Refugees and Settlers

Suggested Titles

Aruri, Naseer. Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return. London: Pluto Press, 2001. ("The future of the Palestinian refugees who fled or were driven from Israel in 1948 and their "right of return" has become one of the most controversial issues yet to be resolved in the Arab-Israel conflict. The 16 articles by Palestinians and their sympathizers are based on papers presented at a Boston University Law School conference in 1999 and are divided into four parts: the historical context, interests of the major actors, return or permanent exile, refugee claims, and the search for a just solution. The authors review the current refugee situation, its origins, refugee status in various Arab countries, and compensation for property left in Israel. Israeli, American, and European perceptions of and policies regarding the refugees are also examined. The authors maintain that the "right of return" is enshrined in international law and that the refugees and Palestinian leaders should not abandon this right. Several authors are highly critical of Palestinian negotiators who have accepted possible compromise of not more than a token repatriation of a few thousand refugees provided Israel accepts the principle of return." ---D. Peretz, emeritus, SUNY at Binghamton in *CHOICE*)

Goremberg, Gershom. The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of Settlements, 1967-1977. New York: Times Books, 2006. ("A thoroughly documented, pathbreaking analysis of Israel's disastrous settlement project in the occupied territories; it reads like a chapter in Barbara Tuchman's well-known book, The March of Folly." —Amos Elon, author of The Pity of It All and The Israelis: Founders and Sons "The Accidental Empire is an extraordinary book. It offers insight and understanding into a period that has never been well understood. After the 1967 war, few in Israel recognized the inherent problems of building Jewish settlements beyond the Green Line, for they were torn between reason and spiritual attachment to the land. As Gershom Gorenberg shows in this wonderfully written history, the building of settlements took on a life of its own-too easy to do, too hard to stop, and too easy to simply let happen." —Dennis Ross, former U.S. envoy to the Middle East, and author of The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace)

Peteet, Julie. Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps. University of Pennsylvania Pres, 2005. ("Nearly half of the world's eight million Palestinians are registered refugees, having faced partition and exile. Landscape of Hope and Despair examines this refugee experience in Lebanon through the medium of spatial practices and identity, set against the backdrop of prolonged violence. Julie Peteet explores how Palestinians have dealt with their experience as refugees by focusing attention on how a distinctive Palestinian identity has emerged from and been informed by fifty years of refugee history. Concentrating ethnographic scrutiny on a site-specific experience allows the author to shed light on the mutually constitutive character of place and cultural identification. Palestinian refugee camps are contradictory places: sites of grim despair but also of hope and creativity. Within these cramped spaces, refugees have crafted new worlds of meaning and visions of the possible in politics. In the process, their historical predicament was a point of departure for social action and thus became radically transformed. Beginning with the calamity of 1948, Landscape of Hope and Despair traces the dialectic of place and cultural identification through the initial despair of the 1950s and early 1960s to the tumultuous days of the resistance and the violence of the Lebanese civil war and its aftermath. Most significantly, this study invokes space, place, and identity to construct an alternative to the received national narratives of Palestinian society and history. The moving stories told here form a larger picture of these refugees as a people struggling to recreate their sense of place and identity and add meaning to their surroundings through the use of culture and memory." –Amazon)

Zertal, Idith and Akiva Eldar. Lords of the Land: the War for Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007. New York: Nation Books, 2007 ("In the aftermath of the 1967 war and Israel's devastating victory over its Arab neighbors, catastrophe struck both the soul and psyche of the state of Israel. Based on years of research and written by one of Israel's leading historians and journalists, this involving narrative focuses on the settlers themselves — often fueled by messianic zeal but also inspired by the original Zionist settlers — and shows the role the state of Israel has played in nurturing them through massive economic aid and legal sanctions. The occupation, the authors argue, has transformed the very foundations of Israel's society, economy, army, history, language, moral profile, and international standing. 'The vast majority of the 6.5 million Israelis who live in their country do not know any other reality,' the authors write. 'The vast majority of the 3.5 million Palestinians who live in the regions of their occupied land do not know any other reality." —Nation Books.)

Related Titles

Cotran, Eugene. **The Palestinian Exodus 1948-1998.** Reading: Ithaca Press, 1999. ("The Palestinian Exodus 1948-1998 is highly recommended, as a readable and very well researched book on the subject of Palestinian refugees.' Palestine Solidarity deals with an important and often neglected subject...As such, it forms essential reading for scholars and general readers concerned with the primary causes of and solutions to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. While many of these issues have been written about in the past, the value of this book is that it collects the updated research of recognised experts who present things in a current context. Coupled with legal arguments, the historical facts serve as useful criteria for evaluating the results of the peace process that began a decade ago.' --- *Jordan Times*)

Dumper, Michael, ed. Palestinian Refugee Repatriation: Global Perspectives. New York: Routledge, 2006. The repatriation of Palestinians is a highly topical issue, and a critical component of any future peace process for Israel/Palestine. Until now, the mechanics of repatriation have not been dealt with in detail. This book explores the notion that the Palestinian refugee case is exceptional through the comparative study of refugee repatriation, and by asking: to what extent can the Palestinian case be said to be unique? where are the divergences, the overlaps and points of similarity with other refugee situations? what lessons can be drawn from these comparisons? how can these lessons inform refugee organizations, the donor community and policy makers? The expert contributors examine the contextual and methodological field, reviewing the trends in forced migration and refugee studies as well as studying the historical and political background of UNHCR and the negotiations around the Palestinian refugee issue."—Amazon)

Knudsen, Are and Sari Hanafi, eds. Palestinian Refugees: Identity, Space and Place in the Levant. New York: Routledge, 2011. ("More than four million Palestinian refugees live in protracted exile across the Middle East. Taking a regional approach to Palestinian refugee exile and alienation across the Levant, this book proposes a new understanding of the spatial and political dimensions of refugee camps across the Middle East. Combining critical scholarship with ethnographic insight, the essays uncover host states' marginalisation of stateless refugees and shed light on new terminology on refugees, migration and diaspora studies. The impact on the refugee community is detailed in novel studies of refugee identity, memory and practice and new legal approaches to compensation and "right of return"... This strong collection of original essays is an essential resource for scholars and students in refugee studies, forced migration, disaster studies, legal anthropology, urban studies, international law and Middle East history." —Amazon)

Lesch, Ann and Ian Lustick, eds. **Exile and Return: Predicaments of Palestinians Jews**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. ("A rich resource both for scholars of migration and for anyone interested in the 'predicaments of Palestinians and Jews' because of the way it self-consciously draws parallels between the two peoples' destinies and relation to the same land."—*Israel Studies Forum*)

Masalha, Nur. A Land without a People: Israel, Transfer, and the Palestinians, 1949-1996. London: Faber and Faber, 1997. ("Transfer" - a euphemism denoting the organized removal of the Arab population of Palestine to neighboring or distant countries - is deeply rooted in Zionism. Palestine, in Zionist thought, is "a land without a people for a people without a land" - a vacant territory waiting for settlers, with Palestinian residents who are not attached to the land by historical or cultural ties. This book, by the author of Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of `Transfer' in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948, discusses how "transfer" has informed the thinking of Israeli officials since the creation of the state of Israel, and how the policy "more land, fewer Arabs" has been a serious solution to Israel's demographic problems." —Amazon)

Masalha, Nur, ed. Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel, and the Internal Refugees. London: Zed, 2005. (Essays in memory of Edward Said. "This is a work of enormous significance by distinguished scholars of singular courage and integrity. The spirit and legacy of Edward Said are embodied in these papers that seek to rectify grave historical omissions and distortions pertaining to the plight and rights of the Palestinians, particularly in their displacement and exile. Such a narrative of affirmation, authenticity, and rectification is the essential antidote to the mendacious accounts of exclusion and denial that have perpetuated, and even justified, the continued victimisation of the Palestinian nation. The recognition of this grievous injustice, along with the admission of Israeli and global culpability, are the first steps in the quest for a just peace and hence for historical redemption." —Hanan Ashrawi)

Masalha, Nur. The Politics of Denial: Israel and Palestinian Refugee Problem. London: Pluto Press, 2003. ("The aim of this book is to analyze Israeli policies towards the Palestinian refugees as they evolved from the 1948 catastrophe (or nakba) to the present. It is the first volume to look in detail at Israeli law and policy surrounding the refugee question. Drawing on extensive primary sources and previously classified archive material, Masalha discusses the 1948 exodus; Israeli resettlement schemes since 1948; Israeli approaches to compensation and restitution of property; Israeli refugee policies towards the internally displaced ('present absentees'); and Israeli refugee policies during the Madrid and Oslo negotiations. Masalha asks what rights Palestinians possess under international law? How can a refugee population be compensated, and will they ever be able to return to their homes? Masalha questions the official Israeli position that the only solution to the problem is resettlement of the refugees in Arab states or elsewhere. This book is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the subject that lies at the heart of the ongoing conflict in the Middle East. – Amazon)

Morris, Benny. The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. ("Morris' earlier work exposed the realities of how 700,000 Palestinians became refugees during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. While the focus of this edition remains the war and exodus, new archival material considers what happened in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, and how these events led to the collapse of urban Palestine. Revealing battles and atrocities that contributed to the disintegration of rural communities, the story is harrowing. The refugees now number four million and their cause remains a major obstacle to regional peace." –Amazon ""The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, a book of extraordinary power and integrity written by a young Israeli scholar and journalist, Benny Morris, takes that great tale of flight and conquest and tells it as it has never been told before: with precision and moral economy, with awesome detail and honesty." –The Washington Post Book World "The book remains a seminal work on the evacuation of Palestinians between 1947 and 1949. this extremely readable book narrates a powerful story of the uprooting of a people, even if the very voice of the uprooted is absent from it."-- Political Science Ouarterly)

Rosenfeld, Maya. Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. ("Confronting the Occupation is a study of work, education, political-national resistance, family, and community relations in a Palestinian refugee camp under conditions of Israeli military occupation. It is based on extended field research carried out by an Israeli sociologist-anthropologist in Dheisheh camp, south of Bethlehem, between 1992 and 1996. Emphasis is placed on how men and women, families, and the local refugee community confront the occupation regime as they seek livelihoods, invest in the education of younger generations, and mount a political and often militant struggle. In the process, men lose their jobs in the Israeli labor market, women, old and young, enter the workforce, university graduates are compelled to migrate to the Gulf, and political cadres challenge harsh prison circumstances by establishing their own comprehensive counterorder. While directed against the occupation, patterns of coping and resistance adopted by Dheishehians introduced tensions and conflicts into family life, furthering the transformation of gender and generational relationships."—Publisher)

Tovy, Jacob. Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Issue: The Formulation of a Policy, 1948-1956. New York: Routledge, 2014. ("Examining the development of Israel's policy toward the Palestinian refugee issue, this book spans the period following the first Arab-Israeli War until the mid-1950s, when the basic principles of Israel's policy were finalized. Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Issue outlines and analyzes the various aspects that, together, created the mosaic of the "refugee problem" with which Israel has since had to contend. These aspects include issues of repatriation, resettlement, compensation, blocked bank accounts, internal refugees and family reunification. Drawing on extensive archival research, this book uses documents from Israeli government meetings, from the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and files from the office of the Prime Minister's advisor on Arab affairs to address the many diverse aspects of this topic and will be essential reading for academics and researchers with an interest in Israel, the Middle East, and political science more broadly." –Amazon)

American Involvement and Foreign Policy

Suggested Titles

Chomsky, Noam. Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians. Forward by Edward Said. Updated Edition. Cambridge: South End Press, 1999. ("Chomsky's seminal tome on Mideast politics has become a classic in the fields of political science and Mideast affairs. For its tenth printing, Chomsky has added chapters bringing the book completely up to date, with a new preface by Chomsky, a new foreword from Palestinian author and activist Edward W. Said, and new material on the Intifada, the ongoing Israeli-PLO "peace process" (including the Oslo and Wye accords), and Israel's war against Lebanon." —South End Press)

Khalidi, Rashid. Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East. Boston: Beacon, 2014. (""What has happened to the Palestinian people since 1948 is one of the great crimes of modern history. Of course, Israel bears primary responsibility for this tragedy. However, as Rashid Khalidi shows in his smart new book, American presidents from Truman to Obama have sided with Israel at almost every turn and helped it inflict immense pain and humiliation on the Palestinians. At the same time, they have employed high-sounding but dishonest rhetoric to cover up Israel's brutal behavior. As Brokers of Deceit makes clear, the United States richly deserves to be called "Israel's lawyer." —John J. Mearsheimer, coauthor of *The Israel Lobby* "Drawing on his own experience as a Palestinian negotiator and recently released documents, Rashid Khalidi mounts a frontal attack on the myths and misconceptions that have come to surround America's role in the so-called "peace process" which is all process and no peace. The title is not too strong: the book demonstrates conclusively that far from serving as an honest broker, the US continues to act as Israel's lawyer – with dire consequences for its own interests, for the Palestinians, and for the entire region. Professor Khalidi deserves much credit for his superb exposition of the fatal gap between the rhetoric and reality of American diplomacy on this critically important issue." —Avi Shlaim, Emeritus Professor of International Relations at Oxford and author of The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World. "Khalidi has combined history, common sense and his first-hand understanding of Arab-Israeli peace talks, as brokered by Washington, to make the case that American national security interests would be best served by a just peace in the Middle East. Instead, he writes with great sadness, Washington's efforts to be an honest broker fall "somewhere between high irony and farce" —and puts democratic America, with its avowed commitment to freedom for all, in the position of enabling the continued subjugation of the Palestine people. This is an important book." —Seymour M. Hersh, The New Yorker)

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. **The Israeli Lobby and U. S. Foreign Policy**. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007. ("Controversial." —Terry Gross, Fresh Air, NPR "It could not be more timely." —David Bromwich, *The Huffington Post* "The strategic questions they raise now, particularly about Israel's privileged relationship with the United States, are worth debating." —David Remnick. *The New Yorker* "Ruthlessly realistic." —William Grimes, *The New York Times* "The argument they present is towering and clear and about time." —Philip Weiss, Mondoweiss.com "Mearsheimer, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, and Walt, on the faculty at Harvard, set off a political firestorm." —Jay Solomon, *The Wall Street Journal*)

Rynhold, Jonathan. The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. ("Professor Rynhold has made a pioneering and illuminating contribution to our understanding of the contemporary American Jewish community and its complex relationship with the Arab-Israel conflict. For the first time, scholars of American Jewry, US foreign policy and Middle Eastern politics will gain insights into the deep and often strident divisions among American Jews on an issue of paramount importance to their identity, their values, and their connection to Israel. The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture is an essential source for anyone interested in American Jewish, US-Israel, and Israeli-Palestinian affairs." -- Michael B. Oren, former Israeli ambassador to the United States "Jonathan Rynhold's book is a first-rate analysis of the changing position of Israel in American politics. Rynhold carefully demonstrates how Republicans and Evangelical Christians have increasingly embraced Israel, while Democrats and most American Jews - Orthodox Jews are a notable exception - have increasingly questioned Israeli policies. This book is highly recommended for anyone interested in the role of Israel in US and Jewish politics." -- Robert O. Freedman, Adjunct Professor, The Johns Hopkins University "Jonathan Rynhold is one of the most perceptive observers of American perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that Israel has produced in recent years. While many Israelis fashion themselves as experts on America, Rynhold is the real thing. He has kept his finger on the pulse like very few others. Readers will gain much from his wide knowledge and profound insights." -- David Makovsky, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy)

Related Titles

Ben-Zvi, Abraham. **Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance.** New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. ("In short, this volume is a very important addition to the literature on American foreign policy in the Middle East that contributes significantly to our collective knowledge. It will undoubtedly become a central work in the field and is most highly recommended for anyone doing research in this area." --Israel Affairs)

Christison, Kathleen. Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy. Updated Edition with a New Afterword. 1999. ("[A] masterful treatise on how it is that the United States managed to ignore the Palestinians for a century." —Donald Neff, *Journal of Palestine Studies*)

Gallagher, Nancy. Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007. ("The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has resulted in the longest-standing refugee crisis in the world today. Based on new archival research and interviews with surviving participants, this book considers one early effort to resolve that crisis while offering helpful lessons for current efforts at conflict resolution in the Middle East and elsewhere. When war broke out in Palestine in 1948, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker service organization, had just won the Nobel Peace Prize for its peacemaking endeavors and its service to war refugees during the Second World War. On the basis of that experience, the United Nations invited the highly visible AFSC to provide humanitarian relief to Arab refugees in Gaza. The AFSC also sent volunteers to work in Israel, where they hoped to serve both Arabs and Jews. Its long-term goal was repatriation of the refugees and conciliation and coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. As eyewitnesses to some of the major events of the conflict, the AFSC volunteers came to understand it better than most outsiders at the time. By examining these early efforts at peacemaking and assistance, historian Nancy Gallagher has uncovered essential insights for today's peacemakers, human rights activists, and humanitarian NGOs." -Amazon)

Green, Stephen. Living by the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East 1968-87. Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1988. ("Israel's relationship with the United States lies at the heart of the Middle East conflict. Not only does American largesse underpin Israel's immense military power, and hence unyielding attitude, but it may be the key to any compromise....Rather than offering a detailed chronological narrative, the book focuses on particular episodes involving the two countries." —Andrew Gilmour, *Journal of Palestine Studies*)

Green, Stephen. **Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel.** New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984. ("The author has burrowed with a prosecutor's diligence into unpublished American archives. The book has been and will be praised by those who believe the United States has damaged its own security, and Israel's too, by uncritical and often secret support of Israel's actions, no matter how extreme. Those who believe that American support has not gone far enough, and that American and Israeli interests are identical will sputter with indignation." — John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*)

Judis, John. Genesis: Truman, American Jews, and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Reprint ed. 2015. ("[Judis] is a careful historian." —Joseph Dorman, The New York Times Book Review "Judis digs deeply into history, politics and diplomacy to explain the backstory of today's headlines . . . [A] provocative book." —Jonathan Kirsch, Jewish Journal "John Judis has long been one of America's best political historians. Now he's proved himself one of the best historians of American foreign policy towards Israel. You don't have to agree with all of John's conclusions to be powerfully impressed by the extent of his research, the quality of his insight, and his deep empathy for both Jews and Palestinians in the tortured land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. One of the best books about the U.S.-Israel relationship I have ever read." —Peter Beinart, author of *The Crisis of Zionism* "John Judis fairly and carefully explores Harry Truman's conflicted attitudes toward the establishment of the state of Israel--and he does far more. A conscientious attempt to deal with the ethical paradoxes involved in the establishment of the state of Israel, this book makes us aware of the implacable moral ambiguities with which we all must live as we make choices in a deeply flawed world." —Alonzo L. Hamby, Distinguished Professor of History, Ohio University; author of Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman "This is the best kind of history-taking a historical episode we think we know about (Truman recognizing the new state of Israel) and probing what really happened and what it meant for the future. John Judis is one of America's best journalists. In Genesis he brings together both lucid writing and passionate insight in a way that sheds light on current American policy in the Middle East." —James Mann, author of Rise of the Vulcans and The Obamians "Genesis, John Judis's history of the Truman administration's relationship to Israel and its neighbors, is a smart, unsentimental, and independent-minded rendering of a complicated tale. His arguments and evidence challenge the comforting myths that sustain all sides of this tragic conflict and, in doing so, have the potential to point all its actors in a more hopeful direction in the future."—Eric Alterman, author of The Cause: The Fight for American Liberalism from Franklin Roosevelt to Barack Obama)

Knopf-Newman, Mary Jane. The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies. Hampshire, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. ("...Knopf-Newman exposes how language and history have obscured the reality of Palestinians, which has been suppressed in the United States. This brilliant and important work is instructive in every sense of the word." — J. Kehaulani Kauanui, Associate Professor of American Studies and Anthropology, Wesleyan University)

Rubenberg, Cheryl A. **Israel and the American National Interest: A Critical Examination.** Urbana; Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1986. ("The single most satisfactory scholarly study, by far, of the U.S.-Israeli relationship. It represents a major contribution to our knowledge and understanding of one of the most sensitive and important areas of U.S. foreign policy." – Richard Falk)

Ruebner, Josh. **U.S. Military Aid to Israel: Policy Implications and Options.** Washington, DC: US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, 2012. [40 pp.; downloadable at http://aidtoisrael.org/section.php?id=400] ("[E]stablishes the legal, political, economic, strategic and human rights rationale for ending \$30 billion of U.S. taxpayer-financed weapons transfers to Israel from 2009 to 2018." – US Campaign)

Said, Edward and Christopher Hitchens, eds. Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question. New York: Verso, 1988. ("The aim of these exhaustive, detailed essays and book reviews is to highlight what Said, a professor at Columbia, calls in his introduction the "grotesque, almost parodistic garishness" of pro-Israeli, anti-Palestinian scholarship in the West, particularly in the U.S., where, he says, "it is as if even the narrative of Palestinian history is not tolerable." In one piece, Said examines the reception of Joan Peters's book, From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine, which argues that most of the Arabs in Palestine in 1948 were recent arrivals from other parts of the Arab world: despite widespread enthusiasm in the U.S., the book was greeted with embarrassed disavowal in Israel and a critical thrashing for shoddy methodology in Britain." —Publishers Weekly)

Spiegel, Steven. The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. ("The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict illuminates the controversial course of America's Middle East relations from the birth of Israel to the Reagan administration. Skillfully separating actual policymaking from the myths that have come to surround it, Spiegel challenges the belief that American policy in the Middle East is primarily a relation to events in that region or is motivated by bureaucratic constraints or the pressures of domestic politics. On the contrary, he finds that the ideas and skills of the president and his advisors are critical to the determination of American policy. This volume received the 1986 National Jewish Book Award." --Amazon)

Zougbie, Daniel E. Indecision Point: George W. Bush and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014. ("For anyone wishing to understand the reasons for America's disastrous failures in the Middle East in the post-9/11 era, this book will be a very good place to start. Daniel Zoughbie offers a fascinating account of the part played by the Bush administration in the diplomacy surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He begins by illuminating the underlying philosophical assumptions that shaped America's broader engagement with the Middle East. His compelling argument is that George W. Bush never decided between the moralist and the realist positions and, as a result, his policy was incoherent and ineffective. It is a story with no end of a lesson. The book should therefore be required reading for the makers of American policy toward this endlessly complex and troubled region." —Avi Shlaim, professor of international relations, University of Oxford, and author of *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*)