War with Zionists, the Press, Public Opinion and His Own State Department over Palestine,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Presidential Perception and Persuasion (Spring, 1993), pp. 269-287. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27532278>

Michael Ottolenghi, “Harry Truman’s Recognition of Israel,” *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Dec., 2004), pp. 963-988. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4091664>

“The Recognition of the State of Israel,” Truman Library (documents, photos, oral testimony), [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/israel/large/index.php](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/israel/large/index.php)

Allis and Ronald Radosh discuss their book *A Safe Haven*, C-SPAN, July 14, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yU248hUV3-I>.

### 4. Clash and Reconciliation

Ian J. Bickerton, “Dwight D. Eisenhower and Israel: A New Look,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (July, 1988), pp. 1-12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41053474>

Isaac Alteras, “Eisenhower, American Jewry, and Israel,” *American Jewish Archives* (November 1985), pp. 258-274. [http://americanjewisharchives.org/journal/PDF/1985\\_37\\_02\\_00\\_alteras.pdf](http://americanjewisharchives.org/journal/PDF/1985_37_02_00_alteras.pdf)

Michelle Mart, “The ‘Christianization’ of Israel and Jews in 1950s America,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 2004), pp. 109-147. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rac.2004.14.1.109>

Michelle Mart, “Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy: Images of Israel, 1948–1960,” *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1996), pp. 357-380. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.1996.tb00271.x>

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

### 5. Weapons and Nukes

Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Nov., 1993), pp. 563-585. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/164535>

Ian J. Bickerton, "John F. Kennedy, The Jewish Community and Israel: Some Preliminary Observations," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (December, 1983), pp. 32-43. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41053330>

Zaki Shalom, "Kennedy, Ben-Gurion and the Dimona Project, 1962-1963," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1996), pp. 3-33. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30245472>

Mordechai Gazit, "The Genesis of the US-Israeli Military-Strategic Relationship and the Dimona Issue," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Jul., 2000), pp. 413-422. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/261028>

Michael J. Engelhardt "A nonproliferation failure: America and Israel's nuclear program, 1960-1968," *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2004), pp. 56-69. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10736700408436978>

David Tal, "Symbol Not Substance? Israel's Campaign to Acquire Hawk Missiles, 1960-1962," *The International History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), pp. 304-317. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40108369>

Abraham Ben-Zvi, "Influence and arms: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and the politics of arms sales to Israel, 1962-1966," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 1-2, 2004, pp. 29-59. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13537120412331321361>

Zach Levey, "The United States' Skyhawk Sale to Israel, 1966: Strategic Exigencies of an Arms Deal," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2004), pp. 255-276. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2004.00408.x>

### 6. Special Relationship at War

Moshe Gat, "Let someone else do the job: American policy on the eve of the Six Day War," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 14, No 1 (2003), pp. 131-158. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592290412331308761>

Zaki Shalom, "Lyndon Johnson's Meeting with Abba Eban, 26 May 1967: [Introduction and Protocol]," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall, 1999), pp. 221-236. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30245517>

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

William B. Quandt, "Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color Was the Light?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 198-228. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4328430>

"USS Liberty: Dead In The Water," BBC Documentary, 2002. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjOH1XMAwZA>

Noam Kochavi, "Joining the conservative brotherhood: Israel, President Nixon, and the political consolidation of the 'special relationship,' 1969-73," *Cold War History*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Nov. 2008), pp. 449- 480. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14682740802373560>

Gershon Shafir, "The Miscarriage of Peace: Israel, Egypt, the United States, and the 'Jarring Plan' in the Early 1970s," *Israel Studies Forum*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 3-26. <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/berghahn/isf/2006/00000021/00000001/art00002>

Uri Bar-Joseph, "Last Chance to Avoid War: Sadat's Peace Initiative of February 1973 and its Failure," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 41, no. 3 (July 2006), pp. 545-56. <http://jch.sagepub.com/content/41/3/545.short>

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*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 2011), pp. 53-78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/ISR.2011.16.1.53>

### 7. Breakthrough

Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999), entire book, available online at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/57749983/Heroic-Diplomacy-Sadat-Kissinger-Carter-Begin-and-the-Quest-for-Arab-Israeli-Peace>

William B. Quandt, "Camp David and Peacemaking in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (1986), pp. 357-377. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2151620>

Jerold S. Auerbach, "Are We One? Menachem Begin and the Long Shadow of 1977," in Alon Gal, ed., *Envisioning Israel: The Changing Ideals and Images of North American Jews* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1996), pp. 335-51.

### 8. AWACS, Green Lights, Spies

Mitchell Bard, "Interest Groups, the President, and Foreign Policy: How Reagan Snatched Victory from the Jaws of Defeat On AWACS," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 583-600. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40574500>

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

Zeev Schiff, "The Green Light," *Foreign Policy*, No. 50 (Spring, 1983), pp. 73-85. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148281>

Avner Yaniv and Robert J. Lieber, "Reagan and the Middle East," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1983), pp. 125-37. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01636608309449892>

Shmuel Segev, "The Reagan Plan: A Victim of Conflicting Approaches by the United States and Israel to the Syrian Presence in Lebanon," in *President Reagan and the World*, ed. by Eric J. Schmertz et al. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997), pp. 41-60.

Yehuda Avner, "An inept attempt at a flawed peace," *Jerusalem Post*, December 2, 2008. <http://www.jpost.com/LandedPages/PrintArticle.aspx?id=122586>

Ephraim Kahana, "Mossad-CIA cooperation," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2001), pp. 409-420. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08850600152386873>

P.R. Kumaraswamy, "The politics of pardon: Israel and Jonathan Pollard," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 17-35. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=9612270060&site=ehost-live>

### 9. Restraining Israel

David A. Welch, "The Politics and Psychology of Restraint: Israeli Decision-Making in the Gulf War," *International Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 328-369 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40202763>

Laura Zittrain Eisenberg, "Passive belligerency: Israel and the 1991 Gulf War," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1992), pp. 304-329. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402399208437487>

Scott Lasensky, "Friendly Restraint: US-Israel Relations During the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (June 1999), pp. 24-35. <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue2/lasensky.pdf>

Stuart E. Eizenstat, "Loving Israel. Warts and All," *Foreign Policy*, No. 81 (Winter, 1990-1991), pp. 87-105. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148810>

### 10. Unconditional Love?

Scott Lasensky, "Paying for Peace: The Oslo Process and the Limits of American Foreign Aid," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring, 2004), pp. 210-234. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4330002>

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

William B. Quandt, "Clinton and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Limits of Incrementalism," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 26-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jps.2001.30.2.26>

"Elusive Peace: Israel and the Arabs," PBS Documentary, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50ZktlboxgY>

Yossi Shain and Barry Bristman, "Diaspora, Kinship and Loyalty: The Renewal of Jewish National Security," *International Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 69-95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095975>

Martin Durham, "The American Right and Israel," *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 82, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2011), pp. 609-17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2011.02235.x>

Elizabeth A. Oldmixon, Beth Rosenson & Kenneth D. Wald, "Conflict over Israel: The Role of Religion, Race, Party and Ideology in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1997–2002," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2005), pp. 407-26.

Guy Ben-Porat, "Netanyahu's Second Coming: A Neoconservative Policy Paradigm?" *Israel Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Fall, 2005), pp. 225-45. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30245773>

Dennis Ross, "The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace (video)," October 13, 2004, UC Santa Barbara. <http://www.ucsd.tv/search-details.aspx?showID=9107>

Dov Waxman, "From Jerusalem to Baghdad? Israel and the War in Iraq," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 10, no. 1 (February 2009), pp. 1-17. [http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/political\\_science/documents/FromJerusalemtoBaghdad.pdf](http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/political_science/documents/FromJerusalemtoBaghdad.pdf)

### 11. The Israel Lobby Debate

Dov Waxman, "'The Israel Lobbies: A Survey of the Pro-Israel Community in the United States," *Israel Studies Forum*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2010), pp. 5-28. [http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/political\\_science/documents/TheIsraelLobby.pdf](http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/political_science/documents/TheIsraelLobby.pdf)

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 29-87. <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00260.x>

John J. Mearsheimer, Stephen M. Walt, Aaron Friedberg, Dennis Ross, Shlomo Ben-Ami and Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The War over Israel's Influence," *Foreign Policy*, No. 155 (Jul. - Aug. 2006), pp. 56-66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25462064>



## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

Walter Russell Mead, "Jerusalem Syndrome," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2007), pp. 160-68. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=27100626&site=ehost-live>

Robert C. Lieberman, "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 2009), pp. 235-57. [http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/news\\_events/newsletter/documents/Liebermanexchange-TheIsraelLobbyandAmericanPolitics.pdf](http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/news_events/newsletter/documents/Liebermanexchange-TheIsraelLobbyandAmericanPolitics.pdf)

Michael J. Koplow, "Value Judgment: Why Do Americans Support Israel?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2011), pp. 266-302. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09636412.2011.572690>

Jonathan Rynhold, "Is the Pro-Israel Lobby a Block on Reaching a Comprehensive Peace Settlement in the Middle East?" *Israel Studies Forum*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2010), pp. 29-49. <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/berghahn/isf/2010/00000025/00000001/art00005>

Itamar Rabinovich, "Testing the 'Israel Lobby' Thesis," *The American Interest*, (Mar.-Apr. 2008), pp. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2008/03/israel-rabinovich>

### 12. Strategic Asset or Liability?

Edward N. Luttwak, "Strategic aspects of U.S.-Israeli relations," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 304 (1996), pp. 198-211. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13537129608719401>

Efraim Inbar, "Israel: An Enduring Union," *Journal of International Security Affairs*, No. 11 (Fall 2006), pp. 7-13. [http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/efraim\\_inbar/enduring.pdf](http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/efraim_inbar/enduring.pdf)

Robert D. Blackwill and Walter B. Slocombe, *Israel: A Strategic Asset for the United States*, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Nov. 2011. [http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/Blackwill-Slocombe\\_Report.pdf](http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/Blackwill-Slocombe_Report.pdf)

"Israel: Asset or Liability? A Debate on the Value of the US-Israel Relationship, Robert Satloff vs. Chas Freeman," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/SatloffDebate.pdf>

Martin Kramer, "The American Interest," *Azure*, No. 26 (2006), pp. 21-33. <http://scholar.harvard.edu/martinkramer/files/americaninterest.pdf>

David Rodman, "American National Interests, Israel, and the Middle East," Scholars for Peace in the Middle East website, Aug. 28, 2008. <http://spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=4403>

Ariel Ilan Roth, "Reassurance: A Strategic Basis of U.S. Support for Israel," *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Nov. 2009), pp. 378-93. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/>

## US-Israel Relations •• Fall 2012 •• SAIS DC

10.1111/j.1528-3585.2009.00384.x/abstract

### 13. Obama, Bibi and Beyond

Asaf Siniver, "Change Nobody Believes In: Obama and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (2011), pp. 678-95. <http://www.tandfonline.com.proxy3.library.jhu.edu/doi/full/10.1080/09592296.2011.625825>

Dov Waxman, "The Real Problem in US-Israeli Relations," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 71-87. <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq12springwaxman.pdf>

Aharon Kleiman, "With Special Reference to the United States: Peacemakers as Peace Spoilers," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2010), pp. 9-19. <http://israelcfr.com/documents/4-3/4-3-2-AharonKlieman.pdf>

Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Point of No Return," *The Atlantic*, September 2010. [http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2010/09/the-point-of-no-return/8186/?single\\_page=true](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2010/09/the-point-of-no-return/8186/?single_page=true)

"Obama to Iran and Israel: 'As President of the United States, I Don't Bluff'," interview with Barack Obama by Jeffrey Goldberg, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/obama-to-iran-and-israel-as-president-of-the-united-states-i-dont-bluff/253875/>

Aaron David Miller, "The U.S., Israel and American Jews: A Negotiator Looks Back," New York University, April 15, 2010. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iP4VV1InjdY>

Itamar Rabinovich, "Israel and America: Where We Stand Now," New York University, April 22, 2010. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CLnkESDOrm0>

Haim Malka, *Crossroads: The Future of the U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Sep. 16, 2001. [http://csis.org/files/publication/110908\\_Malka\\_CrossroadsUSIsrael\\_Web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/110908_Malka_CrossroadsUSIsrael_Web.pdf)

Aaron David Miller, "Warning: Turbulence Ahead," *Foreign Policy*, July 25, 2012. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/25/warning\\_turbulence\\_ahead](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/25/warning_turbulence_ahead)