

BIBLIOGRAPHY

All items in Israeli Hebrew-language newspapers (*Davar*, *Ha'aretz*, *Ma'ariv*, *Yediot Aharonot*, etc.) were in Hebrew.

GENERAL

Interviews

A. Select list of interviews by Michael Brecher

- Al-Baz, Mahmoud. May 1975.
Allon, Yigal. 1960, 1965–66, 1968, 1973–74, 1977–78.
Eytan, Walter. 1956.
Avner, Gershon. July 1968.
Bar-Lev, Haim. July 1974.
Bar-On, Hanan. August 1968.
Ben-Gurion, David. June 1966, May 1971.
Bitan, Moshe. August 1968.
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. May 1975.
Dayan, Moshe. May 1969.
Eban, Abba. 1948, 1965–66, 1968 July 1968, 1973–74, 1977–78, 1995.
Evron, Ephraim. March 1972.
Eshkol, Levi. April 1966.
Gazit, Mordekhai. July 1968, July 1974.
Herzog, Ya'acov. April 1966, August 1968.
Joseph, Dov. July 1960, June 1971.
Keating, Kenneth. July 1974, August 1974.

- Meir, Golda. August 1966, June 1968.
 Mohammed Sayeed Ahmad. May 1975, June 1975.
 Navon, Yitzhak. 1965–66.
 Peres, Shimon. 1960, 1965–66, 1968, 1973–74, 1977–78.
 Rafael, Gideon. August 1968.
 Rosen, Pinchas. February 1971.
 Sapir, Pinhas. August 1974.
 Shapira, Haim M. July 1968.
 Sharett, Moshe. July 1960.
 Sharif, Zehev. March 1966.
 Wilson, Harold. December 1972.
 Yariv, Aharon. August 1974.

B. Other Interviews

- Barak, Ehud. “Continuation of Eyes Wide Shut.” Interview by Ari Shavit, *Ha’aretz*, 4 September 2002.
 Melchior, Michael. Interview, *Ha’aretz*, 12 March 2007, 7.

Other Sources

- Azran, Eran. 2016. Israeli Economy Grew 2.3% in 2015, Its Slowest Pace since 2009. *Ha’aretz*, 1 January 2016.
 Bank of Israel, Data and Statistics. 2016. Net Balance of Payments (Credits Less Debits)—Goods and Services Account and Unilateral Transfers. 10 March 2016.
 Benn, Aluf. 2016. Olmert’s Plan for Peace with the Palestinians. *Ha’aretz*, 17 December 2009, 1–3. Reprint, *Ha’aretz*, 16 April 2016.
 Bergman, Roei. 2015. Israel in 2015: 17 Billionaires, Over 88,000 Millionaires. *Ynet News*, 14 October 2015.
 Brecher, Michael. 2016a. *Political Leadership and Charisma—Nehru, Ben Gurion, and Other 20th Century Political Leaders: Intellectual Odyssey I*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
 ———. 2016b. *The World of Protracted Conflicts*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield/Lexington Books.
 Brecher, Michael, and Irving Brecher. 2001. Israelis versus Palestinians: Is There a Way Out? *International Journal* 56(3): 519–526.
 Cohen, Ora. 2007. Economic Concentration Keeps on Growing. *Ha’aretz*, 20 July 2007.
 Elis, Niv. 2014. OECD: Israel Fourth in Foreign Direct Investment. *Jerusalem Post*, 20 August, 2014.

- Elran, Meir, Eran Yashiv, and Mohammed Abo Nasra. 2016. The Five-Year Plan to Integrate the Arab Population in Israel: A Quantum Leap Forward? *Institute for National Security Studies* 792: 2 February 2016.
- “Ex-Senior Cop Indicted on Sexual Harassment Charges.” *Times of Israel*, 22 March 2016.
- Faitelson, Yaakov. 2011. *Demographic Trends and their Influence on Israeli Education*. Jerusalem: The Institute for Zionist Strategies.
- Geller, Pamela. 2005. Happy 57th Birthday to Israel! A Few Israeli Accomplishments. *Atlas Shrugged* (blog), 12 May 2005.
- Goldberg, J. J. 2016. 4 Men Who Want to Bring Down Benjamin Netanyahu—and the Tragic Reasons They Won’t. *The Forward*, 22 June 2016.
- Grave-Lazi, Lidar. 2014. OECD Report: Israel Has Large Expenditure on Education but Lower Spending per Student. *Jerusalem Post*, 9 September 2014.
- Hadid, Daa. 2016. In West Bank, Israel Imposes Pop-Up Checkpoints and Road Closings. *New York Times*, 13 April 2016.
- Hadid, Daa and Somini Sengupta. 2016. Israel Imposes Restrictions on Palestinians in West Bank After Attacks. *Forward*, 2 July 2016.
- Halpern, Ben. 1969. *The Idea of the Jewish State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hartman, Ben and Gil Hoffman. 2016. Interior Minister Deri’s Brother Questioned for Third Straight Day in Corruption Probe. *Jerusalem Post*, 14 April 2016.
- Heller, Jeffrey. 2016. Israeli General Warns of Nazi-Like Jewish Extremists in Holocaust Remembrance Speech. *Forward*, 5 May 2016.
- Isacheroff, Avi. 2014. Revealed: Olmert’s 2008 Peace Offer to Palestinians. *Jerusalem Post*, 24 May 2013, 1–3. Reprint, *Jerusalem Post*, 27 July 2014.
- “Israeli Police Caught on Tape Brutally Beating Arab Supermarket Worker.” *Ha’aretz*, 23 May 2016, reported in *Forward*, the same date.
- Joseph, Dov. 1960. *The Faithful City: The Siege of Jerusalem, 1948*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Koestler, Arthur, et al. 1963. In *The God That Failed*, ed. Richard Crossman. New York: Harper & Row.
- Kubovich, Yaniv. 2016. Israel Police Commander Pushes Boycott of Supermarket Where Cops Brutally Beat Arab Worker. *Ha’aretz*, 25 May 2016, reported in *Forward*, the same date.
- Lipson, Joshua. 2013. Israel among Most Corrupt of OECD Countries. *Jerusalem Post*, 9 July 2013.
- “Magal Resigns Knesset amid Sexual Harassment Scandal.” *Times of Israel*, 30 November 2015.
- Ma’oz, Moshe. 1995. *Syria and Israel: From War to Peacemaking*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Mohn, Paul. 1950. Jerusalem and the United Nations. *International Conciliation*, no. 464.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2014. Education at a Glance 2014: Israel.
- Poch, Raphael. 2016. In New Poll, Public Casts No Confidence Vote against Knesset. *Arutz Sheva* [TV], 19 January, 2016.
- Rabinovich, Itamar. 1998. *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rudoren, Jodi and Isabel Kerschner. 2014. How Nine Months of Mideast Talks Ended in Disarray. *New York Times*, 28 April 2014.
- Sarner, Robert. 2016. 68 Reasons to Respect, If Not Love, Israel On Its 68th Birthday. *Forward*, 14 May 2016.
- Sengupta, Somini. 2016. Faulting Both Israelis and Palestinians, Report Aims to Revive Peace Talks. *New York Times*, 2 July 2016.
- Sharef, Zeev. 1962. *Three Days*. New York: Doubleday.
- Shulman, David. 2016. Israel: The Broken Silence. *New York Review of Books*, 7 April, 2016.
- Swisher, Clayton E. 2004. *The Truth about Camp David: The Untold Story about the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process*. New York: Nation Books.
- Tamir, Chen. 2016. Censorship in Israel. *Perspective* (blog), *Guggenheim Museum*, 20 May 2016.
- Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel. 2015. *State of the Nation Report: Society, Economy and Policy in Israel 2015*. December 2015.
- Tuchfeld, Mati et al. 2015. Interior Minister Resigns amid Sexual Misconduct Allegations. *Israel Hayom*, 21 December 2015.
- United Nations (UN). 1947. UN General Assembly. Resolution 181 (II). Future Government of Palestine. 29 November 1947.
- Wiener, Julie. 2016. Israel Imposes Penalties on Cultural Groups that Shun West Bank Settlements. *Forward*, 16 June 2016.
- Winer, Stuart. 2014. Hand-Drawn Map Shows what Olmert Offered for Peace. *The Times of Israel*, 23 May 2013, 1–3. Reprint, *The Times of Israel*, 28 July 2014.
- World Bank. Worldwide Governance Indicators 2015.
- Zeveloff, Naomi. 2016a. 48% of Israeli Jews Back ‘Expulsion’ or ‘Transfer’ of Arabs, New Pew Survey Says. *Forward*, 8 March 2016.
- . 2016b. Israeli Judge Says No to Arabs Building in Jewish Town—Cites Bidding Woes. *Forward*, 26 April 2016.
- Zino, Aviram. 2006. High Court: Dismantle Part of Fence. *Yediot Ahronoth*, 15 June 2006.

THE 1967 CRISIS-WAR

*Interviews**A. Interviews by Michael Brecher*

- Allon, Yigal. 26 July 1968.
 Avner, Gershon, 24 July 1968.
 Bar-On, Hanan, 6 August 1968.
 Ben Gurion, David, May 1971.
 Bitan, Moshe, 8 August 1968.
 Eban, Abba, 22 July and 8 August 1968.
 Evron, Ephraim, 3 March 1972.
 Gazit, Mordekhai, 15 July 1968.
 Herzog, Ya'acov, 10 August 1968.
 Meir, Golda, June 1968.
 Peres, Shimon, 15 July 1968.
 Rafael, Gideon, 12 August 1968.
 Shapira, Haim M., 16 July 1968.
 Wilson, Harold, 22 December 1972 (interview also conducted by Benjamin Geist)

B. Other Interviews

- Allon, Yigal. Interviews, *Lamerhav*, 14 May and 4 June 1967.
 Amit, Meir. Interview by Benjamin Geist, 13 July 1973.
 Avner, Gershon. Interview by Benjamin Geist, 25 February 1973.
 Bar-Lev, Haim. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 18 April 1972.
 Bar-Lev, Haim. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 6 May 1973.
 ———. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 16 May 1973.
 Bar-Lev, Haim. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 5 June 1973.
 Begin, Menachem. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 2 June 1967.
 Ben Gurion, David. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 13 November 1970.
 Carmel, Moshe. Interview, *Jerusalem Post*, 2 June 1972.
 Dayan, Moshe. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 13 June 1967.
 Dayan, Moshe. Interviews, *Yediot Aharonot*, 13 and 16 June 1967.
 Eban, Abba. Interview, *Ha'arets*, 5 June 1970.
 Eban, Abba. Interviews, *Ma'ariv*, 1 December 1967 and 2 June 1972.
 Eban, Abba. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 22 April 1973.
 Elazar, David. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 9 June 1972.
 Eshkol, Levi. Interview, *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 April 1967.
 Eshkol, Levi. Interviews, *Yediot Aharonot*, 7 July and 18 October 1967.
 Eshkol, Levi. Interview by the editors, *Ma'ariv*, 4 October 1967.

- Gavish, Yeshayahu. Interview by Dov Goldstein, *Yediot Aharonot*, 3 April 1970.
- Meir, Golda. Interview, *Jerusalem Post*, 16 June 1972.
- Narkiss, Uzi. Interview, *Davar*, 1 June 1973.
- Narkiss, Uzi. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 8 June 1972.
- Narkiss, Uzi. Interview with five generals, including Uri Narkiss, *Ma'ariv*, 4 June 1971.
- Nasser, Abdel. Interview, *Newsweek*, 10 February 1969.
- Rabin, Yitzhak. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 4 October 1967.
- Rafael, Gideon. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 4 August 1967.
- Rafael, Gideon. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 4 June 1971.
- Serlin, Joseph. Interviews, *Yediot Aharonot*, 26 May and 5 June 1972.
- Serlin, Joseph. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 5 June 1972.
- Sharon, Ariel. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 20 July 1973.
- Sharon, Ariel. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 20 July 1973.
- Sneh, Moshe. Interview, *Yediot Aharonot*, 16 June 1967.
- Weizman, Ezer. Interview by Dov Goldstein, *Ma'ariv*, 5 June 1973.

Other Sources

- Allon, Yigal. 1967a. 'Active Defense': A Guarantee for Our Existence. *OT*, November 1967, 5–13.
- . 1967b. Speech in Tel Aviv, 2 June 1967. English Summary issued by the State of Israel, *Government Press Office*, Press Bulletin, 3 June 1967.
- . 1968. *Masakh Shel Hol [A Curtain of Sand]*. 2nd rev ed. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hame'uhad.
- . 1970. *The Making of Israel's Army*. London: Vallentine, Mitchell.
- Bar-Zohar, Michael. 1968. *The Longest Month*. Tel Aviv: Levin-Epstein.
- . 1970. *Embassies in Crisis: Diplomats and Demagogues Behind the Six Day War*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Begin, Menachem. 1971. A Chapter from a Book to Be Written. *Ma'ariv*, 18 June and 2 July 1971.
- . 1972a. Eulogy for Ya'acov Herzog, March 1972.
- . 1972b. The Meeting of 2 June 1967. *Ma'ariv*, 2 June 1972.
- Benkler, R. 1971. General Rikhye's Truth. *Al Hamishmar*, 13 August 1971.
- Ben-Porath, Yehoshua, and U. Dan. 1967. *Mirage Contre MiG*. Paris: R. Laffont.
- Bentov, Mordekhai. 1972. The Truth and Not 'Nightmares' Are of Educational Value. *Al Hamishmar*, 18 May 1972.
- Blechman, Barry M. 1972. The Impact of Israel's Reprisals on Behavior of the Bordering Arab Nations Directed at Israel. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16: 155–181.
- Brecher, Michael. 1972. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*. London: Oxford University Press; and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

- . 1974. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*. London: Oxford University Press; and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. 1967. *Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, The Middle East and Africa, Second Series (BBC)*. Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Caversham Park, Reading, England, April–June 1967.
- British Parliamentary Debates. 1967. Hansard, House of Commons, 2nd Session, 27th Parliament, I, 8 May–5 June 1967.
- Bull, Odd. 1976. *War and Peace in the Middle East*. London: Leo Cooper.
- Bunche, Ralph. 1967. Letter to the editor, *New York Times*, June 11, 1967.
- Burdett, Winston. 1970. *Encounter with the Middle East: An Intimate Report of What Lies Behind the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Canadian Parliament, House of Commons. *Debates*. 27th Parliament, 2nd session, vol. 1, 8 May–5 June 1967.
- Carmel, Moshe. 1972a. Fighting for Survival—Struggling for Peace. *Davar*, 2 June 1972.
- . 1972b. And Yet: We Were Faced with the Danger of Destruction. *Ma'ariv*, 21 April 1972.
- Christman, Henry M., ed. 1969. *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- Churchill, Randolph S., and Winston S. Churchill. 1967. *The Six Day War*. London: Heinemann.
- Dagan, Avigdor. 1970. *Moscow and Jerusalem: Twenty Years of Relations between Israel and the Soviet Union*. London: Abelard-Schuman.
- Darom, Naomi. 2016. Maternity Ward Segregation Just Tip of the Iceberg in Israel. *Forward*, 12 April 2016.
- Dayan, Moshe. 1967a. Broadcast to *Tzahal*, 5 June 1967, State of Israel, Government Press Office.
- . 1967b. Press Conference, 13 June 1967, State of Israel, Government Press Office.
- . 1976. *Story of My Life*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatzky's Agency.
- . 1969. *Mapa Hadasha—Yachasim Aherim [New Map—Other Relations]*. Tel Aviv/Haifa: Sifriyat Ma'ariv-Shikmona.
- De Gaulle, Charles. 1967. Press Conference, 27 November 1967. Excerpts in *New York Times*, 28 November 1967.
- De Murville, Maurice Couve. 1971. *Une Politique Etrangere 1958–1969*. Paris: Plon.
- Dishon, Daniel, ed. 1971. *Middle East Record: 1967*. Vol. 3. Tel Aviv: Israel Universities Press.
- Draper, Theodore. 1968. *Israel and World Politics: Roots of the Third Arab-Israeli War*. New York: Viking Press.
- Eban, Abba. 1967a. Address to the UN Security Council, 6 June 1967, *Israel Information Services*. New York: June 1967.

- . 1967b. Press Conference in Jerusalem, 30 May 1967. English text issued by State of Israel, *Government Press Office*.
- . 1967c. Press Conference in Tel Aviv, 5 June 1967. English text issued by State of Israel, *Government Press Office*.
- . 1967d. Speech in Rehovot, 17 May 1967. Reported in *Ma'ariv*, 18 May 1967.
- . 1968. *To Live or Perish* [unpublished manuscript], 1968.
- . 1969. *Voice of Israel*. New York: Horizon Press.
- . 1973a. *My Country: The Story of Modern Israel*. London/Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- . 1973b. Revelations from the Waiting Period. *Ma'ariv*, 6 May 1973.
- . 1977. *An Autobiography*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatsky's Agency.
- Encyclopedia Hebraica* 23, cols. 722–750, s.v. The Six Day War. (in Hebrew).
- Eshkol, Levi. 1967a. Appointment Book (AB) as Prime Minister for 14 May to 10 June 1967.
- . 1967b. Broadcast to the Nation, 28 May 1967. English version in *BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, The Middle East and Africa, Second Series (BBC)*. Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Caversham Park, Reading, England, April–June 1967, 30 May 1967.
- . 1967c. Letter to USSR Premier Kosygin on 1 June 1967. English version in *Jerusalem Post*, 4 June 1967.
- . 1968. Answer to Question in Knesset, 9 December 1968. *Divrei Haknesset* 53, 602–603.
- . 1969a. Address to the Chief Rabbis and Spiritual leaders of all of Israel's Communities, 7 June 1967. English version. In *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*, ed. H. M. Christman, 114. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969.
- . 1969b. Broadcast to the Nation, 5 June 1967. English version. In *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*, ed. H. M. Christman, 107–110. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- . 1969c. Statement in the Knesset, 22 May 1967. *Divrei Haknesset* 49, 2225–2227. English version. In *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*, ed. H. M. Christman, 95–104. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- . 1969d. Statement in the Knesset, 29 May 1967. *Divrei Haknesset* 49, 2283–2285. English version. In *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*, ed. H. M. Christman, 95–104. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- . 1969e. Statement in the Knesset, 12 June 1967. *Divrei Haknesset* 49, 2327–2331. English version. In *The State Papers of Levi Eshkol*, ed. H. M. Christman, 113–134. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- . 1972. Letter to Harold Wilson, 5 June 1967. In *Eban*, ed. Robert St. John, 452. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Geist, Benjamin. 1974. The Six Day War: A Study in the Setting and Process of Foreign Policy Decision-Making Under Crisis Conditions. Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1974.

- Gilboa, Moshe. 1969. *Shesh Shanim, Shisha Yamim [Six Years, Six Days: Origins and History of the Six Day War]*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved.
- . 1973. The Crisis that Reached the Top. *OT*, 31 May 1973.
- Harif, Yosef. 1974. In the Argument around the 'Separation of Forces' on the Syrian Frontier, Washington Bases Itself on an Israeli Document of 19 June 1967. *Ma'ariv*, 22 March 1974.
- Heikal, Mohamed. 1972. *Nasser: The Cairo Documents*. London: New English Library.
- . 1973. The 1967 Arab-Israeli War. *Sunday Telegraph*, 21 and 28 October 1973. Translated in *Ma'ariv*, 9 November 1973.
- Higgins, Rosalyn. 1969. *United Nations Peacekeeping, 1946–1967: Documents and Commentary, vol. 1, The Middle East*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hussein, Ibn Talal, King of Jordan. 1969. *My "War" with Israel*. As told to and with additional material by Vick Vance and Pierre Lauer. New York: William Morrow, 1969.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. 1966. *The Military Balance, 1966–67*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- . 1967. *The Military Balance, 1967–68*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Israel, Knesset. 1948–1976. *Divrei Haknesset [Parliamentary Proceedings]*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Government Printer.
- Israel, Ministry of Defense. 1969. *The War of Four Days, the Southern Command, 5 June–9 June 1967*. Jerusalem, June 1969.
- Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 1967. Cables and Communications, Jerusalem, 1967.
- Israel Information Services. 1967. *The Record of Aggression 1958–1967*. New York, 1967.
- Jabber, Fuad A., ed. 1970. *International Documents on Palestine 1967*. Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. 1971. *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kimche, David, and Dan Bawly. 1968. *The Sandstorm; The Arab-Israeli War of June 1967: Prelude and Aftermath*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Kollek, Teddy. 1978. *For Jerusalem*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatsky's Agency.
- Laffin, John. 1973. *Fedayeen: The Arab-Israeli Dilemma*. London: Cassell.
- Lall, Arthur. 1970. *The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis, 1967*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Laqueur, Walter Z. 1968. *The Road to War 1967: The Origins of the Arab-Israel Conflict*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Lau-Lavie, Naftalie. 1968. *Moshe Dayan, A Biography*. London: Vallentine, Mitchell.

- Legler, A., and W. Liebisch. 1967. Militärische, Ereijuisse im Nahen Osten, June 1967, Eine Documentation. In *Bibliothek fur Zeitgeschichte Jahres-Bibliographie*. Stuttgart: 1967.
- Levi, Eliyahu S., ed. 1967. *This Was Goliath: Facts and Figurers [sic] on Arab Military Strength in the Six Day War*. Tel Aviv: IDF Information Office.
- Nakdimon, Shlomo. 1968. *Likrat Sha'at Haefes [Toward the Zero Hour: The Drama that Preceded the Six Day War]*. Tel Aviv: Ramdor.
- . 1971. The Moves that Preceded the Occupation of the Old City. *Yediot Abaronot*, 4 June 1971.
- O'Ballance, Edgar. 1972. *The Third Arab-Israeli War*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Peled, Matityahu. 1972. The Character of Danger. *Ma'ariv*, 24 March 1972.
- . 1973. The Beauty Is Untouched. *Ma'ariv*, 15 June 1973.
- Rabin, Yitzhak. 1972. Six Days and Five More Years," *Ma'ariv*, 2 June 1972.
- Rafael, Gideon. 1972. May 1967—A Personal Report. *Ma'ariv*, 18 and 21 April 1972.
- Rodinson, Maxime. 1968. *Israel and the Arabs*. London: Penguin Books.
- Safran, Nadav. 1969. *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967: A Study of the Conflict from the Perspective of Coercion in the Context of Inter-Arab and Big Power Relations*. New York: Pegasus.
- Schiff, Zeev. 1967a. Three Days of the Campaign. *Ha'arets*, 9 June 1967.
- . 1967b. The Three Weeks that Preceded the War. *Ha'arets*, 4 October 1967.
- St. John, Robert. 1972. *Eban*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Tzimouki, Arie. 1967. "The Longest Month" [a résumé of crisis events]. *Yediot Abaronot*, 16, 21, and 25 June 1967.
- . 1972. Eshkol as I Knew Him. *Yediot Abaronot*, 25 February 1972.
- Ulam, Adam B. 1968. *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-67*. New York: Praeger.
- United Nations (UN). 1967a. UN Document, 8/7953, 8 June 1967.
- . 1967b. Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to the Security Council, S/7896 (19 May 1967).
- . 1967c. Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to the Security Council, S/7906 (26 May 1967).
- . 1967d. Report on the Withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force, by U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, 26 June 1967. *UN Monthly Chronicle* 4(7): 135-161.
- Veli, Lester. 1969. *Countdown in the Holy Land*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
- Weizman, Ezer. 1973a. A Chapter from My Memoirs. *Ma'ariv*, 26 September 1973.
- . 1973b. Text of Speech before Herut Center, 14 January 1973, *Yediot Abaronot*, 19 January 1973.
- Wilson, Harold. 1971. *The Labour Government 1965-1970: A Personal Record*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

- Yaffe, Aviad. 1967. The War of Twenty-Seven Days. *Nitzoz*, September 1967.
- Yonah, Major. 1968. The Background of the Six Day War in the Eyes of the Arabs: Egypt and Her Entry Into the War. *Ma'arakhot* 191–192: 37–40, 73–103.
- Yost, Charles W. 1968. The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began. *Foreign Affairs* 46(2): 304–320.

THE 1973 CRISIS-WAR

Interviews

A. Interviews by Michael Brecher

- Bar-Lev, Haim, 29 July 1974.
- Eban, Abba, 15 July 1974.
- Gazit, Mordekhai, 27 July 1974.
- Keating, Kenneth and other U.S. Embassy officials, 30 July and 12 August 1974.
- Meir, Golda aides, 16 and 18 August 1977 (interviews also conducted by Benjamin Geist).
- Peres, Shimon, 11 August 1974.
- Sapir, Pinhas, 25 August 1974.
- Yariv, Aharon, 7 August 1974.

B. Other Interviews

- Bar-Lev, Haim. Interviews, *Ma'ariv*, 9 November 1973 and 21 September 1977.
- Bar-Lev, Haim. Interviews by Uri Millstein, 24 and 31 January, and 26 June 1974.
- Dayan, Moshe. Interview, *Time*, 30 July 1973.
- Dayan, Moshe. "Interview on Israeli Television, 14 October 1973." In special issue, *Ma'arakhot* (November 1973): 232–233.
- Dayan, Moshe. Interview on U.S. Television, CBS, "Face the Nation," 9 December 1973.
- Eban, Abba. Interview, *Davar*, 28 December 1973.
- Eban, Abba. Interview, *Ha'aretz*, 4 October 1974.
- Eban, Abba. Interview on United Kingdom Television, "Panorama," 30 October 1973.
- Hafez, Ismail. Interview with Mohamed Heikal in *Al-Abram* (Cairo), 18 November 1973. In Avi Shay, "Egypt before the Yom Kippur War: War Aims and Plan of Attack," *Ma'arakhot* 250 (July 1976): 18.
- Meir, Golda. Interview, *Ma'ariv*, 16 September 1974.
- Sadat, Anwar. "The October War: As Seen Through the Eyes of Anwar Sadat." Interviews by Mussa Sabri, *Akhbar el-Yom*, 10 September 1974. In *Ma'ariv*, 13 September 1974.
- Tal, Y. Interview, *Yediot Abaronot*, 21 September 1977.

Other Sources

- Agranat Commission. 1974. Partial Report issued by the Committee of Inquiry—Yom Kippur War. Jerusalem: Government Press Office, 3 April 1974.
- . 1975. *Third and Final Report*, press release issued by the Commission of Inquiry—Yom Kippur War (Agranat Commission). Jerusalem: Government Press Office, 30 January 1975.
- Al-Haytham al-Ayoubi. 1975. The Strategies of the Fourth Campaign. In *Middle East Crucible: Studies on the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973*, ed. Naseer H. Aruri, 65–96. Wilmette: Medina University Press International.
- Allon, Yigal. 1973a. Address at the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 3 June 1973.
- . 1973b. Address at the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 26 November 1973.
- Aruri, Naseer H., ed. 1975. *Middle East Crucible: Studies on the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973*. Wilmette: Medina University Press International.
- Avnery, Arieh. 1975. *Shamayim Adoumim [Red Sky]*. Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Madim.
- Bar-Lev, Haim. 1975. We Knew Where the Egyptians Would Attack and How—But We Made a Mistake about the Timing. *Ma'ariv*, 1 August 1975.
- Bar-Tov, Hanoch. 1978. *Dado—48 Years and Another 20 Days. 2 vols.* Sifriyat Ma'ariv: Tel Aviv.
- Begin, Menachem. 1973. Statement in the Knesset, 16 October 1973. *Divrei Haknesset* 68, 4476–4479.
- Ben-Porath, Yeshayahu, et al. 1973. *Hamechdal [The Fiasco]*. Tel Aviv: Hotza'a Meyuhedet.
- Brecher, Michael. 1974. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*. London: Oxford University Press; and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Dayan, Moshe. 1973. Speech to the Knesset, 30 October 1973. *Divrei Haknesset* 68, 4585–4587.
- . 1974. Confidential Briefing to Israeli Newspaper Editors, 9 October 1973. *Ha'aretz*, 15 February 1974.
- . 1976. *Story of My Life*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatzky's Agency.
- Disentshik, Ido. 1977. You Don't Ask for a Cease-Fire with Your Back to the Wall. *Ma'ariv*, 21 September 1977.
- Draper, Theodore. 1974. The Road to Geneva. *Commentary* 57(2): 23–39.
- Eban, Abba. 1973. Press Conference with UN Correspondents Association, 17 October 1973; reported in *New York Times*, 18 October 1973.
- . 1977a. *An Autobiography*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatzky's Agency.
- . 1977b. Kissinger Told Me that He Went to Sleep Quietly after He Received the Israeli Intelligence Appreciation on the Eve of October 5. *Ma'ariv*, 21 September 1977.
- Elazar, David. 1975. The Yom Kippur War: Military Lessons. In *Military Aspects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held in*

- Jerusalem, 12–17 October 1975*, 245–250. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- . 1976. Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet in May 1975 in response to the Agranat Commission's findings. *Ma'ariv*, 20 April 1976.
- Gazit, Shlomo. 1975. Arab Forces Two Years after the Yom Kippur War. In *Military Aspects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Jerusalem, 12–17 October 1975*, 188–195. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- Golan, Matti. 1976. *The Secret Conversations of Henry Kissinger: Step-by-Step Diplomacy in the Middle East*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Golan, Galia. 1977. *Yom Kippur and After: The Soviet Union and the Middle East Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonen, Shmuel. 1977. Interview with Major-General Gonen on the Fourth Anniversary of the Yom Kippur War (Hebrew Calendar). *Yediot Aharonot*, 21 September 1977.
- Government of Jordan Communiqué, 13 October 1973, published in *New York Times*, 14 October 1973.
- Handel, Michael I. 1976. Perception, Deception and Surprise: The Case of the Yom Kippur War. *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problems* 19. Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976.
- Haselkorn, Avigdor. 1964. Israeli Intelligence Performance in the Yom Kippur War. Discussion Paper, Hudson Institute, 17 July 1964.
- Heikal, Mohamed. 1975. *The Road to Ramadan*. London: Collins.
- Herzog, Chaim. 1975. *The War of Atonement, October 1973*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatsky's Agency.
- Hussein, Ibn Talal, King of Jordan. 1973. Statement in the Jordanian Cabinet, broadcast over Radio Amman, 7 October 1973; text in *Ma'arakhot*, special edition (November 1973): 232–233.
- Insight Team of *the Sunday Times*. 1974. *The Yom Kippur War*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. 1973. *The Military Balance 1973–74*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Khalidi, Ahmed S. 1975. The Military Balance 1967–73. In *Middle East Crucible: Studies on the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973*, ed. Naseer H. Aruri, 21–63. Wilmette: Medina University Press International.
- Kipnis, Yigal. 2013. *1973: The Road to War*. Charlottesville: Just World Books.
- Kissinger, Henry. 1973. Press Conference, 25 October 1973. Reported in *New York Times*, 26 October 1973.
- Luttwak, Edward N., and Walter Laqueur. 1974. Kissinger and the Yom Kippur War. *Commentary* 58(3): 33–40.

- Medzini, Meron, ed. 1976. *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents, 1947–1974*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Meir, Golda. 1973a. Address to the Nation on Television, 10 October 1973.
- . 1973b. Press Conference, 3 November 1973; reported in *New York Times*, 4 November 1973.
- . 1973c. Speech to the Knesset, 16 October 1973. In Israel, *Divrei Haknesset*, 68, 4459–4474.
- . 1974. Statement to the Knesset, 22 January 1974. In Israel, *Divrei Haknesset* 69, 10–12.
- . 1975. *My Life*. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Steimatsky's Agency.
- Monroe, Elizabeth, and Anthony Farrar-Hockley. 1974. *The Arab-Israel War, October 1973: Background and Events*. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1974. Adelphi Paper No. 111.
- Nakdimon, Shlomo. 1973. The Events that Preceded the War. *Yediot Aharonot* [series of articles], 23, 30 November; and 7, 14 December 1973.
- . 1974. Protocols of Discussions among the Political and Military Leaders on the 5th and 6th October 1973. *Yediot Aharonot* [series of articles], 12, 19, 26 July; and 2, 9, 16 August 1974.
- Peled, Binyamin. 1975. The Air Force in the Yom Kippur War. In *Military Aspects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Jerusalem, 12–17 October 1975*, 228–245. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- Quandt, William B. 1977. *Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967–1976*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Sadat, Anwar. 1978. *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Schiff, Zeev. 1974a. The 8th of October: The Most Important Day of the War. *Ha'arets*, 25 and 30 September 1974.
- . 1974b. *October Earthquake, Yom Kippur 1973*. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- . 1975. The Full Story of the Encirclement that Ended the Yom Kippur War. *Ha'arets*, 14 September 1975.
- Shay, Avi. 1976. Egypt before the Yom Kippur War: War Aims and Plan of Attack. *Ma'arakhot* 250: 15–38.
- Shlaim, Avi. 1976. Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War. *World Politics* 28: 348–380.
- Text of Agreement on Disengagement between Israel and Syrian Forces, signed on 31 May 1974. *New York Times*, 30 May 1974.
- United Nations (UN). 1973. UN Security Council. Resolution 340. UN Emergency Force for Middle East. 25 October 1973.

- Van Creveld, Martin. 1975. *Military Lessons of the Yom Kippur War: Historical Perspectives*. The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., The Washington Papers, vol. 3. London/Beverly Hills: SAGE.
- Williams, Louis. 1975. *Military Aspects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Jerusalem, 12–17 October 1975*. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- Yariv, Aharon. 1974. Israeli Intelligence Believed Already in the Summer of 1972 that Egypt Would Be Ready for War in May 1973. *Ma'ariv*, 18 July 1974.
- Zumwalt, Elmo R. 1976. *On Watch, A Memoir*. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co.

WORKS CONSULTED

Arab/Israel: General

- Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov. 1994. *Israel and the Peace Process 1977–1982*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ben-Yehuda, Hemda, and Shmuel Sandler. 2002. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict Transformed: Fifty Years of Interstate and Ethnic Crises*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Brecher, Michael. 1972. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1974. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Brecher, Michael, and Benjamin Geist. 1980. *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brecher, Michael, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 1997. *A Study of Crisis*, 268–300. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain, and Neil Caplan. 2010. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Fraser, T.G. 2004. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Frisch, Hillel. 2004. Perceptions of Israel in the Armies of Syria, Egypt, and Jordan. *Political Studies* 52(3): 395–412.
- Hermann, Tamar S. 2009. *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herzog, Chaim, and Shlomo Gazit. 2004. *The Arab–Israeli Wars*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Jones, Clive. 2002. The Foreign Policy of Israel. In *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, ed. Raymond A. Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 115–141. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

- Karsh, Efraim. 2002. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Palestine War 1948*. Toronto: Osprey Publishing.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 2013. *Brokers of Deceit: How the Us Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Khoury, Fred J. 1985. *The Arab-Israeli Dilemma*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Kissinger, Henry. 2003. *Crisis: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Lukacs, Yehuda, ed. 1992. *The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record 1967–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahler, Gregory S., and Alden R.W. Mahler. 2010. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Introduction and Documentary Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Ma'oz, Moshe. 1999. From Conflict to Peace? Israel's Relations with Syria and the Palestinians. *Middle East Journal* 53(3): 393–416.
- Maoz, Zeev. 2006. *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Morris, Benny. 2001. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881–2001*. New York: Knopf.
- . 2008. *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Oren, Michael B. 2002. *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Presidio Press.
- Quandt, William B. 2005. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab–Israeli Conflict since 1967*. 3rd ed. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- Rabinovich, Itamar. 1991. *The Road Not Taken: Early Arab–Israeli Negotiations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2011. *The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East 1948–2011*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- Ross, Dennis. 2004. *The Missing Peace*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Safran, Nadav. 1969. *From War to War: The Arab–Israel Confrontation 1948–1967*. New York: Pegasus.

ARAB/ISRAEL PROTRACTED CONFLICT (2)

- Shlaim, Avi. 2000. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin.
- . 2005. *The Camp David Summit – What Went Wrong?: Americans, Israelis, and Palestinians Analyze the Failure of the Boldest Attempt Ever to Resolve the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.
- Stein, Janice G., and Raymond Tanter. 1980. *Rational Decision-Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

- Tucker, Spencer, and Priscilla M. Roberts. 2008. *The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social, and Military History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

EGYPT/ISRAEL

- Barnett, Michael N. 1992. *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Boutros-Ghali, B. 1997. *Egypt's road to Jerusalem*. New York: Random House.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 2002. The Foreign Policy of Egypt. In *The Foreign Policy of Middle East States*, ed. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 91–115. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

ISRAEL/PALESTINE

- Caplan, Neil. 2010. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*. Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Ciment, James. 1997. *Palestine/Israel: The Long Conflict*. New York: Facts on File.
- Dowty, Alan. 2012. *Israel/Palestine*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity.
- Farsoun, Samih K., and Naseer H. Aruri. 2006. *Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Flapan, Simha. 1979. *Zionism and the Palestinians*. London: Croom-Helm.
- Gānim, As'ad. 2001. *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948–2000: A Political Study*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gelvin, James L. 2007. *The Israel–Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Golan, Galia. 2007. *Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans from Oslo to Disengagement*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Harms, Gregory, and Todd M. Ferry. 2005. *The Palestine–Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction*. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
- Hassassian, Manuel S. 1997. Policy and Attitude Changes in the Palestine Liberation Organization, 1965–1994: A Democracy in the Making. Chap. 5. In *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964–1994*, ed. Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, 73–94. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- International Court of Justice. 2004. Request for an Advisory Opinion. Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. Written Statement submitted by Palestine. 30 January 2004.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2006. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Kimmerling, Baruch, and Joel S. Migdal. 2003. *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lesch, Ann M., and Mark A. Tessler. 1989. *Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinians: From Camp David to Intifada*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Makovsky, David. 1996. *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accord*. Boulder: Westview Press.

ARAB/ISRAEL PROTRACTED CONFLICT (3)

- Menachem, K. 2010. *The Shift: Israel-Palestine from Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Milton-Edwards, B. 2009. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A People's War*. New York: Routledge.
- Morris, Benny. 1990. *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1988. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2009. *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nisan, Mordechai. 1978. *Israel and the Territories: A Study in Control, 1967–1977*. Ramat Gan/Israel: Turtledove.
- O'Neill, Bard E. 1978. *Armed Struggle in Palestine: A Political–Military Analysis*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Pappé, Ilan. 1986. Moshe Sharett, David Ben-Gurion and the 'Palestine Option,' 1948–1956. *Studies in Zionism* 7(1): 77–96.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2011. *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rolef, Susan H. 1997. Israel's Policy Toward the PLO: From Rejection to Recognition. Chap. 14. In *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964–1994*, ed. Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, 253–272. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Rubin, Barry M. 1994. *Revolution Until Victory?: The Politics and History of the PLO*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Said, Edward. 1979. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Times Books.
- Ṣāyigh, Yazīd. 1997a. The Armed Struggle and Palestinian Nationalism. Chap. 2. In *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964–1994*, ed. Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, 23–35. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- . 1997b. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949–1993*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Schanzer, Jonathan. 2008. *Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine*. New York: Palegravwe Macmillan.
- Sela, Avraham, and Moshe Ma'oz, ed. 1997. *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964–1994*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Shlaim, Avi. 1994. Prelude to the Accord: Likud, Labor, and the Palestinians. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23(2): 5–19.
- Smith, Charles D. 2004. *Palestine and the Arab–Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*. 5th ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press.
- Telhami, Shibley. 1999. From Camp David to Wye: Changing Assumptions in Arab–Israeli Negotiations. *Middle East Journal* 53(3): 379–392.
- Tessler, Mark A. 2009. *A History of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wasserstein, Bernard. 2008. *Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

ISRAEL/SYRIA

- Cobban, Helena. 1991. *The Superpowers and the Syrian–Israeli Conflict: Beyond Crisis Management?* New York: Praeger.
- . 1999. *The Israeli–Syrian Peace Talks: 1991–96 and Beyond*. Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace.
- Drysdale, Alasdair, and Raymond Hinnebusch. 1991. *Syria and the Middle East Peace Process*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 1996. Does Syria Want Peace? Syrian Policy in the Syrian–Israeli Peace Negotiations. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 26(1): 42–57.
- . 2002. The Foreign Policy of Syria. In *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, ed. Raymond A. Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 141–167. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

ARAB/ISRAEL PROTRACTED CONFLICT (4)

- Kessler, Martha. 2000. Syria, Israel, and the Middle East Peace Process: Past Successes and Final Challenges. *Middle East Policy* 7(2): 68–89.
- Khoury, Fred J. 1963. Friction and Conflict on the Israeli–Syrian Front. *Middle East Journal* 17(1): 14–34.
- Lawson, Fred H. 1996. *Why Syria Goes to War: Thirty Years of Confrontation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ma'oz, Moshe. 1994. Syria, Israel, and the Peace Process. In *From War to Peace: Arab–Israeli Relations, 1973–1993*, ed. Barry Rubin, Joseph Ginat, and Moshe Ma'oz, 157–181. New York: New York University Press.
- . 1995. *Syria and Israel: From War to Peacemaking*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Muslih, Muhammad. 1993. The Golan: Israel, Syria, and Strategic Calculations. *Middle East Journal* 47(4): 611–632.
- Neff, Donald. 1994. Israel–Syria: Conflict at the Jordan River, 1949–1967. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23(4): 26–40.

- Rabinovich, Itamar. 1998. *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli–Syrian Negotiations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Seale, Patrick. 2000. The Israel–Syria Negotiations: Who is Telling the Truth? *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29(2): 65–77.
- Shaaban, Bouthaina. 2013. *Damascus Diary: An Inside Account of Hafez Al-Assad's Peace Diplomacy, 1990–2000*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Siegmán, H. 2000. Being Hafiz Al–Assad: Syria's Chilly but Consistent Peace Strategy. *Foreign Affairs* 79(3): 2–7.
- Slater, Jerome. 2002. Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab–Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948–2001. *International Security* 27(1): 79–106.

ARAB/ISRAEL WARS

- Aruni, N.H. 1975. *Middle East Crucible: Studies on the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973*. Wilmette: Medina University Press.
- Bar-Zohar, Michael. 1970. *Embassies in Crisis; Diplomats and Demagogues behind the Six-Day War*. Englewood cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Churchill, Randolph Spencer, and Winston Spencer Churchill. 1967. *The Six-Day War*. London: Heinemann.
- Daigle, C., and N. Howland. 2011. *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1969-1976, Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1973*. Vol. XXV. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Office of the Historian Bureau of Public Affairs.
- Eden, Sir Anthony. 1960. *Full Circle*. London: Cassell, Book Three, Suez.
- Ferris, Jesse. 2013. *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day war and the Decline of Egyptian Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Segev, Tom. 2007. *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*. New York: Metropolitan.
- Sobel, L. 1974. *Israel & the Arabs: The October 1973 War*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.
- Wagner, Abraham R. 1974. *Crisis Decision-making: Israel's Experience in 1967 and 1973*. New York: Praeger.

OTHER SOURCES

- Avineri, Shlomo. 1981. *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel. 2013. *Intractable Conflicts: Socio-psychological Foundations and Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benvenesti, Meron. 1976. *Jerusalem: The Torn City*. Jerusalem: Isratypeset Ltd.

- Boulding, Kenneth Ewart. 1956. *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bull, Hedley. 1966. International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach. *World Politics* 18(3): 361–377.
- Dayan, Moshe. 1966. *Diary of the Sinai Campaign*. New York: Harper & Row.
- . 1976. *Moshe Dayan: Story of My Life*. New York: Morrow.
- . 1981. *Breakthrough: A Personal Account of the Egypt-Israel Peace Negotiations*. New York: Knopf.
- de Mesquita, Bruce Bueno. 1985. Reply to Stephen Krasner and Robert Jervis. *International Studies Quarterly* 29(2): 151–154.
- Easton, David. 1957. An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems. *World Politics* 9(3): 383–400.
- Elazar, David. 1975. The Yom Kippur War: Military Lessons. In *Military Aspects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held in Jerusalem, 12–17 October 1975*. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.
- Halpern, Ben. 1969. *The Idea of the Jewish State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Harvey, Mose L. 1974. *The Soviet Union and the October 1973 Middle East War: The Implications for Détente*. Miami: Monographs in International Affairs, Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami.
- Holsti, Oil. 1965. Perceptions of Time and Alternative Factors in Crisis Decision-making. *Peace Research Society Papers* 3: 79–120.
- Janis, Irving L. 1972. *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign-Policy Decisions and Fiascos*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin.
- . 1989. *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management*. New York: Free Press.
- Janis, Irving L., and Leon Mann. 1977. *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment*. New York: Free Press.
- Kaplan, Robert B. 1966. Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education. *Language Learning* 16(1–2): 1–20.
- Korany, Bahgat, ‘Ali -D. Hilāl, and Aḥmad Y. Aḥmad. 1991. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Change*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Lehrs, Lior. 2016. Jerusalem on the Negotiating Table: Analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks on Jerusalem (1993–2015). *Israel Studies* 21(3): 179–205.
- Leng, Russell J. 1983. When Will They Ever Learn? Coercive Bargaining in Recurrent Crises. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27(3): 379–419.
- Neustadt, Richard E., and Ernest R. May. 1986. *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers*. New York: Free Press.
- North, Robert, Ole Holsti, and Richard Brody. 1968. *Perception and Action in the Study of International Relations: The 1914 Case: Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence*. New York: The Free Press.

- Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Shlaim, Avi. 2008. *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Snyder, Richard C., H.W. Bruck, and Burton M. Sapin. 1962. *Foreign Policy Decision-Making; An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Sprout, Harold, and Margaret Sprout. 1965. *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, with Special Reference to International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton Center of International Studies, Princeton Univ. Press.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov. 1990. *The World in their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision-making*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

NAME INDEX

A

Abbas, Mahmoud, 120, 287, 290,
303, 304, 305, 320
Abdullah, King, 29, 37, 299, 300,
312
Abu Meizer, Abdul Mouhsen, 53
Ahmad, Mohammed Sayeed, 54–66
al-Assad, Hafiz, 42, 122
Al-Baz, Osama, 7, 54, 66–77
Allenby, Edmund, 10, 290
Allon, Yigal, 48–52, 159, 177, 183,
184, 189, 191, 194, 196, 203,
204, 206, 208, 212, 215, 219,
223, 225, 228, 229, 231, 233,
238, 241, 252n57, 269n196,
340
Almogi, Yoseph, 171
Alphand, Herve, 162
al-Quwwatli, Shukri, 40
Amit, Meir, 158, 161, 162, 173, 199,
202, 206–9, 258n112, 259n123
Anderson, Robert, 45, 203

Arafat, Yassir, 16, 39, 71, 109, 113,
119–22, 285, 288, 289, 290,
291, 292, 296, 302, 305, 310,
312, 313, 324
Aranne, Zalman, 159, 171, 173,
191
Aref, Abdul Rahman, 200, 213
Assad, Hafez al, 261n146, 268n186,
281
Attasi, President Nureddin, 198
Avigur, Shaul, 159
Avnery, Uri, 311, 321

B

Badran, Shamsuddin, 189, 192
Baker, James, 286
Balfour, Lord, 11
Barak, Aharon, 350
Barak, Ehud, 120, 290, 291, 292,
296, 299, 304, 340, 347, 358
Barbour, Walworth, 193

Note: Page numbers with “n” denote notes.

- Bar-Lev, Haim, 160, 177, 180, 189,
196, 215, 217, 219, 223, 225,
229, 230, 231, 234, 259n119,
262n152, 268n188, 270n207,
274n237
- Bar-Tov, Hanoch, 261n151, 262n152
- Barzilai, Yisrael, 159, 191, 211
- Basheer, Tahseen, 53
- Battle, Lucius, 169, 181
- Begin, Menahem, 159, 171, 203, 204,
205, 206, 223, 282, 322–3,
361n29
- Beilin, Yossi, 287, 361n29
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, 298
- Ben-Eliezer, A., 171
- Ben-Gurion, David, 5–6, 17, 20–2,
24, 27–8, 30, 39, 43–5, 48,
108–9, 122, 141, 159, 168, 172,
183, 184, 197, 203, 211, 212,
248n23, 251n47, 255n83,
256n86, 278, 317, 318, 340
- Benizri, Shlomo, 346
- Bennett, Naftali, 343
- Bentov, Mordekhai, 159, 191, 211
- Bernadotte, Folke, 27–9
- Bitan, Moshe, 160, 161, 250n37,
258n112
- Boulding, Kenneth, 2
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 7, 53–4,
77–100
- Brecher, Irving, 324
- Brecher, Michael, 104, 318–19
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 226, 227, 236,
240, 268n186, 274n234
- Brown, George, 165, 166, 176, 179,
202
- Bruck, H.W., 2
- Bunche, Ralph, 24, 133, 162, 163,
245–6n9
- Burdett, Winston, 248n25
- Burg, Yoseph, 159, 191, 220, 229
- Bush, George W., 299, 301, 303, 305
- Bykov (Soviet diplomat), 188
- C**
- Cannel, M., 191
- Caradon, Lord, 204, 320
- Carmel, Moshe, 159, 171, 173, 183,
191, 194, 200, 284n140
- Carter, President James E., 282, 283,
291, 305
- Chuvakhin, Dmitri, 165, 188, 189,
190, 213
- Clinton, Bill, 42, 120, 281, 287, 289,
290, 291, 294, 296, 297, 299,
303, 306
- Couve de Murville, Maurice, 165, 177
- Curzon, Lord, 11
- D**
- Dayan, Moshe, 43, 48–52, 73, 158,
159, 166, 168, 171, 172, 180,
184, 197, 201, 203, 204, 205,
206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 215,
216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221,
222, 223, 225, 227, 228, 229,
230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236,
238, 241, 250n41, 259n119,
259n126, 262n151, 262n152,
263n160, 264n161, 265n167,
266n171, 268n188, 269n196,
270n207, 271n207, 271n209,
282, 299, 340
- De Gaulle, Charles, 165, 166, 171,
173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 190,
194, 195, 206, 207, 210, 211,
248n23, 251n44, 251n47,
252n58
- de Mesquita, Bueno, 4
- Dichter, Avi, 347
- Dinitz, Simha, 219, 227, 228, 231,
232, 235, 236, 237, 241,
263n161, 268n189, 274n234
- Dinstein, Zvi, 159, 189, 208
- Dirksen, Everett, 179
- Disentshik, Ido, 233

Dobrynin, Anatoly, 233, 235,
264n161

Dori, Y., 168

Dotan, Hagai, 348

Dulles, John Foster, 179

E

Easton, David, 2

Eban, Abba, 2, 3, 18–19, 24, 30, 32,
47, 51–2, 73, 158, 161, 162,
163, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170,
171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177,
178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183,
184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191,
192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199,
201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 208,
209, 210, 211, 212, 220, 224,
226, 229, 231, 232, 235, 238,
242, 247n21, 248n28, 251n47,
252n58, 254n76, 255n78,
259n123, 264n161, 267n186,
268n187, 269n191, 274n234,
317, 340

Eckstein, Yecheiel, 336

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 45, 179,
253n63

El Khani, Abdullah, 53

El Magd, Kamal Abu, 53

Elazar, David, 142, 151, 212, 215,
217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222,
223, 225, 226, 227, 229, 231,
234, 237, 243, 261n146,
262n151, 265–6n171, 265n169,
266n179, 268n188, 271n209

Eliav, Arye (Lova), 321

en-Lai, Zhou, 128

Erekat, Saeb, 298, 305

Eshkol, Levi, 17, 47–8, 158, 159, 161,
162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167,
168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173,
174, 176, 180, 181, 182, 183,
184, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191,

192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197,
198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 205,
206, 208, 209, 211, 212, 248n23,
251n47, 255n81, 255n83,
255n85, 256n86, 257n105,
258n106, 258n111, 258n112,
259n120, 259n124, 340

Evatt, Herbert, 29

Evron, Ephraim, 160, 166, 169, 172,
176, 181, 182, 185, 198, 201,
207, 213, 255n78

Eweiss, Yehia, 53

Eytan, Walter, 23, 162, 177, 192, 210,
211

F

Fischer, Louis, 359

Fishman, Rabbi, 19–21

G

Galili, Yisrael, 159, 161, 171, 177,
183, 189, 191, 195, 212, 217,
219, 225, 229, 231, 238,
264n161, 268n188

Gavish, Yeshayahu, 201, 205–6,
259n119

Gazit, Mordekhai, 217, 219, 224,
264n161, 265n169, 267n186

Gazit, Shlomo, 149

Ghanem, Ismail, 53

Gide, André, 359

Golan, Galia, 227

Golan, Matti, 233

Golan, Yair, 357

Goldberg, Arthur, 187, 202, 213,
245n8

Gonen, Shmuel, 219, 226

Granot, Yaakov, 347

Gromyko, Andrei, 176, 179, 207

Gur, Mordekhai, 268n189

Gvati, Haim, 159, 191, 220, 229

H

Habib, Philip, 137
 Hacothen, David, 171
 Haig, Alexander, 237
 Halpern, Ben, 24
 Halutz, Dan, 346
 Hammarskjold, Dag, 161, 244–5n5,
 245n9
 Hanegbi, Tzachi, 346
 Harkabi, Yehoshafat, 53
 Harman, Avraham, 160, 162, 166,
 169, 179, 181, 182, 184, 187,
 192, 198, 199, 201, 204, 207,
 208, 248n28
 Hazan, Ya'acov, 184, 211
 Hazani, Michael, 200, 217, 229
 Heath, Edward, 268n186
 Heikal, Mohamed, 154n2, 187,
 247n18
 Herzl, Theodore, 10
 Herzog, Ya'acov, 23, 30, 160,
 161, 171, 180, 189, 208, 229,
 248n25
 Hillel, Shlomo, 217, 229
 Hirschson, Abraham, 345–6
 Hofi, Yitzhak, 205, 219
 Holsti, Ole, 2
 Horowitz, David, 23
 Humphrey, Hubert H., 175, 203,
 204, 213
 Hussein, King, 69, 123, 198, 200,
 213, 270n196, 312
 Hussein, Saddam, 286
 Hussein, Sharif, 11
 Hussein, Faisal, 120

I

Indyk, Martin, 305
 Issa, Mahmoud Khairy, 53
 Issa, Norman, 343

J

Janis, Irving L., 7
 Jarring, Gunnar, 281–2
 Jarvis, Robert, 4
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 135, 162,
 163, 166, 169, 170, 173,
 175, 179, 180, 184, 185,
 186, 192, 193, 198, 199, 201,
 203, 208, 210, 211, 248n28,
 254n71, 254n76, 255n78,
 258n112
 Joseph, Dov, 19, 21–3, 30

K

Kalb, Bernard and Marvin, 236
 Kaplan, Eliezer, 20
 Karadi, Moshe, 346, 347
 Karame, Rashid, 200
 Katz, Katriel, 207
 Katz, Yisrael, 347
 Katzav, Moshe, 344
 Keating, Kenneth, 219, 222, 228,
 241, 263n161, 264n161,
 267n186, 274n234
 Kennedy, John F., 248n28
 Kerry, John, 290, 303, 305–6
 Khaled, King, 113
 Kidron, Aharon, 219
 Kissinger, Henry, 137, 143,
 217, 218, 224, 227, 228,
 231, 232, 233, 235, 236,
 237, 238, 239, 241,
 263n161, 264n161, 268n186,
 268n189, 269n189, 269n193,
 270n196, 271n208, 273n230,
 274n232
 Koestler, Arthur, 359
 Kol, Moshe, 159, 191
 Kollek, Teddy, 53, 250n41
 Kony, Mohamed El-, 163

Kosygin, Aleksei, 135, 166, 176, 179,
188, 189, 192, 206, 234, 235,
238, 255n83, 255n85, 268n186
Krasner, Stephen, 4

L

Landau, Haim, 171
Lawson, Edward B., 32
Levavi, Arye, 160, 161, 188, 189, 208
Lieberman, Avigdor, 358
Lior, Yisrael, 219
Livni, Tzipi, 304, 305
Lourie, Arthur, 161
Lowenstein, Frank, 305

M

McMahon, Monsignor, 29
McMahon, Sir Henry, 11
MacMillan, Harold, 170
McNamara, Robert, 184, 213
Magal, Yinon, 348
Maimon, Yehuda Leib (Rabbi
Fishman), 19–21
Makhus, Ibrahim, 198
Mann, Leon, 7
Mansfield, Michael, 179, 213
Martin, Paul, 246n15
Matza, Jacky, 346
May, Ernest R., 7
Mazuz, Menachem, 344
Meir, Golda, 17, 23, 48, 121, 152,
159, 165, 171, 173, 189, 217,
219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228,
229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235,
236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242,
262n151, 262n152, 264n161,
265n169, 266n178, 268n188,
270n199, 271n209, 340
Melchior, Michael, 339

Mendler, Avraham, 152, 218
Menon, Krishna, 3
Molcho, Yitzhak, 305
Mor, Ilan, 348
Moratinos, Miguel, 297
Mubarak, Hosni, 54, 66
Muhi-a-Din, Zahariyah, 203

N

Nakdimon, Shlomo, 250n39
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 44, 47,
59, 109, 133, 141, 154n2,
160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168,
169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176,
178, 179, 183, 187, 188, 191,
193, 195, 197, 198, 202, 203,
204, 205, 207, 211, 213, 221,
246n9, 247n18, 247n21,
248n25, 249n33, 255–6n85,
255n80, 317
Navon, Yitzhak, 31
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 3
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 124, 285, 290,
304, 305, 334, 336, 339, 343,
347, 357, 358
Nixon, Richard M., 226, 227, 228,
230, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237,
238, 240, 241, 242, 261n146,
262n152, 264n161, 266n174,
268n186, 270n199, 271n208,
272n215, 274n232, 274n234,
274n237, 275n242
Nutting, Anthony, 213

O

O'Ballance, Edgar, 247n18
Olmert, Ehud, 290, 303, 304, 320,
321, 345, 346, 347
Omar, 9, 13

P

Pa'il, Meir, 321
 Pearson, Lester, 168, 204
 Peled, Matityahu, 196, 219, 229,
 259n119, 266n179, 321
 Peres, Shimon, 50–2, 53, 123,
 159, 168, 171, 172, 184, 203,
 217, 285, 287, 340, 346,
 361n29
 Pickering, Thomas, 53
 Pozhidaev, Dmitri, 249n33

Q

Quandt, William B., 227, 232,
 263n161, 269n193, 270n196,
 273n230

R

Rabin, Yitzhak, 122, 143, 158,
 160, 161, 162, 163, 164,
 166, 167, 168, 170, 171,
 174, 177, 180, 183, 184,
 189, 194, 196, 200, 203,
 204, 206, 208, 211, 249n37,
 252n48, 259n119, 288, 289,
 313, 361n29
 Rabinovich, Itamar, 40, 53
 Rafael, Gideon, 160, 161,
 162, 163, 169, 204, 213,
 245n9
 Rafei, Abdul Ghani, 53
 Ramon, Haim, 346
 Regev, Miri, 343, 344
 Remez, Aharon, 192
 Remez, David, 21
 Riad, Mahmoud, 53
 Rimalt, E., 171
 Robinson, Jacob, 18
 Rosen, Pinchas, 28

Ross, Dennis, 294

Rostow, Eugene, 162, 166, 169,
 172, 181, 192, 194, 198, 204,
 207

Rostow, Walt, 169, 185, 198, 201,
 213

Rothschild, Baron, 12

Rubinstein, Danny, 349

Rusk, Dean, 181, 182, 184, 185, 192,
 193, 194, 198, 201, 202, 204,
 207, 213

S

Sadat, Anwar el-, 7, 53, 54, 66,
 85, 102, 115–16, 122, 233,
 234, 235, 240, 261n146,
 267n179, 268n186, 269n193,
 272n213, 274n234, 274n240,
 275n242, 282, 305, 312, 322–3,
 361n29

Said Aly, Abdel Moneim, 101

St. John, Robert, 251n44

Saphir, Yoseph, 159, 203

Sapin, Burton, 2

Sapir, Pinhas, 159, 171, 172, 183,
 191, 229, 263n160

Sarid, Yossi, 339

Sasson, Eliahu, 159, 189, 191

Scali, John, 226

Schiff, Zeev, 228, 266n178

Schlesinger, James, 271n208

Scowcroft, Brent, 218, 235

Serlin, Yoseph, 171

Shalev, Arye, 231, 263n161

Shalom, Silvan, 348

Shamir, Yitzhak, 285

Shapira, Haim Moshe, 23, 159, 167,
 173, 191, 211

Shapira, Y.S., 191, 229

Shapiro, Y.E., 159

Sharef, Ze'ev, 24, 30–1, 159, 183,
191, 220
Sharett, Moshe, 17, 20–2, 24, 34, 43,
46–8, 52, 317, 340
Sharon, Ariel, 119–20, 180, 196, 206,
299, 302, 321, 345, 347
Shazar, Zalman, 164, 168
Shtayyeh, Muhammed, 305
Shukeiry, Ahmed, 183
Shultz, George P., 285
Silone, Ignazio, 359
Silver, Abba Hillel, 22
Sneh, Moshe, 251n46
Snyder, Richard C., 2
Sokolow, Nahum, 12
Solow, Robert, 333
Spender, Stephen, 359

T

Tabor, Hans, 204
Tal, Yisrael, 180, 219, 229
Tekoah, Yoseph, 161, 213
Thant, U, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166,
167, 169, 174, 176, 184, 187,
188, 210, 244n5, 245n8, 245n9,
248n28, 281
Thatcher, Margaret, 334
Thomson, George, 176, 179
Tohami, Hassan, 282
Turki Al Feisal, Prince, 301

V

Veliotis, Nicholas, 219, 228, 241
Vertzberger, Y., 7
Vinogradov, Vladimir, 274n234

W

Waldheim, Kurt, 264n161

Warhaftig, Zerah, 159, 171, 183, 191,
220, 229
Weizman, Ezer, 160, 161, 171, 174,
177, 189, 205, 250n37, 252n48,
278
Weizmann, Chaim, 12, 324
Wheeler, Earl, 182, 184, 185,
210
Wilson, Harold, 166, 170, 176, 178,
179, 190, 192, 202, 204, 207,
210, 213, 251n44, 251n47,
252n58
Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 333
Wright, Richard, 359

Y

Ya'acobi, Gad, 229
Yaalon, Moshe, 356, 357,
358
Ya'ari, Meir, 184, 211
Yadin, Yigael, 159, 208
Yaffe, Aviad, 160, 161, 171, 172, 188,
255n81
Yaffe, Avraham, 196
Yariv, Aharon, 160, 161, 162,
171, 180, 183, 189, 190,
204, 208, 244n2, 267n186,
274n234
Yassin, Al-Sayed, 101
Yeshayahu, Yisrael, 159, 191

Z

Zadok, Haim, 229
Zaides, Arkadi, 343
Zeira, Eliahu, 216, 217, 219, 229,
261n146
Zubi, Mohammed, 198
Zumwalt, Elmo, 271n208
Zur, Tzvi, 168, 219

SUBJECT INDEX

A

- absence of collective exhaustion by
 either of the principal adversaries,
 314
- Abu Rodeis, Egypt, 227, 229
- Agranat Commission, 221
 criticism of IDF by, 226
 on delay in 1973 mobilization, 222
- Agudat Yisrael* Party, 19, 195, 229,
 262n156, 268n188, 347
- Abdut Ha'avoda* party, in National
 Unity Government, 157, 183
- Al-Abram* intellectuals: view, 100–15
- Al-Biqa Missiles I crisis (28 April–24
 July 1981), 130–1
- Al-Biqa Missiles II crisis (19
 November 1985–15 January
 1986), 131
- Alexandria, Egypt
 military action contemplated
 against, 213
 Soviet nuclear weapons in, 241, 244
- Aliya*, 47–8
- Allon, Yigal
 in 1967 crisis, 191; decision-making
 and consulting role, 183–4,
 189, 194, 196, 204, 206, 208,
 212; military strategy suggested
 by, 183–4, 191, 194, 196; in
 National Unity Government,
 159, 203; visit to Soviet Union,
 177
- in 1973 crisis; advocated
 establishment of Druze state,
 233; decision-making and
 consulting role, 215, 219, 223,
 225, 229, 231; negotiation
 with U.S. by, 228, 238, 241
 perceptions, 48–51
- AMAN (IDF military intelligence),
 216–17, 262n152
 information processing by, 216
 probability of war perceived by, 217,
 262n152

Note: Page numbers with “n” denote notes.

- American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, 53, 101
- Amit, Meir, General
 in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 162, 173, 208–9; probability of war perceived by, 161; U.S. mission of, 158, 199, 200, 202–3, 207
- Aqaba, Gulf of, freedom of access to, 170, 188
 French position on, 195
 Great Britain's position on, 176
 U.S. position on, 174–6, 186–7, 208
- Arab/Israel PC: causes of deadlock in quest for conflict resolution, 308–14
 absence of collective exhaustion by either of the principal adversaries, 309–10
 continuance of unequal capability, 310
 increase in conflict-sustaining acts, 313–14
 lack of domestic pressures for conflict termination, 311–12
 persistence of discordance in basic objectives, 312–13
- Arab/Israel wars and UN resolution, 19, 120–1, 141, 142, 299, 308, 322
 “land for peace,” 3
- Arab League, 16, 53, 66, 97, 124–5, 128, 278, 299–301, 307, 312
- Arab Peace Initiative (27 March 2002), 299–301
- Arab Socialist Union, 168
- Arab Workers Conference, 187
- Arafat statement of recognition of Israel's existence at Stockholm News Conference and address to UN General Assembly (8, 13 December 1988), 285
- arms embargo, French declaration of, 1967, 207, 211
- Assad, Hafez al
 and cease-fire terms, 1973, 268n186
 on Soviet withdrawal of advisers, 261n146
- attitudinal prism
 Israel, 21–4, 36–41
 Palestine, 36–9
 Syria, 39–41
- Australia, 207
- B**
- Bar-Lev, Haim
 in 1967 crisis decision-making and consulting role, 160, 177, 180, 189, 196
 in 1973 crisis; and crossing Suez Canal, 231, 234; decision-making and consulting role, 217, 219, 223; heads IDF Southern Command, 215; military assessments by, 225, 229, 230, 268n188
- Bar-Lev Line, 135, 152
- Begin, Menahem
 decision-making and consulting role, 159, 171, 203
 on delay of Eshkol Government pre-emptive attack decision, 194
 in National Unity Government, 159, 171, 203, 206
 proposes political truce, 1973, 223
- behavior towards Arab Israelis, 349–55
- Beirut Airport crisis (28 December 1968–January 1969), 142
- Ben-Gurion, David
 acknowledgment of human emotion in crisis decision-making, 5–6

- decision-making and consulting
 role, 159, 168, 197, 212,
 256n86
 de Gaulle's commitment to, 248n23
 influence on and support for Eban,
 172
 perceptions, 43–7
 views of, 183, 184, 212
 Ben-Gurion complex, 211
 Ben-Gurionism, 318
 Bir Gafgafa airbase (Sinai), Nasser
 speech on nationalization of Suez
 Canal at, 170, 188
 B'not Ya'akov Bridge, Syrian threat to,
 226
 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, views,
 77–100
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 236, 240,
 268n186
 exchange of messages with Nixon,
 226
 Brown, George, 165
 and British retreat from maritime
 force idea, 202
 Moscow visit of, 176, 179
 bureaucratic élite, decision-making and
 consulting role in 1967 crisis
 crisis period, 160
- C**
- Cabinet, Israel
 in 1967 crisis; consulting role, 161,
 167, 189–90, 192, 193–5, 201;
 as decisional forum, 157,
 192–5, 210–12; decides to go
 to war, 158, 193–5, 210–12;
 expansion of, 203
 in 1973 crisis; and cease-fire
 acceptance, 233, 238, 242;
 changes in and structure of,
 229; consulting role, 217, 218,
 220, 222–5, 227–30, 234; as
 decisional forum, 208–9, 217,
 227–8
 Camp David Summit I and Egypt–
 Israel Peace Agreement (5
 September 1978–26 March
 1979), 282–4
 Camp David Summit II (11–25 July
 2000), 291–4
 Canada, in 1967 crisis
 calls for convening of Security
 Council, 174, 179
 and maritime force, 192, 193, 199,
 204
 Shazar visit, 164, 168
 and UNEF withdrawal, 163, 164
 Carmel, Moshe
 consulting role of, 171, 173, 183,
 191, 194
 in National Unity Government, 159
 suggests enlargement of
 government, 200
 case studies of perceptions and
 decisions, 4–5
 causes of Israel/Palestine and overall
 Arab/Israel deadlock in quest for
 conflict resolution, 306–8
 cease-fire agreements, 1973
 discussion and acceptance of, 224,
 232–3
 Meir's premature acceptance of, 234
 negotiation of, 239–42
 UN and superpower pressure for,
 230, 232–9
 Chuvakhin, Dmitri (Soviet
 ambassador, Israel), 213
 discussions with Eban and Eshkol,
 165, 188–90
 civil defense, Israeli precautions taken,
 163
 clash of belief systems, 9–10
 Clinton Parameters (23–27 December
 2000), 294–6
 Communist Party, Israeli (*Maki*), 174

conflict resolution, 3, 277–315, 323–7
 continuance of unequal capability,
 334–6
 core questions on Arab/Israel conflict,
 4
 corruption in the public services,
 341–2
 Crete, Sea of, 201
 crises that escalated to full-scale war
 (9 cases), 133–41
 crisis actor, 133, 136–7
 crisis periods
 in 1967 crisis, decisions and
 decision-makers, 157–60
 in 1973 crisis; decision process,
 214–44; decisions and decision-
 makers, 214

D

Damascus, Israeli bombing of, 1973,
 215, 228, 229–31
 Dardanelles, 178, 201
Davar (newspaper), advocates
 expansion of Israel's government
 in 1967, 197
 Dayan, Moshe
 in 1967 crisis, 166, 172, 209;
 becomes defense minister, 158,
 159, 197, 201–3, 204–6;
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 168, 171, 184, 204–5,
 208–9, 212; and Israeli military
 strategy, 158, 211–12
 in 1973 crisis; decision-making and
 consulting role, 215, 217–24;
 information processing by,
 241–2; and Israeli military
 strategy, 215, 219–22, 225,
 227–9, 231, 234–5, 262n152
 perceptions, 48–51; of threat and
 probability of war, 263n160
 role in negotiations with U.S.,
 Arabs, 238

debates on methodology in
 International relations, 3–4
 decision process, in crisis periods,
 214–44
 decisions and decision-makers, in crisis
 periods, 157–60, 173, 214,
 217–22, 228–9, 232–4, 238–9
 Defense Committee (Israel's
 Ministerial Committee of
 Defense), in 1967 crisis
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 161, 183, 204–5, 210
 response to closing Straits, 171–3
 De Gaulle, Charles
 Eban correspondence and meeting
 with, 165, 166, 174, 176–8,
 190
 Eshkol correspondence with, 194–5,
 206–7
 Eytan meets with, 210, 211
 Israeli image of, 173
 Denmark, 174, 179, 199
 Dimona, Israel, Egyptian overflight of,
 160
 Dinitz, Simha, 219, 263n161
 arms aid requested by, 1973, 227,
 228, 231–2, 268n189
 conducts cease-fire negotiations with
 U.S., 232, 235–7, 241
 Dinstein, Zvi
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 159, 189, 208
 discordant UK pledges, 11–12
 discovery of Egypt's readiness for
 peace with Israel, 6–7
 Druze, Mount (Syria), 233

E

Eban, Abba
 in 1967 crisis; communications with
 Eshkol, 180–2, 184–7, 195,
 209; decision-making and
 consulting role, 159, 161–3,

- 170–3, 190–1, 202–5, 206, 208–12; discussions with Chuvakhin, 165, 171; and Israeli military policy, 202; pre-war diplomatic offensive by, 158, 167, 170–3, 177–82, 184–7, 190–1, 199–201; as recipient and source of information, 170–3, 190–1, 210–11
- in 1973 crisis, arms soliciting and peace negotiating in U.S. by, 229, 231–2, 238
- in cease-fire discussions, 224, 231–2, 235, 242
- decision-making and consulting role, 224, 235, 242, 263–4n161, 274n34
- perceptions, 51
- role in U.N., 226
- economic boycott, 124–5
- Egypt, 3, 11, 35, 44, 53, 117, 127, 145, 160, 278, 317, 361n29
- in 1967 crisis; bellicose aims of, 182–3; demands withdrawal of UNEF and closes Straits, 160–4, 187, 197; military accords with Syria, Jordan, 198, 200–2, 210, 212; military buildup, 164, 171–4, 180, 199, 210; relations with U.S., 175
- in 1973 crisis; cease-fire negotiations with, 239; consequences of October-Yom-Kippur War for, 242; military offensive of, 218–20, 229; Third Army encirclement, 241–2
- Egypt–Israel Armistice Agreement, 169
- Eilat (Elath), Israel
- blockade of, 167
- Eban demands access to, 178
- Nasser denies Israeli right to, 174
- Elazar, David, 212
- in cease-fire talks and postwar negotiations, 237
- decision-making and consulting role, 215, 217–20
- military preparations and assessment by, 218–23, 225–7, 231, 234, 237, 261n146
- perception of probability of war by, 217
- and pre-emptive strike question, 1973, 219
- El Samu* crisis (12–15 November 1966), 129
- Entebbe Raid crisis (27 June–4 July 1976), 142–3
- Eshkol, Levi
- communications with U.S. during 1967 crisis, 199, 208, 211
- decision-making and consulting role, 157, 161–3, 166–7, 170, 173–4, 177, 183–4, 190–1, 193–5, 201, 204–6, 208–9, 212
- enlarges government, names Dayan as defense minister, 158–9, 168, 197, 199–203
- evaluates decision to go to war, 180–1, 185, 188–90, 194–203, 205–6, 212
- leadership and consultative style, 255–6n85, 256n86
- perceptions, 47–8
- reaction to closing of Straits, 170–4, 177
- Evron, Ephraim
- contacts with Rostow, 1967 crisis, 166, 169, 181, 182, 201, 213
- decision-making and consulting role, 160
- used as channel of communication by U.S., 172, 175–6, 181, 182, 185–6, 198, 207

F

- four levels of Arab/Israel conflict, 9–12
- France
 - arms embargo of Israel declared, 207, 211
 - effect on Israeli decision-making, 207
 - disavows Tripartite Declaration 1950, rejects maritime force, 169, 213
 - Israeli negotiations with, 165–7, 177–8
 - reaction to closing Straits, 176, 195, 198, 200

G

- Gahal* party, 157, 159, 171, 203, 250n39
- Galili, Yisrael
 - in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 159, 161, 171, 177, 189, 191, 212; and Eshkol speech, May 28, 1967, 195; military initiative suggested by, 183
 - in 1973 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 217–19, 229, 231; evaluation of military situation by, 225
- Gaza, 6, 36, 41, 47, 50, 63, 68–70, 74, 82, 106, 118–19, 123, 125–6, 128–9, 139–41, 147, 164, 171, 175, 177, 192, 205–6, 245n9, 279, 283, 287–90, 292, 294–5, 297, 300–5, 308–9, 313, 323–5, 343, 350–1, 354–6
- Gaza–Jericho Agreement (4 May 1994), 288–9
- Gaza Raid/Czechoslovak Arms crisis (28 February 1955–23 June 1956), 128–9

- Gaza Strip
 - in 1967 war, 164, 175
 - role in Israeli strategic plans, 171, 205, 206
- Gaza War I (Operation Cast Lead; Palestinian designation, *Arab Massacre*) (27 December 2008–18 January 2009), 139
- Gaza War II (Operation Protective Edge) (8 July–26 August 2014), 139–41
- Gazit, Mordechai
 - in cease-fire discussions, 224
 - decision-making and consulting role, 217, 219
 - and pre-emptive strike question, 1973, 264n161, 265n169
- General Staff (IDF), 148, 171, 177, 196, 212, 262n153, 321
 - decision-making and consulting role, 158, 161, 214–17, 219
- Germany, Federal Republic of, 12, 32, 38, 86, 109, 132, 163, 198, 320, 330, 342, 357, 359
- Golan Heights, 40, 42, 45, 49, 71, 74, 107–8, 124, 126, 135, 137, 151, 220, 226, 230–1, 233, 283, 300, 308, 318, 323
- Goldberg, Arthur, 245n8
 - communications with Israeli spokesmen, 187, 213
 - states U.S. goals in Security Council, 202
- Great Britain, 163, 213, 232–3, 268n186
 - and closing of Straits, 174, 176, 192, 193, 200, 202, 213
 - Eban's diplomatic initiatives to, 165, 178–9
 - Tripartite Declaration disavowed by, 169
 - U.N. in strategy of, 179
- Gromyko, Andrei

George Brown's visit to, 176, 179
 warnings to Israel, 207
 growth of censorship in Israel, 342–8
 growth of inequality in Israel society,
 334–6

H

Haifa Suicide Bombing crisis (4
 October–2 December 2003), 132
Hamas, 36, 39, 41, 117–19, 126,
 132, 139–40, 300–2, 309, 313,
 325, 356
 Harman, Avraham
 attempts to get U.S. commitments,
 166, 169, 179, 182, 184, 187,
 192, 204
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 160, 207, 208
 information transmittal role, 187,
 198, 199, 201
 U.S. urges restraint through, 162,
 198, 199
 Hebron Agreement (17 January
 1997), 290
 Hermon, Mount, 231, 236
Herut Party, 19–20
 Herzog, Ya'acov
 decision-making and consulting role,
 160, 161, 171, 180, 189, 208
 on Egyptian military preparations
 1967, 229
Hezbollah, 37, 41, 117–18, 121,
 131–2, 138, 284, 312, 346
 Hofi, Yitzhak, 219
 military plans by, 205
 Homs, Syria, decision to bomb, 215
 Hula Drainage crisis (12 February–15
 May 1951), 128
 Huleh Valley, threat to Israel
 settlements in, 226
 Hussein, King, 213
 Israeli warnings to, 228

military cooperation with Arab
 states, 198, 200

I

IDF (Israel Defense Forces)
 in 1967 crisis, decision-making and
 consulting role, 160, 174, 196
 increase in conflict-sustaining acts,
 117–26
 increase in poverty in Israel, 332–4
 Independent Liberals, 157, 159
 initial contact with Arab/Israel
 Conflict 1948–1952, 2
 inter-communal rivalry, 10–11
 Iraq, 232
 joins Arab military pact, 210, 213
 sends troops to Jordan, 168, 200,
 208, 210
 Iraq Nuclear Reactor (January–19
 June 1981), 130
 Israel Council for an Israel–Palestine
 peace agreement, 298–9
 cofounder of, 321
 Israel decision-makers on Jerusalem
 issue, 19–20
 attitudinal prism, 21–4
 Ben-Gurion, 17, 20–2, 24, 27–31;
 perception of Jerusalem issue
 1949, 20–2
 Eban, 18, 19, 24, 30, 32
 Eshkol, 17
 Eytan, Walter, 23
 Fishman, Rabbi, 19, 20, 21
 Herzog, Ya'acov, 19, 23, 30
 Joseph, Dov, 19–23, 27, 28, 30
 Meir, Golda, 17, 23
 Navon, Yitzhak, 31
 perceptions, 21–4
 Rosen, Pinchas, 28
 Shapiro, H.M., 23
 Sharef, Ze'ev, 22, 24, 30, 31
 Sharett, 17, 20–2, 24, 28, 29, 31

- Israel decisions on Jerusalem issue, 17–20
 Israel strategic decision 11
 December 1949, 17, 18, 20, 25, 28, 32
 process, 24–31; role of domestic interest groups, 19;
 implementation of Israel, 31–2
- Israel–Egypt Peace Treaty, 122–3, 282–3, 310
- Israeli vulnerability, 74, 301
- Israel leaders' perceptions, 43–52
- Israel–Lebanon Abortive Agreement (17 May 1983), 284
- Israel Mobilization crisis (10 April–late June 1973), 142
- Israel officials' reaction to M.B.
 findings on Egypt's readiness to make peace (1975), 115
- Israel/Palestine Peace Talks—Kerry Mediation (29 July 2013–29 April 2014), 305–6
- Israel settlements in East Jerusalem and West Bank, 123–4, 302, 306, 350
- Italy, refuses to sign maritime declaration 1967 crisis, 213
- J**
- Japan
 effect of oil embargo on, 235
 refuses to join maritime force, 213
- Jarring Mediation (23 November 1967–March 1971), 281–2
- Jerusalem, 9–10, 13, 39, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 74, 100, 107–8, 115–16, 119–20, 123, 137, 147, 154n5, 155n6–7, 155n9, 162, 169n190, 173, 182, 186, 208, 213, 220, 236, 241, 247n20, 248n31, 250n41, 251n43, 253n58, 261n46, 262n152, 274n239, 282–3, 290, 292–4, 296–7, 300–2, 304–6, 308, 311–13, 316, 318, 322–3, 326, 331, 345, 349–52, 354–5
 issue, 15–33
- Jewish-Arab, Israel–Palestine struggle for control, 15–33
- Jewry, world
 support sought, 184, 194
- Johnson, Lyndon B.
 communications with Eshkol, 168–9, 194, 199, 208
 Eban's talks with, 180, 182, 184–7, 201
 Eban's views of, 210–11
 exchange of views with Wilson, 201, 207
 guarantees made to Israel in 1964, 163
 importance of views to Israeli decision-makers, 184
 and Straits closure, 166, 175
 urges restraint on Israel, 162–3, 172, 192–3
- Jordan–Egypt Military Pact, 146, 154n2, 201
- Jordan joins defense pact and enters June-Six-Day War, 198, 200, 201, 208, 210
- Jordan role in October-Yom-Kippur War, 228, 232
- Jordan Waters crisis (11 December 1963–5 May 1964), 141–2
- June-Six-Day War (17 May–11 June 1967), 66, 134–5, 145–213
- K**
- Karameh crisis (18–22 March 1968), 129
- Keating, Kenneth

- and cease-fire negotiations 1973, 241, 267n186, 274n234
 - dissuades Meir from pre-emptive strike, 219, 222, 263–4n161
 - Israeli arms requests to, 228
 - “Kedem” group, 220
 - Kissinger, Henry
 - cease-fire arrangements 1973
 - war by, 235, 238–9, 241, 268n186
 - communicates with Israeli government, 238–9, 263–4n161
 - Israeli arms requests to, 227, 228, 231–2, 268–9n189
 - talks with Brezhnev, other Soviet officials, 233, 236
 - Kitchen Cabinet, 214–15, 219–20, 231, 233
 - and crossing Suez Canal, 231
 - decision-making and consulting role, 214–15, 219, 229
 - Knesset*, 6–7, 19, 21–2, 29, 47, 115, 154n6, 161, 167, 169, 171, 173–4, 184, 189, 190, 191, 194, 197, 200, 223, 234, 238, 248n30, 256n86, 257n102, 267n181, 270n204, 273n231, 274n234, 282, 290, 321, 339, 341–2, 346, 348, 351, 353–4, 358, 361n30, 362n40
 - in 1967 crisis, 161, 169, 173–4, 184, 189, 191, 194, 200, 256n86; in 1973 crisis, 223, 238
 - debate on Straits closure, 173–4
 - Eshkol’s speeches, April–June 1967, 167, 169
 - meetings during October-Yom-Kippur War, 267n181
 - Meir’s speeches to, 234, 238
 - knowledge gap between scholars and diplomacy practitioners, 1, 3, 6–7
 - Kosygin, Aleksei, 166
 - communications with Israel, 188, 192, 206, 255n85
 - George Brown’s talks with, 176, 179
 - visits Egypt, 1973, 234, 238
- L**
- Labor Party, 229
 - Labor-*Mapam* Alignment, 171
 - lack of domestic pressures for conflict termination, 311–12
 - “land for peace,” 3, 115, 281, 304, 316
 - Latakia, Syria, IDF attack on, 215, 233
 - Lebanon, 35, 37, 40–1, 79, 80–4, 95–6, 98, 99, 110, 116, 117–18, 120–4, 126, 130–3, 137–9, 141–3, 154n2, 200, 228, 269n197, 272n218, 278–9, 281–4, 286, 300, 307–8, 312, 323, 326n3, 341, 346
 - remains out of 1973 war, 228
 - role in 1967 war, 168
 - study of decision-making during civil war in, xv
 - Lebanon War II (12 July–8 September 2006), 138–9
 - Levavi, Arye
 - decision-making and consulting role, 160, 161, 189, 190, 208
 - in talks with Chuvakhin, 188
 - Libyan Plane (21 February 1973), 129–30
 - Litani Operation crisis (14 March–13 June 1978), 130

M

- Madrid Peace Conference (30 October–1 November 1991), 286–7
- Mafdal* (National Religious Party; NRP), 220
role in Eshkol government, 157, 159, 194, 229
- Maki* (Israel Communist Party), 19, 174, 251n46
- malpractice of politicians, 344–8
- Mandelbaum Gate, Jerusalem, 213
- Mapai* party, 19–21, 28, 159, 191, 203, 321
- Mapam* party, 19, 159, 184, 191, 194, 200, 211–12, 260n140
in 1967 government, 157, 159, 184, 191, 194, 211–12
- maritime force, plans for, 1967, 192–4, 200–1, 203, 204, 213
- material achievements, Israel, 329–31
- McNamara, Robert
Eban's talks with, 184
before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 213
- Meir, Golda
in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 159, 171, 173, 189; statement on passage through Straits, 165
in 1973 crisis; cease-fire negotiations, and premature acceptance of cease-fire, 231–3, 235, 238, 241–2; communications with and visit to Nixon, 228; decision-making and consulting role, 215–17, 219–25, 228–9, 231, 234; discussion and rejection of pre-emptive strike, 219–23; information processing by, 217; and military conduct of October-Yom-Kippur War, 223–5, 228–9, 231, 234; war probability and threat perceived by, 219
- Meir perceptions, 48
- methodological pluralism. *See* paths to knowledge
- methodology. *See* paths to knowledge
- Michael Brecher views, 53–116
- Michael Brecher views on Israeli perceptions, 43–52
- military élite
in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 160; pressure for war from, 180, 196
in 1973 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 215, 231
- military lineup (1967)
Arab forces, 145–6
Israel forces, 146
forces committed on 5 June 1967, 146–8
qualitative balance, 148
- military lineup (1973)
Arab forces, 149–51
Israel forces, 152
qualitative balance, 152–3
- military strategy, Israeli
in 1967 crisis, 204–6, 209, 212
in 1973 crisis, 218, 227–31, 236; Israeli military intelligence findings as trigger for crisis period, 261n146
- Mizrabi* Party, 19
- mobilization, Israeli
in 1967, 164, 194
in 1973, 215, 218–22
- Mohammed Sayeed Ahmad: views, 54–66
- Morocco, SDW participation of, 200
- Mossad*, 206

N

- Nasser, Gamal Abdel
 demands UNEF withdrawal and
 closes Straits, 161–2, 168–70,
 174
 Israeli images of, 164, 193
 negotiations of, prior to SDW, 176,
 187, 203
 Soviet encouragement of
 provocation by, 170
 statements of aims, 197, 198,
 213
 national goals, 10
 National Unity Government
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 157, 159
 formation of, June 1967, 197, 200,
 203
 NATO alert, May 1967, 197
 NATO treaty, comparison of Eban's
 requested U.S. policy
 commitment to, 182
 needs of senior citizens, 336–7
 Netherlands, and maritime force plan,
 192, 193
 Nixon, Richard M.
 communications with Meir, other
 Israeli leaders, 228, 241
 decides resupply of arms to Israel,
 231, 235
 perception of threat by, 262n153
 and pre-emptive strike question,
 264n161
 Soviet contacts with, and cease-fire,
 226, 230, 232, 235, 236,
 240–2
 on Soviet role in starting before
 October-Yom-Kippur War,
 261n146
 non-violent crises (6 cases), 141–3
 Norway, and maritime force plan,
 199

O

- October-Yom-Kippur War (5 October
 1973–31 May 1974), 136–7,
 214–44
 Commission of Inquiry into
 (Agranat Commission), 222,
 226
 as dominant event in 1973 crisis
 period, 214
 military losses in, 243
 oil embargo, 235
 declaration of, 235
 Olmert Peace Plan (September 2008),
 303–5
 onset phase, 4, 15–17
 Operation Accountability crisis (10–31
 July 1993), 131–2
 Operation Dovecote, 218
 Operation Grapes of Wrath/“April
 War” (11–27 April 1996), 132
 Organization of Arab Petroleum
 Exporting Countries (OAPEC),
 213, 235
 Osama Al-Baz: views, 66–77
 Oslo I Accord (20 August and 13
 September 1993), 287–8, 291
 Oslo II Accord (28 September 1995),
 286, 288–90, 303

P

- Palestine, and Palestinians
 Nasser assertion of rights of, 198
 Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), 164
 Palestine Partition/Israel crisis
 Independence (29 November
 1947–20 July 1949), 133
 Palestinian *Intifadas*, 302, 311, 313,
 323–4, 356
Intifada 1, 119, 121, 125
Intifada 2, 119–20, 121, 125
 paths to knowledge, 1–8

Peel Commission Report (7 July 1937), 26, 277–8

Peled, Binyamin
 decision-making and consulting role, 219, 229, 266n179
 opposes Eshkol “waiting” policy, 196
 and pre-emptive strike, 1973, 219

perceptions, 2, 4–6, 21–4, 35–52, 54, 87–8, 101–2, 126, 127, 143, 199, 214, 245n9, 275n242, 310, 315, 317, 341, 358, 361n29
 of national identity; Israel, 35–6; Palestine, 35–6

Peres perceptions, 51–2

Peres, Shimon, 172
 decision-making and consulting role, 159, 171, 184, 217
 role in cabinet reorganization, 1967, 168, 203

persistence of discordance in basic objectives, 312–14

personal disenchantment, 358–9

political hostility, 4, 117, 120–4, 126, 143

political parties
 government consultation with
 opposition during crises, 161, 170–1, 200, 223, 250n39
 in government crisis and formation of National Unity Government, 161, 197–203, 250n39

pre-emptive strike
 in 1967 crisis; Allon’s thinking on, 191; British concern about, 176; decision for, 164; Johnson warns against, 192–3
 in 1973 crisis; decision against, 215, 218–22; informational inputs into decision, 218–19

Prime Minister, decision-making and consulting role, 215–16

Q

Qalqilya crisis (13 September–15 October 1956), 129

Qibya crisis (14 October 1953–faded), 128

R

Rabin, Yitzhak
 in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 158, 160–4, 166–7, 170–1, 174, 177, 189, 204, 206, 208, 211; and Eshkol-military élite confrontation, 168, 196, 200, 201, 206, 208; illness of May 1967, 177, 252n48; military preparations by, 158, 167, 180, 183, 200, 201

Rabinovitch, Iamar, 53

Rafael, Gideon
 decision-making and consulting role, 160
 on Straits question in U.N., 161–2, 163, 169, 204
 U.S. communications through, 213

Rafi party
 decision-making and consulting role, 159, 171, 250n39
 in National Unity Government, 157, 159, 203

renewal of turmoil in 2015–16 Israel/Palestinian relations, 355–8

Road Map for Peace (24 June 2002), 301–3

role of domestic interest groups, 311–12

role of interviews in IR Research, 5–6, 54

Rostow, Eugene
 Eban meets with, 181
 Israeli overtures to, 166, 169, 192, 198, 207

urges restraint on Israel, 162, 172
Rottem (15 February–8 March 1960),
 141
 Rusk, Dean
 Israeli communications with, 181,
 184, 192, 207
 and maritime force, 198
 states U.S. policy on Straits, 201–2,
 204, 213

S

Sadat, Anwar al-, 53, 54, 60, 85, 100,
 102, 106, 109, 110, 115–16
 in 1973 crisis; cease-fire question,
 233, 234, 240, 268n186,
 274n234; plans war, 261n145
 Sapir, Pinhas
 appeal to world Jewry by, 194,
 229
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 159, 171, 172, 191
 mobilization plans of, 183
 perception of probability of war by,
 263n160
 Saudi Arabia, 164, 200, 232
 scholars' contribution to foreign policy
 process, 7
 Shapira, Haim Moshe
 decision-making and consulting
 role, 173, 191
 in National Unity Government,
 159, 167, 211
 Sharett perceptions, 43–7
 Sharm-el-Sheikh, 165, 171
 occupation of by IDF, 204–6
 UNEF leaves, 165
 U.S. policy on U.N. presence in,
 175
 Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum (4
 September 1999), 107, 110, 113,
 120, 291
 shuttle diplomacy, 137, 281, 286

Sinai, Egyptian massing of forces in,
 160, 164
 Sinai Incursion crisis (25 December
 1948–10 January 1949),
 127
 South Asia field research in 1950s,
 1960s, 1
 Soviet Union, 29, 47, 59–61, 63, 64,
 134–6, 165, 167, 169, 176–8,
 186, 188, 192, 207–9, 211,
 212n213, 216–17, 223, 225,
 230, 233–5, 237–41, 243–4,
 252n57, 254n71, 256n85,
 260n135, 274n234
 Straits of Tiran, 125, 134, 161, 165–6,
 170, 175, 179, 185, 187, 198,
 201, 209
 Suez Canal, Israeli crossing of, 1973,
 235
 Suez Nationalization Crisis-War (26
 July 1956–12 March 1957),
 133–4
 superpowers
 French desire for solution through,
 1967, 195, 198
 involvement of in October-Yom-
 Kippur War, 233, 234
 Syria, 6, 11, 35, 49, 53, 117, 128,
 145, 162, 278, 317
 in 1967 crisis, 174, 175, 198;
 improves relations with Arab
 neighbors, 168, 200; Israeli
 images of, 162; military
 preparation of, 164, 210;
 shelling from Golan, and air
 battle in April, 162
 in 1973 crisis; Allon suggests
 creation of Druze state in, 233;
 cease-fire talks with, 238,
 268n186; preparations and
 participation in October-Yom-
 Kippur War, 215, 218–20, 226,
 227, 230–1

Syria Mobilization crisis (21 November–13 December 1976), 143

Syria perceptions of balance of military capability, 41–2

T

Taba Talks (21–27 January 2001), 289–90, 296–9, 303, 306

Tal, Yisrael

decision-making and consulting role, 180, 219, 229

terrorism, 175

Thant, U, 210, 244n5

criticized by Eban, 199

responds to Egyptian demand to withdraw UNEF, 160

visit to Mideast, 162, 166, 167, 176, 184, 187–8

time pressure, constraints of

in 1973 crisis, 218, 219, 230–1

Tiran, Straits of, closing of, 164, 167–70

Assad's pressure on Nasser for, 168

effect on Israeli attitudinal prism, 161

French position on, 165, 207

Israeli consideration of response, 158, 165, 170–97, 198, 199, 205–6, 255n80

maritime force plan, 192–4, 200–1, 202, 204, 213

seen as *casus belli* by Israel, 185

U.S. position on, 181–2

Transformative event–UN Partition

Resolution 187 in 1947, 13–14

trigger mechanisms, in international crises, 160, 214, 216, 261n146

Tripartite Declaration (1950), 169, 248n23

two-state solution

consistent advocacy of, 318–19

co-author, peace plan for, 323–7

U

U.A.R.-Arab States Defense Pact, 198, 200–2, 210, 213

UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP), Lausanne Conference (27 April–12

September 1949), 278–80, 311

UN General Assembly resolutions on territorial internationalization of Jerusalem 1947, 1948, 1949, 15, 18–21, 30

Israel leaders' perceptions, 15

attitudes of Israel political parties–*Herut, Mapai, Mapam, Maki, Mizrachi, Agudat Yisrael*, 19–20

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

in 1967 crisis, 178, 198

in 1973 crisis; and cease-fire negotiations, 230–2, 234, 237, 240, 242, 268n186; military threats from, 243–4; resupply of Egypt and Syria by, 227; U.S. restraint on, 233; withdrawal of advisers and families from Egypt, Syria, 261n146

and cease-fire negotiations; Israeli images of, 211; role in provoking crisis, 165, 167, 169, 170; sends ships to Mediterranean, 200–1; threats to Israel from, 188–9; Tiran Straits closing blamed on Israel, 176

United Nations, in 1967 crisis

attempts to defuse crisis by resort to, 161, 204

- blamed for Tiran crisis, 167–8
 Charter, Israel invokes Article 51, 165
 Israeli images of, 194, 199
 Jerusalem headquarters, Jordanian shelling of; role in 1967 crisis, 163
 Security Council; convening of, after closing of Straits, 164, 174, 176, 179, 198, 200, 202, 204; Resolution 248, 235; U.S. policy toward intervention of, 176, 181, 202
 United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF); Egypt demands withdrawal of, 160–3, 165; Israel rejects transfer of to its territory, 166; U Thant convenes Advisory Committee, 164
 United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO), 168
 U.S. view of, 186–7, 204
 United Nations, in 1973 crisis
 discussion of aggression charges, 224
 and negotiation of cease-fire and Disengagement Agreements, 239–41
 Security Council, 226, 227; Resolutions 344, 345, and 346; 237, 239–40, 275n244
 United Nations Emergency Force, role of in Disengagement Agreements, 240–1
 United States
 in 1967 crisis; Congressional and public opinion as influence on policy, 179, 182, 186, 201, 204, 213; differences in intelligence estimates between agencies, 258n112; invokes U.N. role, 176; Israeli overtures to, in pre-crisis period, 167–9, 181–2, 184–7; Israeli perception of policies, 190, 208–9, 210–11; maritime plan forwarded by, 192, 193, 198, 200–1, 202–3, 208; Nasser challenge to, 197; response to closing of Straits, 163, 166, 174–6, 184–7, 192, 248n31; restraints on Israel, and withdrawal of, 194; Sixth Fleet movements, effect of, 183, 213
 in 1973 crisis; cease-fire negotiation role, 226, 227, 230, 236, 240–2, 267–8n186; dealings with Soviet Union on cease-fire proposals, 230, 234–5, 237; intelligence assessments of Mid-east military situation, 217, 226–7; Israeli requests of aid from, 181, 225–8, 231–2, 233, 273n27; response to Soviet intervention threats, 233, 242
 United States role in Arab-Israel PC, 225
 UN Partition Resolution 187 (29 November 1947), 13–14, 278
 UN Security Council Resolution 248 (22 November 1967), 280–1
- V**
 verbal hostility–propaganda, 117, 126
 violence in nine Arab/Israel Wars 1948–2014, 117–21
 violent crises (less than full-scale war (15 cases)), 127–32

W

- war, 198
- war aims, Israeli
 - in 1973 crisis, 243–4
- Warhaftig, Zerah, 159, 220
 - decision-making and consulting role, 171, 191, 229
 - “dove” view represented by, 183
- war in Lebanon (5 June 1982–17 May 1983), 137–8
- War of Attrition (8 March 1969–7 August 1970), 135–6
- war, probability of
 - perception of; in 1967 crisis, 161, 162, 207; in 1973 crisis, 214–18; in 1973 crisis, IDF view of, 214–18
- Weizman, Ezer
 - acting Chief of Staff Israel Defense Forces during Rabin’s illness, 174, 177
 - decision-making and consulting role, 160, 161, 171, 189, 205
- West Bank, 3, 16, 25, 36, 49, 63, 68–70, 74, 82, 106–7, 113, 119–20, 123–6, 140, 219, 231, 236, 283, 287, 289–98, 300, 302–6, 308, 313, 324–5, 331, 344, 349–52, 354–6, 361n36, 362n50, 363n63
- Wilson, Harold
 - Israeli communications with British Prime Minister, 166, 176, 178–9, 190, 192, 193

- position on Straits, 166, 202, 204

- Washington visit of, June 1967, 207, 210, 213

- Wye River Memorandum (23 October 1998), 291

Y

- Yaffe, Aviad
 - arranges Eshkol–Chuvakhin talks, 188
 - decision-making and consulting role, 160, 161, 171, 172
- Yariv, Aharon
 - in 1967 crisis; decision-making and consulting role, 160–2, 171, 189, 190, 196, 208; presents intelligence briefings, 180, 183, 204; on trigger incident of crisis period, 244n2
 - in 1973 crisis, on cease-fire talks, 267n186, 274n234
- Yehoshafat Harkabi, 53
- Yemen, 145, 147, 164, 247n18

Z

- Zeira, Eliahu
 - decision-making and consulting role, 217, 219, 229
 - presents intelligence briefing to government, 216