

Kaynaklar

- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. *The International Politics of the Persian Gulf: A Cultural Genealogy*, Oxon: Routledge, 2006.
- Afkhami, Gholam Reza. *The Life and Times of the Shah*, California: University of California Press, 2009.
- Albrecht, U. et.al., "Militarization, Arms Transfer and Arms Production in Peripheral Countries", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1975, ss. 195-212.
- Al Isa, Khalil Ibrahim. "Iraqi Scientist Reports on German, Other Help for Iraq Chemical Weapons Program", *Al Zaman*, 1 December 2003, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/iraq/cw/az120103.html>, (e.t. 14.11.2009).
- Aloni, Sholomo. *Arab-Israeli Air Wars: 1947-82*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2001.
- Anderton, Charles H. "Arms Race Modeling: Problems and Prospects" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 33, No. 2, June 1989, ss. 346-367.
- Arı, Tayyar. *Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu: Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi*, 4. Baskı, Bursa: MKM Yayınları, 2008.
- _____. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri: Çatışma, Hegemonya, İşbirliği*, 5. Baskı, Bursa: MKM Yayınları, 2008.
- _____. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, 7. Baskı, Bursa: MKM Yayınları, 2008.
- _____. *Irak, İran, ABD ve Petrol*, 2. Baskı, İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2007.

- Aridan, Natan. *Britain, Israel and Anglo-Jewry: 1949-57*, London: Routledge, 2004.
- Armaoğlu, Fahir. *Filistin Meselesi ve Arap-İsrail Savaşları (1948-1988)*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1989.
- Ayhan, Veysel. *İmparatorluk Yolu: Orta Doğu ve Petrol*, Bursa: Dora Yay., 2009
- Ayhan, Veysel- Pirinççi, Ferhat. *Tarih Yeniden Yazılırken: Saddam Hüseyin*, Ankara, Platin Yayınları, 2008.
- Bakhash, Shaul. "The Troubled Relationship: Iran and Iraq, 1930–80", *Iran, Iraq, and the Legacies of War*, Lawrence G. Potter-Gray G. Sicks (ed.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publications, 2004, ss. 11-27.
- Barkenbus, Jack N. "Devaluing Nuclear Weapons", *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Autumn 1989, ss. 425-440.
- Barnaby, Frank. *The Role and Control of Weapons in the 1990's*, New York: Routledge, 1992.
- _____. *How Nuclear Weapons Spread: Nuclear Weapon Proliferation in the 1990's*, New York: Routledge, 1993.
- _____. "The Effect of Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki", Frank Barnaby; Douglas Holdstock (ed.), *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Restrospect and Prospect*, London: Routledge, 1995, ss. 1-9.
- Barnaby, Frank; Holdstock, Douglas. (ed.) *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Restrospect and Prospect*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- Beckwith George C. et.al. (der.) *A Collection of Essays on War and Peace*, Boston: Vance Publications, 1845.
- Ben-Zvi, Abraham. *John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel*, London: Frank Cass Pub., 2002.
- _____. *Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel: In the Shadow of the Hawk*, London: Frank Cass Pub., 2004.

- Blum, Howard. *The Eve of Destruction: The Untold Story of the Yom Kippur War*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004.
- Boles, Elson E. "Helping Iraq Kill with Chemical Weapons: The Relevance of Yesterday's US Hypocrisy Today" *CounterPunch*, 10 October 2002, <http://www.counterpunch.org/boles1010.html>, (e.t. 14.11.2009).
- Bregman, Ahron. *Israel's Wars, 1947-93*, London: Routledge, 2000.
- Brown, Michael E. et.al. (ed.), *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.
- Burchill, Scott. "Liberalism", *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd Ed., Scott Burchill et.al. (der.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, ss. 55-83.
- Burns, William Joseph. *Economic Aid and American Policy Toward Egypt, 1955-1981*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1985.
- Buzan, Barry et.al. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1998.
- Buzan, Barry- Wæver, Ole. *Liberalism and Security: The Contradictions of the Liberal Leviathan*, Working Paper, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, April 1998, <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/bub02/index.html>, (e.t. 10/02/2008).
- Buzan, Barry. "Peace, Power and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations", *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 21, Issue 2, June 1984, ss. 109-125.
- _____. *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1983.
- Carlisle Rodney P. - Bowman, John S. *Iraq War: Updated Edition*, New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2007.
- Caplan, Neil. *Operation Alpha and the Failure of Anglo-American Coercive Diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1954-1956*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997.

- Celalifer Ekinçi, Arzu. *İran Nükleer Krizi*, Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2009.
- Charles Lipson, "American Support for Israel: History, Sources, Limits", *U.S.-Israeli Relations at the Crossroads*, Edt. Gabriel Sheffer, London: Frank Cass Pub., 1997, ss. 128-145.
- Chaudhuri, J. N. "The International Arms Trade III: The Recipient's Problems", *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3, s. 261. ss. 261-269.
- Chiba, Shin – Schoenbaum, Thomas J. (der.) *Peace Movements and Pacifism after September 11*, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008.
- CIA, *Arab-Israeli Arms Problem: Relative Capabilities and the Prospects for Control*, Special National Intelligence Estimate, SNIE 30-2-58, 30 September 1958.
- _____, *Major Directions in Soviet Military Assistance*, Intelligence Memorandum, ER IM 69-61, May 1969.
- _____, *Soviet Military Aid to the UAR, 1955-1966*, Intelligence Report, RR IR 67-9, March 1967.
- _____, *The Advanced Weapons Programs of UAR and Israel*, Special National Intelligence Estimate, SNIE 30-2-63, 8 May 1963.
- _____, *The French-Israeli Relationship*, Intelligence Report, 26.01.1961.
- _____, *Value of Land Armaments Exported to the Middle East by the Soviet Bloc 1 July 1955-30 June 1956*, Intelligence Report, SC/RR 153, 25 September 1956.
- Cirincione, Joseph. *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Cleveland William L. - Bunton, Martin. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 4th Ed., Colorado: Westview Press, 2009.
- Clyde R. Mark, *Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance*, Congressional Research Service (CRS), 26 April 2005.
- Cohen, Avner. *Israel and the Bomb*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- _____, "Israel and Chemical/Biological Weapons: History, Deterrence, and Arms Control", *The Nonproliferation Review*, Fall-Winter 2001, ss. 27-53.

- Cohen, Michael J. *Fighting World War Three from the Middle East: Allied Contingency Plans, 1945-1954*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997.
- Colaresi Michael P. - Thompson, William R. "Alliances, Arms Buildups and Recurrent Conflict: Testing a Steps-to-War Model", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 67, No. 2, May 2005, ss. 345-364.
- Cordesman, Anthony H. *World Arms Sales and The Middle East: Changing Trends in Economic Impact, Purchases by Country, New Agreements, Deliveries, and Suppliers*, CSIS, 14 October 1997.
- _____, *Arab-Israeli Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars*, California: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Cordesman Anthony H. – Al-Rodhan, Khalid R., *Iran's Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Real and Potential Threat*, Washington D.C.: CSIS, 2006.
- Cortright, David. *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- David Styan, *France & Iraq: Oil, Arms and French Policy Making in the Middle East*, New Jersey: I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- Daoudi, M. S. - Dajani, M. S. "The 1967 Oil Embargo Revisited", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Winter 1984, ss. 65-90.
- Dawn, C. Ernest. "The Egyptian Remilitarization of Sinai, May 1967", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 3, No. 3, July 1968, ss. 201-224.
- Doyle, Michael W. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs", *Debating the Democratic Peace International Security Readers*, Michael E. Brown et.al. (der.), Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996, ss. 3-57.
- _____, "Liberalism and the End of the Cold War", *International Relations Theory and the End of Cold War*, Richard Ned Lebow ve Thomas Risse Kappen (edt.), New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

- Druks, Herbert. *The Uncertain Friendship: The U.S. and Israel from Roosevelt to Kennedy*, New York: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Dunstan, Simon. *The Yom Kippur War: The Arab-Israeli War of 1973*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007.
- Elman, Colin. "Extending Offensive Realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98, No. 4, November 2004, ss. 563-576.
- _____, "Realism", *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Paul D. Williams (ed.), Oxon: Routledge, 2008, ss. 15-28.
- Farr, Warner D. *The Third Temple's Holy of Holies: Israel's Nuclear Weapons*, USAF Counterproliferation Center, The Counterproliferation Papers Future Warfare Series No. 2, 1999.
- Fetter, Steve. "Ballistic Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction: What is the Threat? What Should be Done?", *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Summer 1991, ss. 5-42.
- Finlan, Alastair. *Essential Histories: The Gulf War 1991*, Oxford: Osprey Pub., 2003.
- Gantzel, Klaus Jurgen. "Another Approach to a Theory on the Causes of International War", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue on Causes of War (1981), ss. 39 -55.
- Garcí a-Alonson, Mari´a del Carmen - Levine, Paul. "Arms Export Controls, Subsidies and the WTO Exemption", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 52, No. 2, May 2005, ss. 305-322.
- Gause III, F. Gregory. "Systemic Approaches to Middle East International Relations", *The International Studies Review*, Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 1999, ss. 11-31.
- Genç, Mehmet. *Birleşmiş Milletler ve Uzmanlık Örgütleri Mevzuatı, I. Cilt*, Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 1999.

GATT, "Article 21 - Security Exceptions",

http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/analytic_index_e/gatt1994_08_e.htm#article21, (e.t., 10.09.2009).

Gilpin, Robert. "The Richness Tradition of Political Realism", *International Organization*, Volume 38, Issue 2, Spring 1984, ss. 287-304.

Ginat, Rami. "Nasser and the Soviets: A Reassessment", *Rethinking Nasserizm: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, Edt: Elie Podeh ve Onn Winckler, Tapma: University Press of Florida, 2004, ss. 230-250.

_____, "Origins of the Czech-Egyptian Arms Deal: A Reappraisal", *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East*, David Tal (edt.), London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001, ss. 145-168.

_____, *The Soviet Union and Egypt, 1945-1955*, London: Routledge, 1993.

Glaser, Charles L. "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help", *International Security*, Volume 19, Issue 3, Winter 1994-1995, ss. 50-90.

Gleditsch Kristian S. -Ward, Michael D. "A Revised List of Independent States Since the Congress of Vienna", *International Interactions*, Vol. 25, No. 4, ss. 393-413.

Gluska, Ami. *The Israeli Military and the Origins of the 1967 War: Government, Armed Forces and Defence Policy 1963-67*, Oxon: Routledge, 2007.

Golani, Motti. *Israel in Search of a War: The Sinai Campaign, 1955-1956*, Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1998.

Goldschmidt, Arthur. *A Concise History of the Middle East*, 7th Ed., Colorado: Westview Press, 2002.

Gray, Colin S. "The Arms Race Phenomenon", *World Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Oct., 1971), ss. 39-79

- Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism", *International Organization*, Volume 42, Issue 3, Summer 1988, ss. 485-507.
- Griffiths, Martin (ed.), *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction*, New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Haftendorn, Helga "The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security", *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 35, Issue 1, March 1991, ss. 3-17.
- Hahn, Peter L. *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961*, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- _____, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005.
- Halliday, Fred. "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath: First Reflections", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 67, No. 2, April 1991, ss. 223-234.
- Heller, Eric Nathaniel. *Power Projections of the People's Republic of China: An Investigative Analysis of Defensive and Offensive Realism in Chinese Foreign Policy*, ACDIS Occasional Paper, November 2003.
- Heller, Joseph. *The Birth of Israel, 1945-1949: Ben-Gurion and His Critics*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Hersh, Seymour M. *Samson'un Tercihi: İsrail, Amerika ve Bomba*, Belma Aksun (Çev.), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 1992.
- Hetherington, Norris S. "Industrialization and Revolution in Iran: Forced Progress or Unmet Expectation?," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 36, No 3, Summer 1982, ss. 362-373.
- Hippler, Jochen. "Iraq's Military Power: The German Connection", Middle East Report, No. 168, No Place to Hide, January-February 1991, ss. 27-31.

- Hobbes, Thomas. "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind", *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2nd edition, Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi (Edt.), New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993, ss. 94-98.
- Hough, Peter. *Understanding Global Security*, 2. Ed. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Hoyt, Timothy D. *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy: India, Iraq, and Israel*, New York: Routledge, 2007.
- <http://www.fas.org/nuke/intro/missile/basics.htm>, (e.t. 13.12.2007).
- <http://www.umut.org.tr/public/page.aspx?id=7114>, (e.t. 04.09.2008).
- Huston, James Alvin. *Outposts and Allies: U.S. Army Logistics in the Cold War, 1945-1953*, London: Associated University Press, 1988.
- Intriligator, Michael D.; Brito, Dagobert L. "Can Arms Races Lead to the Outbreak of War?", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March 1984, ss. 63-84.
- İşyar, Göksel. *Karşılaştırmalı Dış Politikalar: Yöntemler-Moddeller-Örnekler ve Karşılaştırmalı Türk Dış Politikası*, Bursa: Dora Yayınları, 2009.
- , "Günümüzde Uluslararası Güvenlik Stratejileri: Kavramsal Çerçeve ve Uygulama", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt 2, Sayı 3, Kış 2008, ss. 1-42.
- Jackson, Robert– Sorensen, Georg. *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Johnson, Maxwell Orme. "The Role of U.S. Military Force in the Gulf", *The Persian Gulf War: Lesson for Strategy, Law, and Diplomacy*, Christopher C. Joyner Ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1990, ss. 127-138.
- James, Laura M. "Military/Political Means/Ends: Egyptian decision-making in the War of Attrition", *The Cold War in the Middle East: Regional Conflict and the Superpowers, 1967-73*, Ed. Nigel J. Ashton, New York: Routledge, 2007, ss. 92-112.

- _____, *Nasser at War: Arab Images of the Enemy*, New York: Palgrave, 2006.
- James, Patrick. "Structural Realism and the Causes of War", *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2, October 1995, ss. 181-208.
- Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy", *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Steven E. Lobell et.al. (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, ss. 1-41.
- _____, "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited", *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3. Winter 2000-2001, ss. 128-161.
- John M. Hobson, *The State and International Relations*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Kamrava, Mehran. *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, London: University of California Press, 2005.
- Karsh, Efraim – O'Neill, Robert. *Essential Histories: The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002.
- Kemp, Geoffrey. "The International Arms Trade: Supplier, Recipient and Arms Control Perspectives", *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 42, October-December 1971, ss. 376-389.
- Keohane, Robert O.– Nye, Joseph S. "Realism and Complex Interdependence", *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2. Ed., Paul R. Viotti, Mark V. Kauppi (Edt.), New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993, ss. 401-421.
- Kery, Roger. "The Contemporary Nature of Security", *Issues in International Relations*, Trevor C.Salmon (ed.),New York: Routledge, 2000, ss. 51-69.

- Kinsella, David; Tillema Herbert K. "Arms and Aggression in the Middle East: Overt Military Interventions, 1948-1991", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 39, No. 2, June 1995, ss. 306-329.
- Klare, Mike. "U.S. Arms Sales & Military Aid to the Middle East", *MERIP Reports*, Volume 0, Issue 30, August 1974, ss. 12-25.
- Knowles, Warwick M. *Jordan Since 1989: A Study in Political Economy*, I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- Kolodziej, Edward A. *Security and International Relations*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Kostiner, Joseph. *Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf Region*, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009.
- Krause, Keith. *Arms and the State: Patterns of Military Production and Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- _____. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris Pub., 2003.
- Lambelet, John C. "Do Arms Races Lead to War?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Special Issue: Peace Research in Switzerland, 1975, ss. 123-128.
- Lawrence Tal, "Jordan", *The Cold War and the Middle East*, Yazid Sayigh – Avi Shlaim (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, ss. 102-124.
- Lebow, Richard Ned - Stein, Janice Gross. *We All Lost the Cold War*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Lemke, Douglas. "Great Powers in the Post-Cold War World: A Power Transition Perspective", *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, T.V. Paul et.al. (ed.), California: Stanford University Press, 2004, ss. 52-75.
- Lenore G. Martin, "Ortadoğu'da Ulusal Güvenlik: Bütünsel Bir Yaklaşım Doğru" *Ortadoğu Politikaları ve Güvenlik: Yeni Yönelimler*, August Richard Norton (der.) , Çev: Ceylan Tokluoğlu, İstanbul: Buke Yayınları, 2000, ss. 11-18.

- Levey, Zach. *Israel and the Western Powers, 1952-1960*, London: UNC Press, 1997
- Levine, Paul-Smith, Ron. "The Arms Trade: Winners and Losers", *Economic Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 25, October 1997, ss. 336-370.
- Levy, Jack S. "What Do Great Powers Balance Against and When?", *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, T.V. Paul et.al. (ed.), California: Stanford University Press, 2004, ss. 29-51.
- Limbirt, John W. *Iran at War with History*, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987.
- Linklater, Andrew. "Marxism", *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd Ed., Scott Burchill et.al. (der.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, ss. 110-136.
- _____, "Neo-realism in Theory and Practice", *International Relations Theory Today*, Ken Booth ve Steve Smith (ed.), Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997, ss. 241-262.
- Little, Douglas, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- _____, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4, November 1993, ss. 563-585.
- Lobell, Steven E. "Threat Assessment, the State, and Foreign Policy: A Neoclassical Realist Model", *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Steven E. Lobell et.al. (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, ss. 42-74.
- Lobell, Steven E. et.al. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Steven E. Lobell et.al. (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. "On Princes and the Security of Their States", *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2. Ed., Paul R. Viotti,- Mark V. Kauppi (ed.), New York: Macmillan, 1993, ss. 91-94.
- _____, *Hükümdar*, Selahattin Bağdatlı (çev.), İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1999.
- Marashi; Ibrahim- Salama, Sammy. *Iraq Armed Forces: An Analytic History*, Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
- Maoz, Moshe. *Syria and Israel: From War to Peacemaking*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Martin, Susan B. "From Balance of Power to Balancing Behavior: The Long and Winding Road", *Perspectives on Structural Realism*, Andrew K. Hanami (ed.), New York: Macmillan, 2003, ss. 61-82.
- _____, "Weapons of Mass Destruction A Brief Overview", *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Sohail H. Hashmi-Sтивен P. Lee (ed.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, ss. 16-42.
- Matthews, Ken. *The Gulf Conflict and International Relations*, London: Routledge, 1993.
- Mauroni, Albert J. *Chemical and Biological Warfare: A Reference Handbook*, California: ABC-CLIO, 2003.
- McGhee, George Crews. *On the Frontline in the Cold War: An Ambassador Reports*, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1997.
- McGinnis, Michael D. "Richardson, Rationality, and Restrictive Models of Arms Races", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 35, No. 3, September 1991, ss. 443-473.
- McGregor, Andrew James. *A Military History of Modern Egypt: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Ramadan War*, Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2006.

- Mcnamara, Robert. *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East 1952-1967: From the Egyptian Revolution to the Six-Day War*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 2003.
- McNaugher, Thomas L. "Ballistic Missiles and Chemical Weapons: The Legacy of the Iran-Iraq War", *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Autumn 1990, ss. 5-34.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3. Winter 1994-1995, ss. 5-49.
- _____, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003.
- MERIP Reports, "U. S. Arms Sales to Iran", No. 71, October. 1978, ss. 22-23.
- Meital, Yoram. "Egyptian Perspectives on Suez War", *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East*, David Tal (ed.), London: Frank Cass Co.&Ltd., 2001, ss. 195-208.
- Miglietta, John P. *American Alliance Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1992: Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia*, Mary Land: Lexington Books, 2002.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley - Hinchcliffe, Peter. *Conflicts in the Middle East since 1945*, New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Mofid, Kamran. *The Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. *Liberal International Relations Theory: A Social Scientific Assessment*, Working Paper, Weatherhead Center For International Affairs, No. 01-02, April 2001, <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/moa04/index.html>; (e.t. 10/02/2008).
- Mott, William H. *United States Military Assistance: An Empirical Perspective*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Navari, Cornelia. "Liberalism", *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Paul D. Williams (ed.), Oxon: Routledge, 2008, ss. 29-43.

- Norton, August Richard. (der.) *Orta Doğu Politikaları ve Güvenlik: Yeni Yönelimler*, Ceylan Tokluoğlu (Çev.), İstanbul: Buke Yayınları, 2000.
- Nuclear Threat Initiative, *Egypt: Missile Chronology*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Egypt/Missile/chronology_1950-1974.html, (e.t. 07.05.2008).
- _____, *Israel Nuclear Chronology: 1970-1989*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Israel/Nuclear/3635_5222.html, (e.t. 07.08.2008).
- _____, *Israel: Missile Chronology: 1953-1979*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Israel/Missile/3571.html, (e.t. 07.05.2008).
- _____, *Research Library: Egypt, Chemical Overview*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Egypt/Chemical/index.html#fn2, (e.t. 07.05.2009).
- _____, *Research Library: Egypt, Missile Overview*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Egypt/Missile/index.html#fnB5, (e.t. 07.05.2008).
- _____, *Research Library: Iran, Nuclear Profile*, http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Iran/Nuclear/index.html, (e.t. 09.10.2009).
- Obeidi, Mahdi – Pitzer, Kurt. *The Bomb in My Garden: The Secrets of Saddam's Nuclear Mastermind*, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004.
- Oren, Michael B. *Origins of the Second Arab-Israel War, Egypt, Israel and Great Powers, 1952-56*, New York: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1992.
- Osgood, Kenneth. "Eisenhower and Regime Change in Iraq: The United States and the Iraqi Revolution of 1958", *America and Iraq: Policy-Making, Intervention and Regional Politics*, Edt. David Ryan - Patrick Kiely, New York: Routledge, 2009, ss. 4-35.
- Özey, Ramazan. *Küresel Silahlanma: Dünyanın Silah Depoları*, İstanbul: Aktif Yayınları, 2007.
- Özgür, Salih. *Geleceğe Yönelen Tehdit? Kitle İmha Silahları*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Yayıncılık, 2006.

- Parker, Christopher S. "New Weapons for Old Problems: Conventional Proliferation and Military Effectiveness in Developing States", *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4. Spring 1999, ss. 119-147.
- Parker, Richard B. *The October War: A Retrospective*, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- Paul, T.V. "The Enduring Axioms of Balance of Power Theory and Their Contemporary Relevance", *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, T.V. Paul et.al. (ed.), California: Stanford University Press, 2004, ss. 1-25.
- Paul, T.V. et.al. (ed.), *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, California: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Parker, Richard B. (ed.), *The October War: A Retrospective*, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- Pelletiere, Stephen C. *The Iran-Iraq War: Chaos in a Vacuum*, New York: Praeger Publishing, 1992.
- Perlmutter, Amos. et.al., *Two Minutes over Baghdad*, Second Expanded Edition, London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003.
- Pierre, Andrew J. "Beyond the "Plane Package": Arms and Politics in the Middle East", *International Security*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Summer 1978, ss. 148-161.
- Pirinççi, Ferhat. "Democracy Culture and Practice in Iraq: A Comparative Analyze of Saddam and Post-Saddam Era", *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Volume 6, No. 1-2, Spring & Summer 2007, ss. 92-113.
- _____, "Saddam Dönemi İstihbarat ve Güvenlik Örgütlerinin Irak'taki Sünni Direnişe Etkisi", *Avrasya Dosyası: Terör*, 2006, Cilt. 12, Sayı 3, ss. 185-219.

- Potter, Lawrence G. – Sicks, Gray G. (ed.), *Iran, Iraq, and the Legacies of War*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publications, 2004.
- Powell, Robert. “Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory”, *The American Political Science Review*, Volume 85, Issue 4, December 1991, ss. 1303-1320.
- President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress*, March 12, 1947, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/trudoc.htm>, (e.t. 10.10.2007).
- President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points*, 8 January 1918, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp, (e.t. 13.02.2008).
- Pry, Peter. *Israel's Nuclear Arsenal*, Colorado: Westview Pres, 1984.
- Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, 3rd Edition, Washington D.C.: Brookings Ins. Press, 2005.
- Rattinger, Hans. “From War to War to War: Arms Races in the Middle East”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 4, Dec., 1976, ss. 501-531.
- Regan, Paula. et.al. (ed.), *Weapon: A Visual History of Arms and Armor*, New York: DK Publishing, 2006.
- Richardson, James L. *Contending Liberalisms in World Politics: Ideology and Power*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.
- Ro'i, Yaacov. *Soviet Decision Making in Practice: The USSR and Israel, 1947-1954*, New Jersey: Transaction Inc., 1980.
- Rodman, David. “Armored Breakthrough: The 1965 American Sale of Tanks to Israel”, *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 2004, ss. 1-15.
- _____, *Arms Transfer to Israel: The Strategic Logic Behind American Military Assistance*, Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2007.

- Rosh, Robert M. "Third World Arms Production and the Evolving Interstate System", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 34, No. 1, March 1990, ss. 57-73.
- Rubin, Barry. "America and the Egyptian Revolution, 1950-1957", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 1, Spring 1982, ss. 73-90.
- Rucker, Laurent. "The Soviet Union and the Suez Crisis", *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East*, David Tal (ed.), London: Frank Cass Co.&Ltd., 2001, ss. 65-94.
- Russell, Richard L. *Weapons Proliferation and War in the Greater Middle East: Strategic Contest*, Oxon: Routledge, 2005.
- Russet, Bruce M. *Grasping the Democratic Peace : Principles for a Post-Cold War World*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- S/Res/46/1948, (April 17, 1948).
- Sadowski, Yahya M. *Scuds or Butter? The Political Economy of Arms Control in the Middle East*, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1993.
- Sagan, Scott D. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb", *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Winter 1996-1997, ss. 54-86.
- Sayigh, Yazid– Shlaim, Avi. (ed.) *The Cold War and the Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Sayigh, Yazid. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Schmidt, Donald A. *The Folly of War: American Foreign Policy, 1898-2005*, New York: Algora Publishing, 2005.
- Seale, Patrick. "Syria", *The Cold War and the Middle East*, Yazid Sayigh-Avi Shlaim (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, ss. 48-76.

- Seth Carus, "Israeli Ballistic Missile Developments", *Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States*, Appendix III: Unclassified Working Papers, July 15, 1998.
- Shalom, Zaki. "Israel's Nuclear Option Revisited", *Journal of Israeli History*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2005, ss. 267 – 277.
- Shazly, Saad. *The Arab Military Option*, San Fransisco: American Mideast Research, 1986.
- Shlaim, Avi. "Israel, the Great Powers, and the Middle East Crisis of 1958", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, May 1999,
<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ssfc0005/Israel.%20the%20Great%20Powers.%20and%20the%20Middle%20East%20Crisis%20of%201958.html>,
 (e.t. 03.05.2008).
- _____, "The Impact of U.S. Policy in the Middle East", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Winter 1988, ss. 15-28.
- _____, "The Protocol of Sevres, 1956: Anatomy of a War Plot", *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East*, David Tal (edt.), London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001, ss. 119-143.
- Shoham, Dany. "Chemical and Biological Weapons in Egypt", *The Nonproliferation Review*, Spring-Summer 1998, ss. 48-58.
- SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, *Egypt: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1950 to 1958*, 11 May 2008
- _____, *Egypt: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1961-1968*, 11 May 2008.
- _____, *Iran: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1970-1980*, 10.10.2009.
- _____, *Iran: Transfers of major conventional weapons, sorted by supplier: USA & Israel, Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1985 to 1986*, 16 November 2009.

- _____, *Iraq: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1958 to 1967*, 11 May 2008.
- _____, *Iraq: Transfers of Missiles: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1973 to 1990*, 12.11.2009.
- _____, *Iraq & Iran: Transfers of major conventional weapons, sorted by supplier, Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1980 to 1988*, 16 November 2009.
- _____, *Israel: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1950 to 1968*, 14 May 2008.
- _____, *Israel: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1967 to 1974*, 15 July 2008.
- _____, *Jordan: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1960 to 1968*, 16 May 2008.
- _____, *Saudi Arabia: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1960 to 1967*, 11 May 2008.
- _____, *Syria: Transfers of major conventional weapons: sorted by supplier. Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1950 to 1958*, 11 May 2008.
- _____, *Egypt and Syria: Transfers of Air Defense Systems and Missiles, Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1962 to 1973*, 18 October 2008.
- _____, *Israel: Transfers of Air Defense Systems and Missiles, Deals with deliveries or orders made for year range 1962 to 1973*, 18 October 2008.

Singer, J. David. "Threat-Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Studies on Attitudes and Communication, March 1958, ss. 90-105.

Sirrs, Owen L. *Nasser and the Missile Age in the Middle East*, New York: Routledge, 2006.

Sislin, John. "Arms as Influence: The Determinants of Successful Influence", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 38, No. 4, December 1994, ss. 665-689.

- Slonim, Shlomo. "The 1948 American Embargo on Arms to Palestine", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Autumn 1979, ss. 495-514.
- Smith, Ron et.al., "The Economics of Exporting Arms", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3, September 1985, ss. 239-247.
- Smith, Theresa Clair. "Arms Race Instability and War", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 24, No. 2, June 1980, ss. 253-284.
- Sorley, Lewis. *Arms Transfers Under Nixon: A Policy Analysis*, Kentucky, The University of Kentucky Press, 1983.
- Spencer, Jack. *The Ballistic Missile Threat Handbook*, Washington D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 2000.
- Spiegel, Steven L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Stein, Janice Gross. "Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-91: A Failed or Impossible Task?", *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Autumn 1992, ss. 147-179.
- Stein, Kenneth W., *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*, New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Stork, Joe - Paul, Jim. "Arms Sales and the Militarization of the Middle East", *MERIP Reports*, No. 112, The Arms Race in the Middle East, February 1983, ss. 5-15.
- Sweezy, Paul et.al., *Çağdaş Kapitalizmin Bunalımı*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları, 1975.
- Tackney, Cathy. "Dealing Arms in the Middle East. Part I: History and Strategic Considerations", *MERIP Reports*, No. 8, March - April 1972, ss. 3-14.
- _____, "Dealing Arms in the Middle East. Part II: Israel and Egypt Since 1968", *MERIP Reports*, No. 9. May - June 1972, ss. 18-28.

Tal, David. (ed.), *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East*, London: Frank Cass Co.&Ltd., 2001.

Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited", *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3. Winter 2000-2001, ss. 128-161.

_____, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy", *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Steven E. Lobell et.al. (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, ss. 1-41.

Tang, Shing. "Fear in International Politics: Two Positions", *International Studies Review*, Vol. 10 Issue 3, September 2008, ss. 451-471.

The International Peace Movement, <http://www.ppl.nl/100years/peacemovement/>, (e.t. 25.04.2008).

"The American Middle East Arms Package", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Summer 1978, ss. 157-161.

Tibi, Bassam. *Conflict and War in the Middle East: From Interstate Conflict to New Security*, Second Edition, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Timeline: Israel War of Independence, http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/Israel_war_independence_1948_timeline.htm, (e.t. 17.09.2007).

Timesonline. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/article830147.ece>, (e.t. 08.09.2008).

Tripartite Declaration Regarding the Armistice Borders: Statement by the Governments of the United States, The United Kingdom, and France, May 25, 1950, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/mid001.htm>, (e.t. 17.10.2007).

Toft, Peter. "John J. Mearsheimer: An Offensive Realist between Geopolitics and Power", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 8, Number 4, December 2005, ss. 381-408.

U.S. Air Force, *Historical Analysis of the 14-15 February 1945 Bombings of Dresden*, USAF Historical Division Research Studies Institute, <https://www.airforcehistory.hq.af.mil/PopTopics/dresden.htm>, (e.t. 23.11.2007).

- Van Evera, Stephen. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of the Conflict*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Van Riper, A. Bowdoin. *Rockets and Missiles: The Life Story of a Technology*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Varble, Derek. *Essential Histories: The Suez Crisis, 1956*, Wisconsin: Osprey Publishing, 2003.
- Viotti, Paul R. - Kauppi, Mark V. *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2nd ed., New York: Macmillan, 1993.
- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/#f1>, (e.t. 15.03.2008).
- Wang, Yuan-Kang. "Offensive Realism and the Rise of China", *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, March 2004, ss. 173-201.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Kapitalist Dünya Sistemini Yükselişi ve Çöküşü", Howard Williams-et.al. (der.), *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Teorisi Üzerine Bir Derleme*, (Çev. Faruk Yalvaç et.al.), Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996, ss. 329-347.
- _____, "The Rise of East Asia, or The World-System in the Twenty-First Century", <http://fbc.binghamton.edu/iwrise.htm>, (e.t. 10.12.2007).
- _____, "Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 3, No.4, Winter 1976, ss. 461-483.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- _____, "The Progressive Power of Realism", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4, December 1997, ss. 931-935.
- _____, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power", *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Spring 1985, ss. 3-43.

- _____, “Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia”, *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 2, Spring 1988, ss. 275-316.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979.
- Wezeman, Siemon T. et.al., “International Arms Transfers”, *SIPRI Yearbook 2009: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, ss. 299-320.
- Wheeler Nicholas J. ve Booth, Ken. “The Security Dilemma”, *Dilemmas of World Politics: International Issues in a Changing World*, John Baylis ve N.J. Rengger (edt.), New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, ss. 29- 60.
- Williams, Howard et.al. (Der.), *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Teorisi Üzerine Bir Derleme*, (Çev. Faruk Yalvaç et.al.), Ankara, Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996.
- Williams, Paul D. (ed.), *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
- Williams, Paul D. “War”, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Paul D. Williams (ed.), Oxon: Routledge, 2008, ss. 156-170.
- Wolfers, Arnold. “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 67, Issue 4, December 1952, ss.481-502.