

PROF. JONATHAN RYNHOLD

CURRENT AFFILIATIONS

Deputy Head *Political Studies Dept., Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 52900, Israel*
Director *Argov Center for Israel and the Jewish People, Bar Ilan University*
Senior Research Associate *Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies (BESA), Bar Ilan University*

Previous Affiliations

Visiting Professor *George Washington Univ., Political Science dept., Washington DC, 2012-13*
Visiting Research Fellow *Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Truman Institute for Peace, 1998-9*
Tutorial Fellow *London School of Economics, International Relations dept., 1995-1997.*

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

PhD International Relations, *London School of Economics* 1998
MSc International Relations, *London School of Economics* 1993 (distinction for thesis)
BA International History & Politics *University of Leeds* 1992 (First Class; distinction for thesis)

Research Interests

US-Israeli Relations
Israeli Foreign Policy and the Middle East Peace Process
Political Culture and Foreign Policy
UK-Israel Relations
BDS

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Book

***The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)**

<http://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/politics-international-relations/american-government-politics-and-policy/arab-israeli-conflict-american-political-culture>

Best Book Prize, Israel Association for Political Science, 2016

Edited Volumes

US Foreign Policy & Global Standing in the 21st Century (Routledge, 2016) (with E. Inbar)

<http://www.taylorandfrancis.com/books/details/9781138938489/>

Israel at the Polls 2006 (Routledge, 2008) (with S. Sandler & M. Gerstenfeld)

Israel at the Polls 2003 (Routledge, 2005) (with S. Sandler & B. Molloy)

Selected Articles and Book Chapters

US-Israeli Relations

'Israeli Attitudes to the Obama Administration' in Efraim Inbar & Jonathan Rynhold eds., *US Foreign Policy & Global Standing in the 21st Century: Realities & Perceptions* (Routledge, forthcoming 2016) (with Y. Bloch-Elkon)

'Is the Pro-Israel Lobby a Block on Reaching a Comprehensive Peace Settlement in the Middle East?' *Israel Studies Forum* 25 (1) 2010

'The US & the Peace Process' in E. Inbar & E. Gilboa Eds, *US-Israeli Relations in a New Era* (Routledge, 2008)

'Israel's foreign & defence policy & Diaspora Jewish identity', in D. Ben-Moshe & Z. Segev eds. *Israel & Diaspora Jewish Identity* (Sussex Academic Press, 2007)

'Behind the Rhetoric: President Bush & US Policy to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *American Diplomacy* 2005

'US-Israeli Relations: Camp David I to Camp David II' in *The Camp David Peace Process* (Begin Centre, 2002)

'The View from Jerusalem: Israeli-US Relations & the Peace Process' *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 4 (2) 2000 reprinted in Barry Rubin Ed. *The West & the Middle East: Volume 3* (Routledge, 2010).

'Labour, Likud, the Special Relationship & the Peace Process', *Israel Affairs* 3 (3 & 4) 1997

Israel and the Peace Process

- 'Ideological Change & Israel's Disengagement from Gaza' *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (1) 2008
- 'Realism, Liberalism & the Collapse of the Oslo Process' in G. Ben-Porat Ed., *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process* (Palgrave, 2008)
- 'Israel & the Making of the Oslo Accords', *Cooperation & Conflict* 42 (4) 2007
- 'Peace & Security in the 2009 Israeli Elections', *Israel Affairs* 16 (1) 2010
- 'Peace & Security in the 2006 Israeli Elections', *Israel Affairs* 13 (2) 2007
- 'Peace & Security in the 2003 Israeli Elections', *Israel Affairs* 10 (4) 2004 (with G. Steinberg)
- 'Religion, Postmodernization & Israeli Approaches to the Palestinians' *Terrorism & Political Violence* 17 (3) 2005
- 'Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbours?' *Survival* 46 (1) 2004
- 'Making Sense of Tragedy: Barak, the Israeli Left and the Oslo Peace Process' *Israel Studies Forum* 19 (1) 2003
- 'Envisaging a Peace Referendum in Israel: Lessons from Northern Ireland' *Civil Wars* 6 (1) 2003 (with A. Cohen)
- 'Re-conceptualising Israeli Approaches to the Palestinian Question since 1967' *Israel Studies* 6 (2) 2001

Israeli Politics

- 'From Centrist to Neo-Centrist' in Sandler, S., J. Rynhold & M. Gerstenfeld Eds., *Israel at the Polls 2006* (Routledge, 2008), (with S. Sandler)
- 'A Jewish & Democratic State? Government Involvement in Religion' *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 9 (4) 2008 (with J. Fox)
- 'Social Covenants: The Solution to the Crisis of Religion & State in Israel?' *Journal of Church & State* 47 (4) 2005 (with A. Cohen)
- 'In Search of Israeli Conservatism' *Journal of Political Ideologies* 7 (2) 2002

UK-Israel relations

- 'The UK Campaign for an Academic Boycott of Israel' *Middle East Review of International Affairs* June 2010
- 'British Policy towards the Middle East since the End of the Cold War' in Eli Podeh & Zach Levey Eds. *Britain & the Middle East* (Sussex Academic Press, 2007) (with J. Spyer)
- 'British Policy in the Arab-Israeli Arena 1973-2004' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 34 (3) 2007

Miscellaneous

- 'China's Cautious New Pragmatism in the Middle East', *Survival* 38 (3) 1996
- 'Japan's Cautious New Activism in the Middle East' *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 2 (2) 2002
- 'The German Question in Central & Eastern Europe & the Long Peace in Europe after 1945: An Integrated Theoretical Explanation' *Review of International Studies* 37 (1) 2011

Selected Briefing Papers

- 'US-Israel Relations: Beyond the \$38 Billion' *BESA Perspectives* 366, September 2016 <http://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/366-rynhold-us-israel-relations-beyond-38-billion/>
- 'Winning the BDS Battle' *BESA Perspectives* 231, 2014 <http://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/winning-the-bds-battle>
- C.Mozes, M. Hellinger & J. Rynhold, *Religious-Zionist Attitudes to a Potential Large-scale Evacuation of West Bank Settlements* (Argov Center, 2014) <http://www.argovcenter.org/images/pubs-center/english/201502-religious-zionism-settlements-e.pdf>
- 'The West's Hubris: Is the Price of the Iraq War a Nuclear Iran?' *BESA Perspectives* 220, 2013 <http://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/wests-hubris-price-iraq-war-nuclear-iran/>
- 'The Republican Primaries and the Israel Acid Test' *BESA Perspectives* 165, 2012 www.biu.ac.il/Besa/perspectives165.html
- ['The Obama Doctrine for the Middle East and its Consequences'](#) *BESA Perspectives* 141, 2011
- 'US Policy Regarding the Upheaval in Egypt' *BESA Perspectives* 128, 2011 www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/docs/perspectives128.pdf
- 'Netanyahu's Begin-Sadat Center Speech', *BESA Perspectives* 80, 2009 www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/docs/perspectives80.pdf
- 'President Obama's Cairo Speech' *BESA Perspectives* 79, 2009 www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/perspectives79.html

Awards/Grant/Honors

- 1992 Leeds University History prize
- 1993 Economic & Social Research Council UK, scholarship
- 1994-5 London School of Economics, Postgraduate scholarship
- 1995 University of London, Central Research Fund grant
- 1998 Leverhulme Trust UK, Post-doctoral scholarship
- 2003 Ihel Foundation research grant
- 2006 BESA Center research grant
- 2009 Israel Science Foundation: Grade of 'Very Good' for proposal on US-Israel relations
- 2015 Israel Political Science Association Annual Book Prize

Professional Activities

- 2013- Deputy Head of Department, Bar-Ilan University
Chair, Department Teaching Committee, Bar-Ilan University
- 2006-08 Departmental Advisor to Undergraduate Students, Bar-Ilan University

Editorial Board

- 1997-98 *Millennium - Journal of International Relations*
- 2012- *Fathom Journal*

Referee

- 2002- Academic journal articles/book manuscripts
- 2012-13 Grant Proposals, Israel Science Foundation
- 2013 Prize Committee of the 9th Graduate Conference in Public Policy in memory of Yitzhak Rabin
- 2015 Israel Science Foundation Committee for Political Science

Steering Committee

- 2005-08 International Advisory Board for Academic Freedom (IAB)
- 2006-08 Argov Center Israel and the Jewish People, Bar-Ilan University
- 2007- Centre for the Study of the European Union, Bar-Ilan University
- 2010-12 Israel Association of International Studies

Conference Organizer

- 2001 Israel Dreams & Reality UK Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks & Amos Oz, Bar-Ilan
- 2006 Academic Freedom & Academic Boycotts, International Conference, Bar-Ilan
- 2008 The Future of American Zionism, International Conference, Bar-Ilan
- 2011 Traditionalism and Conservatism in Israel, Argov Center, Bar-Ilan
- 2012 The UK, Israel and the Region inc. Address by UK Minister for the Middle East Alistair Burt, Bar-Ilan
- 2012 The Lebanese Arena: 30 Years since the First Lebanon War, Argov Center & BESA center, Bar-Ilan
- 2014 Israel Political Science Association annual conference
The New Religious Zionism, Bar-Ilan University
BESA conference on 'America's standing in the World'

Media Comment

Selected Op-Eds

'Brexit may be an opportunity for Britain and Israel, but the EU's collapse would be terrible' *Daily Telegraph* 16 September 2016 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/16/brexit-may-be-an-opportunity-for-britain-and-israel-but-the-eus/>

'What Israelis care about on election day' *CNN* 14 March 2015
<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/15/opinions/rynhold-israeli-election-issues/>

'Obama's mistake: Freeing Iran from the threat of war' *Ha'aretz* 30 July 2015 <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.668694>

'What Israelis care about on election day' *CNN* 14 March 2015
<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/15/opinions/rynhold-israeli-election-issues/>

'What the Geneva Accord with Iran means and how Israel should respond' *Jerusalem Post* 26 November 2013
www.jpost.com/Opinion/Columnists/What-the-Geneva-Accord-with-Iran-means-and-how-Israel-should-respond-332991

'Payback: The real cost of the Iraq War is a nuclear Iran' *Ha'aretz* 14 November 2013
www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.557999

'Why Israel's Political Center and Left Shouldn't Unite Against Netanyahu,' *The Atlantic* 8 November 2012
www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/11/why-israels-political-center-and-left-shouldnt-unite-against-netanyahu/264955/

Selected Recent Lectures (Video/Podcast)

'Can the US President Make the Middle East a Better Place?' (Panel with Dennis Ross, Mike Herzog, Jonathan Rynhold & Ehud Ya'ari) 'UK-Israel Shared Strategic Challenges' *BICOM Policy Conference* Houses of Parliament, Nov. 2016 <http://fathomjournal.org/trump-and-the-middle-east-prospects-and-tasks/>

After Brexit (1): Jonathan Rynhold on Israel's future relations with the UK and the EU *Fathom* August 2016
<http://fathomjournal.org/after-brexit-1-jonathan-rynhold-on-israels-future-relations-with-the-uk-and-the-eu/>

US Grand Strategy and the Eastern Mediterranean, *BESA Center*, February 2016
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8V2LCuMpaXU>

Panel on the Peace Process, June 2015 (from 20:40 – 29: 50)
Israel-UK Shared Strategic Challenges *BICOM Conference, Houses of Parliament*
<http://fathomjournal.org/in-bicom-2015-conference-have-rejectionists-slammed-the-door-on-the-two-state-solution/>

US-Israel Relations: A Changing Landscape? February 2015
Washington Institute for Near East Policy <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/u.s.-israel-relations-a-changing-landscape>

The Best of Times, the Worst of Times? American Attitudes to Israel & the Peace Process, Jan 2015, *Chatham House, London* www.chathamhouse.org/event/best-times-or-worst-times-american-attitudes-towards-israel-and-implications-peace-process

Selected media comment

'Netanyahu, furious over U.N. vote on Jewish settlements, summons U.S. ambassador' *Los Angeles Times* 25 Dec. 2016
<http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-israel-us-20161225-story.html>

D. Wainer & D. Khraiche, 'Syria Accuses Israel of New Attack, Ratcheting Up Tensions' *Bloomberg* 7 December 2016

G. Jaffe & R. Eglash, 'A stormy alliance between Obama and Netanyahu reaches its end in New York' *Washington Post* Sept 21, 2016 www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-stormy-alliance-between-obama-and-netanyahu-reaches-its-end-in-new-york/2016/09/21/9d5c1f16-803b-11e6-b002-307601806392_story.html

W. Booth and R. Eglash, 'GOP pushes U.S. citizens in Israel to vote for Trump' *Washington Post* September 19, 2016
www.washingtonpost.com/world/gop-pushes-us-citizens-in-israel-to-vote-for-trump/2016/09/16/8294aebc-744c-11e6-9781-49e591781754_story.html

'Netanyahu dusts off old peace plan after uproar over new govt' *Daily Mail* 31 May 2016
www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-3618358/Netanyahu-dusts-old-peace-plan-uproar-new-govt.html

'Les intentions de Netanyahu, diversion ou nouvelle chance pour la paix' *L'Express* 31 May 2016
www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/monde/les-intentions-de-netanyahu-diversion-ou-nouvelle-chance-pour-la-paix_1797504.html

Jacob Pramuk, 'Clinton vs. Trump: What Israel thinks about the US election' *CNBC* 26 May 2016
<http://www.cnbc.com/2016/05/26/clinton-vs-trump-what-israel-thinks-about-the-us-election.html>

Selected Recent Conference Papers and invited lectures

The Academic Boycott of Israel, *Democratic & Legal Norms in the Age of Terror*, SOAS, London 2010
The Peace Process & the Pro-Israel Lobby, *World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies*, Barcelona, 2010
The Implications of the Midterm elections on the Peace Process, BESA Conference, November 2010
U.S. interests & the Peace Process, *The United States & the Middle East* Columbia University, New York, 2011
'The 2013 Israeli Elections' Elliot School of International Studies, George Washington University, January 2013
Democrats, liberals & the Arab-Israeli Conflict" Program on Jewish Civilization, Georgetown University, 2013
'The Transatlantic divide over the Arab-Israeli Conflict' *Assoc. of Israel Studies* annual conference, UCLA, 2013
'The American Attempt to make Peace,' *Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Where to?* BESA Conference, 2014
'The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture' *Beyond Realpolitik: Political, Cultural & Religious Influences on US-Israel Relations*, Davis Institute, international conference, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2014
'The Arab-Israeli conflict in American Strategy' *American Political Science Association* annual Conference, Washington DC, August 2014
'The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture' *International Studies Association* Annual Conference, New Orleans, February 2015
Roundtable on my book 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture' *Assoc. of Israel Studies* annual conference, Montreal, June 2015
'The Arab-Israel Conflict in American Political Culture', *SAIS*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Washington DC, Oct. 2015
'US-Israel Strategic Relations', *Princeton University Conference on US-Israeli Relations*, May 2016
'US-Israeli Relations Post Obama' *International Institute for Strategic Studies*, London, UK, November 2016
'US-Israeli Relations in the Age of Trump' *Oxford University*, UK, November 2016
'Trump & the Middle East' UK-Israel Policy Conference, *Houses of Parliament*, London, November 2016
'US-Israeli Relations in the Age of Trump,' *Council on Foreign Relations*, New York, February 2017

SELECTED PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Lectures/Briefings

Knesset, foreign politicians, diplomats, Diaspora organizations, inc. annual conferences of JCPA 2015, AIPAC 2013 AJC 2011

Activities against the UK Academic Boycott of Israel

Executive Committee, International Advisory Board for Academic Freedom (IAB) 2005-2009

Strategic consultant to Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006-2010

Appeared before Knesset committees