PREFACE
This thesis, "Israel and the Third World: A Study in Israel's Foreign Policy, 1948-1968," is a modest attempt at understanding the various forces and factors which have conditioned Israel's attitude and policy towards the Third World. Apart from the importance of the subject in itself, its significance has been heightened considerably by the recent events in the Middle East.

During the cold war era, the generally accepted image of the first world was that of the West with its own socio-economic political institutions and models of modern development; and the second world was of the East, of the Soviet Union and the Communist countries, again with their own socio-economic-political institutions and models of modern development. In this context, the Third World was of all the emerging independent countries, aspiring for modernization and development and attracted by the power and the model of the West or the East. On the political-ideological level, the Third World countries were identified as "non-aligned" maintaining an identity of their own between the "Communist World" and the "Free World". But with the decline of the Cold War, the emergence of the Sino-Soviet rift, President de Gaulle's taking an independent line in foreign policy (Independent of the USA), the emergence of Japan and the EEC, the term "Third World" lost much of its meaning.

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The French launched it as "le tiers monde" which the Larousse defines as "economically underdeveloped countries that belong neither to the group of state of liberal economy nor to the group of states of the socialist type."

But the term has been used of all underdeveloped countries including some Communist ones and of the uncommitted countries of Africa and Asia that have tried to keep out of military alliances with the rival power blocs.

Thus, now, the Third World has loosely been recognized as "developing countries" and has been identified with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This "looseness" in definition has led to much confusion. For, if the above definition is taken as a correct one, would it also apply to China or Chile or Israel? None of them can properly be classified as underdeveloped, but all the same all of them claim to belong to (and China even claims leadership) the Third World. Again, some hold the view that the criterion for Third World is the state of technological advancement or lack of it. If that is the case, Spain should become a Third World country. Spain flatly refuses to be included in the Third World. Another situation which further confuses us is the question of wealth. If the criterion for inclusion in the Third World is wealth, then what do we do with Kuwait? Kuwait has the highest per capite income in the
world. This being the case, how can one club Kuwait together with those states whose per capita income and gross national product rank well below the subsistence level? Further, if the criterion is non-alignment, then aligned countries like Turkey, Pakistan, North Vietnam and North Korea will have to abandon their claim to belong to the Third World. Again, if the Third World countries are only those countries, which are neither West nor East, neither European nor White North America, then Yugoslavia poses a problem. Yugoslavia, after all is one of the pillars of the Third World. And, if we apply this criterion, then Japan becomes a Third World country - a classification rejected by Japan.

Then there are some scholars who tend to believe that the Third World is composed of those countries which attained their independence after the Second World War. In this case the problem is of those countries which never had undergone any colonial experience. Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Thailand had never had any colonial experience. They will have to be excluded from the Third World. Moreover, some people call the Third World as the world of the "coloured people". Then, what about the Latin American countries - and Yugoslavia?

All this confusion encourages each individual writer to have his own definition of the Third World.

For the purpose of this thesis my use of the expression "Third World" would include only the non-Communist countries of Asia and Africa.
I have excluded Latin America from the scope of my thesis. Though arbitrary, I would like to draw attention to one particular point. Most of the Afro-Asian countries were under the colonial rule and had sometimes to struggle hard to attain their independence. Moreover, these countries emerged in the international arena after the Second World War. The same is not the case with the Latin American countries. We have emphasized this point because of the fact that Israel also attained its independence in 1948. It claims its struggle for independence as a part of that great drama which brought about the independence of the Afro-Asian countries. Though some refuse to accept this claim of Israel, it may not just be coincidence that Israel also attained its independence along with countries like India, Pakistan and Burma.

Further, since we do not propose to study extensively the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Arab countries of the Third World are not included in our study.

The methodology followed in this study is derived in part from the "input-output" approach and in part from the analytical reconstruction of historical developments and empirical speculation with regard to interpretations of Israeli strategies for the Third World. Thus, part of this thesis has unavoidably been historical narrative; but it may be submitted that it is a narrative with analysis and interpretation. The analysis has made it possible to shed light on an important aspect of current international relations by systematically studying the evolution
of attitude and policy of a newly independent Middle Eastern state (which has been drawn into the vortex of East-West rivalries partly by its own design and partly by external and internal pressure) towards an emerging force in international politics - the Third World. The important issues have been grouped and studied under different chapters as follows:

Chapter I deals with the fundamentals of Israel's foreign policy in order to find out their capability to sustain foreign policy goals.

Chapter II analyses the attitudes of the Israeli policy makers towards the Third World. Foreign policy decisions are taken on the basis of the subjective perception of the policy makers, of the existing situations. Israeli policy-makers' image of the Third World has been analysed to find out the importance they would be prepared to put on its policy towards the Third World.

Chapter III plainly describes Israel's programme of international co-operation, which has been successfully utilized by Israel as an instrument for establishing friendly relations with the Third World.

Chapters IV and V survey the growth of Israel's relations with the Asian countries. Israel's relation with India has been discussed exclusively in Chapter IV to emphasize the point that the existing state of non-relationship between India and Israel has been a major hurdle for Israel to get into the non-aligned group of Third World countries.
Chapter VI is an empirical analysis of Israel's relations with the Third World countries of Africa.

Chapter VII examines the attitudes of the domestic elements towards the country's relations with the Third World in order to show the various "inputs" into Israel's policy towards the Third World.

Chapter VIII analyses the attitudes of the Third World towards Israel as expressed in various regional and international conferences and in the United Nations. An attempt has been made to show how these attitudes work as feedback in the policy making process of the Israeli Foreign Ministry in its relations with the Third World.

Chapter IX surveys the emerging pattern of Israel's relations with the Third World during the period from 1948 to 1968.

Chapter X sums up the conclusions of the findings of the research.

The primary sources of this study include official publications of the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Knesset (Israeli Parliament) Debates, UN Documents etc. Moreover, the writer had interviews with quite a few prominent Israeli leaders in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and Haifa, and with officials of the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem. Further, the spokesmen of the various political parties of Israel were also interviewed. Personal interviews and discussions with some experts on the subject afforded insight into the issues involved in this study. Secondary sources include books, newspapers, radio broadcasts etc.
In completing this research work, I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to many persons and institutions. I am thankful to the authorities of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for granting me a field-trip to Israel in connection with this work; and, to the authorities of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for accepting me as a casual student in the Department of International Relations of the University. I record with great pleasure my sincere thanks to the staff of the joint Library of the School of International Studies and the Indian Council of World Affairs, Sepatu House, New Delhi, as well as to the staff of the Central Library of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, for the assistance and co-operation extended to me during the entire period of this work. I take this opportunity also to express my thanks to the staff of the Central Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as well as to the staff of the various Departmental Libraries of the same University. Further, I was very kindly given permission to utilize the Library of the Israeli Ministry for External Affairs as well as the Anneset Library in Jerusalem. I record my thanks to the authorities of both these libraries. My thanks are due also to the staff of the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

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