

Notes

- 1 Proper nouns are not transliterated in this book unless they form part of a longer phrase or sentence in Arabic. Place names follow contemporary media usage, while personal and organisational names use either the standard Egyptian spelling or, if known, the preferred spelling of the individual or body in question. Unavoidably, there are sometimes variations in the spelling of names in quoted material.
- 2 The ambiguous role of Nasser's friend and rival Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer is discussed at length in later chapters.
- 3 On the composition of this core elite, see Hinnebusch, R. *Egyptian Politics under Sadat* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 15–16; Auda, G. 'The State of Political Control: The Case of Nasser 1960–1967', *The Arab Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2.1 (1987), p. 102.
- 4 Amin Howeidy Interview.
- 5 Heikal, M. H. *Autumn of Fury* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1983), pp. 37–8; Dial-Din Dawud Interview; Frankel, N. 'Interviews with Ismail Fahmy, Ashraf Ghorbal and Mohamed Riad', *American Arab Affairs*, 31 (1990), p. 99.
- 6 Kenneth Boulding predicts that images will diverge farther from reality under authoritarianism, because feedback from lower levels of the elite is indirect and largely controlled by the upper levels. Boulding, K. E. *The Image* (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1956), p. 100.
- 7 McLaurin, R. D., Mughisuddin, M. and Wagner, A. A. *Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East* (New York: Praeger, 1977), p. 42; Dabous, S. 'Nasser and the Egyptian Press', In Tripp, C. (ed.) *Contemporary Egypt: Through Egyptian Eyes* (London: Routledge, 1993); Ahmed Said Interview.
- 8 Heikal's role presents a particular difficulty for researchers. He is the ultimate source of a powerful 'official history' of the events of the Nasser era, which infuses the subsequent recollections even of direct participants. Moreover, some of his anecdotes, while too good to ignore, seem rather too good to be true.
- 9 Larson, D. W. *Origins of Containment* (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 60–1.
- 10 Specifically, the nature of the speaker or author, his relationship with the intended audience, and contemporary domestic and international imperatives. A claim is more likely to be true if it is consistently expressed to a variety of different audiences over a long period of time.
- 11 Insiders with the most intimate knowledge of the decision process also have the strongest incentives to be insincere, seeking to defend or aggrandise themselves and their associates. However, where their statements can be checked by others, authors also have an incentive to avoid the *appearance* of insincerity. Moreover, they do not have equal incentives to be insincere with regard to all issues. Therefore, when details within a particular document seem irrelevant to the purposes of the author, it may be possible to discount the influence of bias. Interpretative inferences can consequently

- be drawn within the framework of an intuitive 'logic-of-the-situation approach'. George, A. L. *Propaganda Analysis* (Evanston: Row Peterson, 1959), p. 4.
- 12 Stephens, R. *Nasser: A Political Biography* (London: Penguin, 1971); Nutting, A. *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972). Stephens' analysis is particularly thorough and insightful.
 - 13 Aburish, S. K. (2004). *Nasser: The Last Arab*. Duckworth, London.
 - 14 For the domestic angle, see Dekmejian, R. H. *Egypt under Nasir* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971); Vatikiotis, P. J. *Nasser and His Generation* (London: Croom Helm, 1978).
 - 15 See Takeyh, R. *The Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Alterman, J. B. *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance, 1952–6* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Pearson, J. *Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Thornhill, M.T. *Road to Suez: Battle of the Canal Zone, 1951–54* (forthcoming, 2006).
 - 16 See Jones, C. *Britain and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–1965* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004); McNamara, R. *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Mawby, S. 'The Clandestine Defence of Empire', *Intelligence and National Security*, 17.3 (2002); Fain, W. T. 'Unfortunate Arabia', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 12.2 (2001).
 - 17 See Bowen, J. *Six Days* (London: Pocket Books, 2003); Oren, M. B. *Six Days of War* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
 - 18 On the dynamics of crisis decision-making, see Brecher, M. and Geist, B. *Decisions in Crisis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Shlaim, A. *The United States and the Berlin Blockade, 1948–1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Frankel, J. *The Making of Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1963).
 - 19 An 'enemy' is here defined simply as any state that is seen as having substantially hostile intentions toward the actor. It is argued that the focus in much of the existing literature on highly specific 'ideal-type' enemies is overly limiting. See Cottam, R. W. *Foreign Policy Motivation* (University of Pittsburgh Press: 1977); Shimko, K. L. *Images and Arms Control* (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1991); Cottam, M. L. *Images and Intervention* (University of Pittsburgh Press: 1994); Herrmann, R. K. and Fischerkeller, M. P. 'Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model', *International Organization*, 49.3 (1995).
 - 20 For discussions of this 'cognitive' approach, see Holsti, O. R. 'Foreign Policy Formation Viewed Cognitively', In Axelrod, R. M. (ed.) *Structure of Decision* (Princeton University Press, 1976); Tetlock, P. E. and McGuire, C. 'Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy', In Long, S. (ed.) *Political Behavior Annual* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986); Goldstein, J. and Keohane, R. O. *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).
 - 21 Jervis, R. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 3.
 - 22 It is often argued that cultural factors explain the notorious prevalence of conspiracy theories in the Middle East. Daniel Pipes identifies President Nasser in particular as having a 'conspiratorial mentality'. Pipes, D. *The Hidden Hand* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 36. It seems possible, however, that universal cognitive tendencies might provide a more satisfactory explanation.

- 23 Jervis points out that the perception of hostility is central to the image of the opponent. 'To decide that the other is no longer hostile, or perhaps never has been hostile, requires that many other beliefs must also be changed. So when the other acts with restraint... the actor would be more likely to change his view of the other's strength than of its intentions.' Jervis, *Perception and Misperception*, p. 299. Indeed, as Holsti argues, any action may be ultimately interpreted as hostile when the opponent 'is viewed within the framework of an "inherent bad faith" model'. Under these circumstances, 'the image of the enemy is clearly self-perpetuating, for the model itself denies the existence of data that could invalidate it'. Holsti, O. R. 'Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy', *Journal of International Affairs*, 21.1 (1967), p. 17.
- 24 On this issue, see Vertzberger, Y. *The World in their Minds* (Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 17; Stein, J. G. and Welch, D. A. 'Rational and Psychological Approaches to the Study of International Conflict', In Geva, N. and Mintz, A. (eds) *Decision-Making on War and Peace* (London: Boulder, 1997), p. 55; Wohlforth, W. C. *The Elusive Balance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 294; Boulding, K. E. 'National Images and International Systems', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 3.2 (1959), p. 13; Jervis, R. 'Hypotheses on Misperception', *World Politics*, 20.3 (1968), pp. 465-6; Jervis, *Perception and Misperception*, p. 308.
- 25 10/3/53, *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* [BBC-SWB]: 343.
- 26 Quoted in Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 37.
- 27 Lucas, W. S. *Divided We Stand* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991), p. 13; Sayed-Ahmed, M. A. W. *Nasser and American Foreign Policy, 1952-1956* (London: LAAM, 1989), pp. 46-7.
- 28 Thornhill, M. T. 'Britain, the United States and the Rise of an Egyptian Leader', *English Historical Review*, 69 (2004), p. 892.
- 29 Sadat, A. *In Search of Identity* (London: Collins, 1978), p. 108; Heikal, M. H. *Nasser: The Cairo Documents* (London: New English Library, 1972), pp. 45-7.
- 30 Mohi El Din, K. *Memories of a Revolution* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1995), p. 79; Thornhill, 'Britain, the United States and the Rise of an Egyptian Leader', p. 894; Hamed Mahmoud Interview; Khaled Mohieddin Interview.
- 31 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 41-3; Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 14; Copeland, M. *The Game of Nations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 53.
- 32 Tharwat Okasha Interview.
- 33 Holland, M. F. *America and Egypt: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower* (Westport: Praeger, 1996), p. 23.
- 34 Eveland, W. *Ropes of Sand* (London: W.W. Norton, 1980), p. 97; Gordon, J. *Nasser's Blessed Movement* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 162-4.
- 35 *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs*, Interview Transcripts, Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford [FYW]; Mohsen Abdel Khalek Interview.
- 36 Tawil, M. *La'bat al-umam wa 'abd al-nāsir* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Misriyy al-Hadith, 1986), p. 49; Eveland, *Ropes of Sand*, p. 99.
- 37 Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 3.
- 38 FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 39 Sadat, A. *Revolt on the Nile* (London: Allan Wingate, 1957), p. 124.

- 40 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 44–7.
- 41 *Foreign Relations of the United States* [FRUS]: 1952–54: IX-1004.
- 42 National Archives [NA]: CAB151/153.
- 43 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 16, p. 38; Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 44–5, p. 61. This is confirmed by Egyptian archival sources and histories. Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. xxiii; Hamrush, A. *Qiṣṣat thawrat 26 yūliyyū* (Cairo: Madbouli, 1983) Vol. 1, p. 182; Tawil, *La'bat al-umam*, pp. 390–1. Even Amin Howeidy, who is keen to emphasise that Nasser did not 'co-operate' with the CIA, admits the importance of the contacts. 'He listened to them and he wanted to use them to give some of his messages to their decision-makers.' Howeidy Interview.
- 44 Eveland, *Ropes of Sand*, p. 146.
- 45 Jankowski, J. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the United Arab Republic* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), p. 24.
- 46 Kent, J. *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East, Part III, 1953–1956* (London: HMSO, 1998), pp. 21–2.
- 47 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 44.
- 48 Mohi El Din, *Memories of a Revolution*, p. 60; Nasser, G. A. *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (Buffalo: Smith, Keynes and Marshall, 1959).
- 49 Heikal, M. H. *Cutting the Lion's Tail* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1986), p. 41.
- 50 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 47–8.
- 51 Sadat, *Revolt on the Nile*, p. 103.
- 52 Okasha Interview; Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 21; Nasser, *Philosophy*, pp. 29–30.
- 53 22/7/54, BBC-SWB: 486.
- 54 Dessouki, A. E. H. 'Nasser and the Struggle for Independence', In Louis, W. R. and Owen, R. (eds) *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 34.
- 55 8/9/52, FRUS: 1952–54: IX-1006.
- 56 Howeidy, A. 'Nasser and the Crisis of 1956', In Louis and Owen (eds), *Suez 1956*, p. 164.
- 57 Kyle, K. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 48.
- 58 BBC-SWB: 325; FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview; Abu al-Fadl, A. F. *Kuntu nā'iban li ra'īs al-mukhabarāt* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2001), p. 95.
- 59 Fawzi, M. *Suez 1956: An Egyptian Perspective* (London: Shorouk International, 1988), p. 25.
- 60 NA: FO371/102764.
- 61 NA: FO371/102766. See also Nutting, *Nasser*, pp. 74–5; Lloyd, S. *Suez 1956* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978), p. 15.
- 62 Mohi El Din, *Memories of a Revolution*, p. 131.
- 63 BBC-SWB: 331.
- 64 Shuckburgh, E. *Descent to Suez* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), pp. 232–3.
- 65 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 49; Howeidy Interview.
- 66 BBC-SWB: 511.
- 67 Esmat Abdel Magid Interview.
- 68 Calvocoressi, P. *Suez: Ten Years After* (London: BBC, 1967), p. 33.
- 69 10/3/53, BBC-SWB: 343.
- 70 FYW: Khalek Interview.

- 71 20/11/53, BBC-SWB: 418.
- 72 Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 75.
- 73 FRUS: 1952-54: IX-1304.
- 74 Aronson, G. *From Sideshow to Center Stage: US Policy Toward Egypt 1946-1956* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1986) pp. 52-3.
- 75 'He sent an expedition to Washington to have weapons,' recounts Amin Howeidy. 'They stayed there for one month. After the month, they told them, we will give you some pistols.' Howeidy Interview. See also FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 76 Holland, *America and Egypt*, p. 42.
- 77 Holland, *America and Egypt*, p. 57; Thornhill, 'Rise of an Egyptian Leader', pp. 919-20; Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement*, p. 180.
- 78 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 91.
- 79 28/9/54, FRUS: 1952-54: IX-1364.
- 80 Burns, W.J. *Economic Aid and American Foreign Policy Toward Egypt, 1955-1981* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), p. 23.
- 81 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 54-5. See also Tawil, *La'bat al-umam*, pp. 395-7.
- 82 Eveland, *Ropes of Sand*, p. 101.
- 83 Mohammed Fayek Interview; FYW: Khalek Interview.
- 84 Copeland, *Game of Nations*, p. 56.
- 85 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 97.
- 86 FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 87 Morgan, J. *The Backbench Diaries of Richard Crossman* (London: Hamish Hamilton and Jonathan Cape, 1981), p. 287.
- 88 Riad, M. *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (London: Quartet Books, 1981), p. 7.
- 89 FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin and Shams Badran Interviews; Tawil, *La'bat al-umam*, pp. 44-6; Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 98.
- 90 18/8/53, BBC-SWB: 389; Stephens, *Nasser*, pp. 81-2.
- 91 FRUS: 1952-54: IX-632.
- 92 Mohieddin Interview.
- 93 FRUS: 1952-54: IX-560.
- 94 Oren, M.B. 'Secret Egypt-Israel Peace Initiatives Prior to the Suez Campaign', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26.3 (1990), p. 353.
- 95 Shlaim, A. *The Iron Wall* (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 78-80, p. 120.
- 96 FYW: Abdel Rahman Sadeq Interview.
- 97 FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin Interview. See also Khaled Mohieddin Interview; FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 98 FYW: Mohsen Abdel Khalek Interview.
- 99 Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 60.
- 100 29/4/54, BBC-SWB: 463; Nasser, G. A. 'The Egyptian Revolution', *Foreign Affairs*, 33.1 (1954), p. 211.
- 101 FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin Interview.
- 102 Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 70.
- 103 BBC-SWB: 502.
- 104 FRUS: 1952-54: IX-904.
- 105 Sheffy, Y. 'Unconcern at Dawn, Surprise at Sunset', *Intelligence and National Security*, 5.3 (1990), p. 15.

- 106 Tawil, *La'bat al-umam*, p. 399.
- 107 25/2/55, BBC-SWB: 548.
- 108 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 56.
- 109 FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 110 Lloyd, *Suez 1956*, p. 27.
- 111 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 81–3.
- 112 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 41.
- 113 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 65.
- 114 BBC-SWB: 621.
- 115 FRUS: 1955–57: XIV-411.
- 116 Trevelyan, H. *The Middle East in Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 57; Trevelyan, H. *Public and Private* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980), p. 80.
- 117 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 84. See also Oren, M. B. 'A Winter of Discontent', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 22.2 (1990), pp. 175–7.
- 118 Mohieddin Interview; Podeh, E. 'The Drift towards Neutrality: Egyptian Foreign Policy during the Early Nasserist Era, 1952–55', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32.1 (1996), pp. 162–3; Kedourie, E. 'Egypt, the Arab States and the Suez Expedition', In Wilson, K. M. (ed.) *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Middle East* (London: Mansell Publishing, 1983), p. 127.
- 119 Barnett, M. N. *Dialogues in Arab Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 107.
- 120 Said Interview.
- 121 BBC-SWB: 535; Podeh, 'Drift towards Neutrality', p. 167.
- 122 Seale, P. *The Struggle for Syria* (London: Tauris, 1987), pp. 223–4.
- 123 *Al-Gomhouriyya*, 9/2/55, BBC-SWB: 542.
- 124 Shuckburgh, *Descent*, p. 249.
- 125 FRUS: 1955–57: XIV-35.
- 126 Kent, *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East*, p. 401.
- 127 28/3/55, BBC-SWB: 557.
- 128 FRUS: 1955–57: XIV-123.
- 129 27/1/56, BBC-SWB: 642.
- 130 Sadat editorial in *Al-Gomhouriyya*, 22/2/56, BBC-SWB: 650.
- 131 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 55; Baghdadi, A. L. *Mudhakkirāt* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Hadith, 1977), Vol. 1, p. 197; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 7.
- 132 Doran, M. 'Egypt: Pan-Arabism in Historical Context', In Brown, L. C. (ed.) *Diplomacy in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), p. 107. See also Freiberger, S. Z. *Dawn over Suez* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992), p. 102; Takeyh, *Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine*, p. 74.
- 133 Hoda Abdel Nasser Interview; FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein and Khalek Interviews.
- 134 Trevelyan, *Middle East in Revolution*, p. 36.
- 135 FRUS: 1955–57: XIV-31; FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin and Khalek Interviews.
- 136 Fayek Interview.
- 137 Talaat Mosallem Interview; FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview; Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 107.
- 138 8/3/55, BBC-SWB: 549.
- 139 Howeidy Interview; FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin, Kamal al-Din Hussein and Khalek Interviews; Sadat, J. A. *Woman of Egypt* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 154.

- 140 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 67.
- 141 FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 142 23/3/55, BBC-SWB: 556.
- 143 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 109; Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 74.
- 144 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-97, 98.
- 145 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 47.
- 146 28/3/55, BBC-SWB: 557.
- 147 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-123.
- 148 BBC-SWB: 608.
- 149 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 59-63; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 203-5.
- 150 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-321.
- 151 Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, pp. 126-7.
- 152 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-123.
- 153 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-62, 67; Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 111.
- 154 23/5/55, BBC-SWB: 572.
- 155 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-195.
- 156 FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-416, 428.
- 157 FRUS: 1955-57: XV-32.
- 158 Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 117.
- 159 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 71.
- 160 Takeyh, *Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine*, pp. 78-9; Shamir, S. 'The Collapse of Project Alpha', In Louis and Owen (eds), *Suez 1956*, pp. 87-8; Oren, 'Secret Egypt-Israel Peace Initiatives', p. 365.
- 161 6/7/55, BBC-SWB: 585; FRUS: 1955-57: XIV-321.
- 162 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', pp. 16-17.
- 163 FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin Interview.
- 164 FRUS: 1955-57: XV-67.
- 165 13/3/56, FRUS: 1955-57: XV-211.
- 166 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', pp. 16-24. See also Bandmann, Y. 'The Egyptian Armed Forces during the Kadesh Campaign', In Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 79.
- 167 13/5/56, BBC-SWB: 673.
- 168 Zeevy, R. 'The Military Lessons of the Sinai Campaign', In Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 61, p. 70.
- 169 Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance*, p. 97.
- 170 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 67. He was not wrong that certain American officials were considering 'finding an alternative to Nasser somewhere'. But he was mistaken about the Dam. If the Americans concluded that he 'was really lost to the West', they thought 'it would be much better to give the Dam to a successor'. NA: FO371/113738.
- 171 FRUS: 1955-57: XV-21, 46; Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 61.
- 172 FYW: Zakaria Mohieddin Interview.
- 173 FRUS: 1955-57: XV-111-2.
- 174 See FRUS: 1955-57: XV-357; Takeyh, *Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine*, p. 117; Kent, *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East*, p. 507.
- 175 Shuckburgh, *Descent*, p. 281.
- 176 NA: FO371/113738.
- 177 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 85-6.

- 178 Nutting, A. *No End of a Lesson* (London: Constable, 1967), pp. 34–5, corrected by Kyle, *Suez*, p. 99.
- 179 Dorril, S. *MI6* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), p. 613.
- 180 LUCKY BREAK is generally said to have been a member of Nasser's inner circle, although it has also been suggested that it was 'taps on cables running under the Suez Canal', or even an SIS fiction. However, its information was relayed and relied on at the highest levels, inspiring 'Omega' and possibly even encouraging Eden secretly to authorise certain SIS officers to investigate the possibility of assassinating Nasser. Thornhill, M. T. 'Trevelyan, Humphrey', In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Lucas, W. S. 'The Missing Link?' In Kelly, S. and Gorst, A. (eds) *Whitehall and the Suez Crisis* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 119; Dorril, *MI6*, p. 614; Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 101.
- 181 Shuckburgh, *Descent*, pp. 345–6.
- 182 NA: FO371/113738.
- 183 Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 123.
- 184 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 119.
- 185 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, pp. 104–5; Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, pp. 116–18.
- 186 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-235.
- 187 NA: FO371/113738.
- 188 Fain, 'Unfortunate Arabia', p. 128.
- 189 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-363.
- 190 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, pp. 104–5.
- 191 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-252.
- 192 Kyle, K. 'Britain's Slow March to Suez', In Tal, D. (ed.) *The 1956 War* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 96.
- 193 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 87.
- 194 Nutting, *No End of a Lesson*, p. 34.
- 195 19/6/56, BBC-SWB: 683.
- 196 Aldrich, R. J. *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 477; Sami Sharaf Interview; Dorril, *MI6*, p. 610; Imam, S. *Ḥusayn al-shāfi'i wa asrār thawrat yūliyū wa ḥukm al-sadāt* (Cairo: Maktab Awziris, 1993), p. 73.
- 197 Okasha Interview.
- 198 See Fayek Interview; Cooper, *Lion's Last Roar*, p. 90; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 56.
- 199 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-351; BBC-SWB: 673.
- 200 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, pp. 121–2. See also Pineau, C. *1956/Suez* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1976), pp. 39–41; Howeidy Interview; Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 37; Heikal, *Cutting the Lion's Tail*, p. 108.
- 201 BBC-SWB: DS5; *Majmū'at khuṭab wa tasrīhāt wa bayānāt al-ra'īs jamāl 'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Ha'ia al-Isti'lamat), Vol. 1, pp. 547–64.
- 202 Abdel Hamid Abubakr Interview; Abu-Bakr, A. H. *Qanāt al-sūīs wa al-ayām allatī hazzat al-dunīā* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1987) pp. 26–9.
- 203 Heikal, M. H. *Sphinx and Commissar* (London: Collins, 1978), p. 67.
- 204 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 89, p. 92.
- 205 Gopal, S. 'India, the Crisis and the Non-Aligned Nations', In Louis and Owen (eds), *Suez 1956*, p. 174.
- 206 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 44.

- 207 Heikal, M. H. 'Egyptian Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 56.4 (1978), p. 714.
- 208 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 318.
- 209 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 93. See also Fayek Interview; Mar'i, 'Political Papers', pp. 359–61.
- 210 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 70.
- 211 Nasser had used the threat of establishing diplomatic relations with communist China against the US government since October 1953. Cooper, *Lion's Last Roar*, pp. 92–3.
- 212 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-399.
- 213 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-484.
- 214 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, pp. 41–2.
- 215 Howeidy Interview.
- 216 Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 139.
- 217 Howeidy Interview. See also Mahmoud Interview; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 318.
- 218 Uruq, M. *Qirā'a fī awrāq 'alī ṣabrī* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1992) p. 113; Fawzi, M. *Thiwār yūliyū yitahaddithūn* (Cairo: Al-Zahra lil-I'lam al-Arabiyy, 1987), p. 100; Kyle, *Suez*, p. 119; Okasha (2004) Vol. 1, p. 207.
- 219 24/7/54, BBC-SWB: 487.
- 220 17/11/54, BBC-SWB: 520.
- 221 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 43.
- 222 Fayek Interview.
- 223 Samd al-Din, I., Said Selim, M. and Khadduri, W. *Kayf yiṣna' al-qarār fī al-waṭan al-'arabiyy* (Cairo: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahida al-Arabiyya, 1980), pp. 86–97; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 318; Mahmoud Interview; Hamrush Interview.
- 224 Uruq, *Awrāq 'alī ṣabrī*, p. 113.
- 225 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 120.
- 226 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 133.
- 227 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 318; Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 69. See also Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyū*, p. 100.
- 228 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 120.
- 229 Mahmoud Interview; Samd al-Din *et al.*, *Kayf yiṣna' al-qarār*, pp. 99–101.
- 230 Howeidy Interview; Fayek Interview.
- 231 Abubakr Interview; Mar'i, S. 'Sayyid Mar'i's Political Papers', In Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, pp. 359–61.
- 232 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 139.
- 233 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-467.
- 234 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-502.
- 235 Dodds-Parker, D. *Political Eunuch* (London: Springwood Books, 1986), p. 97.
- 236 Rucher, L. 'The Soviet Union and the Suez Crisis', In Tal (ed.), *1956 War*.
- 237 Trevelyan, *Middle East in Revolution*, p. 55.
- 238 FRUS: 1955–57: XV-484.
- 239 26/7/56, BBC-SWB: DSS; *Majmū'āt kḥuṭab*, Vol. 1, pp. 547–64.
- 240 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 318; Calvocoressi, *Suez*, pp. 41–2.
- 241 Uruq, *Awrāq 'alī ṣabrī*, p. 114. Trevelyan used the same phrase. NA: PREM11/1098.

- 242 24/7/56, BBC-SWB: DS3.
- 243 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 74.
- 244 26/7/56, BBC-SWB: DS5; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 1, pp. 547–64.
- 245 Nutting, *No End of a Lesson*, p. 45.
- 246 26/7/56, BBC-SWB: DS5; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 1, pp. 547–64.
- 247 Fawzi, *Suez 1956*, pp. 31–2.
- 248 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 89.
- 249 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1; Heikal, M. H. *Milaffāt al-sūis* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1996), pp. 462–4.
- 250 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', p. 20 fn53.
- 251 Mohieddin Interview.
- 252 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', pp. 359–61.
- 253 Howeidy Interview.
- 254 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1. See also Heikal, *Milaffāt*, pp. 462–4; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 319–20; Howeidy Interview.
- 255 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 122.
- 256 28/7/56, BBC-SWB: DS6.
- 257 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-31.
- 258 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1; Heikal, *Milaffāt*, pp. 462–4.
- 259 Howeidy Interview; FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-31; Mohieddin Interview.
- 260 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1; Heikal, *Milaffāt*, pp. 462–4.
- 261 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 92.
- 262 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 44.
- 263 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 44.
- 264 See Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 319–20; Nutting, *Nasser*, pp. 147–8; Howeidy Interview.
- 265 Howeidy Interview.
- 266 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1; Heikal, *Milaffāt*, pp. 462–4.
- 267 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 327; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 93.
- 268 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 90–1; Heikal, *Milaffāt*, pp. 462–4.
- 269 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', p. 362.
- 270 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 134, p. 142.
- 271 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 143, p. 257.
- 272 Howeidy, 'Nasser and the Crisis', p. 171.
- 273 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 128–30.
- 274 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 331.
- 275 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 101; Kyle, *Suez*, pp. 183–5, p. 196.
- 276 Eayrs, J. *The Commonwealth and Suez* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 41.
- 277 Fawzi, *Suez 1956*, pp. 49–50; Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 151.
- 278 NA: PREM11/1100.
- 279 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', p. 363.
- 280 NA: PREM11/1100. See also Menzies, R. G. *Afternoon Light* (London: Cassell, 1967), pp. 164–8.
- 281 BBC-SWB: DS47; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 1, p. 590.
- 282 Dodds-Parker Papers: MC: D2/5/2C/8.
- 283 Holland, *America and Egypt*, p. 112.
- 284 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 103.
- 285 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 221.
- 286 BBC-SWB: DS47; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 1, p. 595.

- 287 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 288.
- 288 23/9/56, NA: PREM11/1102.
- 289 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 220.
- 290 NA: PREM11/1098.
- 291 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 147. See NA: FO371/121662; Dodds-Parker Papers: MC: D2/5/2C/8.
- 292 NA: PREM11/1098.
- 293 Catterall, P. *The Macmillan Diaries: The Cabinet Years, 1950–1957* (London: Macmillan, 2003), p. 578.
- 294 Clark, W. *From Three Worlds* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), p. 170.
- 295 NA: PREM11/1098.
- 296 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, pp. 142–3.
- 297 Eden to Macmillan, 23/9/56, NA: PREM11/1102.
- 298 See Bower, T. *The Perfect English Spy* (London: Mandarin, 1996), pp. 186–93; Kyle, *Suez*, p. 191, p. 211, pp. 218–19; Wright, P. *Spycatcher* (New York: Viking, 1987), p. 160; Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 181, pp. 193–5; Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 631–9, p. 694; Goldsworthy, D. *British Documents on the End of Empire: The Conservative Government and the End of Empire, 1951–57* (London, HMSO, 1994), pp. 100–2.
- 299 Andrew, C. and Mitrokhin, V. *The Mitrokhin Archive II* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), pp. 148–9. See also Rucher, ‘Soviet Union’, p. 77.
- 300 Thornhill, ‘Alternatives to Nasser’, pp. 18–22.
- 301 Dodds-Parker Papers: MC: D2/9/1MS/1-2, Oral History Interview. See also Dodds-Parker, *Political Eunuch*, pp. 102–3.
- 302 Bower, *Perfect English Spy*, pp. 200–1; Dorril, *MI6*, p. 628; Kyle, *Suez*, p. 148; Fielding, X. *One Man in His Time* (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp. 104–5.
- 303 NA: FO371/125423; Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 658–9; Pearson, *Sir Anthony Eden*, p. 84.
- 304 See Shaw (1996) pp. 92–4.
- 305 Fullick, R. and Powell, G. *Suez: The Double War* (London: Leo Cooper, 1990), pp. 46–7.
- 306 He adds that Nasser was suspicious of these reports at first, suspecting ‘that they were being planted by the CIA to make Egypt frightened of continuing its attacks on Britain’. Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 99, p. 105; Heikal, *Lion’s Tail*, p. 175.
- 307 Lucas, *Divided We Stand*, p. 163.
- 308 BBC-SWB: DS18.
- 309 Heikal, *Lion’s Tail*, p. 148.
- 310 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 222.
- 311 Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 79; NA: FO371/118999.
- 312 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 45.
- 313 Dorril, *MI6*, p. 631.
- 314 NA: PREM11/1100.
- 315 Howeidy Interview; Gamal Naguib Interview.
- 316 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 327.
- 317 Mar’i, ‘Political Papers’, pp. 362–3.
- 318 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 188, p. 226.
- 319 See Eayrs, *Commonwealth and Suez*, pp. 49–50, p. 69; Gopal, ‘India’, p. 180.
- 320 12/8/56, BBC-SWB: DS18.

- 321 Heikal, *Milaffāt*, p. 825.
- 322 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 105.
- 323 Fayek Interview.
- 324 Ashton, N. J. *Eisenhower, Macmillan and the Problem of Nasser* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 92.
- 325 Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 377. See also Abu al-Fadl, *Kuntu nā'iban*, pp. 103–4; Mosallem Interview.
- 326 NA: FO371/118999.
- 327 Troen and Shemesh, *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 152; Bandmann, 'Egyptian Armed Forces', pp. 79–80.
- 328 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 176.
- 329 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', pp. 29–32.
- 330 Sadat, *Woman of Egypt*, p. 158.
- 331 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-408.
- 332 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', p. 33, p. 41.
- 333 See Kyle, *Suez*, pp. 338–51.
- 334 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 105.
- 335 Howeidy Interview.
- 336 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 177.
- 337 Baghdadi, A. L. 'Abd al-Latif al-Bughdadi's Memoirs', In Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 337; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 335–6.
- 338 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 106; Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 178.
- 339 Eayrs, *Commonwealth and Suez*, p. 204; Kyle, *Suez*, pp. 358–9.
- 340 Fayek Interview.
- 341 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 179.
- 342 Rucher, 'Soviet Union', p. 78.
- 343 Dodds-Parker, *Political Eunuch*, p. 105.
- 344 Shuckburgh, *Descent*, p. 362.
- 345 Heikal, *Milaffāt*, p. 520, p. 823.
- 346 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 328; Shemesh, M. 'Egypt: From Military Defeat to Political Victory', In Troen and Shemesh (eds), *Suez-Sinai Crisis*, p. 152.
- 347 Sheffy, 'Unconcern at Dawn', p. 40.
- 348 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 106.
- 349 Eveland, *Ropes of Sand*, p. 226.
- 350 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 179.
- 351 Okasha Interview.
- 352 Howeidy Interview. Amin Howeidy claims to have heard the story directly from the press attaché.
- 353 Fayek Interview.
- 354 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 108–9.
- 355 6/12/56, *Egyptian Gazette*. Quoted in Bandmann, 'Egyptian Armed Forces', p. 85.
- 356 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', pp. 364–5.
- 357 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', p. 338; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 337–8.
- 358 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', pp. 364–5.
- 359 NA: FO371/121783.
- 360 Moheeb Helal Interview.

- 361 Quoted in Kyle, *Suez*, p. 368.
- 362 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 338–9; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 339.
- 363 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 108–9.
- 364 Howeidy, A. *Ḥurūb 'abd al-nāṣir* (Beirut: 1979), p. 92.
- 365 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 339–40; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 340–1.
- 366 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 48.
- 367 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 339–40; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 340–1.
- 368 Mahmoud Interview.
- 369 Mosallem Interview.
- 370 Mar'i, 'Political Papers', pp. 366–7.
- 371 Howeidy Interview.
- 372 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 339–40; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 340–1.
- 373 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-458.
- 374 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 186.
- 375 Bandmann, 'Egyptian Armed Forces', p. 96.
- 376 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 110–11.
- 377 Mahmoud Interview.
- 378 Fayek Interview; Howeidy Interview.
- 379 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 186.
- 380 Abu al-Fadl, *Kuntu nā'iban*, pp. 103–4.
- 381 Mahmoud Interview.
- 382 BBC-SWB: DS88.
- 383 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 340; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, p. 341.
- 384 *Majmū'at khutab*, Vol. 1, pp. 606–7.
- 385 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-472.
- 386 This account is largely based on Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 344–54, translated in Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 341–8. But see also Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 110–11; Fawzi, *Thiwār yūlīyū*, p. 101; Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 119; Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 166; Kyle, *Suez*, pp. 418–19, pp. 445–6.
- 387 Baghdadi, 'Memoirs', pp. 347–8; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 352–4.
- 388 Calvocoressi, *Suez*, p. 45.
- 389 Schramm, W. *One Day in the World's Press* (California: Stanford, 1959), p. 83.
- 390 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, p. 195; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 113.
- 391 Mohieddin Interview.
- 392 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-458.
- 393 Browne, H. *Flashpoints: Suez and Sinai* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 72.
- 394 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-472.
- 395 Sayed-Ahmed, *Nasser and American Foreign Policy*, p. 143.
- 396 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-486, 492.
- 397 FRUS: 1955–57: XVI-492.
- 398 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 455.
- 399 Heikal, *Lion's Tail*, pp. 187–8.
- 400 Howeidy Interview.
- 401 Alleras, I. 'Eisenhower and the Sinai Campaign of 1956', *In* Tal (ed.), *1956 War*.
- 402 Kyle, *Suez*, p. 482.
- 403 18/11/56, BBC-SWB: DS102.
- 404 Nasser, *Philosophy of the Revolution*, pp. 59–62, pp. 74–6. The other two circles were the Arab and Islamic worlds.

- 405 Stephens, *Nasser*, pp. 285–6. See also Yapp, M. E. *The Near East since the First World War* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 114–15.
- 406 FYW: Kamal al-Din Hussein Interview.
- 407 See Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics*, pp. 15–16; Ayubi, S. *Nasser and Sadat* (Washington: University Press of America, 1994), pp. 12–14.
- 408 Said Interview.
- 409 Dabous, 'Egyptian Press', p. 100, pp. 106–8.
- 410 Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 30; *Who's Who in the Arab World, 1967–8, 2nd Edition* (Beirut: Publitec Publications), p. 1029; FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-232.
- 411 Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 143.
- 412 Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 14.
- 413 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, pp. 236–8; Hoda Nasser Interview. See also Korn, D. A. *Stalemate* (Boulder: Westview, 1992), pp. 81–2; Sharaf Interview; Hamrush Interview.
- 414 Dabous, 'Egyptian Press', p. 110, p. 115.
- 415 Sadat, *Revolt on the Nile*, pp. 17–18; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 101; Okasha Interview.
- 416 Abdel Magid Farid Interview.
- 417 Stephens, *Nasser*, p. 79.
- 418 Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 91; Hoda Nasser Interview; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 419 Hussein Shafei Interview; Yehia Gamal Interview.
- 420 Okasha Interview.
- 421 Okasha Interview; Hassan Issa Interview.
- 422 Fayek Interview; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 79.
- 423 Makram Mohammed Ahmed Interview; Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 78.
- 424 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 225; Goldschmidt, A. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2000), p. 23.
- 425 Farid Interview.
- 426 Fawzi, *Thiwār yūlīyū*, p. 71. See also Salah al-Din Hadidi Interview; Okasha Interview.
- 427 Saad al-Din Shazly Interview.
- 428 Imam, A. '*Abd al-nāṣir: kayf ḥakama miṣr?*' (Cairo: Madbouli al-Saghir, 1996), pp. 104–5; Shafei Interview.
- 429 Podeh, E. *The Decline of Arab Unity* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1999), pp. 98–9.
- 430 Mahmoud Interview.
- 431 For accounts of the crisis, see Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 121; Nasr, S. *Mudhakkirāt* (Cairo: Dar al-Khiyal, 1999), Vol. 3, p. 24; Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, p. 165; Fawzi, Muhammad *Harb al thalāth sanawāt, 1967–1970* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1983), pp. 31–40.
- 432 Farid Interview.
- 433 To avoid confusion, for dates subsequent to September 1961, this book generally refers to 'Egypt', although some quoted sources continue to use the country's official name.
- 434 Shafei Interview.
- 435 Fayek Interview. See Imam, A. '*Alī ṣabrī yitadhāhir*' (Cairo: Tasmim al-Ghalaf al-Funan, 1987), pp. 81–2; Howeidy, A. *Ma' 'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Dar Al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1985), p. 139.

- 436 Farid, A. M. *et al.* 'Nasser: A Reassessment', *Arab Papers*, 8 (1981), p. 4.
- 437 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 438 Farid Interview. See also Ahmed Abdel Halim Interview; Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 51.
- 439 Baghdadadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 189–91.
- 440 Kerr, M. H. *The Arab Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 39; Stephens, *Nasser*, pp. 379–80.
- 441 29/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME833.
- 442 Badeeb, S. M. *The Saudi-Egyptian Conflict over North Yemen* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), p. 132.
- 443 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 187.
- 444 1/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME811.
- 445 23/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME829.
- 446 28/7/62, BBC-SWB: ME1007.
- 447 *Al-Ahram*, 4/7/61, BBC-SWB: ME681.
- 448 NA: CO936/721.
- 449 22/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME830; FRUS: 1961–63: XVII-193.
- 450 *Al-Ahram*, 29/6/64, BBC-SWB: ME1591.
- 451 14/11/61, BBC-SWB: ME794.
- 452 18/8/62, BBC-SWB: ME1024; 5/7/62, BBC-SWB: ME987.
- 453 For background, see Dresch, P. *A History of Modern Yemen* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 87.
- 454 27/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1133.
- 455 Kerr, M. H. 'Coming to Terms with Nasser', *International Affairs*, 43.1 (1967), p. 75.
- 456 See Bass, W. *Support Any Friend* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 70, p. 96.
- 457 FRUS: 1964–68: XVII-47, 54.
- 458 FRUS: 1964–68: XVII-101. Nasser, however, remained sensitive on this topic. 'There is nothing about which we are afraid to speak,' he reiterated, publicly defending these letters. 25/7/61, BBC-SWB: ME699.
- 459 Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 134.
- 460 FRUS: 1964–68: XVII-107, 151.
- 461 FRUS: 1964–68: XVII-309.
- 462 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-31; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 200.
- 463 Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 86.
- 464 *Al-Gomhouriyya*, 27/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME826.
- 465 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 193.
- 466 27/12/61, BBC-SWB: ME833.
- 467 Habib, T. *Milaffat thawrat yūliyū* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1997), p. 240. For a similar line, see Imam, 'Abd al-nāsir', p. 334; Sharaf, Mahmoud and Fayek Interviews; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 194.
- 468 13/10/62, BBC-SWB: ME1074.
- 469 *Al-Ahram*, 19/10/62, BBC-SWB: ME1079.
- 470 9/1/63, BBC-SWB: ME1146; *Majmū'at khutab*, Vol. 4, pp. 299–308.
- 471 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 199; Sharaf Interview.
- 472 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 36. See Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 78; Dann, U. *King Hussein and the Challenge of Arab Radicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 169; Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*, p. 73.
- 473 Trevaskis, K. *Shades of Amber* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), p. 180.

- 474 Stephens, Nasser, pp. 386–8; Halliday, F. *Arabia without Sultans* (London: Saqi Books, 2002), p. 102.
- 475 O'Ballance, E. *The War in the Yemen*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 64; FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-38.
- 476 Alaini, Baydani and Said Interviews.
- 477 BBC-SWB: ME1011, 1014.
- 478 25/9/62, BBC-SWB: ME1056.
- 479 For further analysis, see Stookey, R.W. *The Politics of the Yemen Arab Republic* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), p. 231; Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 89. The views of contemporary Western observers can be found in FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-38, 81; Gandy, C. 'A Mission to Yemen', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25.2 (1998), p. 257; NA: FO371/162948.
- 480 For the Yemeni perspective, see Maqalah, A. A. '*Abd al-nasir wa al-yaman*' (Cairo: Markaz al-Hadaara al-Arabiyya, 2000), pp. 101–2; Alaini Interview; Rosser, K. 'Education, Revolt and Reform in Yemen', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1998), p. 55. Egyptian sources include Heikal, M. H. *1967 – sanawāt al-ghalayān* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1988), pp. 621–2; Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 331–2; Dib, F. '*Abd al-nāsir wa ḥarb al-tahrīr al-yamanī*' (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1990), p. 84.
- 481 Abdel Rahman Baydani Interview.
- 482 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-119.
- 483 Sherif, Hadidi and Said Interviews.
- 484 Howeidy Interview.
- 485 Alaini Interview.
- 486 28/9/62, BBC-SWB: ME1059; Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 89.
- 487 Alaini Interview; O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 75.
- 488 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, pp. 34–5, p. 118.
- 489 O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 65, p. 84.
- 490 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 37.
- 491 BBC-SWB: ME1068.
- 492 NA: CO1015/2150.
- 493 Noman, A. and Almadhagi, K. *Yemen and the United States* (London: Tauris, 1996), p. 32; Stookey, *Politics of the Yemen*, p. 231.
- 494 Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, p. 333; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 240.
- 495 BBC-SWB: ME1103.
- 496 *Voice of the Arabs*, 28/9/62, BBC-SWB: ME1059.
- 497 BBC-SWB: ME1071.
- 498 See Howeidy, A. *50 'āman min al-awāsif* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 2002), p. 97.
- 499 Quoted in Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, p. 173 fn9.
- 500 See Rahmy, A. A. R. *The Egyptian Policy in the Arab World* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983), pp. 105–6; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 241; Baydani Interview; Farid Interview; Heikal, *Sanawāt al-ghalayān*, pp. 627–8.
- 501 Alaini Interview; Alaini, M. *Fifty Years in Shifting Sands* (An-Nahar Publications, in press), p. 42.
- 502 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 162.
- 503 Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, p. 57.
- 504 Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 89.
- 505 See Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, p. 126; Ahmed Interview; Mahmoud Interview; Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2 pp. 332–4; Imam, '*Abd al-nāsir*', p. 339.

- 506 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 133.
- 507 Wahab Interview. See also Fawzi, *Thiwār yūlīyū*, p. 71.
- 508 Heikal, M. H. *Li-miṣr ila li-'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1987), p. 55. Confirmed by Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 223; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 162.
- 509 Alaini, *Fifty Years*, p. 66.
- 510 Howeidy Interview.
- 511 *Address by President Gamal Abdel Nasser at the Palestinian National Congress* (Cairo, 1965).
- 512 Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, p. 98; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 244; Baydani Interview; Sharaf Interview.
- 513 Howeidy Interview.
- 514 Badeau, J. S. 'USA and UAR: A Crisis in Confidence', *Foreign Affairs*, 43.2 (1965), p. 287.
- 515 Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, p. 98; Maqalah, *Abd al-nasir*, pp. 38–9; FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-69.
- 516 Shafei Interview; Howeidy Interview; Mahmoud Interview.
- 517 Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, p. 311; Dawisha, 'Middle East', p. 217; Fawzi, *Thiwār yūlīyū*, p. 126; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 241, p. 244.
- 518 Sharaf Interview; Shazly Interview.
- 519 Trevaskis, *Shades of Amber*, p. 187.
- 520 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 133.
- 521 Heikal, 'Egyptian Foreign Policy', p. 722.
- 522 27/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1133.
- 523 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-63; BBC-SWB: ME1062.
- 524 Mahmoud Interview; Issa Interview.
- 525 *Al-Ahram*, 28/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1135.
- 526 Shazly, Sharaf, Fayek, Wahab, Hadidi and Hamrush Interviews; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 162.
- 527 Gamal Interview.
- 528 Noman and Almadhagi, *Yemen and the US*, p. 33, p. 59; 20/8/62, BBC-SWB: ME1027.
- 529 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-353.
- 530 Sami Sharaf, sometimes called Nasser's 'dirty tricks' operator, admits that he managed such contacts until February 1963. Sharaf Interview.
- 531 9/1/63, BBC-SWB: ME1146, *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, pp. 299–308.
- 532 23/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1133, *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, p. 260.
- 533 O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, pp. 84–7. The Yemenis themselves had almost no aircraft. NA: DEFE13/398.
- 534 NA: CO1015/2150.
- 535 Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s.546 2/6, s.367 6/1.
- 536 Gandy, 'Mission to Yemen', p. 253.
- 537 Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s.546 2/6; Dorril, *MI6*, p. 679.
- 538 NA: FO371/162948, 162953.
- 539 Stookey, *Politics of the Yemen*, p. 231.
- 540 22/5/63, BBC-SWB: ME1255.
- 541 27/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1133. See also FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-76.
- 542 Dawisha, 'Middle East', p. 216.
- 543 Nasser quoted in *The Times*, 5/3/68.

- 544 Habib, *Milaffat*, p.241; Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 332–4.
 545 Heikal, *Li-misir*, p. 55.
 546 Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, p. 195.
 547 Alaini, *Fifty Years*, p. 42; Mohsen Alaini Interview.
 548 BBC-SWB: ME1092.
 549 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 133. See also Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 332–4; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 240.
 550 BBC-SWB: ME1068; Dawisha, 'Middle East', p. 216; O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 78.
 551 Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s. 367 5/9.
 552 Trevaskis, *Shades of Amber*, p. 169.
 553 Jones, *Britain and the Yemen Civil War*, p. 24, pp. 33–4.
 554 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 194. See also Dib, '*Abd al-nāṣir*', p. 78.
 555 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-63.
 556 Mahmoud Interview; Issa Interview; 29/9/62, *Akhbar al-Yawm*, BBC-SWB: ME1061.
 557 5/10/62, BBC-SWB: ME1067; 30/11/62, BBC-SWB: ME1115.
 558 Shafei Interview.
 559 *Al-Ahram*, 28/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1135.
 560 7/2/63, FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-151.
 561 3/12/63, FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-376.
 562 Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 32.
 563 23/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1133; Dawisha, A.I. 'Intervention in the Yemen', *Middle East Journal*, 29.1 (1975), pp. 50–1.
 564 21/5/63, BBC-SWB: ME1254.
 565 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-353, 394; O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 108.
 566 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 215.
 567 18/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1130; NA: PREM11/3878.
 568 18/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1130.
 569 2/1/63, BBC-SWB: ME1140.
 570 Alaini Interview.
 571 Mahmoud Interview.
 572 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-126.
 573 See FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-141, 176, 186.
 574 The temple of Dendur is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-328; Bass, *Support Any Friend*, p. 64.
 575 BBC-SWB: ME1298.
 576 BBC-SWB: ME1414.
 577 Shafei Interview.
 578 Baydani Interview.
 579 Mourad Ghalib Interview.
 580 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-96.
 581 Assessment based on Mahmoud, Farid, Issa, Gamal and Fayek Interviews; Dawisha, 'Middle East', p. 207, p. 222; Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, pp. 203–7.
 582 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-77 fn2.
 583 Gandy, 'Mission to Yemen', pp. 267–8.
 584 For details, see Jones, *Britain and the Yemen Civil War*, pp. 30–2, pp. 53–5; Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 91.
 585 NA: PREM11/3878.

- 586 NA: CAB128/36-7; Macmillan Diary, 22/10/62, MSS in Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- 587 Gandy, 'Mission to Yemen', pp. 267–8.
- 588 NA: CAB129/112; Macmillan Diary, 17/2/63.
- 589 NA: FO371/168786.
- 590 Bower, *Perfect English Spy*, p. 244, pp. 247–8.
- 591 NA: CO1015/2150; DEFE13/398, PREM11/3878, PREM11/4357.
- 592 See Fielding, *One Man in His Time*, pp. 131–5; Jones, *Britain and the Yemen Civil War*, pp. 38–9, p. 50.
- 593 Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s. 367 5/9.
- 594 'The new Governor was a little shocked at the way we deal with things, which was not quite in accord with his Foreign Office training,' Trevaskis had written in 1961. 'Nevertheless, we are rapidly educating him and I have no doubt that by the time he leaves he will be one of us.' Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s. 546 2/6.
- 595 Trevaskis Papers: MSS Brit Emp s. 367 6/1.
- 596 Fielding, *One Man in His Time*, p. 140; Balfour-Paul, G. *The End of Empire in the Middle East* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 80.
- 597 NA: FO371/162953.
- 598 NA: FO371/162948.
- 599 Jones, *Britain and the Yemen Civil War*, p. 77.
- 600 9/1/63, BBC-SWB: ME1146; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, pp. 299–308.
- 601 NA: PREM11/4173.
- 602 Ashton, N. J. *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 103.
- 603 9/8/63, BBC-SWB: ME1321; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, p. 489.
- 604 Issa Interview; NA: PREM11/3878.
- 605 Ashton, N. J. 'A "Special Relationship" Sometimes in Spite of Ourselves', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 33.2 (2005), p. 230; Stephens, Nasser, p. 392.
- 606 19/12/62, BBC-SWB: ME1131.
- 607 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-68.
- 608 9/1/63, BBC-SWB: ME1146; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, pp. 299–308.
- 609 Heikal, *Sanawāt al-ghalayān*, p. 651, pp. 926–27.
- 610 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-294, 305.
- 611 6/11/62, BBC-SWB: ME1092. See also his speech of 22/5/63, BBC-SWB: ME1255.
- 612 Figures synthesised from FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-105; Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 102; Stookey, *Politics of the Yemen*, p. 238; Witty, D. M. 'A Regular Army in Counter-Insurgency Operations', *Journal of Military History*, 65.2 (2001), p. 424.
- 613 Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 243; Farid Interview; Naguib Interview.
- 614 Generals Murtagi and Shazly in Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 241; Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 148.
- 615 NA: PREM11/3878; O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 91.
- 616 Habib, *Milaffat*, pp. 241–3.
- 617 Quoted in Gamasy, M. A. G. *The October War* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1993), p. 18.
- 618 See De La Billière, P. *Looking for Trouble* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 203–5; Mawby, 'Clandestine Defence', pp. 122–4; Jones, *Britain and the*

- Yemen Civil War*, pp. 134–9; Bower, *Perfect English Spy*, pp. 247–52; Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 684–6.
- 619 Smiley, D. *Arabian Assignment* (London: Leo Cooper, 1975), p. 154.
- 620 NA: FO371/178594.
- 621 NA: FO371/174627.
- 622 26/4/64, BBC-SWB: ME1540; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 4, pp. 561–7; 27/4/64, BBC-SWB: ME1538; 28/4/64, BBC-SWB: ME1539.
- 623 Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, p. 125; FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-35.
- 624 Ahmed Interview; Sherif Interview.
- 625 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 133.
- 626 Jones, C. 'Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40.1 (2004) pp. 106–112, p. 121.
- 627 1/5/64, BBC-SWB: ME1544; FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-336.
- 628 De La Billière, *Looking for Trouble*, p. 205, p. 223.
- 629 NA: DEFE13/570.
- 630 NA: FO371/178594.
- 631 22/7/64, BBC-SWB: ME1613.
- 632 15/9/64, BBC-SWB: ME1657.
- 633 Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3, p. 61.
- 634 23/12/64, BBC-SWB: ME1743; *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 5, p. 108.
- 635 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 229.
- 636 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-208; XXI-367.
- 637 Shazly Interview.
- 638 Ahmed Interview; FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-141.
- 639 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, pp. 133–4.
- 640 4/2/65, BBC-SWB: ME1776.
- 641 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-367.
- 642 Stookey, *Politics of the Yemen*, p. 232; Noman and Almadhagi, *Yemen and the US*, p. 40.
- 643 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-329.
- 644 Alaini Interview; Alaini, *Fifty Years*, pp. 60–6. For an Egyptian account, see Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3 pp. 79–86.
- 645 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-253.
- 646 *Al-Ahram*, 6/5/66, BBC-SWB: ME2156.
- 647 18/8/65, BBC-SWB: ME1939.
- 648 Mahmoud Interview.
- 649 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-382; Stephens, *Nasser*, p. 419.
- 650 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 83.
- 651 Alaini Interview. See Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 105.
- 652 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-258. A conciliatory attitude to Saudi Arabia was of course a key Egyptian bargaining tool in US food aid negotiations.
- 653 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-382.
- 654 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-253.
- 655 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 161; Stephens, *Nasser*, pp. 416–17; Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, pp. 203–7; Shazly, Hadidi and Mosallem Interviews.
- 656 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-395, 398.
- 657 Heikal, *Li-misr*, p. 55.
- 658 Ahmed Interview.
- 659 *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 5, p. 537. See Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, pp. 154–6.

- 660 23/12/66, BBC-SWB: ME2351.
 661 25/9/66, BBC-SWB: ME2275.
 662 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-290.
 663 Alaini, *Fifty Years*, p. 72; Alaini Interview; Baydani Interview.
 664 O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, p. 159, p. 164.
 665 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-378.
 666 Farid Interview; Kerr, *Arab Cold War*, pp. 110–11.
 667 Hassan Sabri Al-Kholi, FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-386.
 668 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-391.
 669 29/4/66, BBC-SWB: ME2150. See also Dawisha, 'Intervention', pp. 57–8.
 670 22/3/66, BBC-SWB: ME2120.
 671 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-398.
 672 BBC-SWB:ME2152, *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 5, pp. 554–5; 24/11/66, BBC-SWB: ME2327.
 673 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-386.
 674 23/12/66, BBC-SWB: ME2351.
 675 Badeeb, *Saudi-Egyptian Conflict*, p. 39; O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, pp. 172–3.
 676 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-386.
 677 Kerr, *Arab Cold War*, p. 113; Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, p. 172.
 678 24/11/66, BBC-SWB: ME2327.
 679 NA: PREM13/704.
 680 22/2/66, BBC-SWB: ME2097.
 681 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-395.
 682 NA: PREM13/704.
 683 Alaini Interview.
 684 22/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2401; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 71.
 685 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-408.
 686 Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, pp. 154–6; Mahgoub Interview.
 687 O'Ballance, *War in the Yemen*, pp. 155–7.
 688 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-395.
 689 See Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 107.
 690 Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 62.
 691 See Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3, p. 61.
 692 22/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2401; *Wathā'iq 'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: ACPSS), Vol. 1, p. 71.
 693 22/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2401.
 694 22/7/66, BBC-SWB: ME2221, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 71.
 695 15/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2467.
 696 Parker, R. B. *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 104; Gerges, F. A. *The Superpowers and the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 175–6.
 697 Burns, *Economic Aid*, pp. 154–5.
 698 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-117.
 699 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 21; Burns, *Economic Aid*, pp. 155–9.
 700 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 195.
 701 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 105; Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 159.
 702 23/12/64, BBC-SWB: ME1743.
 703 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-117.

- 704 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-194.
 705 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-253.
 706 Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 126.
 707 Badeau 'USA and UAR', pp. 284–5.
 708 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-234.
 709 Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 134, p. 145.
 710 Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 235.
 711 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-302.
 712 Farid Interview.
 713 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-321.
 714 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-393.
 715 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-392.
 716 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 187.
 717 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 22.
 718 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-229.
 719 See interviews with Kim Roosevelt and Donald Bergus, quoted in Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 139; interview with former CIA officer James Critchfield, quoted in Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 209.
 720 Bower, *Perfect English Spy*, p. 229.
 721 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 179, p. 191. My italics.
 722 Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 168.
 723 Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 235; Kepel, G. *Muslim Extremism in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 33. This incident ultimately led to the hanging of the radical Islamist ideologue Sayyid Qutb in 1966.
 724 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-396.
 725 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-232, 371.
 726 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-341. On Birdsall, see Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 22; Howeydy Interview; Sharaf Interview.
 727 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 199; Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 150, p. 154; Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 32; Imam, 'Abd al-nāsir, p. 336.
 728 22/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2401.
 729 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-440.
 730 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-439.
 731 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-417.
 732 Halim, A. 'Al-khībra al-'arabiyya fī al-harb, *Al-Siyasa Al-Dawliyya*, 34 (1998), p. 104.
 733 See Dresch, *Modern Yemen*, p. 105 fn41; Bower, *Perfect English Spy*, p. 251.
 734 Noman and Almadhagi, *Yemen and the US*, pp. 80–1; FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-441.
 735 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-417.
 736 25/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2403. See also Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, p. 238.
 737 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-394.
 738 BBC-SWB: ME1709, *Majmū'āt khutab*, Vol. 5, p. 65.
 739 FRUS: 1961–63: XVIII-270; Noman and Almadhagi, *Yemen and the US*, pp. 57–8; Little, D. 'The New Frontier on the Nile', *The Journal of American History*, 75.2 (1988), p. 521.
 740 FRUS: 1964–68: XXI-378, 383.

- 741 Badeau, *Middle East Remembered*, p. 223.
- 742 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-232.
- 743 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-306; Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 241.
- 744 Hadidi Interview.
- 745 Hamrush Interview; Stookey, R. W. *America and the Arab States* (New York: Wiley, 1975), p. 183.
- 746 26/5/66, BBC-SWB: ME2172.
- 747 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-296.
- 748 24/11/66, BBC-SWB: ME2327.
- 749 BBC-SWB: ME2152.
- 750 1/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 163; BBC-SWB: ME2456; 22/2/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 72; BBC-SWB: ME2401. The final Arabic phrase, 'fājir 'āhir', is highly offensive, and even Nasser seems to have thought better of using it. 'As the English call him', he added hastily.
- 751 22/2/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, pp. 68–71; BBC-SWB: ME2401; 15/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2467.
- 752 4/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2385.
- 753 15/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2467.
- 754 1/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 163; BBC-SWB: ME2456.
- 755 Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 238.
- 756 Parker, R. B. *The Six-Day War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), p. 219.
- 757 Sharaf Interview.
- 758 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 106.
- 759 24/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2402; Heikal, M. H. *Nahnu wa amrīka* (Cairo: Dar al-Asr al-Hadith, 1968), pp. 7–17.
- 760 22/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2473.
- 761 28/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 205; *International Documents on Palestine, 1967* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970) [IDP], p. 563.
- 762 Versions of this conversation are reproduced in Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3, p. 221; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 173; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 23.
- 763 Howard, M. and Hunter, R. 'Israel and the Arab World: The Crisis of 1967', *Adelphi Papers* 41 (1967), pp. 11–13.
- 764 22/2/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 67, BBC-SWB: ME2401.
- 765 26/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 181; BBC-SWB: ME2477.
- 766 4/2/67, BBC-SWB: ME2385. See also Mahmoud Interview.
- 767 3/6/66, BBC-SWB: ME2179.
- 768 Burdett, W. *Encounter with the Middle East* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 240.
- 769 24/5/66, BBC-SWB: ME2171.
- 770 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 172. See also Farid Interview. His ally Badran denies Amer ever made such a statement. Habib, *Milaffat*, p. 320.
- 771 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 23.
- 772 Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 101.
- 773 NA: PREM13/1826.
- 774 18/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2470.
- 775 For an opposing view, see Hadidi, S. D. *Shāhid 'ala ḥarb 1967* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk), pp. 13–89; Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 53; Hadidi Interview.

- 776 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-44, 76. See Bergus, D. C. 'The View from Washington', *In Parker (ed.), Six-Day War*, p. 217.
- 777 Ahmad Samih Khalidi, quoted in Draper, T. *Israel and World Politics* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), pp. 71–2.
- 778 4/11/66, BBC-SWB: ME2310.
- 779 Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 101; Farid Interview.
- 780 Rikhye, I. J. *The Sinai Blunder* (London: Frank Cass, 1980), p. 71.
- 781 Ashraf Ghorbal, quoted in Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 94.
- 782 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 174.
- 783 FYW: Salah Bassiouny Interview.
- 784 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 79. Ambassador Hassan Issa agrees. Issa Interview.
- 785 Copeland, *Game of Nations*, p. 238.
- 786 24/11/66, BBC-SWB: ME2327.
- 787 Heikal, M. H. 1967 – *al-infjār* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1990), p. 208.
- 788 26/3/67, *Al-Hawadis*.
- 789 15/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2467.
- 790 22/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 175; BBC-SWB: ME2473.
- 791 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 27.
- 792 Gawrych, G. W. *The Albatross of Decisive Victory* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), p. 82.
- 793 Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 93.
- 794 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 40.
- 795 FRUS: 1964–68: XVIII-404.
- 796 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 90.
- 797 Naguib Interview.
- 798 22/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2473, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 173; 26/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 180, BBC-SWB: ME2477.
- 799 See also Brown, L. C. 'Nasser and the June War: Plan or Improvisation?' *In Seikaly, S., Baalbaki, R. and Dodd, P. (eds) Quest for Understanding* (Beirut: AUB Press, 1991).
- 800 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 801 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-5.
- 802 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, pp. 5–6; Andrew, C. and Gordievsky, O. *KGB* (London: Sceptre, 1990), p. 501.
- 803 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 62.
- 804 Hadidi Interview.
- 805 See Sadat, *Identity*, p. 172; Fayek Interview; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi and Shams Badran Interviews.
- 806 Oren, *Six Days*, pp. 58–9.
- 807 23/7/67, BBC-SWB: ME2525.
- 808 Gamasy, *October War*, pp. 21–2.
- 809 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 810 See Brams, S. J. 'To Mobilize or not to Mobilize', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43.4 (1999), p. 633; Oren, *Six Days*, p. 14; Bar-Joseph, U. 'Rotem: The Forgotten Crisis', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31.3 (1996), p. 547, p. 563.
- 811 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-5.
- 812 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, pp. 71–2; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.

- 813 Oren, *Six Days*, pp. 62–3.
- 814 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 228.
- 815 FYW: Shams Badran Interview.
- 816 Hadidi Interview.
- 817 Quoted in Brown, L. C. 'Origins of the Crisis', In Parker (ed.), *Six-Day War*, pp. 41–2.
- 818 13/5/67, IDP p. 7.
- 819 See 13/5/67, *The New York Times*.
- 820 Fayek Interview.
- 821 21/5/67, FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-28.
- 822 FYW: Salah Bassiouny Interview.
- 823 Safran, N. *From War to War* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), pp. 277–8; Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 170, p. 181.
- 824 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 16.
- 825 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 18.
- 826 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 21.
- 827 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 47.
- 828 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview; Oren, *Six Days*, p. 67.
- 829 Heikal, *Li-miṣr*, p. 117.
- 830 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 69.
- 831 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 51.
- 832 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 73; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 833 FYW: General Noufal Interview. For General Murtagi's contrasting account, see Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 74.
- 834 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 19, p. 37. See also IDP, pp. 211–15, U Thant's *Report on the Withdrawal of UNEF, 26/6/67*.
- 835 FYW: General Noufal Interview; Gamasy, *October War*, pp. 38–9.
- 836 Howard and Hunter, 'Israel and the Arab World', p. 17.
- 837 FYW: General Fawzi Interview.
- 838 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 49.
- 839 FYW: Shams Badran Interview.
- 840 26/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 180; BBC-SWB: ME2477.
- 841 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-54. See Bergus, 'View from Washington', p. 219.
- 842 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 172.
- 843 Heikal, *Li-miṣr*, pp. 117–18.
- 844 22/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 175; BBC-SWB: ME2473.
- 845 Bowen, *Six Days*, p. 51.
- 846 Gamal Interview.
- 847 FYW: Ahmed Fakhr Interview; Sharaf Interview.
- 848 BBC-SWB: ME2482.
- 849 Quoted in Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 47.
- 850 Rikhye, *Sinai Blunder*, p. 72; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 228.
- 851 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 172; Burdett, *Encounter*, p. 239; 23/7/67, BBC-SWB: ME2525.
- 852 FYW: Shams Badran Interview.
- 853 BBC-SWB: ME2471.
- 854 Laqueur, W. *The Road to War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 90–1.
- 855 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 228.
- 856 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 75.

- 857 Hadidi Interview.
- 858 Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, pp. 177–8; Safran, *War to War*, p. 288.
- 859 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, pp. 79–80.
- 860 BBC-SWB: ME2473. See also Mor, B. D. 'Nasser's Decision-Making in the 1967 Middle East Crisis', *Journal of Peace Research*, 28.4 (1991), p. 371.
- 861 Gamal Interview.
- 862 21/5/67, FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-28.
- 863 Farid, Naguīb and Wahab Interviews.
- 864 25/5/67, FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-61.
- 865 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 172.
- 866 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 76.
- 867 Transcript, Robert S. McNamara Oral History, Special Interview I, 3/26/93, by Robert Dallek, Internet Copy, LBJ Library.
- 868 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-77. See also Quandt, W. B. *Decade of Decisions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 49.
- 869 Dawn, E. 'The Egyptian Remilitarisation of Sinai', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3.3 (1968), p. 201.
- 870 Hadidi Interview; FYW: Mohamed Abdel Ghani Gamasy Interview.
- 871 Bowen, *Six Days*, p. 57.
- 872 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-28.
- 873 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 23.
- 874 Hadidi Interview; Gamasy, *October War*, p. 41.
- 875 Burdett, *Encounter*, p. 241.
- 876 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 111.
- 877 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, pp. 99–104.
- 878 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 109; Oren, *Six Days*, p. 92.
- 879 Shazly Interview.
- 880 Said Interview; 2/8/03, *Al-Bayan* (UAE) p. 20.
- 881 Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, p. 113.
- 882 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 42. Confirmed by Sharaf and Fayek Interviews.
- 883 Said and Shazly Interviews.
- 884 FYW: Ahmed Fakhir Interview.
- 885 FYW: Shams Badran Interview.
- 886 Auda, 'State of Political Control', p. 108; Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 239.
- 887 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 161, p. 169. See also Fayek Interview.
- 888 Shafei Interview.
- 889 Hadidi Interview; Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, p. 177.
- 890 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview; Fawzi, *Harb al thalāth sanawāt*, pp. 113–14.
- 891 Quoted in Brown, 'Origins of the Crisis', pp. 44–5. See FYW: Salah Bassiouny Interview.
- 892 Farid Interview; Stephens, *Nasser*, p. 484.
- 893 Oren, *Six Days*, p. 120.
- 894 Fayek Interview.
- 895 Sharaf Interview; Habib, *Milaffat*, pp. 338–9.
- 896 Salah Nasr suggests that Sharaf actually destroyed the tape of this meeting at Nasser's behest. Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3, p. 227.
- 897 FYW: Shams Badran Interview. See also Farid Interview.
- 898 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-78.
- 899 NA: FCO17/489.

- 900 Naguib Interview.
- 901 FYW: General Noufal Interview.
- 902 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 175; BBC-SWB: ME2473.
- 903 28/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 192; IDP p. 553.
- 904 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 224; IDP p. 579.
- 905 22/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2473.
- 906 26/5/67, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 182; BBC-SWB: ME2477.
- 907 Hussein of Jordan, *My 'War' with Israel* (London: Peter Owen, 1969), pp. 43–6; Oren, *Six Days*, p. 132.
- 908 IDP pp. 578–9.
- 909 Quoted in Churchill, R. S. and W. S. *The Six Day War* (London: Heinemann, 1967), p. 60.
- 910 2/6/67, *Al-Ahram*, BBC-SWB: ME2482.
- 911 Heikal, *Li-miṣr*, p. 118; Stephens, *Nasser*, p. 481.
- 912 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 203.
- 913 Hussein, *My 'War'*, p. 49; FYW: King Hussein Interview.
- 914 23/7/67, BBC-SWB: ME2525; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 174; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 915 Sharaf Interview.
- 916 Mahmoud Interview.
- 917 Fayek, Ghalib and Farid Interviews; Elwi-Saif, M. 'Nasser's Perception of 1967 Crisis', paper presented at a conference on *The United States, the Middle East and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War* (US State Department, January 12–13, 2004), p. 23.
- 918 Even more oddly, the Iraqi Prime Minister was airborne at the same time, escorted by Vice President Hussein Shafei on a trip Nasser himself apparently approved. See Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, p. 29, p. 187; Fayek Interview; Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 115.
- 919 FYW: General Noufal, Shams Badran and Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 920 Fawzi, *Thiwār yūliyyū*, p. 174; Elwi-Saif, 'Nasser's Perception', p. 22.
- 921 Elwi-Saif, 'Nasser's Perception', pp. 22–3; Sharaf Interview.
- 922 Oren, *Six Days*, p. 159.
- 923 Heikal, *Li-miṣr*, p. 118.
- 924 Fayek, Halim and Hoda Nasser Interviews; Aburish, *Nasser*, p. 259.
- 925 Ghalib Interview. For minutes of the Badran-Kosygin meetings, see Howeidy, *50 'āman*, pp. 407–35.
- 926 FYW: Shams Badran and Mohammed Fawzi Interviews; Ghalib Interview.
- 927 Nasr, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 3, pp. 219–20; Imam, '*Abd al-nāṣir*', p. 362; FYW: Salah Bassiouny Interview; Brown, 'Origins of the Crisis', p. 44.
- 928 Wahab Interview.
- 929 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 195; IDP p. 555.
- 930 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-107 fn2.
- 931 Safran, *War to War*, pp. 296–7.
- 932 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-107 fn2.
- 933 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 221.
- 934 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 17–18.
- 935 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 20; FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 936 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 21.
- 937 See Cockburn, A. and L. *Dangerous Liaison* (London: Bodley Head, 1992), p. 147.

- 938 Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, p. 241.
- 939 Robert S. McNamara Oral History, Special Interview I, 3/26/93, by Robert Dallek, Internet Copy, LBJ Library.
- 940 See Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 17–18; McNamara, R. 'Britain, Nasser and the Outbreak of the Six Day War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35.4 (2000), pp. 634–8; Gat, M. 'Let Someone Else do the Job', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 14.1 (2003); Quandt, W. B. 'Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War', *Middle East Journal*, 46.2 (1992) p. 199.
- 941 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 121.
- 942 Brecher and Geist, *Decisions in Crisis*, p. 149, p. 346.
- 943 Wahab Interview.
- 944 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 22.
- 945 Mutawi, S. A. *Jordan in the 1967 War* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 109.
- 946 FYW: King Hussein Interview.
- 947 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, pp. 235–8, p. 242; NA: FCO39/250.
- 948 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-129.
- 949 25/3/68, Farid, A. M. *Nasser: The Final Years* (Reading: Ithaca, 1994), p. 127.
- 950 Nutting, *Nasser*, p. 430.
- 951 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-500.
- 952 Wahab Interview.
- 953 Quoted in Bowen, *Six Days*, p. 290.
- 954 Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 190.
- 955 Hershberg, J. G. 'The Soviet Bloc and the Aftermath of the June 1967 War: Selected Documents from East-Central European Archives', papers distributed at a conference on *The United States, the Middle East and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War* (US State Department, January 12–13, 2004), p. 41.
- 956 FYW: King Hussein Interview; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 39; Farid, *Final Years*, p. 1.
- 957 Mar'i, *Awrāq*, Vol. 2 p. 520, translated by Meital, Y. *Egypt's Struggle for Peace* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 13.
- 958 See FYW: Shams Badran and Mohammed Fawzi Interviews; Springborg, R. *Family, Power and Politics in Egypt* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 175; Dawud Interview.
- 959 Quoted in Bowen, *Six Days*, p. 291.
- 960 Wahab Interview.
- 961 Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 218.
- 962 Shazly Interview.
- 963 Okasha Interview.
- 964 Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 82.
- 965 Farid Interview.
- 966 O'Ballance, E. *The Electronic War in the Middle East, 1968–70* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), p. 19, p. 24.
- 967 Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 15; Shafei Interview; Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 119.
- 968 Kishtainy, K. *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985), p. 157.
- 969 See Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 79; Heikal, M. H. *The Road to Ramadan* (London: Collins, 1975), p. 41.
- 970 Farid *et al.*, 'Nasser', p. 5.

- 971 9/5/67, BBC-SWB: ME2488; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 232.
- 972 23/7/68, BBC-SWB: ME2830.
- 973 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 2.
- 974 Mar'i, *Awrāq*, Vol. 3, p. 570; Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 114.
- 975 Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir*, p. 279; McLaurin *et al.*, *Foreign Policy Making*, p. 51; Fayek Interview.
- 976 Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 33; Springborg, *Family, Power and Politics*, pp. 181–3.
- 977 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-167, 327; Springborg, *Family, Power and Politics*, pp. 179–81.
- 978 Dabous, 'Egyptian Press', p. 100.
- 979 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-167.
- 980 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-299.
- 981 Figures from Barnett, M. N. and Levy, J. S. 'Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments', *International Organization*, 45.3 (1991), pp. 382–3; Dessouki, A. E. H. and Labban, A. 'Arms Race, Defense Expenditures and Development', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 4.3 (1981), p. 77; Farid, *Final Years*, p. 55; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 46.
- 982 Kerr, *Arab Cold War*, p. v.
- 983 Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 97.
- 984 Hoda Nasser Interview.
- 985 Mutawi, *Jordan*, p. 176; FRUS: 1964–68: XX-344.
- 986 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 48; Shlaim, A. 'His Royal Shyness: King Hussein and Israel', *The New York Review of Books*, 15 July 1999 (1999), p. 16.
- 987 Fayek Interview; Farid, *Final Years*, p. 112.
- 988 BBC-SWB: ME2494.
- 989 Wahab Interview; FRUS: 1964–68: XX-4, 74; McNamara, *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East*, p. 280.
- 990 8/12/67, BBC-SWB: ME2644.
- 991 Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics*, p. 170.
- 992 Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, p. 258; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 12.
- 993 1/7/67, BBC-SWB: ME2506.
- 994 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 75.
- 995 Generals Badri, Mahgoub and Zohdy, quoted in Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 90.
- 996 Frankel, 'Interviews', p. 94.
- 997 See Heikal's 20/10/67 article on the modern and educated Israeli army, as well as Nasser's speeches of 10/3/68 and 2/11/69, BBC-SWB: ME2601; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 12.
- 998 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 56.
- 999 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 91.
- 1000 The allegation was indeed a lie, despite claims to the contrary in Green, S. *Taking Sides* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984), pp. 204–11. See Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 108; FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-262.
- 1001 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 24; Burns, *Economic Aid*, p. 170.
- 1002 Baghdadi, *Mudhakkirāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 284–9.
- 1003 NA: FCO17/599.
- 1004 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 222; Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 181; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 77; Howeidy Interview.
- 1005 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 175. See Hadidi Interview.

- 1006 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 224.
- 1007 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-171 fn4.
- 1008 Churchill, *Six Day War*, p. 90.
- 1009 See Farid, *Final Years*, p. 19; NA: FCO17/598.
- 1010 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 178.
- 1011 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, pp. 244–6, p. 226.
- 1012 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 223.
- 1013 FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-412.
- 1014 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 223.
- 1015 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 42; Wahab Interview.
- 1016 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 5.
- 1017 Dawud Interview.
- 1018 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 42.
- 1019 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 48–50.
- 1020 FYW: Mohammed Fawzi Interview.
- 1021 Naguib, Farid and Fayek Interviews.
- 1022 Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 183.
- 1023 31/10/67, FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-495.
- 1024 Sharaf Interview.
- 1025 Frankel, 'Interviews', pp. 92–4.
- 1026 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 98.
- 1027 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-337. It is not recorded that this learned exhortation made any deep impression.
- 1028 Howeidy Interview.
- 1029 Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', pp. 18–22; pp. 44–5.
- 1030 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 25–9.
- 1031 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 47; FYW: Salah Bassiouny Interview.
- 1032 Rabin, Y. *The Rabin Memoirs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 137, p. 140.
- 1033 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-12.
- 1034 NA: FO17/757.
- 1035 NA: PREM13/2073.
- 1036 Stephens, *Nasser*, p. 523.
- 1037 Fayek Interview.
- 1038 Nasser could not even have left the country safely to go to Khartoum had he not arrested Amer in August. Shazly Interview.
- 1039 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 86–7.
- 1040 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 56.
- 1041 Hussein, *My 'War'*, p. 117; Mutawi, *Jordan*, pp. 175–6.
- 1042 Dawud Interview. SEC member Dia al-Din Dawud claims to have been present for this conversation.
- 1043 S/RES/242 (United Nations Security Council, 1967).
- 1044 Whetten, L. L. *The Canal War* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974), p. 57.
- 1045 Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, pp. 260–1.
- 1046 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 47.
- 1047 Issa, Farid and Wahab Interviews; Howeidy, *Hurūb*, p. 180.
- 1048 25/1/68, BBC-SWB: ME2681.
- 1049 14/9/67, BBC-SWB: ME2572.
- 1050 See Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 17; Fayek Interview; Howeidy Interview; Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 93.

- 1051 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 50.
- 1052 Rosser, 'Education, Revolt and Reform', p. 69 fn38.
- 1053 10/11/67, BBC-SWB: ME2619.
- 1054 Quoted in Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 89.
- 1055 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 124.
- 1056 Helal, Halim and Shazly Interviews.
- 1057 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 126.
- 1058 Farid Interview.
- 1059 Ghalib Interview.
- 1060 FRUS: 1964-68: XX-167.
- 1061 Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 15.
- 1062 Mosallem Interview.
- 1063 Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 17.
- 1064 Heikal, *Road to Ramadan*, pp. 39-40.
- 1065 Howeidy Interview.
- 1066 FRUS: 1964-68: XX-13.
- 1067 Andrew and Gordievsky, *KGB*, p. 502; Ghalib Interview.
- 1068 NA: FCO17/525.
- 1069 McLaurin *et al.*, *Foreign Policy Making*, p. 75.
- 1070 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 58.
- 1071 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 96-7.
- 1072 FRUS: 1964-68: XIX-500.
- 1073 Sharaf Interview. Confirmed in Helal Interview.
- 1074 Howeidy Interview.
- 1075 NA: FCO17/525.
- 1076 Howeidy Interview.
- 1077 Mahmoud Interview.
- 1078 Helal Interview.
- 1079 Howeidy Interview.
- 1080 Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 58.
- 1081 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 44-50; BBC-SWB: ME2630; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 126.
- 1082 See Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 37; Touval, S. *The Peace Brokers* (Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 136.
- 1083 7/4/68, Farid, *Final Years*, p. 94. See Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 75.
- 1084 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 56.
- 1085 29/4/68, BBC-SWB: ME2758; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, pp. 444-5.
- 1086 29/3/68, BBC-SWB: ME2735.
- 1087 5/2/68, Farid, *Final Years*, p. 112.
- 1088 Nasser's speeches of 23/11/67 and 29/4/68. BBC-SWB: ME2630, ME2758; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 445.
- 1089 Mosallem Interview.
- 1090 14/9/67, BBC-SWB: ME2572.
- 1091 29/12/67, BBC-SWB: ME2657.
- 1092 Howeidy Interview; Howeidy, *Hurūb*, p. 88, p. 219. Sami Sharaf confirms that relations between the CIA and the Egyptian government continued unchanged after 1967. Sharaf Interview.
- 1093 Ghalib Interview.
- 1094 FRUS: 1964-68: XIX-500.
- 1095 FRUS: 1964-68: XX-167.

- 1096 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-23, 31.
- 1097 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-13. See Schonmann, N. 'Tactics of Peace: The Role of Peace Overtures in Nasser's Postwar Foreign Policy Making', unpublished MA thesis, Tel Aviv University (2005), pp. 26–7; Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 49; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 18, p. 48.
- 1098 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-34.
- 1099 Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 92–4. Confirmed in Howeidy Interview.
- 1100 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-91, 102.
- 1101 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-104.
- 1102 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-136.
- 1103 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-167.
- 1104 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 58.
- 1105 Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 55.
- 1106 22/12/67, BBC-SWB: ME2654.
- 1107 5/2/68, Farid, *Final Years*, p. 111. See Naguib Interview.
- 1108 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 120, p. 96.
- 1109 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 227.
- 1110 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, pp. 282–5.
- 1111 BBC-SWB: ME2630.
- 1112 28/7/67, *Al-Ahram*, BBC-SWB: ME2530.
- 1113 A comparison between Nasser's words to Anderson in November and his January meeting with Bergus resulted in a US report that 'we seem to be getting two separate sets of signals from the UAR'. FRUS: 1964–68: XIX-500; FRUS: 1964–68: XX-34; Meital, Y. 'The Khartoum Conference and Egyptian Policy after the 1967 War', *Middle East Journal*, 54.1 (2000), p. 71.
- 1114 Farid, A. M. *Min mahādīr ijtimā'āt 'abd al-nāṣir al-'arabiyya wa al-dawliyya* (Beirut: Dar al-Muthallath, 1979), p. 136.
- 1115 Farid, *Min mahādīr*, p. 119.
- 1116 Kerr, *Arab Cold War*, p. 131.
- 1117 Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 27.
- 1118 The phrase is Sami Sharaf's. Sharaf Interview.
- 1119 Fayek Interview.
- 1120 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-209.
- 1121 Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour*, p. 158.
- 1122 6/11/69, BBC-SWB: ME3224.
- 1123 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 510.
- 1124 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 98; Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 61.
- 1125 NA: FCO17/638; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 129; Gamasy, *October War*, p. 105.
- 1126 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 92.
- 1127 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 128.
- 1128 13/9/68, NA: FCO17/638.
- 1129 15/9/68, NA: FCO17/638.
- 1130 NA: FCO17/757.
- 1131 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 93; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 41.
- 1132 NA: FCO17/757.
- 1133 See Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 129; NA: FCO17/629.

- 1134 See Eran, O. 'Soviet Middle East Policy 1967–1973', In Rabinovich, I. and Shaked, H. (eds) *From June to October* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978), p. 33; Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 67, p. 74.
- 1135 NA: FCO17/638.
- 1136 12/9/68, FRUS: 1964–68: XX-251.
- 1137 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 511; BBC-SWB: ME2875, 2881.
- 1138 13/9/68, BBC-SWB: ME2875.
- 1139 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 130. See Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 94.
- 1140 NA: FCO17/629; FCO17/638; Shlaim, 'His Royal Shyness', p. 16.
- 1141 See NA: PREM13/2073; NA: FCO17/757.
- 1142 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 70.
- 1143 23/8/68, BBC-SWB: ME2857.
- 1144 24/9/68, NA: PREM13/2073.
- 1145 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-258.
- 1146 See Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. *The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, 1969–1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 45; Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 62; Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 106–7; Mosallem Interview.
- 1147 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 196.
- 1148 See Mosallem Interview; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 130.
- 1149 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-327.
- 1150 12/11/68, Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 101–3. See O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 52.
- 1151 BBC-SWB: ME2942.
- 1152 Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, p. 46; Herzog, C. *The Arab-Israeli Wars* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1982), p. 201.
- 1153 Mosallem Interview.
- 1154 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 106.
- 1155 BBC-SWB: ME2980; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 23. See also Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 108.
- 1156 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-367; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, pp. 48–9.
- 1157 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 96.
- 1158 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 92, pp. 104–5, p. 197.
- 1159 3/1/69, BBC-SWB: ME2966.
- 1160 See Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 107; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 52, p. 62.
- 1161 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, pp. 135–6.
- 1162 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 108; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 57.
- 1163 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 76; BBC-SWB: ME3037.
- 1164 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 104; BBC-SWB: ME3039.
- 1165 BBC-SWB: ME3047.
- 1166 1/5/69, BBC-SWB: ME3064.
- 1167 NA: FCO17/759. See also FRUS: 1964–68: XX-327; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 136.
- 1168 Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 193. See also Ginor, I. 'Under the Yellow Helmet Gleamed Blue Russian Eyes', *Cold War History*, 3.1 (2002), p. 135; Sadat, *Identity*, p. 196; Ghalib Interview.
- 1169 BBC-SWB: ME3093.
- 1170 NA: FCO17/760.
- 1171 Gamasy, *October War*, pp. 107–9.

- 1172 These were summarised as early as 21 March by Heikal in *Al-Ahram*. BBC-SWB: ME3032.
- 1173 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 98, p. 107.
- 1174 Fayek Interview.
- 1175 Mar'i, *Awraq*, Vol. 3, p. 570; Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, p. 257.
- 1176 NA: FCO17/758.
- 1177 11/3/69, NA: PREM13/2609.
- 1178 Fayek Interview; Gamasy, *October War*, p. 107; Farid, *Final Years*, p. 136.
- 1179 Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, pp. 53–8.
- 1180 6/6/69, BBC-SWB: ME3094.
- 1181 Mosallem Interview. See also Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 31; Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 108–9, p. 166.
- 1182 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 107; Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, pp. 50–1; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 63.
- 1183 Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 135.
- 1184 12/11/68, Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 101–3.
- 1185 NA: FCO17/757.
- 1186 BBC-SWB: ME3093.
- 1187 10/3/69, NA: PREM 13/2609.
- 1188 12/11/68, Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 101–3.
- 1189 See Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, pp. 45–6.
- 1190 BBC-SWB: ME3064.
- 1191 O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 65.
- 1192 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 113. See FRUS: 1964–68: XX-300.
- 1193 See FRUS: 1964–68: XX-327; NA: PREM13/2609.
- 1194 Kissinger, H. *The White House Years* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p. 360.
- 1195 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 137.
- 1196 11/9/69, NA: FCO17/760; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, pp. 92–4.
- 1197 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-314, 323, 327.
- 1198 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-343.
- 1199 7/2/69, BBC-SWB: ME2996.
- 1200 NA: FCO17/758.
- 1201 10/3/69, NA: PREM13/2609.
- 1202 29/3/69, BBC-SWB: ME3037; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 81.
- 1203 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 134, p. 136.
- 1204 For example, see FRUS: 1964–68: XX-14.
- 1205 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-301, 337; Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, pp. 66–7; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 132.
- 1206 See Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 38; Farid, *Final Years*, p. 92.
- 1207 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 53.
- 1208 NA: PREM13/2609.
- 1209 Ghorbal, A. *Ṣu'ūd wa inhiyār* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 2004), p. 51. See also Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, p. 85; Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 99.
- 1210 Kissinger, *White House Years*, pp. 360–1.
- 1211 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 114.
- 1212 23/7/69, *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 174; BBC-SWB: ME3134.
- 1213 O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, pp. 74–5.
- 1214 See Gamasy, *October War*, pp. 111–12; Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 169–71; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 137; Herzog, *Arab-Israeli Wars*, p. 212.

- 1215 Farid, *Final Years*, p. x; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 92.
- 1216 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 62, p. 66; Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 78.
- 1217 McLaurin et al., *Foreign Policy Making*, p. 84.
- 1218 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 174.
- 1219 21/11/69, BBC-SWB: ME3237.
- 1220 See Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 89; Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, p. 96, p. 99; Shlaim, A. 'Failures in National Intelligence Estimates', *World Politics*, 28.3 (1976), p. 487.
- 1221 10/8/69, Farid, *Final Years*, p. 139. For the rejection, see Nasser's speech of 28/7/69, BBC-SWB: ME3134.
- 1222 Heikal, *Autumn of Fury*, p. 61.
- 1223 NA: FCO17/760; 29/8/69, BBC-SWB: ME3166.
- 1224 See NA: FCO17/760; Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 75; Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 156–7.
- 1225 BBC-SWB: ME3224; *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 210; Spiegel, S. L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 186.
- 1226 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 163–4.
- 1227 For instance, see Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 67; Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, p. 115.
- 1228 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 159.
- 1229 NA: FCO17/760-1; CAB151/153; Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, pp. 87–9.
- 1230 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 153.
- 1231 Whetten, *Canal War*, pp. 78–9.
- 1232 Safran, N. *Saudi Arabia* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 141–2.
- 1233 Kerr, *Arab Cold War*, p. 146.
- 1234 Farid Interview.
- 1235 Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 157–8. See Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 74.
- 1236 Sharaf Interview.
- 1237 FRUS: 1964–68: XX-327.
- 1238 Trevelyan, *Public and Private*, p. 79.
- 1239 Meital, 'Khartoum Conference', p. 76.
- 1240 Barnett and Levy, 'Domestic Sources of Alliances', p. 384; Ciorciari, J. D. 'Saudi-U.S. Alignment after the Six-Day War', *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 9.2 (2005), p. 13.
- 1241 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 119.
- 1242 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 175–6.
- 1243 See Gamasy, *October War*, p. 113; Gawrych, *Albatross*, p. 113; Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 142, p. 154.
- 1244 Sharaf, Fayek, Dawud, Howeidy and Hoda Nasser Interviews.
- 1245 Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*, p. 154.
- 1246 See Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 184–5; Parker, *Politics of Miscalculation*, p. 141; Shlaim, 'Failures in National Intelligence', p. 492.
- 1247 1/1/1970, BBC-SWB: ME3269; 2/2/70, BBC-SWB: ME3296.
- 1248 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 81; Ghalib Interview; Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 188–90.
- 1249 Ginor, 'Under the Yellow Helmet', p. 138.
- 1250 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 198; O'Ballance, *Electronic War*, p. 114, p. 120; Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 576.
- 1251 11/7/67, Hershberg, 'Soviet Bloc', p. 16. See Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 69.

- 1252 Ghalib Interview.
- 1253 Howeidy Interview.
- 1254 Shazly, Mosallem and Sharaf Interviews.
- 1255 Springborg, *Family, Power and Politics*, pp. 182–3.
- 1256 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 114.
- 1257 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 163–4.
- 1258 Ginor, 'Under the Yellow Helmet', p. 143.
- 1259 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 195–8, pp. 200–3.
- 1260 Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 97.
- 1261 Bar-Siman-Tov, *Israeli-Egyptian War*, pp. 159–64.
- 1262 4/3/70, BBC-SWB: ME3322.
- 1263 Gamasy, *October War*, p. 119.
- 1264 20/2/70, BBC-SWB: ME3312.
- 1265 10/4/70, BBC-SWB: ME3351.
- 1266 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 240–1. Summarised from Sisco's account in a declassified cable from the Cairo Embassy.
- 1267 Howeidy, A. *Al-furaṣ al dā'i'a* (Beirut: 1992) pp. 88–9. See Heikal's *Al-Ahram* editorial of 17/4/70, BBC-SWB: ME3357.
- 1268 BBC-SWB: ME3369.
- 1269 Ghorbal, *Ṣu'ūd*, pp. 19–20.
- 1270 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 372; BBC-SWB: ME3369.
- 1271 Korn, *Stalemate*, pp. 242–7; Touval, *Peace Brokers*, p. 175.
- 1272 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 458; Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 103.
- 1273 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 253; Dawud Interview.
- 1274 BBC-SWB: ME3414.
- 1275 BBC-SWB: ME3422, 3428.
- 1276 *Wathā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 488; BBC-SWB: ME3439.
- 1277 Karawan, I. A. 'Identity and Foreign Policy: The Case of Egypt', In Telhami, S. and Barnett, M. (eds) *Identity and Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) p. 160; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 74.
- 1278 NA: FCO17/1161; Shazly Interview; Mosallem Interview.
- 1279 Issa Interview; Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 114.
- 1280 Gawrych, *Albatross*, p. 118; Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 250.
- 1281 For example, Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 103.
- 1282 Mar'i, *Awrāq*, Vol. 3, p. 604; Farid, Mosallem, Shazly and Ghalib Interviews.
- 1283 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 91.
- 1284 Sharaf Interview. See Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, pp. 143–6; Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 251.
- 1285 Sadat, *Identity*, pp. 198–9. Sadat, of course, had a political interest when he wrote this memoir in portraying Nasser as turning away from the USSR.
- 1286 Hamrush Interview; Naguib Interview; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 73.
- 1287 Sadat, *Identity*, p. 198.
- 1288 24/7/70, BBC-SWB: ME3440.
- 1289 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 182.
- 1290 Riad, *Struggle for Peace*, p. 148.
- 1291 See Mar'i, *Awrāq*, Vol. 3, p. 604; Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 89; Sharaf, Mahmoud and Dawud Interviews.

- 1292 Farid, *Final Years*, pp. 176–7. See also Fayek Interview.
- 1293 Heikal, M. H. and Ghareeb, E., 'Mohammed Hassanein Heykal Discusses War and Peace in the Middle East', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1.1 (1971), p. 6.
- 1294 Quoted in Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 252.
- 1295 BBC-SWB: ME3440.
- 1296 NA: FCO17/1161.
- 1297 Whetten, *Canal War*, p. 128.
- 1298 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 15.
- 1299 Howeidy Interview; Gamasy, *October War*, p. 98; Mahmoud Interview.
- 1300 Heikal, *Sphinx and Commissar*, p. 198, p. 201; Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 269.
- 1301 Hamrush Interview.
- 1302 Farid Interview. See Imam, *Husayn al-shāfi'i*, p. 132.
- 1303 Sharaf Interview.
- 1304 Farid Interview.
- 1305 Sharaf Interview.
- 1306 Fayek Interview.
- 1307 Farid, *Final Years*, p. 170.
- 1308 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 105.
- 1309 FYW: Jihan Sadat Interview.
- 1310 Korn, *Stalemate*, p. 273; Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, pp. 99–100.
- 1311 Magid Interview.
- 1312 Shazly Interview. See Meital, *Egypt's Struggle*, p. 85; Howeidy Interview.
- 1313 Mosallem Interview.
- 1314 Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, p. 112.
- 1315 Stephens, *Nasser*, pp. 549–50.
- 1316 Heikal, *Road to Ramadan*, p. 100.
- 1317 Heikal, *Cairo Documents*, p. 15.
- 1318 It is worth emphasising that, in their origin, these images were not unique to Nasser. The specific events to which he himself harked back – early demonstrations against colonialism; the British tanks surrounding the Abdin Palace in 1942; the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 – gained their symbolic resonance from the way in which they shaped the mentality of a generation, not of one man. See Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat*; Stephens, *Nasser*; Nasser, G. A. 'Memoirs of the First Palestine War', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2.2 (1973); and of course Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*.
- 1319 See Lebow, R. N. *Between Peace and War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
- 1320 See Miles, H. *Al-Jazeera* (London: Abacus, 2005).
- 1321 Sivan, E. *Radical Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 28–32. See also Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*.
- 1322 Sivan, *Radical Islam*, p. 17.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Archival sources

- Files from the series CAB, CO, DEFE, FCO, FO, PREM: The National Archives, Kew, London [NA].
- Trevaskis Papers: Rhodes House, University of Oxford.
- Dodds-Parker Papers: Magdalen College, University of Oxford.
- Brian Lapping Associates, Interview Transcripts, *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs* [FYW]: Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford.

Documents

- BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 1952–1970* [BBC-SWB].
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1968* [FRUS].
- International Documents on Palestine, 1967* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970) [IDP].
- Majmū'āt khutab wa tasrīhāt wa bayānāt al-ra'īs jamāl 'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Ha'ia al-Isti'lamat).
- Wathā'iq 'abd al-nāṣir: khutab, ahādīth, tasrīhāt* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Social Studies).
- Who's Who in the Arab World, 1967–8, 2nd Edition* (Beirut: Publitec Publications).
- Eayrs, J. *The Commonwealth and Suez: A Documentary Survey* (Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Farid, A. M. *Min mahādīr ijtimā'āt 'abd al-nāṣir al-'arabiyya wa al-dawliyya 1967–1970* (Beirut: Dar al-Muthallath, 1979).
- Farid, A. M. *Nasser: The Final Years* (Reading: Ithaca, 1994).
- Goldsworthy, D. *British Documents on the End of Empire: The Conservative Government and the End of Empire, 1951–57* (London: HMSO, 1994).
- Heikal, M. H. *Naḥnu wa amrika* (Cairo: Dar al-Asr al-Hadith, 1968).
- Hershberg, J. G. 'The Soviet Bloc and the Aftermath of the June 1967 War: Selected Documents from East-Central European Archives', papers distributed at a conference on *The United States, the Middle East and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War* (US Department of State, January 12–13, 2004).
- Kent, J. *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East, Part III, 1953–1956* (London: HMSO, 1998).
- Nasser, G. A. *Address by President Gamal Abdel Nasser at the Palestinian National Congress, May 31, 1965* (Cairo, 1965).
- Nasser, H. G. A. *Mahādīr jalsāt al-lajna al-markaziyya al-itihād al-ishtirākiyy al-'arabiyy* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Social Studies).
- Schramm, W. *One Day in the World's Press: Fourteen Great Newspapers on a Day of Crisis – November 2, 1956* (California: Stanford, 1959).

Author interviews

- Abdel Hamid Abubakr, *aide to Mahmoud Younis in 1956* (Cairo, 7 April 2004: English).
- Makram Mohammed Ahmed, *journalist for Al-Ahram in the Yemen War* (Cairo, 13 March 2004: English).
- Mohsen Alaini, *Yemeni Foreign Minister then UN representative from 1962* (Cairo, 25 March 2004: English).
- Abdel Rahman Baydani, *Yemeni Prime Minister from 1962* (Cairo, 8 April 2004: English).
- Dia al-Din Dawud, *Minister of Social Affairs from 1967* (Cairo, 24 March 2004: Arabic).
- Abdel Magid Farid, *General Secretary of the ASU from 1967* (London, 14 June 2004: English).
- Mohammed Fayek, *Information Minister and Foreign Minister after 1967* (Cairo, 25 March 2004: English).
- Yehia Gamal, *assistant to Nasser on Arab relations 1964–67* (Cairo, 18 April 2004: English).
- Dr Mourad Ghalib, *Egyptian Ambassador to the USSR 1961–71* (Cairo, 19 December 2004: English).
- Sir John Graham, *Assistant Private Secretary to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1954–57* (Shipton, 19 July 2005: English).
- General Salah al-Din Hadidi, *Commander of the Eastern Front 1964–66* (Cairo, 12 December 2004: English).
- General Ahmed Abdel Halim, *Captain in Yemen War and Canal War* (Cairo, 1 April 2004: English).
- Ahmed Hamrush, *former Free Officer and historian of the 26 July Revolution* (Cairo, 8 and 12 December 2004: English).
- Admiral Moheeb Helal, *head of training at various naval bases in the 1960s* (Alexandria, 2 March 2004: English).
- Dr Hoda Abdel Nasser, *daughter of the President, worked in his office after 1967* (Cairo, 1 March 2004: English).
- Amin Howeidy, *Head of General Intelligence and Defence Minister from 1967* (Cairo, 27 March and 9 December 2004: English).
- Ambassador Hassan Issa, *Diplomatic Service from 1960* (Cairo, 4 April 2004: English).
- Dr Esmat Abdel Magid, *Diplomatic Service from the 1950s* (Cairo, 20 April 2004: English).
- Hamed Mahmoud, *Governor of the Red Sea and Suez in the 1960s* (Cairo, 24 March 2004: English/Arabic).
- Khaled Mohieddin, *RCC member and left-wing newspaper editor, exiled 1954–56* (Cairo, 9 April 2004: English).
- General Talaat Mosallem, *Divisional Chief of Operations 1968–70* (Cairo, 8 December 2004: English).
- Ambassador Gamal Naguib, *chef du cabinet to Foreign Minister Fawzi from 1967* (Cairo, 19 April 2004: English).
- Dr Tharwat Okasha, *Free Officer and later Minister of Culture* (Cairo, 18 December 2004: English).
- Ahmed Said, *Manager of the Voice of the Arabs radio station, 1953–67* (Cairo, 20 December 2004: Arabic).

- Hussein Shafei, *RCC member, Minister and Vice President, 1961–68* (Cairo, 11 December 2004: Arabic/English).
- Sami Sharaf, *close advisor to Nasser, Minister for Presidential Affairs, 1970* (Cairo, 28 March and 7 December 2004: English).
- Marshal Saad El-Din Shazly, *Commander of Egyptian Special Forces 1967–69* (Cairo, 13 December 2004: English).
- Youssef Sherif, *journalist for Rose al-Youssef in the Yemen War* (Cairo, 6 March 2004: Arabic).
- Ambassador Mohammed Abdel Wahab, *Foreign Service from 1963* (Cairo, 30 March 2004: English).

Published interviews

- Calvocoressi, P. *Suez: Ten Years After* (London: BBC, 1967).
- Fawzi, M. *Thiwār yūliyū yitahhaddithūn* (Cairo: Al-Zahra lil-I'lam al-Arabiyy, 1987).
- Fawzi, M. *Al-dubāt al-ahār yitahhaddithūn* (Cairo: Madbouli, 1990).
- Frankel, N. 'Interviews with Ismail Fahmy, Ashraf Ghorbal and Mohamed Riad', *American Arab Affairs*, 31 (1990).
- Habib, T. *Milaffat thawrat yūliyū: shahādāt 122 min san'hā wa mu'āsiriyyha* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1997).
- Heikal, M. H. and Ghareeb, E., 'Mohammed Hassanein Heykal Discusses War and Peace in the Middle East (Interview)', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 1.1 (1971).
- Hussein of Jordan, *My 'War' with Israel: As Told to and with Additional Material by Vick Vance and Pierre Lauer* (London: Peter Owen, 1969).
- Imam, A. *'Alī ṣabrī yitadhāhir* (Cairo: Tasmim al-Ghalaf al-Funan, 1987).
- Imam, A. *'Abd al-nāṣir: kayf ḥakama miṣr?* (Cairo: Madbouli al-Saghir, 1996).
- Imam, S. *Husayn al-shāfi'i wa asrār thawrat yūliyū wa ḥukm al-sadāt* (Cairo: Maktab Awziris lil-Kutub wa al-Magalat, 1993).
- Jawadi, M. *Mudhakkirāt wuzarā' al-thawra*. (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 1995).
- Mansour, A. *Husayn al-shāfi'i: shāhid 'ala 'aṣr thawrat yūliyū* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Misry, 2004).
- Shlaim, A. 'His Royal Shyness: King Hussein and Israel', *The New York Review of Books*, 15 July 1999 (1999).

Memoirs

- Abu al-Fadl, A. F. *Kuntu nā'iban li ra'īs al-mukhhabarāt* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2001).
- Abu-Bakr, A. H. *Qanāt al-sūts wa al-ayām allatī hazzat al-dunīā* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1987).
- Ahmed, M. A. *Dhikrayāt ḥarb al-yaman 1962–1967* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Ukhuwah, 1992).
- Alaini, M. *Khamsūn 'āman fī al-rumāl al-mutaharrika* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 1999).
- Alaini, M. *Fifty Years in Shifting Sands: Personal Experience in the Building of a Modern State in Yemen* (An-Nahar Publications, in press).
- Amery, J. 'The Suez Group: A Retrospective on Suez', *In* Troen, S.I. and Shemesh, M. (eds) *The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (London: Frank Cass, 1990).

- Badeau, J. S. 'USA and UAR: A Crisis in Confidence', *Foreign Affairs*, 43.2 (1965).
- Badeau, J. S. *The Middle East Remembered* (Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute, 1983).
- Baghdadi, A. L. *Mudhakkirāt* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Hadith, 1977).
- Baghdadi, A. L. 'Abd al-Latif al-Bughdadi's Memoirs', In Troen, S.I. and Shemesh, M. (eds) *The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (London: Frank Cass, 1990).
- Baydani, A. R. *Azmat al-umma al-'arabiyya wa thawrat al-yaman* (Cairo: 1984).
- Bergus, D. C. 'The View from Washington', In Parker, R. B. (ed.) *The Six-Day War: A Retrospective* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).
- Bowie, R. R. 'Eisenhower, Dulles and the Suez Crisis', In Louis, W. R. and Owen, R. (eds) *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Brown, G. *In My Way: The Political Memoirs of Lord George-Brown* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1971).
- Catterall, P. *The Macmillan Diaries: The Cabinet Years, 1950–1957* (London: Macmillan, 2003).
- Clark, W. *From Three Worlds: Memoirs* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986).
- Cooper, C. L. *The Lion's Last Roar: Suez 1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).
- Copeland, M. *The Game of Nations: The Amorality of Power Politics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).
- Copeland, M. *Without Cloak or Dagger* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974).
- De La Billière, P. *Looking for Trouble: An Autobiography – from the SAS to the Gulf* (London: HarperCollins, 1994).
- Dib, F. 'Abd al-nāṣir wa ḥarb al-taḥrīr al-yamanī' (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1990).
- Dodds-Parker, D. *Political Eunuch* (London: Springwood Books, 1986).
- Eveland, W. *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (London: W.W. Norton, 1980).
- Fahmy, I. *Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).
- Fawzi, M. *Suez 1956: An Egyptian Perspective* (London: Shorouk International, 1988).
- Fawzi, M. *Harb al thalāth sanawāt, 1967–1970* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1983).
- Fawzi, M. *Al-i'dād li mu'āraka al-taḥrīr: 1967–1970* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1999).
- Gamasy, M. A. G. *The October War: Memoirs of Field Marshal El-Gamasy of Egypt* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1993).
- Gandy, C. 'A Mission to Yemen: August 1962–January 1963', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25.2 (1998).
- Ghalib, M. *Ma' 'abd al-nāṣir wa al-sadāt* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 2000).
- Ghorbal, A. *Ṣu'ūd wa inhiyār: 'alāqāt miṣr wa amrīka* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 2004).
- Glubb, J. B. *The Middle East Crisis: A Personal Interpretation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1967).
- Hadidi, S. D. *Shāhid 'ala ḥarb 1967* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk).
- Halim, A. A. 'Al-khibra al-'arabiyya fī al-ḥarb', *Al-Siyasa Al-Dawliyya*, 34 (1998).
- Hamrush, A. *Qīssat thawrat 26 yūliyyū* (Cairo: Madbouli, 1983).
- Hassouna, H. A. *The League of Arab States and Regional Disputes: A Study of Middle East Conflicts* (New York: Dobbs Ferry, 1975).

- Heikal, M. H. *Nasser: The Cairo Documents* (London: New English Library, 1972).
- Heikal, M. H. *The Road to Ramadan* (London: Collins, 1975).
- Heikal, M. H. *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Arab World* (London: Collins, 1978).
- Heikal, M. H. 'Egyptian Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 56.4 (1978).
- Heikal, M. H. *Autumn of Fury* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1983).
- Heikal, M. H. *Cutting the Lion's Tail: Suez through Egyptian Eyes* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1986).
- Heikal, M. H. *Li-miṣr ila li-'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1987).
- Heikal, M. H. *1967 – sanawāt al-ghalayān* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1988).
- Heikal, M. H. *1967 – al-infjār* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1990).
- Heikal, M. H. *Milaffāt al-sūs* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1996).
- Howeidy, A. *Hurūb 'abd al-nāṣir* (Beirut: 1979).
- Howeidy, A. *Ma' 'abd al-nāṣir* (Cairo: Dar Al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1985).
- Howeidy, A. 'Nasser and the Crisis of 1956', In Louis, W. R. and Owen, R. (eds) *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Howeidy, A. *Al-furas al dā'i'a* (Beirut: 1992).
- Howeidy, A. *50 'āman min al-awāṣif* (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 2002).
- Johnston, C. H. *The View from Steamer Point: Being an Account of Three Years in Aden* (London: Collins, 1964).
- Kissinger, H. *The White House Years* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979).
- Ledger, D. *Shifting Sands: The British in South Arabia* (London: Peninsular Publishing, 1983).
- Lloyd, S. *Suez 1956: A Personal Account* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978).
- Lunt, J. *The Barren Rocks of Aden* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1966).
- Macmillan, H. *At the End of the Day, 1961–1963* (London: Macmillan, 1973).
- Magid, E. A. *Zaman al-inkisār wa al-intiṣār* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 1999).
- Mar'i, S. *Awrāq siyāsiyya* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Misriyy al-Hadith, 1978).
- Mar'i, S. 'Sayyid Mar'i's Political Papers', In Troen, S.I. and Shemesh, M. (eds) *The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (London: Frank Cass, 1990).
- McDermott, G. *The Eden Legacy and the Decline of British Diplomacy* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1969).
- Menzies, R. G. *Afternoon Light: Some Memories of Men and Events* (London: Cassell, 1967).
- Mohi El Din, K. *Memories of a Revolution: Egypt 1952* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1995).
- Morgan, J. *The Backbench Diaries of Richard Crossman* (London: Hamish Hamilton and Jonathan Cape, 1981).
- Murtagi, A. M. *Al-farīq murtagī yarwi al-ḥaqā'iḳ* (Cairo: Al-Watan al-Arabiyy, 1973).
- Nasr, S. *Mudhakkirāt* (Cairo: Dar al-Khiyal, 1999).
- Nasser, G. A. 'The Egyptian Revolution', *Foreign Affairs*, 33.1 (1954).
- Nasser, G. A. *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (Buffalo: Smith, Keynes and Marshall, 1959).
- Nasser, G. A. 'Memoirs of the First Palestine War', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2.2 (1973).
- Nu'man, A. M. *Mudhakkirāt* (Cairo: Madbouli).
- Nutting, A. *No End of a Lesson: The Story of Suez* (London: Constable, 1967).
- Nutting, A. *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972).

- Okasha, T. *Mudhakkirātī fī al-siyāsa wa al-thaqāfa* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2004).
- Pineau, C. *1956/Suez* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1976).
- Rabin, Y. *The Rabin Memoirs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
- Riad, M. *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (London: Quartet Books, 1981).
- Rikhye, I. J. *The Sinai Blunder: Withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force Leading to the Six-Day War of June 1967* (London: Frank Cass, 1980).
- Sadat, A. *Revolt on the Nile* (London: Allan Wingate, 1957).
- Sadat, A. *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography* (London: Collins, 1978).
- Sadat, J. *A Woman of Egypt* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).
- Shazly, S. *The Crossing of Suez: The October War* (London: Third World Centre, 1980).
- Shuckburgh, E. *Descent to Suez: Diaries 1951–56* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986).
- Smiley, D. *Arabian Assignment* (London: Leo Cooper, 1975).
- Trevaskis, K. *Shades of Amber: A South Arabian Episode* (London: Hutchinson, 1968).
- Trevelyan, H. *The Middle East in Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1970).
- Trevelyan, H. *Public and Private* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980).
- Uruq, M. *Qirā'a fī awrāq 'alī ṣabrī* (Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al-Arabiyy, 1992).
- Wright, P. *Spycatcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer* (New York: Viking, 1987).
- Yost, C. W. 'The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began', *Foreign Affairs*, 42.2 (1968).

Secondary sources

Historical works

- Abu-Zzeddin, N. M. *Nasser of the Arabs: An Arab Assessment* (London: Third World Centre, 1975).
- Abu-Lughod, I. *The Arab-Israeli Confrontation of June 1967: An Arab Perspective* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).
- Aburish, S. K. *Nasser: The Last Arab* (London: Duckworth, 2004).
- Ajami, F. *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- Aldrich, R. J. 'Intelligence, Anglo-American Relations and the Suez Crisis, 1956', *Intelligence and National Security*, 9.3 (1994).
- Aldrich, R. J. *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London: John Murray, 2001).
- Ali, K. H. *Muḥāribūn wa mufāwidūn*. (Cairo: Al-Ahram, 1986).
- Alterman, J. B. *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance, 1952–6: Hopes Dashed* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Amos, J. W. *Arab-Israeli Military/Political Relations: Arab Perceptions and the Politics of Escalation* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979).
- Andrew, C. and Gordievsky, O. *KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev* (London: Sceptre, 1990).
- Andrew, C. and Mitrokhin, V. *The Mitrokhin Archive II: The KGB and the World* (London: Allen Lane, 2005).
- Aronson, G. *From Sideshow to Center Stage: US Policy toward Egypt 1946–1956* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1986).

- Ashton, N. J. *Eisenhower, Macmillan and the Problem of Nasser: Anglo-American Relations and Arab Nationalism, 1955–59* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996).
- Ashton, N. J. 'The Hijacking of a Pact: The Formation of the Baghdad Pact and Anglo-American Tensions in the Middle East, 1955–1958', *Review of International Studies*, 19.2 (1999).
- Ashton, N. J. *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War: The Irony of Interdependence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Ashton, N. J. 'A "Special Relationship" Sometimes in Spite of Ourselves: Britain and Jordan, 1957–73', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 33.2 (2005).
- Auda, G. 'The State of Political Control: The Case of Nasser 1960–1967', *The Arab Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2.1 (1987).
- Ayubi, S. *Nasser and Sadat: Decision-making and Foreign Policy, 1970–1972* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1994).
- Badeeb, S. M. *The Saudi-Egyptian Conflict over North Yemen, 1962–1970* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).
- Balfour-Paul, G. *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Bar-Joseph, U. 'Rotem: The Forgotten Crisis on the Road to the 1967 War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31.3 (1996).
- Barnett, M. N. *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State and Society in Egypt and Israel* (Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Barnett, M. N. *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- Barnett, M. N. and Levy, J. S. 'Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt, 1962–73', *International Organization*, 45.3 (1991).
- Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. *The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, 1969–1970: A Case-Study of Limited Local War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
- Bass, W. *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the US-Israel Alliance* (Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Bowen, J. *Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East* (London: Pocket Books, 2003).
- Bower, T. *The Perfect English Spy: Sir Dick White and the Secret War, 1935–90* (London: Mandarin, 1996).
- Brands, H. W. 'What Eisenhower and Dulles saw in Nasser: Personalities and Interests in US-Egyptian Relations', *American Arab Affairs*, 17 (1986).
- Brecher, M. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Settings, Images, Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).
- Brecher, M. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
- Brecher, M. and Geist, B. *Decisions in Crisis: Israel, 1967 and 1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).
- Brenchley, F. *Britain and the Middle East: An Economic History, 1945–87* (London: Lester Crook, 1989).
- Brown, L. C. *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1984).
- Brown, L. C. 'Nasser and the June War: Plan or Improvisation?' In Seikaly, S., Baalbaki, R. and Dodd, P. (eds) *Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*. (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1991).

- Brown, L. C. *Diplomacy in the Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001).
- Browne, H. *Flashpoints: Suez and Sinai* (London: Longman, 1971).
- Burdett, W. *Encounter with the Middle East: An Intimate Report on What Lies Behind the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: Atheneum, 1969).
- Burke, J. *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam* (London: Penguin, 2004).
- Burns, W. J. *Economic Aid and American Foreign Policy Toward Egypt, 1955–1981* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985).
- Childers, E. B. *The Road to Suez: A Study of Western-Arab Relations* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962).
- Churchill, R. S. and W. S. *The Six Day War* (London: Heinemann, 1967).
- Ciorciari, J. D. 'Saudi-U.S. Alignment after the Six-Day War', *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 9.2 (2005).
- Clapham, C. *Foreign Policy Making in Developing States: A Comparative Approach* (Westmead: Saxon House, 1977).
- Cockburn, A. and L. *Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the US-Israeli Covert Relationship* (London: Bodley Head, 1992).
- Cohen, M. J. and Kolinsky, M. *Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Responses to Nationalist Movements, 1943–55* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).
- Cohen, R. *Culture and Conflict in Egyptian-Israeli Relations: A Dialogue of the Deaf* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).
- Dann, U. *King Hussein and the Challenge of Arab Radicalism: Jordan, 1955–1967* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Dawisha, A. I. 'Intervention in the Yemen: An Analysis of Egyptian Perceptions and Policies', *Middle East Journal*, 29.1 (1975).
- Dawisha, A. I. *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy* (New York: Wiley, 1976).
- Dawisha, A. I. 'Perceptions, Decisions and Consequences in Foreign Policy: The Egyptian Intervention in the Yemen', *Political Studies*, 25.2 (1977).
- Dawisha, A. I. *Islam in Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Dawisha, A. I. *The Arab Radicals* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1986).
- Dawn, E. 'The Egyptian Remilitarisation of Sinai', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3.3 (1968).
- Deffarge, C. and Troeller, G. *Yemen 62–69: De la Révolution 'Sauvage' à la Trêve des Guerriers* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1969).
- Dekmejian, R. H. *Egypt under Nasir: A Study in Political Dynamics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971).
- Dessouki, A. E. H. and Labban, A. 'Arms Race, Defense Expenditures and Development: The Egyptian Case 1952–73', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 4.3 (1981).
- Draper, T. *Israel and World Politics: Roots of the Third Arab-Israeli War* (New York: Viking Press, 1968).
- Dresch, P. *A History of Modern Yemen* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Doran, M. *Pan-Arabism before Nasser: Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question* (Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Dorril, S. *MI6: Fifty Years of Special Operations* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000).

- Elwi-Saif, M. 'Nasser's Perception of 1967 Crisis', unpublished paper presented at a conference on *The United States, the Middle East and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War* (US Department of State, January 12–13, 2004).
- Fain, W. T. 'Unfortunate Arabia: The United States, Great Britain and Yemen, 1955–63', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 12.2 (2001).
- Farid, A. M., Stephens, R. and Auda, M. 'Nasser: A Reassessment', *Arab Papers*, 8 (1981).
- Fielding, X. *One Man in His Time: The Life of Lieutenant-Colonel NLD ('Billy') McLean, DSO* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- Freiberger, S. Z. *Dawn over Suez: The Rise of American Power in the Middle East, 1953–1957* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992).
- Fullick, R. and Powell, G. *Suez: The Double War* (London: Leo Cooper, 1990).
- Gat, M. 'Let Someone Else do the Job: American Policy on the Eve of the Six Day War', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 14.1 (2003).
- Gat, M. 'The Great Powers and the Water Dispute in the Middle East: A Prelude to the Six Day War', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 41.6 (2005).
- Gawrych, G. W. *The Albatross of Decisive Victory: War and Policy between Egypt and Israel in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000).
- Gerges, F. A. *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955–1967* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).
- Gerges, F. A. 'The Kennedy Administration and the Egyptian-Saudi Conflict in Yemen: Co-opting Arab Nationalism', *Middle East Journal*, 49.2 (1995).
- Ginat, R. *The Soviet Union and Egypt: 1945–55* (London: Frank Cass, 1993).
- Ginor, I. "'Under the Yellow Helmet Gleamed Blue Russian Eyes': Operation Kavkaz and the War of Attrition, 1969–70', *Cold War History*, 3.1 (2002).
- Golan, G. *Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Golani, M. 'Chief of Staff in Quest of a War: Moshe Dayan Leads Israel into War', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 24.1 (2001).
- Goldschmidt, A. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2000).
- Gordon, J. *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Greffinius, S. *The Logic of Conflict: Making War and Peace in the Middle East* (New York: Armonk, 1993).
- Green, S. *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel 1948/1967* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984).
- Hahn, P. L. *The United States, Great Britain and Egypt, 1945–56* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- Halliday, F. *Arabia without Sultans* (London: Saqi Books, 2002).
- Harkabi, Y. *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972).
- Hasou, T. Y. *The Struggle for the Arab World: Egypt's Nasser and the Arab League* (London: KPI, 1985).
- Herzog, C. *The Arab-Israeli Wars* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1982).
- Hinnebusch, R. 'From Nasser to Sadat: Elite Transformation in Egypt', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 7.1 (1983).
- Hinnebusch, R. *Egyptian Politics under Sadat: The Post-Populist Development of an Authoritarian-Modernizing State* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Hinnebusch, R. and Ehteshami, A. *The Foreign Policies of Middle Eastern States* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2002).

- Holland, M. F. *America and Egypt: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower* (Westport: Praeger, 1996).
- Howard, M. and Hunter, R. 'Israel and the Arab World: The Crisis of 1967', *Adelphi Papers*, 41 (1967).
- Ismael, T. Y. *The UAR in Africa: Egypt's Policy under Nasser* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971).
- Jankowski, J. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the United Arab Republic* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002).
- Jones, C. 'Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins: Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–64', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40.1 (2004).
- Jones, C. *Britain and the Yemen Civil War, 1962–1965: Ministers, Mercenaries and Mandarins: Foreign Policy and the Limits of Covert Action* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004).
- Karawan, I. A. 'Identity and Foreign Policy: The Case of Egypt', In Telhami, S. and Barnett, M. (eds) *Identity and Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
- Kelly, S. and Gorst, A. *Whitehall and the Suez Crisis* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
- Kepel, G. *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- Kerr, M. H. 'Coming to Terms with Nasser: Attempts and Failures', *International Affairs*, 43.1 (1967).
- Kerr, M. H. *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958–1970* (Oxford University Press, 1971).
- Khadduri, M. *Political Trends in the Arab World: The Role of Ideas and Ideals in Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970).
- Khalidi, A. S. 'The War of Attrition', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 3.1 (1973).
- Kimche, D. *The Sandstorm: The Arab-Israeli War of 1967, Prelude and Aftermath* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968).
- Kishtainy, K. *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985).
- Korany, B. and Dessouki, A. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States* (Boulder: Westview, 1984).
- Korn, D. A. *Stalemate: The War of Attrition and Great Power Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1967–1970* (Boulder: Westview, 1992).
- Kunz, D. B. *The Economic Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- Kyle, K. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003).
- Lall, A. *The UN and the Middle East Crisis, 1967* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).
- Laqueur, W. *The Road to War: The Origin and Aftermath of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1967–8* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968).
- Lesch, D. W. 'Gamal Abd al-Nasir and an Example of Diplomatic Acumen', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31.2 (1995).
- Little, D. 'The New Frontier on the Nile: JFK, Nasser and Arab Nationalism', *The Journal of American History*, 75.2 (1988).
- Louis, W. R. and Owen, R. *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Love, K. *Suez: The Twice-Fought War* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).
- Lucas, W. S. 'Redefining the Suez "Collusion"', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26.1 (1990).

- Lucas, W. S. *Divided We Stand: Britain, the US and the Suez Crisis* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991).
- Maqalah, A. A. *Abd al-Nasir wa al-Yemen* (Cairo: Markaz al-Hadaara al-Arabiyya, 2000).
- Mawby, S. 'The Clandestine Defence of Empire: British Special Operations in Yemen 1951–64', *Intelligence and National Security*, 17.3 (2002).
- McLaurin, R. D., Mughisuddin, M. and Wagner, A. A. *Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East: Domestic Influences on Policy in Egypt, Iraq, Israel and Syria* (New York: Praeger, 1977).
- McNamara, R. 'Britain, Nasser and the Outbreak of the Six Day War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35.4 (2000).
- McNamara, R. *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East 1952–1967: From the Egyptian Revolution to the Six Day War* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).
- Meital, Y. *Egypt's Struggle for Peace: Continuity and Change, 1967–77* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).
- Meital, Y. 'The Khartoum Conference and Egyptian Policy after the 1967 War: A Re-examination', *Middle East Journal*, 54.1 (2000).
- Meyer, G. E. *Egypt and the United States: The Formative Years* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980).
- Miles, H. *Al-Jazeera* (London: Abacus, 2005).
- Morsy, L. A. 'American Support for the 1952 Egyptian Coup: Why?' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31.2 (1995).
- Mor, B. D. 'Nasser's Decision-Making in the 1967 Middle East Crisis: A Rational-Choice Explanation', *Journal of Peace Research*, 28.4 (1991).
- Mutawi, S. A. *Jordan in the 1967 War* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Nasser, H. G. A. *Britain and the Egyptian Nationalist Movement 1936–1952* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994).
- Nasser, M. K. 'Egyptian Mass Media under Nasser and Sadat: Two Models of Press Management and Control', *Journalism Monographs*, 124 (1990).
- Nasser, W. A. *Al-masār wa al-maṣīr* (Cairo: Mahdet Misr, 2002).
- Noman, A. and Almadhagi, K. *Yemen and the United States: A Study of a Small Power and Super-State Relationship 1962–1994* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996).
- O'Ballance, E. *The War in the Yemen*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).
- O'Ballance, E. *The Electronic War in the Middle East, 1968–70* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974).
- Oren, M. B. 'Escalation to Suez: The Egypt-Israel Border War, 1949–56', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24.2 (1989).
- Oren, M. B. 'Secret Egypt-Israel Peace Initiatives Prior to the Suez Campaign', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26.3 (1990).
- Oren, M. B. 'A Winter of Discontent: Britain's Crisis in Jordan', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 22.2 (1990).
- Oren, M. B. *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Ovendale, R. *Britain, the United States and the Transfer of Power in the Middle East, 1945–1962* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).
- Parker, R. B. *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

- Parker, R. B. *The Six-Day War: A Retrospective* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).
- Pearson, J. *Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis: Reluctant Gamble* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Pieragostini, K. *Britain, Aden and South Arabia: Abandoning Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
- Pipes, D. *The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy* (London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Podeh, E. 'The Struggle over Arab Hegemony after the Suez Crisis', *Middle East Studies*, 29.1 (1993).
- Podeh, E. 'The Drift towards Neutrality: Egyptian Foreign Policy during the Early Nasserist Era, 1952–55', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32.1 (1996).
- Podeh, E. *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1999).
- Podeh, E. 'To Unite or Not to Unite – That is *Not* the Question: The 1963 Tripartite Unity Talks Reassessed', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39.1 (2003).
- Podeh, E. 'Suez in Reverse: The Arab Response to the Iraqi Bid for Kuwait, 1961–63', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 14.1 (2003).
- Pridham, B. R. *Contemporary Yemen: Politics and Historical Background* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).
- Quandt, W. B. *Decade of Decisions: American Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967–76* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).
- Quandt, W. B. *The United States and Egypt* (Washington: Brookings Press, 1990).
- Quandt, W. B. 'Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color Was the Light?' *Middle East Journal*, 46.2 (1992).
- Quandt, W. B. *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington: Brookings Press, 2001).
- Rabinovich, I. *The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Rabinovich, I. and Shaked, H. *From June to October: The Middle East between 1967 and 1973* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978).
- Rahmy, A. A. R. *The Egyptian Policy in the Arab World: Intervention in Yemen* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983).
- Rathmell, A. 'Brotherly Enemies: The Rise and Fall of the Syrian-Egyptian Intelligence Axis, 1954–1967', *Intelligence and National Security*, 31.1 (1998).
- Richardson, L. 'Avoiding and Incurring Losses: Decision-Making in the Suez Crisis', In Stein, J. G. and Pauly, L. W. (eds) *Choosing to Co-operate: How States Avoid Loss* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1993).
- Rosser, K. 'Education, Revolt and Reform in Yemen: The 'Famous Forty' Mission of 1947', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1998).
- Rubin, B. 'America and the Egyptian Revolution, 1950–7', *Political Science Quarterly*, 97.1 (1982).
- Rucher, L. 'The Soviet Union and the Suez Crisis', In Tal, D. *The War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Safran, N. *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948–1967* (New York: Pegasus, 1969).
- Safran, N. *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988).

- Samd al-Din, I., Said Selim, M. and Khadduri, W. *Kayf yisna' al-qarār fī al-waṭan al-'arabiyy* (Cairo: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahida al-Arabiyya, 1980).
- Sayed-Ahmed, M. A. W. *Nasser and American Foreign Policy, 1952–1956* (London: LAAM, 1989).
- Sayigh, Y. 'Escalation or Containment? Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Army, 1964–67', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30.1 (1998).
- Sayigh, Y. and Shlaim, A. *The Cold War and the Middle East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Schmidt, D. A. *Yemen: The Unknown War* (London: Bodley Head, 1968).
- Schonmann, N. 'Tactics of Peace: The Role of Peace Overtures in Nasser's Postwar Foreign Policy Making', unpublished MA thesis, Tel Aviv University (2005).
- Seale, P. *The Struggle for Syria* (London: Tauris, 1987).
- Sela, A. *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).
- Shaked, H. and Rabinovich, I. *The Middle East and the United States: Perceptions and Policies* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1980).
- Sharabi, H. B. *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1966).
- Shaw, T. *Eden, Suez and the Mass Media: Propaganda and Persuasion during the Suez Crisis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996).
- Sheffy, Y. 'Unconcern at Dawn, Surprise at Sunset: Egyptian Intelligence Appreciation before the Sinai Campaign, 1956', *Intelligence and National Security*, 5.3 (1990).
- Shlaim, A. 'Failures in National Intelligence Estimates', *World Politics*, 28.3 (1976).
- Shlaim, A. 'Conflicting Approaches to Israel's Relations with the Arabs', *Middle East Journal*, 37.2 (1983).
- Shlaim, A. 'The Protocol of Sevres, 1956: Anatomy of a War Plot', *International Affairs*, 73.3 (1997).
- Shlaim, A. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (London: Penguin, 2000).
- Shapiro, S. 'The CIA as Peace Broker?' *Survival*, 45.2 (2003).
- Sivan, E. *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- Siverson, R. M. 'A Research Note on Cognitive Balance and International Conflict: Egypt and Israel in the Suez Crisis', *Western Political Quarterly*, 27.2 (1974).
- Smith, S. C. 'Rulers and Residents: British Relations with the Aden Protectorate, 1937–59', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31.3 (1995).
- Smith, S. C. 'Revolution and Reaction: South Arabia in the Aftermath of the Yemeni Revolution', In Fedorowich, K. and Thomas, M. (eds) *International Diplomacy and Colonial Retreat* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Spiegel, S. L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan* (University of Chicago Press, 1985).
- Springborg, R. *Family, Power and Politics in Egypt: Sayed Bay Marei – His Clan, Clients and Cohorts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).
- Stein, J. G. and Tanter, R. *Rational Decision-Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980).
- Stephens, R. *Nasser: A Political Biography* (London: Penguin, 1971).

- Stookey, R. W. *America and the Arab States: An Uneasy Encounter* (New York: Wiley, 1975).
- Stookey, R. W. *The Politics of the Yemen Arab Republic* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978).
- Takeyh, R. *The Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine: The US, Britain and Nasser's Egypt* (London: Macmillan, 2000).
- Tal, D. *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).
- Tal, D. 'Israel's Road to the 1956 War', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 28.1 (1996).
- Tawil, M. *La'bat al-umam wa 'abd al-nāsir* (Cairo: Al-Maktab al-Misriyy al-Hadith, 1986).
- Thornhill, M. T. 'Alternatives to Nasser: Humphrey Trevelyan, Ambassador to Egypt.' In Kelly, S. and Gorst, A. *Whitehall and the Suez Crisis* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
- Thornhill, M. T. 'Britain, the United States and the Rise of an Egyptian Leader: the Politics and Diplomacy of Nasser's Consolidation of Power, 1952–4', *English Historical Review*, 69 (2004).
- Touval, S. *The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948–1979* (Princeton University Press, 1982).
- Tripp, C. *Contemporary Egypt: Through Egyptian Eyes: Essays in Honour of Professor P.J. Vatikiotis* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- Troen, S.I. and Shemesh, M. *The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (London: Frank Cass, 1990).
- Vatikiotis, P. J. *Nasser and His Generation* (London: Croom Helm, 1978).
- Vatikiotis, P. J. *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991).
- Verrier, A. *Through the Looking Glass: British Foreign Policy in an Age of Illusions* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983).
- Walt, S. M. *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Wilson, K. M. *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Middle East: The Anglo-Egyptian Experience 1882–1982* (London: Mansell Publishing, 1983).
- Witty, D. M. 'A Regular Army in Counter-Insurgency Operations: Egypt in North Yemen, 1962–1967', *Journal of Military History*, 65.2 (2001).
- Yapp, M. E. *The Near East since the First World War: A History to 1995*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1996).
- Yizraeli, S. *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia: The Struggle between King Sa'ud and Crown Prince Faysal, 1953–1962* (Tel Aviv University: Dayan Center, 1977).

Select theoretical works

- Axelrod, R. M. *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Ayres, R. W. 'Mediating International Conflicts: Is Image Change Necessary?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 34.3 (1997).
- Boulding, K. E. *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society* (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1956).
- Boulding, K. E. 'National Images and International Systems', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 3.2 (1959).

- Brams, S. J. 'To Mobilize or not to Mobilize: Catch-22s in International Crises', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43.4 (1999).
- Cohen, R. *Threat Perception in International Crisis* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).
- Cottam, M. L. *Images and Intervention: US Policies in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press: 1994).
- Cottam, R. W. *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (University of Pittsburgh Press: 1977).
- Farrell, J. C. and Smith, A. P. *Image and Reality in World Politics* (New York: Columbia, 1967).
- Finlay, D. J., Holsti, O. R. and Fagen, R. R. *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967).
- Frankel, J. *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision Making* (Oxford University Press, 1963).
- George, A. L. *Propaganda Analysis: A Study of Inferences Made From Nazi Propaganda in World War II* (Evanston: Row Peterson, 1959).
- George, A. L. 'The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making', *International Studies Quarterly*, 13.2 (1969).
- Geva, N. and Mintz, A. *Decision-Making on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate* (London: Boulder, 1997).
- Goldstein, J. and Keohane, R. O. *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Herrmann, R. K. and Fischerkeller, M. P. 'Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research after the Cold War', *International Organization*, 49.3 (1995).
- Holsti, O. R. 'Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy', *Journal of International Affairs*, 21.1 (1967).
- Jervis, R. 'Hypotheses on Misperception', *World Politics*, 20.3 (1968).
- Jervis, R. *The Logic of Images in International Relations* (Princeton University Press, 1970).
- Jervis, R. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Jervis, R. and Snyder, J. *Dominoes and Bandwagons: Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland* (Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Khong, Y. F. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Larson, D. W. *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Lebow, R. N. *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
- Rieber, R. W. *The Psychology of War and Peace: The Image of the Enemy* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991).
- Shimko, K. L. *Images and Arms Control: Perceptions of the Soviet Union in the Reagan Administration* (University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1991).
- Shlaim, A. *The United States and the Berlin Blockade, 1948-1949: A Study in Crisis Decision-Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- Sprout, H. and M. 'Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1 (1957).

- Stein, J. G. and Pauly, L. W. *Choosing to Co-operate: How States Avoid Loss* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1993).
- Sylvan, D. A. and Voss, J. F. *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Tetlock, P. E. and McGuire, C. 'Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy', *In Long, S. (ed.) Political Behavior Annual* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).
- Vertzberger, Y. *The World in their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Stanford University Press, 1990).
- White, R. K. 'Misperception in the Arab-Israeli Conflict', *Journal of Social Issues*, 33.1 (1977).
- Wohlforth, W. C. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Yee, A. S. 'The Causal Effects of Ideas on Policies', *International Organization*, 50.1 (1996).

Index

- Abdin Palace, 4, 34, fn1318
Abubakr, Abdel Hamid, 21–2, 26, 217
Aden, 29, 54, 63–4, 70, 72–3, 77–8, 83, 85–7, 173
 see also NLF; SAF
Africa, 47, 54, 88
Ahmed, Imam of Yemen, 55–8, 65, 67
Ahmed, Makram Mohammed, 50, 82, 217
Al-Ahram newspaper, x, 13, 44, 49, 60, 77, 82, 83, 96, 99, 126, 139
 see also Heikal, Mohammed Hassanein
Alaini, Mohsen, 59, 61, 66, 70, 81, 86, 217
Al-Azhar mosque, 43
Alexandria Agreement, 78–9
Algeria, 19–20, 27, 30, 34, 40
Al-Gomhouriyya newspaper, 49, 126
Al-Jazeera satellite channel, 177
'Alpha' peace initiative, 15
Amer, Abdel Hakim, 7, 15, 16, 28, 38, 43–4, 53, 78, 87, 94, 98, 105–6, 111–14, 123, 129
 relationship with Nasser, 41, 49–50, 51–2, 71–2, 98–100, 114–16, 118–19, 124–5, 169, 174, fn1038
 role in Yemen, 61, 66, 69, 71, 74, 75, 79–83, 172
Amery, Julian, 73, 76
Amin, Mostafa, 49, 91–2
Amit, Meir, 121
Anderson, Robert, 15–16, 90, 122, 126, 137, 139–41, 148
Aqaba, Gulf of, 47
 closure, 102, 104, 109–112, 114, 116, 119, 122
Arab aid, 126–7, 133, 146–7, 157–8, 163
Arab League, 12, 52
Arab nationalism, ix, xi, 11, 47, 53, 55, 62, 66, 67, 88, 102, 119, 169, 172, 175–8
Arab South, *see* SAF
Arab summits, 11, 78, 94, 97, 103, 127, 129, 132–3, 157–8
Arafat, Yasser, 163–4, 170
al-Asad, Hafez, 103, 176
ASU (Arab Socialist Union), 48, 126, 142, 165
Aswan High Dam, 13, 16, 22–6, 47, 171, 176, fn170
attrition, *see* War of Attrition
Ba'athism, 81
Bab al-Mandab Strait, 62
Badeau, John, 49, 55, 57, 67, 77, 88, 89, 91, 94
Badr, Imam of Yemen, 57–9, 61, 65–7, 73, 75, 79, 81, 92, 173
Badran, Shams, 52, 81, 96, 98, 105–6, 112–16, 118, 119–20, 124–5, fn770
Baghdad Pact, 10–13, 16, 17, 34, 84
Baghdadi, Abdel Latif, 23, 38, 41–2, 44, 48, 56, 60, 76, 129
Bandung Conference, 10, 13
al-Banna, Hassan, 177
Bar Lev Line, 148–9, 152, 161
Bassiouny, Salah, 100, 106, 115, 132
Battle, Lucius, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86–7, 89–92, 94, 110, 147
Baydani, Abdel Rahman, 57–9, 61, 71, 217
Beeley, Harold, 54, 74, 77–8, 133, 144–5, 150, 151, 152
Beihan, 57, 67, 72, 73, 76
Beirut Raid, 148
Ben Gurion, David, 8, 10, 16
Bergus, Donald, 130, 140, 162, 163, fn719
'Big Lie', The, 127, 129–30, 140, 175
Birdsall, James, 92, 116, 136, 139–40

- 'Black September', 169–70
 Bourguiba, Habib, 94
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 132, 136, 159–60, 164
 Britain
 position in the Arab world, 30, 40, 54, 62–4, 72, 78, 83, 85–7, 94, 173; *see also* Aden; Beihan
 relations with Egypt, 2–6, 10–11, 16–19, 27–36, 39–42, 53–4, 62–4, 70, 72–8, 83, 86–7, 95, 120, 127–8, 129, 171–3; *see also* Canal Zone, British base
 relations with USA, *see under* USA
 support for Yemeni royalists, xi–xii, 64–5, 72–3, 76–7; *see also* Harib Raid
 Cabinet, 72–3
 Colonial Office, 62, 72–3, 76
 Foreign Office, 16–17, 36, 39, 72–3, 76, 116
 Parliament, 44
 Press, 17, 18, 48
see also SIS
 Byroade, Henry, 12–14, 15, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 35
 Caffery, Jefferson, 1–3, 8–9
 Cairo Radio, 5, 24, 43, 48, 57, 65, 66, 70, 74, 78, 110–11, 129, 163
see also *Voice of the Arabs*
 Camp David Accords, 177
 Canada, 46, 76, 79, 151
 Canal Zone, 41, 137, 150, 158, 161, 165
 British base, 2, 4–6, 7, 9, 18–19, 21, 24–5, 43, 77, 171
 Ceausescu, Nicolae, 153
 China, 22, 23, fn211
 Chou En Lai, 91
 CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 2–3, 6–7, 14, 16–18, 32, 34, 40, 49, 55, 83, 91–3, 96, 99, 113, 121, 139, 153, 176, fn43, fn306
 Clark, William, 33
 Cold War, xi, xii, 46, 107, 123, 154, 175, 178
 Commonwealth, 35
 colonialism, *see under* imperialism
 communism, 2, 6, 16–17, 45
 Congo, 88, 90, 92, 95
 'Conqueror' Plan, 105, 114
 conspiracy, xii, 7, 54, 75, 83–7, 91–6, 107, 121, 129–31, 153, 173, 176, fn22
 Copeland, Miles, 2, 7, 100
 Critchfield, James, fn719
 Crossman, Richard, 8
 crusades, 13, 86
 Cyprus, 2, 29
 Czech Arms Deal, 14, 16
 Dawud, Dia al-Din, 126, 217, fn1042
 Dayan, Moshe, 118, 161
 decision-making, *see under* Nasser, Gamal Abdel
 deep-penetration bombing, 158–9, 160–1
 Dendur, Temple of, 71, fn574
 détente, 107
 Dimona nuclear reactor, 103
 Divon, Shmuel, 8
 Dobrynin, Anatoly, 156
 Dodds-Parker, Douglas, 34, 39
 Dominican Republic, 95
 Douglas-Home, Alec, 73, 76
 Dulles, Allen, 42
 Dulles, John Foster, 3, 5, 16, 22–8, 32–3, 34, 45, 90, 171
 Eastern Bloc, *see* Soviet Bloc
 Eban, Abba, 111, 113
 Eden, Anthony, 10, 17, 27–36, 37, 39, 41, 44–6, fn180
 Egypt
 1952 Revolution, ix, 1–4, 24, 170, 171, 175
 domestic unrest, 13, 90, 124, 126, 141, 146, 150, 163, 174
 economy, 26–7, 47, 51, 62, 75, 81, 89–90, 99, 110, 126–7, 147, 165, 171, 172
 foreign relations, *see under* country names
 Air Force, 38, 92, 111, 116, 118, 122, 123, 129, 136, 154–5

Egypt – *continued*

- Army, 13, 36, 38, 41–3, 50, 51–2, 69, 72, 75–6, 81, 82, 96, 98–100, 105, 109, 113–19, 124–5, 128, 136, 137–8, 144–5, 146–52, 158, 163, 172, 174; *see also* Amer, Abdel Hakim; Fawzi, Mohammed
 Cabinet (Council of Ministers), 23, 30, 31, 48, 89, 138, 140, 141, 148, 155, 156
 Foreign Ministry, 25, 105, 106, 107, 110, 133, 135; *see also* Fawzi, Mahmoud; Riad, Mahmoud
 Intelligence, 11, 18, 36, 48–9, 59, 77, 86–7, 93, 96, 98–99, 105, 106, 119, 139
 National Assembly, 48, 90, 93, 138, 142, 148, 156, 161
 Navy, 41, 137
 Popular Army, 147, 149, 150
 Presidential Council, 48, 51, 61
 Press, x, 44, 45, 49, 88, 96, 112, 126, 140, 141; *see also* *Al-Ahram* newspaper; *Al-Gomhouriyya* newspaper; Cairo Radio; *Voice of the Arabs*
see also ASU, RCC, SEC
 enemy, ix, xii, fn19, fn23
 Eichelberger, James, 3, 17, 18
 Eilat (port), 62, 110, 114, 121
 ‘Eilat’ (ship), 137–8
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 6, 13, 31–2, 37, 45–6, 154
 Eisenhower Doctrine, 46, 47
 Eshkol, Levi, 107, 112, 118, 122, 123
 Evans, David, 1–2
 Eveland, Wilbur, 3, 7, 17
 Expeditionary Force, *see* Yemen, Egyptian military intervention

 Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia, 53, 74–5, 78–9, 81, 83–5, 94–5, 100, 157–8, 170
 Farid, Abdel Magid, 126, 127, 130, 140, 157, 167, 217
 Farouk, King of Egypt, 1–4
 Fateh movement, 97, 136

 Fawzi, Mahmoud, 5, 8, 14, 27, 28, 32, 36, 37, 42, 49, 104, 108, 126, 132, 133, 145, 150–4
 Fawzi, Mohammed, 104–6, 108–9, 115, 125, 130, 131, 135, 144, 148–50, 158–60, 168
 Fayek, Mohammed, 107, 118–19, 124, 127, 133, 143, 150, 168, 217
 ‘fidā‘iyūn’ (guerrillas), 4–5, 13, 36, 43, 47, 97, 103, 126, 141, 146, 147, 150, 163
 FLOSY (Front for the Liberation of South Yemen), 87
 Foster, William, 6
 Four Power Talks, 156
 France, 19–20, 27, 29–36, 39–42, 54, 127
 Free Officers, 1–2, 6–8, 36, 48, 49, 56–9, 125, 171

 Gaddafi, Mu‘ammar, 155, 168, 170, 176
 Gamasy, Mohammed Abdel Ghani, 154
 ‘Gamma’ peace initiative, 15
 de Gaulle, Charles, 54, 127
 Gaza, 38, 47, 108, 123, 143
 Gaza Raid, 12–15
 Ghalib, Mourad, 71, 135, 159–60, 217
 Ghana, 95
 Ghorbal, Ashraf, 102, 128, 131, 146, 156
 Glubb, John Bagot, 17
 Gohar, Salah, 14, 151, 163
 Golan Heights, 123, 143
 Goldberg, Arthur, 141
 ‘Granite One’ plan, 167–8
 Gretchko, Andrei, 120
 Gruening Amendment, 90
 guerrillas, *see* ‘fidā‘iyūn’

 Hadidi, Salah al-Din, 59, 94, 105, 106, 112, 217
 Hamid al-Din, 73, 80, 81
 Hammarskjöld, Dag, 32, 36, 37
 Hankey, Robin, 5
 Hare, Raymond, 37, 40, 43, 45
 Harib Raid, 76–7, 78
 Hart, Parker, 6

- Hassan, Prince of Yemen, 64–5, 67
 Hashid Federation, 57
 Heath, Edward, 169
 Heikal, Mohammed Hassanein
 as regime representative, x, 17, 27, 38, 43, 49, 45, 68, 82, 145, 159, 168
 as journalist, 53, 56, 60, 63, 69, 79, 84–5, 96, 98–9, 107, 111, 118, 126–8, 135, 138–9, 141–2, 146–7, 149, 151–2, 155, 161, 163, fn1172; *see also* *Al-Ahram* newspaper
 as historian, 23, 25, 34, 36, 40–1, 44, 57, 61, 66–7, 83, 91, 108, 110, 130–1, 136, 153, 164, fn8
 Helms, Richard, 92, 96
 Howeydy, Amin, 38, 42, 46, 59, 61, 124, 132, 136, 137, 139, 168, 217, fn43, fn75, fn352
 Hussein, King of Jordan, 17, 64, 73, 75, 78, 85, 94–5, 117, 118, 120, 122, 127, 129–30, 133–4, 140–1, 164, 170
 Hussein, Sharif of Beihan, 57, 67, 72–3
 Hussein, Ahmed, 6, 22–4, 40
 Hussein, Kamal al-Din, 38, 48, 76
 Hussein, Saddam, 176, 177
 Hussein, Taha, 11
 Idris, King of Libya, 88
 images, theory of, xii, 122, 170–5, fn6, fn20, fn1318
 imperialism, ix, 4, 11–12, 31, 46, 47, 53–4, 63, 64, 70, 73–5, 77, 80, 83, 86, 88, 93–5, 98–100, 128, 139, 146, 163, 170, 173
 India, 22, 31
 Indonesia, 95
 International Court of Justice, 116
 Iran, 2, 54, 62, 94, 111
 Iraq, 1, 10–12, 47–8, 53, 71, 142, 177, fn918
 Islam, 55, 95
 Islamic Conference (*also called* Islamic Alliance, Islamic Pact), 83–4, 94
 Islamism, xi, 176–8, fn723; *see also* Muslim Brotherhood
 Ismail, Ahmed, 149, 154
 Israel, 27, 29, 36, 39–40, 47, 78, 87, 93, 103–4, 127, 140–1, 161–2
 peace negotiations, 8, 9, 14–15, 45, 131, 134, 138, 142–3, 153, 156–7, 162–3, 168–9, 177
 relations with Egypt, 7–10, 12–16, 36, 37–8, 54, 95–101, 102, 105–7, 109–22, 123, 128–31, 135–9, 144–52, 154–5, 158–9, 171, 174
 see also Mossad; USA, relations with Israel
 Jadid, Salah, 103
 Jarring, Gunnar, 134, 138, 142, 149, 165
 Jeddah Agreement, 80–1, 83, 84
 Jeddah Pact, 18
 Jerusalem, 14, 105, 123, 143, 162, 176
 Jews, *see under* Israel; Zionism
 ‘jihād’ (holy war), 4, 77, 178
 Johnson, Lyndon, 81, 84, 88, 90–2, 99, 116, 121, 130, 139–40, 152
 Johnston, Charles, 54, 58, 72–3, fn594
 jokes, 11, 56, 62, 117, 125, 143, 170
 Jordan, 11, 30, 36, 47, 83, 97, 103, 122, 123, 157–8, 164, 167, 170
 relations with Egypt, 38, 52–3, 94–5, 107, 111–12, 117, 127, 134, 147
 support for Yemeni royalists, 65, 66, 74–5, 78
 Jordan waters dispute, 78, 97, 103
 June War, *see* Six Day War
 July Revolution, *see* Egypt, 1952 Revolution
 Kamel, Mostafa, 83, 91, 94
 Kaunda, Kenneth, 25
 Keightley, Charles, 34
 Kennedy, John F., 55, 70, 74, 88, 90–1, 94, 172, fn458
 KGB (Soviet Intelligence), 2, 33–4, 105, 160
 Khalil, Abdel Moneim, 110

- Khartoum Conference, 126–7, 129, 132–3, 141
- al-Kholi, Hassan Sabri, 72–3, 84
- Kirkpatrick, Ivone, 16, 17
- Kissinger, Henry, 152, 154, 162
- Komer, Robert, 69, 74, 81, 94
- Korn, David, 120, 137
- Kosygin, Alexei, 119, 160
- Kuwait, 53–4, 127, 157
- Kuwait Agreement, 83
- Lakeland, William, 3, 6
- Lavon Affair, 8, 9
- Lawrence, T. E., 73
- Lebanon, 47–8, 52, 105, 167
- de Lesseps, Ferdinand, 21–2
- Liberty*, USS, 130
- Libya, 1, 3, 18, 88, 127, 155, 157, 163, 170
- Little, Tom, 35
- Lloyd, Selwyn, 17, 26, 32–3
- London Conferences, 30–2
- 'Long Breath' strategy, 82–3, 84
- LUCKY BREAK, 17, fn180
- Macmillan, Harold, 11, 33, 70, 72–3, 76
- Magid, Esmat Abdel, 5, 217
- Mahmoud, Hamed, 43, 51, 70, 80, 118, 137, 217
- Mahmoud, Sidqi, 116, 122, 129
- Malta, 29
- Mao Tse-tung, 141
- Mar'i, Sayyid, 26, 28, 35, 42, 124
- McLean, Neil 'Billy', 72–3, 76
- McNamara, Robert, 113, 121
- Meir, Golda, 111
- Menzies, Robert, 31–2, 35
- MI6, *see* SIS
- MiG jets, 103, 158, 159, 165
- Middle East Defence Organisation, 5
- Moghny, Ali Abdel, 57
- Mohieddin, Khaled, 5, 28, 39, 45, 48, 217
- Mohieddin, Zakaria, 8, 9, 14–15, 26, 32, 38, 48, 85, 89, 100, 116, 124
- Montgomery, Bernard Law, 98–9
- Mosallem, Talaat, 151, 136, 168, 217
- Mossad, 106, 121
- Murtagi, Abdel Mohsen, 66, 76, 99
- 'Musketeer' operation, *see under* Suez War, Anglo-French preparations
- Muslim Brotherhood, 6, 9, 34, 92, 175, 177–8
- Nag Hammadi Raid, 147–50
- Naguib, Gamal, 104, 116, 217
- Naguib, Mohammed, 3, 6, 34, 57
- Nasr, Salah, 60, 66, 78, 105, 125, fn896
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel
 - decision-making, ix–x, 23, 26, 28, 49, 60–1, 102, 109, 110, 115, 126
 - images of the enemy, *see under country names*
 - personal life, 1, 49–50, 176, fn1318
 - position in Egypt, ix, 6, 13, 26–7, 48–9, 51–2, 82, 90, 124–6, 130, 140–2, 149–50, 153, 163
 - position in the Arab world, 47–8, 51, 57, 62, 71, 84, 107, 112, 117, 127, 129, 133, 142, 175
 - rhetoric, x, 12–13, 43, 86, 89, 99, 117, 149
 - health, 44, 124, 144, 155, 164, 169–70
 - death, 166, 167–8, 170, 175, 177
 - legacy, xii, 167, 169, 175–8
 - see also throughout*
- Nasser, Hoda Abdel, 9, 49, 127, 217
- Nasserism, *see* Arab nationalism
- Negev, 14, 15, 114
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 22–3
- Nes, David, 105, 106, 107, 112
- Nixon, Richard, 147, 152–4, 156, 162
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 95
- NLF (National Liberation Front), 77
- Nolte, Richard, 121, 122
- Non-Aligned Movement, ix, 22, 47
- Noufal, General, 109, 116
- Nu'man, Ahmed Mohammed, 59, 79–80, 83, 87
- Nutting, Anthony, xi, 17, 27
- Nuwar, Ali Abu, 38
- O'Ballance, Edgar, 59, 64
- October War, 167

- oil, 33, 40, 46, 62–3, 111, 123, 126, 133, 137, 157
- Okasha, Tharwat, 19, 40, 50, 125, 217
- 'Omega' Plan, 16, 18, 22, 27, fn180
- 'Operation 200', 167–8
- 'Operation 9000', *see under* Yemen, Egyptian military intervention
- Pakistan, 109
- Palestine, 9, 12–14, 55, 97–8, 100, 103, 117, 133–4, 136, 139, 150, 162, 163–4, 169–70
see also under 'fidā'iyyūn'
- Parker, Richard, 113, 121, 153
- perception, *see* images
- Peres, Shimon, 117
- PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 170
- 'Phantom' jets, 152, 154–6, 159, 161–3, 165
- Philby, Kim, 67
- Philosophy of the Revolution, The*, 3–4, 47
- PLA (Palestine Liberation Army), 150
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation), 97, 133, 170
- Pineau, Christian, 19, 32–3
- Podgorny, Nikolai, 130
- Pridham, Brian, 73
- propaganda, 5, 11, 18, 48–9, 52, 56–8, 60, 63, 67, 79, 97, 99, 112, fn10, fn11
- Qadi, Anwar, 76, 105, 113
- Qutb, Sayyid, 177–8, fn723
- Rabat Summit, 127, 157–8
- Rabin, Yitzhak, 107, 132
- Radwan, Fathi, 126
- RCC (Revolutionary Command Council), 3, 7, 13, 19, 21, 23, 38, 41, 48
- reaction, Arab, 12, 53, 56, 64, 70, 75, 78, 81, 86, 88, 93, 94, 95, 97, 117, 170, 174
- Red Sea, 41, 62, 80, 87, 89
- 'Red Sea Regatta', 120
- Riad, Abdel Moneim, 117, 125, 135, 138, 149
- Riad, Mahmoud, 53, 61, 62, 66, 77, 79, 86, 93, 98, 106, 108, 111–12, 130, 132–5, 146–7, 148, 152, 155, 158, 162, 163, 165, 168
- Riad, Mohammed, 98, 99, 127
- Rikhye, Indar Jit, 108–10
- Rogers, William, 156, 162–3
Rogers Plan, 156
Rogers Initiative, 162–6, 167–9, 175
- Roosevelt, Kermit, 2, 9, 14, 32, fn719
- Rostow, Eugene, 90, 92–3, 131
- 'Rotem' crisis, 105, 107
- Rusk, Dean, 88, 92, 115, 153
- Sabri, Ali, 1–2, 6, 13, 14–15, 17–18, 23, 25, 30–1, 45–6, 48, 51, 89, 118, 124, 126, 140
- Sadat, Anwar, 2–3, 49, 78, 84, 90, 94, 100, 105, 111, 129, 130, 147, 155, 164–5, fn1285
involvement with Yemen, 56, 58–9, 60–1, 63, 66–7, 69, 94, 172
vice-presidency and succession, 126, 167–8, 169, 177
- Sadat, Jehan, 37
- Sadeq, Abdel Rahman, 8
- Sadeq, Mohammed, 154
- SAF (South Arabian Federation), 54, 62–4, 72–3, 85
Egyptian subversion, 77–8, 83, 86–7
see also under Aden; Beihan; Britain, position in the Arab world
- Said, Ahmed, 11, 48–9, 59, 114, 217
- Said, Nuri, 11–12, 33, 48
- 'Saladin' operation, *see* SAF, Egyptian subversion
- Salem, Salah, 4, 5, 11, 13, 43–4
- Sallal, Abdullah, 56–7, 59–60, 72, 81, 83
- SAM missiles, 155, 158, 159–61, 165–6, 167
- Samu Raid, 103
- Sandys, Duncan, 65
- SAS (Special Air Service), 76
- Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, 47, 52–3, 57, 60, 64–5, 68, 73–5, 78, 85, 173

- Saudi Arabia, 9, 11, 41, 47, 54, 92, 170
 relations with Egypt, 10, 18, 52–3, 62–8, 70–1, 74–5, 78–9, 80–1, 83–5, 94–5, 107, 127, 146–7, 157–8, 172–3, fn530, fn652
 relations with USA, 29, 87, 93–4, 157
 support for Yemeni royalists, 64–8, 70, 75, 78–9, 81
- Saunders, Harold, 93, 133, 140
- Scranton, William, 152
- SCUA (Suez Canal Users' Association), 31–2
- SEC (Supreme Executive Committee), 48, 110, 126, 148, 151, 157, 163, 165
- Sèvres, Protocol of, 20, 39–40
- Shafeis, 66
- Shafei, Hussein, 38, 51, 69, 71, 111, 115, 126, 218, fn918
- Sharaf, Sami, 57, 96, 116, 120, 131, 137, 167, 168, 218, fn530, fn896
- Sharett, Moshe, 8–10
- Sharm el-Sheikh, 47, 108–12, 119, 123, 143
- Shazly, Saad al-Din, 79, 114, 168
- Sherif, Youssef, 59, 218
- Shuckburgh, Evelyn, 5, 16–17, 18, 39
- Shukeiry, Ahmed, 97, 133
- Shuqair, Labib, 126
- Sinai, 15, 38–43, 46, 54, 71, 99, 102, 104–6, 107, 109, 112, 113–14, 119, 123, 126, 128, 147, 153, 156, 176
 Egyptian plans to regain, 134–5, 138–9, 141, 142–3, 144, 148, 150–1, 160, 165–6, 167–9, 174–5; *see also* War of Attrition
- SIS (Secret Intelligence Service), 17–18, 33–5, 65, fn180
- Sisco, Joseph, 162
 Sisco Plan, 155
- 'Six Day War', ix, 102, 127, 131, 139, 151, 173–4
 Egyptian mobilisation, 104–6, 109, 174
 Egyptian first strike plans, 105, 113–16
 expectations of war, 100, 102–6, 108–13, 116–22
 Israeli offensive, 101, 118, 122, 123, 129
 Arab defeat, 82, 123, 127, 135, 143, 160, 177–8
- Smiley, David, 76
- SOE (Special Operations Executive), 34
- Southern Arabia, *see* SAF
- Soviet Bloc, 28, 39, 124, 136, 137
- Soviet Union, *see* USSR
- sources, x–xi
- Stephens, Robert, xi, 133
- Stooney, Robert, 59
- 'Straggle' operation, 18
- Sudan, 4, 13, 26–7, 171
- Suez, 39, 118, 137, 145, 147
- Suez Canal, 37, 38, 126, 131–2, 134, 135, 136–8
 nationalisation, 21–3, 24–30, 33, 36, 52, 171
see also under Canal Zone, War of Attrition
- Suez War, ix, 47, 50, 76, 100, 111, 112, 118–19, 124, 128, 138, 177, 178
 Anglo-French plans, 33–4, 38, 171; *see also* London Conferences; Sèvres, Protocol of
 expectations of war, 28–30, 32, 34–6, 37–42
 military actions, 38–42, 44, 171–2
 discussions of surrender, 42, 43–4, 172
 ceasefire, 42, 45–6
- Sukarno, 91, 95
- Suleiman, Sidqi, 110
- Syria, 11–12, 18, 30, 52, 71, 83, 97, 103, 104–7, 109, 123, 134, 157, 167, 174
 participation in UAR, 47, 50, 176
 secession from UAR, 50–5, 62, 76, 172–3
- Tesh, Robert, 137
- Thant, U, 100, 106, 108–12, 114, 116, 120
- Third Force, 79–80, 83, 87, 173

- Third World, 28, 91, 93
 Tiran, Straits of, *see* Aqaba, Gulf of
 Tito, Josip Broz, 25, 124, 137
 Touhami, Hassan, 2, 6–7
 Trevaskis, Kennedy, 62, 65, 76–7,
 fn594
 Trevelyan, Humphrey, 10, 11, 12, 14,
 17–18, 26, 36, 41, 43, 87
 Tripartite Aggression, *see* Suez War
 Tunisia, 94
 Turkey, 10, 12
- UAC (United Arab Command), 97,
 100, 117
 UAR (United Arab Republic), 47, 50,
 51, 107
see also under Syria; Egypt
 UK, *see* Britain
 UN (United Nations), 36, 42, 70, 71,
 76, 92, 100, 120, 131, 136, 138,
 144, 145, 149
 General Assembly, 44, 111
 Security Council, 32, 45, 112
 resolutions, 132, 134, 141, 143,
 147, 162
 UNEF (United Nations Emergency
 Force), 45–7, 54, 107, 108–10,
 112
 USA
 relations with Britain, 6, 17, 45–6,
 87, 93, 95, 127
 relations with Egypt, ix, xii, 2–4,
 6–7, 13–18, 22–4, 26–9, 30,
 32, 45–6, 54–5, 62, 70–1, 72,
 75, 81–4, 86–7, 88–96, 107,
 109, 115, 120–2, 128, 129–31,
 134, 139–43, 152–4, 155–6,
 159, 161–5, 169, 170–5,
 fn43, fn75, fn170, fn306,
 fn652
 relations with Israel, 7, 13–16, 55,
 93, 95–101, 106–7, 120–2,
 130–1, 136, 139–43, 146–7,
 152–4, 155–6, 159, 161–4,
 168
 relations with Saudi Arabia, *see*
under Saudi Arabia
 relations with Yemen, 70, 88,
 92–4
 Cairo Embassy, 1–2, 57, 79, 92, 130;
see also under Caffery, Jefferson;
 Hare, Raymond; Badeau, John;
 Battle, Lucius; Bergus, Donald
 Congress, 89–90, 91
 National Security Council (NSC),
 69, 74, 93, 94
 Sixth Fleet, 45, 96, 99, 123, 136
 Press, 89, 91, 152
 State Department, 26, 32, 90, 91,
 94, 133, 146, 162
 White House, 91, 94; *see also under*
 Eisenhower, Dwight; Kennedy,
 John F.; Johnson, Lyndon;
 Nixon, Richard
see also CIA
 USAID (United States Agency for
 International Development), 92
 USSR, 24, 26, 29, 31, 39, 81, 89, 91,
 103, 105–7, 112, 123, 129, 141,
 144, 146, 155, 156
 military assistance to Egypt, 14, 15,
 36, 45, 96, 99, 110, 117,
 119–20, 126, 135–6, 158–61,
 168, 174–5
 influence in Egypt, 16–17, 46–7, 71,
 83, 114–5, 126, 130, 132,
 139–40, 148, 149–50, 154, 158,
 160, 164, 169, 175–6
 Politburo; 135, 159, *see also under*
 Brezhnev, Leonid; Kosygin,
 Alexei
see also KGB
- Vietnam, 75, 88, 95, 96
Voice of Britain, 43
Voice of Palestine, 163
Voice of the Arab Nation, 79
Voice of the Arabs, 11, 48–9, 53, 54,
 57, 59, 63–4, 96, 114, 177
- Wafd Party, 34
 Wahed, Mohammed Abdel, 58
 War of Attrition, ix, 148, 165, 169,
 175
 1968 offensive, 144–7
 1969 offensives, 149–52, 154–61
see also deep-penetration bombings;
 Rogers Initiative

- 'West', The, xii, 22, 27–8, 95, 178
West Bank, 123, 128
White, Dick, 65
Wilson, Harold, 77, 84
World Bank, 16, 153
- Yemen
 relations between Egypt and
 Imamate, 18, 47, 55–60, 67
 1962 Revolution, 1, 52, 54, 56–62,
 80, 172
 Egyptian military intervention, ix,
 52, 55, 59–66, 68, 69–72, 74–6,
 79–80, 82–7, 90–4, 102, 109,
 172–3; *see also* 'Long Breath'
 strategy
 disengagement, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76,
 78–9, 80–4, 127, 135, 173;
- see also under* Alexandria
 Agreement; Jeddah Agreement;
 Kuwait Agreement
 republicans, 66–7, 70, 76, 78–83,
 93, 135; *see also under* Third
 Force
 royalists and tribes, 57, 63–8, 70,
 72–83, 87, 92, 172
 foreign relations, *see under* Britain;
 Jordan; Saudi Arabia; USA
 YFM (Yemeni Free Movement), 57,
 59
 Younis, Mahmoud, 21–2, 23
- Zakharov, Matvei, 137
Zeidis, 66
Zionism, 10, 11, 12, 13, 78, 88, 95,
 98, 103, 128, 138, 170, 173, 176