

## Selected Bibliography

### *Primary Sources*

Archival Records at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan

*Robert A. Goldwin Files, 1974-1976*

*John Marsh Files, 1974-1977*

*National Security Adviser, Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, 1969-1977*

*National Security Adviser, Presidential Country Files for Middle East and South Asia, 1974-1977*

*National Security Adviser, Presidential Name File, 1974-1977*

*U.S. National Security Council Institutional Files, 1974-1977*

### Documentary Collections

United States Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. 16: Soviet Union, August 1974-December 1976*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2012.

----- *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. 26: Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1974-1976*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2012.

### Online Records on the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Digital Library

*National Security Adviser, Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions, 1974-1976*

*National Security Adviser, Memoranda of Conversations, 1973-1977*

### Online Records on the Digital National Security Archive

*Kissinger Telephone Conversations Collection*

*Kissinger Transcripts Collection*

### Memoirs

Fahmy, Ismail. *Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Ford, Gerald R. *A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Kissinger, Henry. *Years of Upheaval*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1982.

----- *Years of Renewal*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999.

Rabin, Yitzhak. *The Rabin Memoirs*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979.

El-Sadat, Anwar. *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

### *Secondary Sources*

## Books

- Ball, George W. and Douglas B. Ball. *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1992.
- Bard, Mitchell. *The Water's Edge and Beyond: Defining the Limits to Domestic Influence on United States Middle East Policy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991.
- Barnett, Michael N. "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East." In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein, 400-447. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Ben-Zvi, Abraham. *The United States and Israel: The Limits of the Special Relationship*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Cavari, Amnon. "Six Decades of Public Affection: Trends in American Public Attitudes Toward Israel." In *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations*, edited by Robert O. Freedman, 100-123. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2012.
- Findley, Paul. *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1989.
- Isaacson, Walter. *Kissinger: A Biography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.
- Kurtzer, Daniel C. et al. *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007.
- Miller, Aaron David. *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace*. New York: Bantam, 2008.
- Oren, Michael B. *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.
- Organski, A.F.K. *The \$36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Quandt, William B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.
- Sheehan, Edward R.F. *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger: A Secret History of American Diplomacy in the Middle East*. New York: Reader's Digest, 1976.
- Small, Melvin. *Democracy and Diplomacy: The Impact of Domestic Politics on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789-1994*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Spiegel, Steven L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Stein, Kenneth W. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Taylor, Alan R. *The Superpowers and the Middle East*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991.
- Tivnan, Edward. *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *The Cold War and After: History, Theory, and the Logic of International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Trice, Robert H. *Interest Groups and the Foreign Policy Process: U.S. Policy in the Middle East*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976.
- Tyler, Patrick. *A World of Trouble: The White House and the Middle East—from the Cold War*

- to the War on Terror*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
- Waxman, Dov. "The Pro-Israel Lobby in the United States: Past, Present, and Future." In *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations*, edited by Robert O. Freedman, 79-99. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2012.
- Yaqub, Salim. "The Weight of Conquest: Henry Kissinger and the Arab-Israeli Conflict." In *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977*, edited by Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston, 227-248. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

## Articles

- "Special Document: The Brookings Report on the Middle East." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1977): 195-205.
- Ball, George W. "How to Save Israel in Spite of Herself." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (1977): 453-471.
- "The Coming Crisis in Israeli-American Relations." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (1979): 231-256.
- Ball, George W. and Edmund Ghareeb. "American Policy on Trial: An Interview with George Ball." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1978): 17-30.
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Aaron Friedberg, John J. Mearsheimer, Dennis Ross, and Stephen M. Walt. "The War over Israel's Influence." *Foreign Policy*, No. 155 (2006): 57-66.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. "A New Policy for Israel." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (1975): 405-431.
- Koplow, Michael J. "Value Judgment: Why Do Americans Support Israel?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2011): 266-302.
- Lieberman, Robert C. "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2009): 235-257.
- Mathias, Jr., Charles. "Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 5 (1981): 975-998.
- Mead, Walter Russell. "Jerusalem Syndrome: Decoding the Israel Lobby." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 6 (2007): 160-168.
- "The New Israel and the Old." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (2008): 28-46.
- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books*, March 23, 2006, 3-12.
- "Is It Love or the Lobby? Explaining America's Special Relationship with Israel." *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2009): 58-78.
- "The Blind Man and the Elephant in the Room: Robert Lieberman and the Israel Lobby." *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2009): 259-281.
- Plitnick, Mitchell and Chris Toensing. "'The Israel Lobby' in Perspective." *Middle East Report*, No. 243 (2007): 42-47.
- Quandt, William B. "The Electoral Cycle and the Conduct of Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 5 (1985): 825-837.
- Slater, Jerome. "Muting the Alarm over the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: *The New York Times* versus *Haaretz*, 2000-2006." *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007): 84-120.
- "The Two Books of Mearsheimer and Walt." *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2009): 4-57.
- Wheelock, Thomas R. "Arms for Israel: The Limit of Leverage." *International Security*, Vol. 3,

No. 2 (1978): 123-137.

#### Blogs, Reports, and Online Articles/Commentaries

- Berman, Lazar and Uri Sadot. "Israel and America: The Eternal Return." *Commentary*, April 1, 2012, <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/israel-america-the-eternal-return/>.
- Bruck, Connie. "Friends of Israel." *The New Yorker*, September 1, 2014, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/01/friends-israel>.
- Drezner, Daniel. "A Follow-Up on the Israel Lobby." March 21, 2006, <http://www.danieldrezner.com/archives/002642.html>.
- Goldberg, Jeffrey. "The Crisis in U.S.-Israel Official Relations is Officially Here." *The Atlantic*, October 28, 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-crisis-in-us-israel-relations-is-officially-here/382031/>.
- Massing, Michael. "The Storm over the Israel Lobby." *New York Review of Books*, June 8, 2006, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2006/jun/08/the-storm-over-the-israel-lobby/>.

#### Videos/Audiovisual Materials

- Alfred Atherton Recorded Interview with Harry Kreisler. "A Conversation with History: The Peace Process in the Middle East," February 28, 1986, Institute for International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, <http://conversations.berkeley.edu/content/alfred-l-atherton>.
- Ian Lustick Recorded Interview with Harry Kreisler. "A Conversation with History: Coming to Terms with Israel," March 4, 2002, Institute for International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6G\\_Cj3n2is](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6G_Cj3n2is).
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt Recorded Interview with Harry Kreisler. "A Conversation with History: Domestic Politics and International Relations," September 19, 2007, Sponsored by The Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSXZNM2jGVE>.