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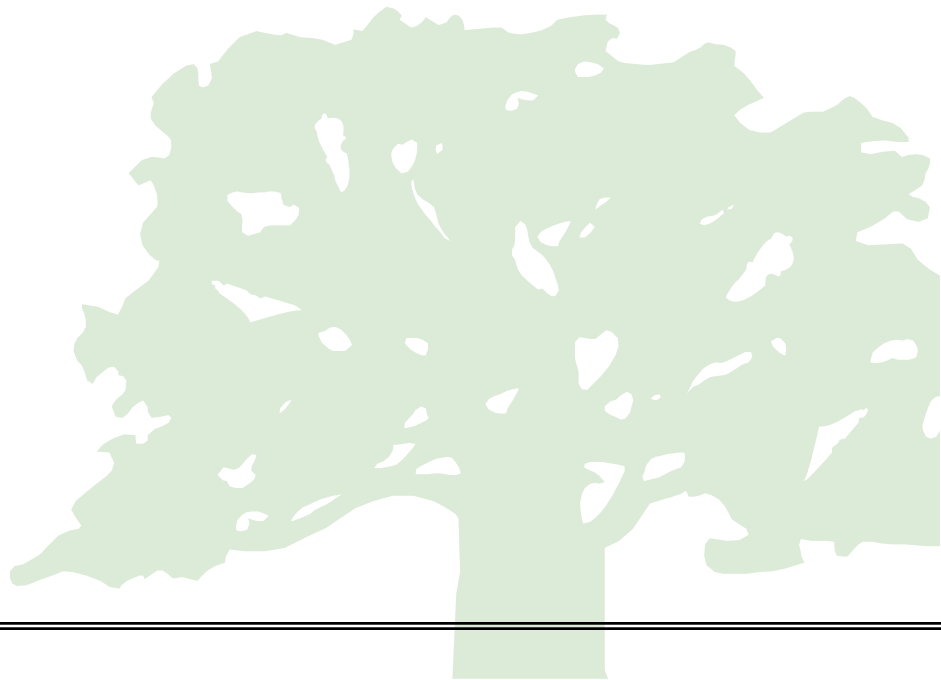
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# ما هي كلفة العلاقات الاسرائيلية الصينية؟

At What Cost Israel-China Ties?

P.R. Kumaraswamy . . . :

Middle East Quarterly :



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At What Cost Israel-China Ties? :

P.R. Kumaraswamy<sup>\*</sup> . . . :

Middle East Quarterly :

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<sup>\*</sup> **P. R. Kumaraswamy** is an associate professor and teaches Israeli politics at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

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<sup>1</sup> "Israel's Diplomatic Missions Abroad: Status of Relations," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dec. 12, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> P.R. Kumaraswamy, "The Star and the Dragon: An Overview of Israeli-PRC Military Relations," *Issues and Studies* (Taipei), Apr. 1994, pp. 36-55; idem, "The Military Dimension of Israel-China Relations," *China Report*, Apr.-June 1995, pp. 235-49. For a more skeptical assessment, see, Yitzhak Shichor, "Mountain out of Molehills: Arms Transfers in Sino-Middle Eastern Relations," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Fall 2000, pp. 68-79.

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<sup>3</sup> For example, *U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China*, report of the Select Committee (hereafter, *Cox Report*), May 1999.

<sup>4</sup> The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, "Findings and Declaration of Policy," Sec. 2. (b) (3), states that the decision of the United States "to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means."

<sup>5</sup> Sherman Funk, State Department inspector general, interview, *The Washington Jewish Week*, Mar. 19, 1992, reproduced in *Supplement to Israeli Foreign Affairs*, Apr. 18, 1992, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of Audit: Department of State, Defense Trade Control*, 2-CI-016, U.S. Department of State, Office of the Inspector General, Mar. 1992.

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<sup>7</sup> *Israel Foreign Affairs*, Feb. 26, 1993, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Financial Times*, Oct 14, 1993.

<sup>9</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 29, 1994. For a detailed and somewhat personal account of the Lavi controversy between Israel and the United States, see Dov S. Zakheim, *Flight of Lavi: Inside a US-Israeli Crisis* (Brassey's, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Shichor, "Mountain out of Molehills."

<sup>11</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, July 14, 2000; *Ha'aretz* (Tel Aviv), Dec. 28, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> Yitzhak Shichor, "The U.S. Factor in Israel's Military Relations with China," *China Brief* (Jamestown), May 24, 2005. By 1999, Israel supplied about 100 UAVs to China.

<sup>13</sup> *Ha'aretz* (English online edition), Apr. 16, 2005; *The Jerusalem Post*, Apr. 17, 2005.

<sup>14</sup> *Ha'aretz*, June 15, 2005.

<sup>15</sup> *Ha'aretz*, July 27, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> *Ha'aretz*, Sept. 1, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> *Ha'aretz*, July 29, 2005.

<sup>18</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, news release, Aug. 16, 2005.

<sup>19</sup> *National Security: Perspectives on Worldwide Threats and Implications for U.S. Forces*, report to the chairman, Senate and House Committees on Armed Forces, Apr. 1992; *Economic Espionage: The Threat to U.S. Industry*, testimony before the Subcommittee on Economy and Commercial Law, Committee on Judiciary, House of Representatives, Apr. 29, 1992; *Military Sales to Israel and Egypt: DOD Needs Stronger Control over U.S.-Financed Procurement*, report to the chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, July 1993; *U.S.-Israel Arrow/ACES Program: Cost, Technical, Proliferation, and Management Concerns*, report to the chairman, Committee on Appropriations, Aug. 1993; *Foreign Military Aid to Israel: Diversion of U.S. Funds and Circumventing of U.S. Program Restrictions*, testimony before Subcommittee on Oversight, Investigation, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives, Oct. 27, 1993; *National Security: Impact of China's Military Modernization in the Pacific Region*, report to congressional committees, June 1995; *Defense Industrial Security: Weaknesses in U.S. Security Arrangements with Foreign-owned Defense Contractors*, report to the congressional requesters, Feb. 1996; *Economic Espionage: Information on Threat from U.S. Allies*, testimony before the Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, Feb. 28, 1996; *China: U.S. and the*

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*European Union Arms Sales since 1989 Embargo*, testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, Apr. 28, 1998; *China: Military Imports from the United States and the European Union since 1989 Embargo*, report to the chairman, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Senate, June 1998; Cox Report..

<sup>20</sup> Cox Report.

<sup>21</sup> Ze'ev Schiff, "The Spy Plane Isn't the Only Problem," *Ha'aretz*, June 21, 2000.

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<sup>22</sup> Pervez Musharraf, address to the American Jewish Congress, New York, Sept. 17, 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Aaron S. Klieman, quoted in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1987.

<sup>24</sup> In the words of one Chinese official, "We have realised that what happened with the [Phalcon] plane is not only the fault of the Israeli government ... There were some external factors involved as well." Shichor, "The U.S. Factor."

<sup>25</sup> Brajesh Mishra, address to the American Jewish Committee, Washington, D.C., May 8, 2003.



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<sup>26</sup> For a dated but interesting discussion on this, see, Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales as Diplomacy* (Washington D.C.: Pergman, 1985).

<sup>27</sup> *The Hindu* (Chennai, India) Aug. 16, 2001.

<sup>28</sup> Bishara Bahbah, "Israel's Military Relationship with Ecuador and Argentina," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1986, pp. 91-2.

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<sup>29</sup> Efraim Inbar, *The Israeli-Turkish Entente* (London: King's College, 2001), p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41

<sup>31</sup> *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong), Jan. 25, 1992, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service-China, Jan. 27, 1992, pp. 18-9.

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<sup>32</sup> For example, see reports of U.S. attempts to scuttle an Israel-South Korea military deal, *Ha'aretz*, Dec. 8, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Following the publication of the Agranot Commission report on the 1973 war, Prime Minister Golda Meir, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, and senior generals resigned from their positions. Jewish Agency for Israel [Timeline](#), accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Moshe Arens, "The Enemy of Our Friend," *Ha'aretz*, June 21, 2005.

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