



Reasons behind the change of the Voting Behavior towards the Palestinian Issue in the UN Institutes

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Abstract

The Palestinian issue has occupied a special place at the global level, whether because of Palestine's historical and civilizational status or its geographically strategic location among the continents of the old world. This importance has been reflected in the continued presence of issues and events of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the Palestinian territory in the global arena. The degree of the global interest in the Palestinian issue has varied from time to time as a result of a bunch of reasons monitored in the study. This study comes in two main requirements: 1) monitoring the voting reality of the Palestinian question since 2005, 2) the occupation's tools to influence the voting behavior of States. The study has basically adopted the descriptive historical methodology. The study also produces a number of findings, the most important of which are there is a clear declining in the number of votes on the Palestinian issue, the occupation seeks through military, economic and political means to influence the voting behavior of States, and the negative impact of weaknesses in the Arab situation and the presence of the American support on declining voting levels. The study also recommends a number of recommendations, the most important of which are the importance of developing the official Arab and Islamic diplomatic role through the establishment of a body based on the organization of efforts to protect the Palestinian issue in the international institutions, and activating the legal role to pursue the occupation through establishing international commissions of inquiry, bringing cases to the international courts and building legal crews to pursue the occupation.

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Keywords

United Nations, Security Council, General Assembly, Palestinian Issue.

Theoretical Framework of the study

- Introduction
- Problems and questions of study
- Study objectives
- The importance of the study
- Methodology
- Study limits
- Chapters

The problems and question of the study:

The problem of the study is highlighted in determining the magnitude of the voting shift of States in the United Nations institutions towards the Palestinian issue and its most prominent causes since 2005, among which the researcher has a major research problem.

What are the reasons behind the change in the voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue in the UN institutions?

In addition to a number of sub-questions:

- What is the magnitude of change in the global voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue?
- What efforts are being made by the occupation and its allies to influence the voting behavior?
- What is the impact of the weak Arab and Palestinian diplomatic performance on the UN resolutions related to the Palestinian issue?

Objectives of the study:

- To recognize the change in the voting behavior of the United Nations towards the Palestinian issue.

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- To identify the fundamental causes affecting the voting of States towards the Palestinian issue in the United Nations.
- To provide a clear vision of international changes and ways of dealing with them in regard to the Palestinian issue.

Importance of study:

- The need for researchers and scholars to recognize the magnitude and causes of the change in the voting behavior of the United Nations.
- To highlight the important role played by the occupation and its allies in influencing the voting behavior of States with regard to the Palestinian issue.

Methodology

The study is based on the descriptive and historical methodology.

Study limits:

- Temporal limit: the study monitors and addresses the voting behavior in the United Nations institutions between 2005-2020.
- Spatial limit: resolutions related to Palestine.

Study Requirements:

- 1- First requirement: World voting transformation, classification and division by time period.
- 2- Second requirement: Occupation's tools to influence the voting behavior of States.

Introduction

The Palestinian issue has received special attention at the global level. This concern is due to the strategic importance of the Palestinian issue in terms of its strategic location, its significant position for the major world Powers, and



the fact that it lies at the heart of the Arab region as well as its religious and historical status.

At the global level, the Palestinian issue has received special attention from the major Powers and the international institutions, which have registered numerous positions and resolutions relating to the Palestinian issue, including those that may be considered as the basis for the tragedy of the Palestinian people, such as partition resolution 181¹. It also includes what substantially proves the Palestinian people's right to their land and their holy places, exposes the crimes of the occupation, and consolidates the Palestinian and Islamic right in Palestine.

In this study, we monitor the voting behavior of the UN institutions towards the Palestinian issue during the study period between 2005-2020, and how the occupation affects the Member States of the UN councils and the tools it uses to achieve its goals.

Previous studies

This study mainly depends on a research analysis of two research papers. The paper of Dr. Salah Abdel Aty, entitled "the voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue in the UN institutions during the period 2005-2021," and the paper of Miss. Ghadir Abo Meddain, entitled "The change of the voting behavior of the international community's members towards the Palestinian issue in the General Assembly from 2005 to 2020". That was in parallel with a series of periodicals, books and journals to reach the truth in the analysis of the change in the voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue in the UN institutions in order to reach the objective of this study. Following is the description of the study:

¹ Issa, Majde, UN Resolutions and the Palestinian Cause, Hebron University, 2020.



First: World Voting transformation, Categorization and Division by Time Period

The period extending from 2005 to the next fifteen years witnessed a notable change in the voting behavior in the United Nations. This change refers to some characteristics.

First: Voting in UN General Assembly

The UN General Assembly is the broadest and most participatory in the UN Institutions due to the equal value of votes between its member States without giving preference to the power of the country, its size, or demography. Also, it is the most comprehensive council as it includes the major number of the world's countries.

This study monitors the voting of the UN General Assembly during the period from 2005 to 2020 on the issues related to the Palestinian cause, which are 3536 resolutions. They all address the rights of the Palestinian people, UNRWA's operational projects, the Israeli violations in the Palestinian lands², and the like.

The first third of the study period, extending from 2005 to 2010, faced a broad interaction with the issues related to the Palestinian issue. During this period, the Israeli colonial settlers withdrew from Gaza, Hama took control over the Palestinian political regime and established the Palestinian Government, and the Palestinian faction conflict occurred. Moreover, the Israeli occupation imposed a severe blockade over Gaza, and launched a deadly aggression on the city at the end of 2008.

² Abu Middein, Ghadir, the Change of Voting Behavior of the International Community's Members with regard to the Palestinian Question in the General Assembly from 2005 to 2020, Council on International Relations, 2021.



The Palestinian issue achieved a notable success in that period, in which the majority of votes -about 160- were in favor of the Palestinian issues. However, this proportion stayed stable even though the number of the UN member States increased, referring to the non-joining of new supporters for the Palestinian issue and the inability of the Palestinian political institute or allies to gain the votes of the new members³.

During the second third of the study period, which extends from 2011 to 2015, Palestine joined the UN General Assembly and was treated as a non-member observer State. Also, Palestine, with its new form, joined numerous international conventions and agreements.

Regardless of the positive change in Palestine's judicial position in the UN General Assembly, this period witnessed a significant decline in the voting levels in favor of the Palestinian cause; compared to the period before it. The average voting of the member States descended into 130 votes; thus, the support rate decreased by 30 votes to the former period⁴.

This decrease lasted during the last third of the period extending between 2016-2020, during which Donald Trump became the President of the United States and made numerous endeavors for the sake of the occupation and normalization.

Furthermore, this period was marked by the increase in the number of the member States, which moved from the case of support to abstention in response to the American pressures. Neither the Palestinian, Arab nor Islamic diplomacy could treat this regression; yet, the worst part was in the joining of some of the Arab and Islamic countries in the normalization train with the Israeli occupation⁵.

³ Abd El Aty, Salah, Voting Behavior in United Nations Institutions towards the Palestinian question during the period 2005-2021, International Relations Council, 2021.

⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

⁵ Ibid, p. 27.



Second: Voting in Security Council

The case of voting in the Security Council completely differs from the previous General Assembly, as the voting process in the council undergoes a state of segregation in the voting weights between the voters. The permanent members of the Security Council (USA, Russia, France and Britain) enjoy the veto power, while the non-permanent members are considered as second-class members.

The United States of America has always practiced a pro-Israeli racist policy at the expense of the interests of the Palestinian people. During the study period, the US invalidated all laws that condemn the Israeli occupation and call for its punishment, and all Palestinian and Arab diplomatic efforts failed to affect the American veto. Also, during the term of the former President of Donald Trump, the United States practiced threats and intimidation against the countries supporting the resolutions on the Palestinian cause⁶.

Third: Voting in Human Rights Council

This study has monitored the case of voting in the Human Rights Council during the period between 2011-2020. In the first half, which extends between 2011-2015, the study shows that the voting included several resolutions related to the Palestinian issue, and acquired a powerful voting bloc. However, the voting shares decreased in the second half of the period, which extends between 2016-2020, to almost the half and a big number of countries shifted from support to abstention⁷.

This might return to the American efforts exerted to pressure on the State members, and the use of the methods of enticement and threat to change their voting orientations. Also, there are some countries that support the American voting orientation, and are considered as repeated versions of the American

⁶ Ibid, p. 28-29.

⁷ Ibid, p. 36-37.





positions in all the issues that relate to Palestine such as Canada, Australia, and the neighboring islands of the United States⁸.

Second: The Occupation's Tools to Influence the Voting Behavior of Member States

The occupation has used wide and diverse forms to influence its relations with the State members in a way that benefits it in various issues and in the form and percentage of voting in the UN institutions. The occupation's strategy for dealing with the voting on draft resolutions on the Palestinian question is based on three main determinants:

- Dependence on American support and veto power.
- Opposition of any resolution condemning the occupation.
- Opposition any resolution advocating Palestinian rights⁹.

The occupation has strengthened its relation with the various countries of the world by activating its diplomatic tools to create major intrusions that serve its interests and affect their perception of the entity as a useful relationship through security, military and economic trade-offs¹⁰. It used several tools to achieve this, most importantly:

1. Strengthening Strategic Relations with the Great Powers:

⁸ Abu Middein, Ghadir, the Change of Voting Behavior of the International Community's Members with regard to the Palestinian Question in the General Assembly from 2005 to 2020, Council on International Relations, 2021.

⁹ Al-Ramalawi, Nabil, Israel and the United Nations, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

¹⁰ Abu Saif, Atef, Israel's International Relations, contexts and tools, breakthroughs and failures, 2014, p. 12.



The occupation is keen to build bridges of diplomacy with the great Powers globally, with a view to maintaining balance between these Powers. Although the occupation is historically associated with the United States, the occupation has maintained the strengthening of relations with other superpowers such as Russia and China as global giants with significant influence on the international scene. The occupation benefits from remaining close to the great Powers in capturing economic advantages and political positions, and exploiting those States' influence to achieve its interests¹¹.

The occupation also benefits from strengthening its relations with the major Powers through reaching and gaining the votes of the States that follow those great Powers. For example, the effect of the relationship with the United Kingdom extends to the rest of the British Crown countries, which take place in the same orbit of the British positions such as Australia and New Zealand¹². Also, the States that follow the American policy such as Canada and Mexico¹³, Marshall Islands States, Micronesia, Republic of Palau, and Republic of Nauru¹⁴.

2. Military and Security Services:

The occupation has used its military and security capabilities to build more relations and alliances, and, indeed, it succeeded in winning a number of states, including those that are historically known for advocating the Palestinian issue like India. The occupation launched commercial partnerships between its

¹¹ Abu Amer, Adnan, Russian-Israeli Relations: Common Interests and Strategic Alliance, Dr. Adnan Abu Amer website, January 15, 2018, adnanabuamer.com

¹² Qazq, Ali, Israel's Relations with Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Madar, 2014.

¹³ Salama, Abdelghani, Israel's Relations with Canada and Mexico, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

¹⁴ Ibid, Abu Middein, Ghadir, the Change of Voting Behavior of the International Community's Members with regard to the Palestinian Question in the General Assembly from 2005 to 2020, Council on International Relations, 2021.



military companies such as Tadiran, Soltam and Elta and New Delhi, as well as provided its mediation with the United States in order to allow India's purchase of AWACS intelligence aircraft¹⁵.

Moreover, it opened strong and solid relations with other countries in South-East Asia, such as Singapore, with which it was able to launch joint military programmers for the industries of warplanes and anti-armor systems. This came in parallel with the integration of the security system between the occupation and Singapore, which frustrated a planned assassination of Israel's Minister of Defense during his visit to Singapore in 2012 at Iranian hands¹⁶.

In Africa, the occupation is feeding the various parties to conflicts through security cooperation with African States through training and providing weapons to militia members, as well as training the official and tribal protection personnel through intensive and modern training programmers¹⁷.

The situation in the Latin American States was not very different. The Israeli military industries have supplied the parties to the conflict in each of the States experiencing internal conflicts such as Argentina, Colombia, Brazil and Guatemala; the Israeli military have supported the authoritarian regimes of the United States with military equipment and expertise¹⁸.

3. Influencing through Techniques and Technology Market

The occupation has worked to strengthen its international relations through its significant progress in technology, techniques and cyber science. It also has

¹⁵ Farhat, Mohammed, Israeli-Indian Relations, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

¹⁶ Qandil, Ahmed, Growing Relations between Israel and Japan and ASEAN countries, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

¹⁷ Al-Tawel, Amani, Israeli-African Relations: between history and strategy, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

¹⁸ Telhami, Dawood, Latin America and the Caribbean: A Major Coup in the Positions of the Continent between the Last 1940s and the Twentieth Century Readers, Aletihad newspaper, 2015, <https://itijah.ps>



specialized research centers that determine the need of the country with which the occupation aims to build a relationship. For example, European countries need access to modern scientific and research techniques¹⁹, while Africa's needs are more limited to agricultural technologies and techniques²⁰, and dictatorships focus on security techniques and communication and penetration programs²¹.

4. Economy

The economic instrument is one of the most important means used by the occupation to build its relations with the State members, as through economy, it was able to influence its enemies before its friends. It also succeeded in linking the economies of the former hostile countries to interests with it through economic agreements, water transfers, the sale of gas and oil that had been signed, and the significant opening of markets in front of the Israeli penetration and influence, such as the case of the Palestinian Authority, Egypt and Jordan²².

Israel's economic impact extended far to the European market, which absorbs billions of dollars in trade in industrial fields, agricultural export, scientific and high technology industries²³. The occupation also permeated the Russian market significantly; the occupation's economic activities in Russia included the oil, gas, timber, automobile, aviation, banking and expenses

¹⁹ Abu Seif, Atef, European Union: More Than a Partnership, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Madar, 2014.

²⁰ Ibid, Abu Seif, Atef, European Union: More Than a Partnership, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Madar, 2014.

²¹ Abu Sa'da, an academic lecturer and writer in the international political affairs, an interview conducted by the researcher on March 16, 2022.

²² Ibid, Abu Saif, Israel's International Relations: tools and contexts, breakthroughs and failures, 2014.

²³ Abu Seif, Atef, Major Powers: More Than a Historical Role, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Madar, 2014.





sectors²⁴. It also expanded to the emerging countries after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe, and improved its relations with it in a way that competes the strong relations with western Europe²⁵.

The occupation has also worked, in reverse, on attracting the Russian money to the Israeli market in a way that promotes the idea of economic exchange with the influential countries by providing attractive areas of Russian capital to invest in the Israeli economy with great facilities²⁶.

5. Interference and Mediation between States

The occupation seeks to reach out to the hostile States or those that refuse to build relations with it in accordance with Ben Gurion's theory²⁷, which indicates pushing a third State to mediate and open secret or public relations that subsequently pave the way for their rapprochement, and by influencing decision-making in these countries and thus reflecting its attitude towards the occupation in the international institutions. The occupation, for example, used Australia to establish a relationship with Indonesia²⁸, as well as to establish long-term secret relations with Singapore before it was formally announced²⁹.

The occupation also worked inversely to strengthen its influence, political presence and closeness to its United States ally in mediating between countries

²⁴ Surur, Abdel Nasser, Russian, Development of Chinese and Turkish Views towards the peaceful resolution of the Palestinian issue, Al-Aqsa university.

²⁵ Abu Seif, Atef, Central and Eastern Europe: Israel's New World, Issuance of Israel's international relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

²⁶ Abu Amer, Adnan, Russian-Israeli Relations: Common Interests and Strategic Alliance, Dr. Adnan Abu Amer website, January 15, 2018, adnanabuamer.com

²⁷ Swaidan, Mamoun, Israel's Relations with the Former Soviet Union European republics, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

²⁸ Ibid, Qandil, Ahmed, Growing Relations between Israel and Japan and ASEAN countries, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

²⁹ Ibid, Abu Seif, Atef, Israel's International Relations: contexts and tools, breakthroughs and failures, 2014.



to pass some political decisions or carry out military deals such as the AWACS deal that we mentioned with India³⁰.

6. Use of the Religious, Ideological and Historical Dimensions

The occupation has worked on exploiting the religious and historical dimension to strengthen its relationship with the States, and play on the chord of nationalism in mobilizing support for the occupation. The Ethiopian model is a clear example of this policy. The occupation used the passionate religious discourse to rejuvenate the Ethiopian Jewish community, and root for the Ethiopian Emperor Milnik's descent as a Jewish descendant³¹. The occupation also used the Jewish presence in some Central Asian States to develop a relationship with these States such as Uzbekistan, which has a branch of the Jewish Agency on its territory³².

It has also benefited from the rise of the right-wing forces worldwide and the investment of their periods of rule in order to strengthen the relationship to serve Israel's interests. The occupation significantly strengthened the relationship with Italy during Berlusconi's right-wing rule³³, as well as the relations with both Guatemala³⁴ and Brazil³⁵.

³⁰ Ibid, Farhat, Mohammed, Israeli-Indian Relations, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

³¹ Ibid, Al-Tawel, Amani, Israeli-African Relations: between history and strategy, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

³² Abu Daqa, Mohammed, Israel's Relations with the Central Asian Republics, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.

³³ Marzano, Arturo, Chemouny, Marshella, Relations with Southern European Countries: A comparative approach, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Madar, 2014.

³⁴ De Ferrari, Rosa, Israel's close relationship with Guatemala has roots in country's civil war, Panoramas Scholarly Platform, 8 January 2018, <https://www.panoramas.pitt.edu>.

³⁵ Brazil's Bolsonaro to follow Trump in moving Israeli embassy to Jerusalem, France 24, 2 November 2018, <https://www.france24.com>.



7- Maintaining Minimal Ties

The occupation considers building relations with the States in a diplomatic way secures that what goes around comes around, as Israeli's policy and diplomacy keep the way open, even partially, in front of the relations with the opposing States and in the most difficult circumstances. Perhaps the most prominent and most visible example of these days is the occupation's normalizing relations with the Arab States and the revival of the relationship with Turkey after maintaining it to the minimum in the past years following the attack on the Marmara vessel³⁶.

Methodology: This study is based on the descriptive and historical methodology, through reviewing some scientific papers, journals and books, with the aim of analyzing the voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue in the UN institutions. The researcher also attempts to discuss the reasons and means used by the occupation to influence the voting behavior in the UN institutions.

Discussion: The study shows a clear and tangible decline in the voting behavior towards the Palestinian issue in the UN institutions, as well as the extent of Israel's efforts to influence the voting behavior in the UN institutions, protected by the state of silence, global complicity and sheltering under the umbrella of the United States of America, which constitutes a political and media cover for the entity and its crimes.

The change in voting behavior is perhaps caused by a number of other reasons that have accompanied Israel's efforts to influence the voting behavior, such as:

- Dissolution of the supportive blocs of Palestine according to its interests.
- Poor political communication and interaction with the supporting blocs.

³⁶ Mostafa, Muhannad, Relations with Turkey: Alliance of Parties, Issuance of Israel's International Relations, Palestinian Centre for Israeli Studies Madar, 2014.



- Weak cooperation in economic, social and militarily important files of these countries.
- The entry of some Arab States into the context of disputes between States, which adversely affected the status of the Palestinian issue.

Findings and Recommendations

First: Findings

The study concludes a number of results, the most important of which are:

- There is a clear decline in the voting behavior on the Palestinian issue in the United Nations Institutions.
- The occupation uses various means to influence the Member States of the United Nations institutions, including political, military, economic and security means.
- The successive Israeli Governments give high priority to the international relations and devote research centers to identifying individual forms of relations and ways of building them.
- The vulnerability of the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic diplomacy negatively contributes to the Palestinian cause's presence and place in the United Nations institutions.
- The state of the international collusion and the political umbrella of the United States contributed to Israel's continued expansion at the expense of the Palestinian rights and issues.

Second: Recommendations

The study recommends a number of points, the most important of which are:

- Promote the communication and interaction with the global solidarity movements, including "BDS", to raise awareness of the crimes of the occupation and to trap it in the international forums.



- Develop the official Arab and Islamic diplomatic role by establishing a body based on organizing efforts to protect the Palestinian issue in the international institutions and condemning the occupation for its crimes.
- Activate the legal role of pursuing the occupation by establishing international commissions of inquiry, bringing cases to the international courts, and building legal crews to pursue the occupation.
- Build effective Arab and Islamic organs that are complementary to Israel's diplomatic effort and to thwart its tools, and to provide the necessary means to achieve this objective.
- Establish specialized research centers to study the best ways and means of influencing the behavior of voting of the Member States in the United Nations institutions in favor of the Palestinian cause.

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Interviews

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