Index

 \mathbf{A}

AAAS. See American Academy of 49-50, 78, 188 Arts and Sciences (AAAS) talks al-Assad, Hafez, 113 Abbas, Mahmoud. See Mazin, Abu al-Baz, Usama, 40 Abdel Halim, Ahmed, 122, 129 al-Hassan, Hani, 18 Abdul-Hamid, Hayil. See al-Houl, al-Houl, Abu, 13, 13n.4 al-Khatib, Ghassan, 26 Abed Rabbo, Yasser, 36n.3, 45–46 al-Kurd, Maher, 38–40 Alpher, Joseph, 59-63, 65, 66, 157 Abu Mazin-Beilin Agreement. See Stockholm talks hot line and, 95 Abu-Rahme, Fayiz, 22, 23 Project "Charlie" and, 91, 91n.1, 98-99 Abu-Zaydeh, Sufian, 97–98 Abu Ziad, Ziad, 26, 129 al-Razzak Yihya, Abd, 81 academic conferences, 2, 20–21 Ameri, Souad, 26 ACRS. See Arms Control and Re-American Academy of Arts and Scigional Security (ACRS) talks ences (AAAS) talks, 6, 57-69, 98, 99, 140, 141, 143, 147, 149, Adderbury. See Foundation for In-152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 162, 165, ternational Security (FIS) af Ugglas, Margaretha, 87 169, 172–173, 174, 184, 185, 187, 194 Agha, Hussein, vii, 43n.8, 80n.3, 81n.4, 105n.3, 110n.6, 120n.3 agreement from, 200-201 in IPCME talks, 105 evaluation of, 66-67, 68-69 Stockholm talks and, 71, 77-80, inner track of, 65, 68-69 81-82, 87 leaders and, 63-67 agreement, imperative for, 189–190 mentors in, 62-63 Ala', Abu, 29, 52 misperceptions in, 165 Hirschfeld meeting with, 44, 45, monographs from, 3 50, 52 Oslo talks and, 49, 63-64, 65, 68

in Oslo talks, 38-40, 41, 43, 44,

American Academy of Arts and Sci-	context for, 116–117
ences (AAAS) talks (continued)	evaluation of, 132
participants in, 59-62, 97, 98	information exchange in, 142–143
political environment and, 58-59	Israeli perspective in, 125
sponsors of, 67	leaders and, 129-131
Ū.S. role in, 67	mentors in, 129-131, 150-151
American Association for the Ad-	paralysis of, 123–124
vancement of Science, 116	participants, 128–129, 146
American Jewish Committee, 91, 98,	Rabin and, 47
99, 157	sponsors of, 155-156
American Psychiatry Association	talks preceding, 115
(APA) conference, 20–21	tension between tracks of,
Amirav, Moshe, 23–25	163–164
Amit, Danny, 12	threat perceptions and, 121-123
Ammar, Nizar, 59-62, 64, 65, 162	Track-II talks role in, 118–124
Andersson, Sten	Track-I negotiations in, 117-118
in Oslo talks, 32–33	Arnon, Yaacov, 12
Stockholm talks and, 81, 87, 88,	As-Shawa, Rashad, 21
89	Asfour, Hassan
Arafat, Yasser, 10n.1, 12, 13, 24, 31,	in Oslo talks, 38-40, 52, 64, 65,
32, 39, 42, 43n.8, 48, 49, 50, 65,	174
66, 66n.5, 76, 84.7, 92, 120n.3,	in Stockholm talks, 78, 174
160, 162, 165, 190, 192	Project "Charlie" and, 97–98
AAAS talks and, 60, 64, 64n.2	Avneri, Uri, 11, 13, 19
attitude of toward Track-II,	
152–153	
Holst discussions with, 51-52	В
Israeli endorsement of, 30	Baker, James, 34, 117
Oslo talks and, 33, 35-36, 40,	balance of power, 195
44–46, 55, 185	Barak, Ehud, 7, 26, 130, 151,178
Stockholm talks and, 78, 80,	Barghouti, Bashir, 45
80n.3, 82, 85–87	Baron, Hanan, 129, 130
Support of Saddam Hussein, 34,	Bashir, Tahseen, 21
158–159	Bassuini, Cherif, 124
tactical interests of, 145	Begin, Benjamin, 23, 129
Tamir meeting with, 17–18	Beilin, Yossi
Tzuker/Sarid meeting with, 20	ACRS talks and, 130
arbitration, 172	Hirschfeld and, 37, 38
Arms Control and Disarmament	Larsen and, 50
Agency, 155	as mentor, 62,149
Arms Control and Regional Secu-	in Oslo talks, 40-42, 44, 47, 48,
rity (ACRS) talks, 104, 115–132,	150, 185
136	Oslo talks and, 51–52, 53–54
Arab perspective in, 125-128	Peres and, 84

Stockholm talks and, 72, 75, 76, personal problem solving, 77, 78, 79, 80–83, 86, 87, 89, 145-146 150, 151 conflicts of interest, 172 tactical interests of, 145 Constable, Peter, 111-112 Beilin-Eitan document, 75, 89 contact, initiating, 136-139 Ben-Eliezar, Benjamin (Fuad), 22 contention, 170 Ben-Shlomo, Joseph, 95n.2, 96, 97 context, 133-135, 157-161 border issues, 73, 77 AAAS talks, 58-59 Stockholm talks on, 72-73 ACRS talks, 116–117, 123 Boutwell, Jeffrey, 57n.1, 59-62, 67 importance of, 101 Brandt, Willy, 13, 19 Oslo talks, 31-37 Brookings Institution conference, 21 Project "Charlie" and, 92-95, 101 Bruner, Anders, 32 Stockholm talks, 75–77 texts and, 183 Conventional Forces in Europe \mathbf{C} (CFE) treaty, 119 Camp David Accords (1978), 10 Cooperative Monitoring Center Camp David summit (2000), 7-8 (CMC), 164 Carnegie Endowment for Internacrisis management, 182 tional Peace, 115, 120, 162 CSBMs. See confidence- and secucaucusing, 173 rity-building measures CBMs. See confidence- and secu-(CSBMs) Curiel, Henri, 12 rity-building measures (CSBMs) Chemical Weapons Convention (1993), 118, 124 Christopher, Warren, 53 Dahl, Mikael, 88 Dahlan, Muhammed, 97-98 Clinton, Bill AAAS talks and, 67 danger, 23 ACRS talks and, 117 Darwish, Mahmoud, 45 Geneva summit and, 113 De-Shalit, Nechama, 21 Declaration of Principles (DOP), Oslo talks and, 52–54, 190 29-31, 197-199. See also Oslo Cohen, Gabriel, 21 Cohen, Steve, 18 talks Cold War, 34-35, 116 Israeli settlements and, 92-95 Conference on Security and Cooper-Project "Charlie" and, 92-95 ation in Europe (CSCE), 119 Singer on, 38 confidence- and security-building Stockholm talks and, 71–72 measures (CSBMs), 117-118 demilitarization, 73–74 IPCME talks on, 105-106 deniability, 185 confidentiality, 172-173 De Paul-ISISC, 127, 132, 153-154 conflict resolution, 122-123, De Paul University talks, 116, 124, 139–141, 167, 181–182 131, 140, 149, 163–164 information exchange vs., 143 dialogue, 134

diplomacy	flexibility, 148–149, 179
private/citizen, 196	formality/informality, 169–170,
secret, 2	188–191
Dismorr, Ann, 87, 88, 89	Foundation for International Secu-
distance, maintaining, 181	rity (FIS)
Dutch government, 156–157	AAAS talks and, 58, 65
,	Project "Charlie" and, 99
	Freij, Elias, 21,22
E	Friends International Service Com-
Economic Cooperation Foundation	mittee, 115
(ECF), 79	funding, 155, 156
Egeland, Jan, 50, 53	ranamy, 100, 100
Egypt	
in ACRS talks, 117, 127, 128	G
on arms control, 118, 124, 131	Gaza
leaders' attitudes toward Track-II,	AAAS talks on, 57–69
153–154	Israeli closures of, 159–160
Oslo talks and, 46	Gaza first/plus concept, 141, 142
problem solving by, 146	AAAS talks on, 60, 65–66
sequencing concepts and, 132	Clinton administration and, 67
threat perceptions of, 121	Ontell project and, 22–23
Eitan, Michael, 75	Oslo talks and, 46
Eliav, Lova, 12, 20n.10	Gazit, Shlomo, 18, 21, 26, 162
Elizur, Uri, 96	in AAAS talks, 59–62
	Rabin and, 63
environment, finding the right, 191–192. <i>See also</i> context	
	Geneva summit (2000), 113
Evron, Yair, 128	Ginossar, Yossi, 18
exclusion, dangers of, 185	Golan Heights
expertise, 112, 119, 177	conflict resolution regarding, 140
	IPCME talks on, 105–106, 106–107
F	Israeli settlement evacuation in, 108
FAFO. See Institute for Applied So-	Israeli withdrawal from, 107, 109
cial Science (FAFO)	proposed principles on, 207–208
Fahmy, Nabil, 150–151	Gold, Dore, 120, 128, 138
Fakhr, Ahmad, 121, 129	in ACRS talks, 128, 129
Fateh movement, 10, 13, 17, 32, 39,	Goldberg, Eliot, 87, 112
61, 76, 78	Goldman, Nahum, 19
Feldman, Shai, 18n.8, 120n.4,	government sponsors, 154–155, 156,
120–121, 128, 129	168. See also sponsors
final status issues, Stockholm talks	Norway, 49–52
on, 71–90	Sweden, 88–89
FIS. See Foundation for Interna-	Grace, Brewster, 115
tional Security (FIS)	Granot, Elazar, 22

Grinevsky, Oleg, 119	I
group dynamics, 175–176	ICPME. See Israeli Council for
Gulf Cooperation Council states,	Peace in the Middle East
124	(ICPME)
Gulf War (1991), 34, 158, 159,162	ideas
Gur, Mordechai, 63, 67, 129, 143,	marketing, 184
151	testing, 143–144, 190–191
	ideological exchanges, 171
	impasses, 191–192
Н	informality, 169–170
Hamas movement, 15, 35, 95, 99, 159, 179	information exchanges, 142–143, 190–191
Oslo talks and, 31–32	Initiative for Peace and Cooperation
Hammami, Said, 11-12, 13, 43n.8,	in the Middle East (IPCME),
148	103–113, 139, 151, 152, 155–156,
Hansen, Lynn, 119	161, 163, 165, 166, 169, 172, 174,
Hansen Foundation, 22	182, 183
Harel, Israel, 96, 99	conflict resolution in, 139, 140
Harevan, Aluf, 21	Hebron massacre and, 159
Harakabi, Yehoshafat, 22	idea testing in, 144
Harvard University, 135	leaks from,187, 188
Kelman project, 25–27, 158, 169,	message exchanges in, 142
171, 183	monographs from, 3–4
Hassan, Crown Prince, 128, 150,	Oslo talks and, 166
153	proposed principles from,
Hauser, Rita, 32–33	207–208
Hebron accords (1997), 100	on weapons of mass destruction,
Hebron massacre, 158, 159	124
Heiberg, Marianne, 49	Institute for Applied Social Science
Hirschfeld, Yair, 29	(FAFO), 49–50
in Oslo talks, 37–38, 41, 42,	Institute for Global Conflict and Co-
48,163,174	operation (IGCC), 115, 146
meeting with Abu Ala', 44, 45,	Institute for World Politics, 22
50 Stockholm talks and 71, 77, 80	Institut Française des Relations Internationales (IFRI), 115
Stockholm talks and, 71, 77–80, 81	
Holst, Johan Jurgen, 49, 51–53, 88	intellectual ownership issues, 172 International Institute for Higher
hot lines, 95	Studies in Criminal Sciences
Hussein, King, 16, 84n.7, 30–31,	(ISISC), 116, 124, 127, 131, 132,
153	140, 149, 153–154, 163–164
Hussein, Saddam, 34, 117, 159, 162	international support, 12–13
Husseini, Feisal, 23, 24, 37	intifada (1987)
Oslo talks and, 29, 49	effects of in talks, 158
Stockholm talks and, 78, 81	genesis of talks and, 134
• •	,

ıntıfada (1987) (continued)	J
Oslo talks and, 31–32, 35	Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies,
PLO's diplomatic approach after,	59, 60, 61, 79, 119, 120, 122, 128,
14–15	138, 140, 154
intifada (2000)	Jerusalem, 83
AAAS talks and, 68–69	final status issues, 74–75, 84
Israeli settlements and, 101	housing project in, 161
Oslo talks and, 55–56	Jihad, Abu, 13, 17, 23, 43
IPCME. See Initiative for Peace and	Jirhis, Sabri, 12
Cooperation in the Middle East	Jordan
(IPCME)	in ACRS talks, 128
IPCRI. See Israel Palestine Center	Crown Prince Hassan, 128, 150,
for Research and Information	153
(IPCRI)	IPCME talks on, 106
Iran, Israeli contacts with, 139.	Israeli attitude toward, 16
Iraq. See also Hussein, Saddam	Rabin's views on, 18
IPCME talks on, 106	Jordan River Valley, 84, 86
Kuwait invasion by, 116–117,	Juul, Mona, 49, 51
158	year, 1.101m, 15, 61
Iraq-Iran War (1980–88), 116	
Israel	K
early attitude of, 15–16	Kamal, Said, 18
elections, effects of, 160–161	Kass, Drora, 32–33
idea testing by, 143–144	Kedumim, 96, 98
initial PLO contacts with, 17–	Kelman, Herbert, 25–27, 135
19	Kemp, Geoffrey, 115, 120
nuclear options and, 130–131	Khalaf, Salah. See Iyyad, Abu
Oslo talks concessions by, 30	Khalidi, Ahmad, vii, 66n.5
Peace Now movement in, 19–	in AAAS talks, 59-62, 65
20	Project "Charlie" and, 97
PLO contact with banned, 19–20,	Stockholm talks and, 71, 77–80,
136–138	81–82
right of return, 73	Kissinger, Henry, 11, 32
sequencing concepts and, 132	Kreiski, Bruno, 12–13
Israel Council for Israel-Palestine	Kurtzer, Dan, 52–54, 112
Peace (ICIPP), 12	Kuwait invasion, 116–117, 158
Israeli Council for Peace in the	,
Middle East (ICPME), 14, 19	
Israel Palestine Center for Research	L
and Information (IPCRI)	Labor Party, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21,
AAAS talks and, 58	21n.11, 22, 35, 44, 46, 48, 65, 75,
Is-Shalom, David, 23–25	76, 84, 85, 85n.8, 86, 87,
Ivri, David, 129, 130	88, 92, 97, 101, 145, 165, 194
Iyyad, Abu, 13, 14, 18, 43, 61	"land for peace" formula, 9, 126
-, ,,,,,,,,	

language issues, 177 Larsen, Terje, 29, 29n.1, 49–51, 52 leaders, 151–154 AAAS talks and, 63–67, 68 access to, 180 definition of, 4 IPCME talks and, 108 Oslo talks and, 44–49 participant relationships with, 180–181 Project "Charlie" and, 99–100 Stockholm talks and, 76 leakage, 186–188. See also secrecy Lebanon civil war in, 14 deportation of Hamas activists to, 64 in IPCME talks, 4, 108, 140 Operation Grapes of Wrath, 83, 85 Palestinians in, 15, 16, 34 Syria's role in, 105, 191 Lebanon War (1982), 134 Israeli attitude after, 19–20 Leonard, James, 123 Levite, Ariel, 128, 129 Levran, Aharon, 105 Lewis, Samuel, 112 Likud Party, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 34, 56, 75, 75n.1, 85, 92, 97, 100, 101, 129, 145, 148, 165, 179, 188, 194, limits, understanding, 181	Gaza first/plus and, 23, 141 as mentor, 41, 62, 149, 150, 153 in Oslo talks, 42–44, 45, 46on Oslo, 33, 52 Stockholm talks and, 78, 80, 81–82, 85–87, 89, 174, 187 media coverage, 5–6 IPCME talks and, 109–110 Project "Charlie" and, 100–101 mediators, in Oslo, 51–52. See also mentors Mendelsohn, Everett, 59–62, 67 Mendes-France, Pierre, 12, 19 mentors, 149–151 AAAS talks, 62–63, 68 ACRS talks, 128, 129–131 definition of, 4–5 importance of, 89, 113 Oslo talks, 41–44 participant relationships with, 180–181 Project "Charlie," 99–100 Stockholm talks, 80–82, 81–82 Meretz party, 20, 44 Mershon Center, 116, 119 message exchanges, 141–142 misperceptions, 161–162 misrepresentation, 185–186 Mitzna, Amram, 79 Moghrabi, Fouad, 26 Mubarak, Hosni, 40, 46, 118, 153 multilateral talks, 115–132 Mussa, Amr, 153
M Madrid Peace Conference (1991) Oslo talks and, 34–35, 36 Syrian-Israeli talks and, 104 Mansour, Camille, 26 marketing, 184	N Netanyahu, Benjamin, 7, 120n.3, 160–161,165 Gold and, 120, 129, 138 government, 75, 85n.8, 101, 161, 188, 192
Mazin, Abu, 13, 14, 24, 61, 120n.3 AAAS talks and, 60, 64, 65 Asfour and, 39–40	networking, 119–120, 123, 136, 138, 146, 168, 175 1967 War, UNSCR 242 and, 9

Nidal, Abu, 13 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 2, 154–155, 156, 157 ACRS talks and, 116 FAFO, 49–50 roles of, 138 Novik, Nimrod, 79–80 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Review and Extension Conference (1995), 118 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), 118, 153 Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ), 123 Nusseibeh, Sari, 22, 23–25	Palestinian Authority (PA) AAAS talks and, 68–69, 141–142 established, 7 Project "Charlie" and, 92 Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) danger facing talk participants from, 23, 147–148 early attitude of, 13–15 first intifada and diplomacy of, 14–15 goal reappraisal by, 10–11 initial Israeli contact with, 17–19 on IPCME talks, 110 Israeli contact with banned, 19–20 Israeli settler talks with, 91–101
O October 1973 war, 9 Olof Palme International Center, 87–88, 154–155 Ontell, Bob, 22–23, 141, 158 Operation Grapes of Wrath, 83, 85 Oslo talks, 29–56 authority in, 40–41 conflict resolution in, 139, 140 DOP from, 29–31, 197–199 IPCME talks and, 166	leaders' attitudes of, 152–153 legitimization of, 32–33, 135–136 Oslo talks concessions by, 29–30 outsiders and insiders in, 15–16 Stockholm talks and, 85–87 Syria and, 14 view of Track-II talks of, 144 Palestinian National Council (PNC), 12, 14–15 Algiers decision by, 32 participants, 1, 146–149, 173–181. See also leaders; mentors; spon-
Kelman project and, 26–27 leaders and, 44–49 mentors in, 41–44 operational agreements from, 76 participants in, 37–41, 146, 189 political ripeness for, 31–37 sponsors of, 49–52, 155 Stockholm talks and, 75–76 U.S. involvement in, 52–54 Oz, Amos, 79	sors AAAS talks, 59–62 adding, 173 agreeing on numbers of, 174–175 APA conference, 21 asymmetry between, 113 Brookings Institution conference, 21 flexibility of, 148–149 group dynamics and, 175–176 ideological differences among,
P Pail, Meir, 12 Palestine statehood of, 72–73, 83	178–180 independence of, 149 IPCME talks, 110–111, 113 Kelman project, 26 mentors/leaders and, 180–181

misperceptions about, 162	evaluation of, 100–101
motivations of, 146-148	Israeli elections and, 160-161
non-official, 189	mentors in, 149–150
Ontell project, 22	political environment for, 92–95
Oslo talks, 37–41	publications
private individuals as, 146–147	from IPCME talks, 3–4
Project "Charlie," 96–98	ownership of, 172
qualifications of, 176–177	writing, 182–184
risk taking by, 147–148	PUGWASH, 115
selecting, 173–174	Pundik, Ron
Stockholm talks, 77–80	in Oslo talks, 37-38, 40, 41, 42,
text preparation by, 183–184	48, 53, 163, 174
unequal status of, 148	Stockholm talks and, 71, 72,
unintended consequences of,	77–80, 81
164–166	purpose, defining, 171
widening the pool of, 177–178	
Peace Now movement, 19-20	
Peled, Matityahu, 12, 13	Q
people-to-people exchanges, 79	Quandt, William, 21, 32
Peres, Shimon, 17, 18, 38n.4, 54,	Qurei', Ahmad, See Ala', Abu
84n.7, 98, 160,	
AAAS talks and, 62-63, 63, 64-65	
Beilin and, 37, 42, 44, 72, 84, 185	R
Jordan and, 16	Rabbat Arab summit (1974), 10
Novik and, 79–80	Rabie, Muhammed, 32
Oslo talks and, 41, 46–49, 50,	Rabin, Yitzhak
51–52	AAAS talks and, 62-63, 63, 64-65,
prohibition against Israeli-PLO	143
contact and, 137	assassination of, 72, 83, 90, 160
Rabin and, 46–49	attitude of toward Track-II,
Stockholm talks and, 80, 82-85,	151–152
90, 160	Beilin and, 42, 72
personal relationships, 119–120, 123,	early attitude of toward PLO,
136, 138, 168, 175	17–19
political environment, 157–161. See	IPCME talks and, 109, 151, 166
also context	Oslo talks and, 35–36, 46–49,
Prawitz, Jan, 123	51–52, 54, 55, 185
problem solving, personal, 145–146,	Peres and, 46–49
176–177. See also conflict resolu-	prohibition against Israeli-PLO
tion	contact and, 137
Project "Charlie," 91–101, 145–146	Project "Charlie" and, 97
Charter for Good Neighborly Re-	Stockholm talks and, 78–79, 80,
lations from, 205–206	82–85
concerns in 92–95	tactical interests of, 145

Ramadan, Muhammad, 21 Ramon, Haim, 44, 48–49 recognition, gaining, 32–33, 135– 136 reconnaissance, 190–191 red lines, 93 right of return, 73 risk taking, 147–148, 176, 180–181 Rosecrance, Richard, 123 Ross, Dennis, 112 Rothschild, Danny, 78–79 Rubinstein, Elyakim, 64–65 rules of engagement, 171–173	abuse of, 185–186 in "hard" talks, 4 IPCME talks and, 109–110 leaks and, 186–188 Oslo talks and, 45–46, 52–54 secret diplomacy, 2 security issues AAAS talks on, 57–69 IPCME talks on, 107, 108 threat perceptions, 121–122 self-interest, 100 Senoira, Hanna, 22, 23 Sephardic Jews, 14, 43, 44 Shaath, Nabil, 21, 57, 65, 81, 162,
S	Shahid, Leila, 21, 26
Sabra and Shatilla massacre, 19	Shamir, Shimon, 21, 26
Sadaan, Ezra, 21	Shamir, Yitzhak, 17, 18
Sadat, Anwar, 11, 20	Amirav and, 24–25
Saguy, Uri, 67	Israeli/PLO contact outlawed by,
Sarid, Yossi, 20, 187	19–20
Sartawi, Issam, 12, 13, 43, 148	in Madrid talks, 34-35
Savir, Uri, 38, 41, 44, 48, 52, 53, 64,	Sharon, Ariel, 19, 26, 56
84n.7, 174, 189	Sheinbaum, Stanley, 32–33
Sayed, Abdulhay, 121–122	Shikaki, Khalil, 59–62, 97
Sayigh, Yezid, 26, 59-62, 97, 99	Shiyyab, Muhammed, 129
Schiff, Zeev, vii, 22, 26	Schori, Pierre, 81
in AAAS talks, 59-62, 65	Shukri, Aziz, 104
in ACRS talks, 129	Singer, Joel, 38, 48, 52, 53, 63, 66n.4,
Project "Charlie" and, 98	163, 173, 174, 189
Stockholm talks and, 78-79	slippery slopes, 190
Schild, Ozer, 96	Sneh, Ephraim, 21, 26, 65, 162, 187
Schultz, George, 32, 33	socializing, 168
Search for Common Ground. See	Söder, Sven-Eric, 88
also Initiative for Peace in the	solutions, finding, 181–182
Middle East (IPCME)	Soviet Union, dissolution of, 34–35,
ACRS talks, 116	116
Israeli-Syrian talks, 103–113	Spiegel, Steven, 115, 123
Stockholm talks and, 77–79	sponsors, 2, 154–157, 168–169
on weapons of mass destruction,	AAAS talks, 67
124	academic, 2, 20–21
secrecy, 112, 172–173, 184–186. <i>See</i>	clarifying role of, 172
also media coverage	definition of, 4
AAAS talks and, 64–65	intrusion by, 155–156, 169

IPCME talks, 111–112	establishing contact in, 137
Oslo talks, 49–52, 87–88	London, 105–106
Project "Charlie," 98–99	misperceptions in, 161-162
Stockholm talks, 77–79, 87–89	Oslo, 108–109
Statement on Arms Control and Re-	participants, 103–104
gional Security, 118	Rome, 106–107
Stein, Shimon, 129	Salzburg, 106
Steinberg, Gerald, 128	Stockholm talks and, 76
Stockholm International Peace Re-	
search Institute (SIPRI), 116,	
139	T
Stockholm talks, 71–90	tactical interests, 145–146
Abu Mazin-Beilin agreement, 75,	Tamari, Salim, 26
82, 86, 89, 186, 187, 194	Tamir, Avraham, 17–18
agreements from, 72–75as bench-	Tamir, Yael, 26
mark, 75	Telhami, Shibli, 59–62
conflict resolution in, 139-140	terrorism, effects of, 158–160
evaluation of, 89–90	texts, 172, 182–184
final working papers from,	third parties, 154-157. See also spon
202–204	sors
leaders and, 82–87	influencing, 144-145
mentors for, 80–82	threat perceptions, 121–122
participants in, 77–80	Tibi, Ahmed, 48–49
political environment and, 75–77	timetables, 172
sponsors of, 87–89, 155	Toukan, Abdullah, 129
Stoltenberg, (need first name), 50,	Track-I talks, 2–3
53	ACRS, 117–118
surprise attacks, fears of, 105, 107,	compared with Track-II, 188–191
108	impasses in, 191–192
Swedish Labor Party, 49, 88	moving to from Track II, 193
Syria	parallel, 192
in ACRS talks, 125–126	Track-II talks and, 163–164
concerns of, 103-104	Track-1 1/2 talks, 2–3, 192
idea testing by, 144	Track-II talks
in IPCME talks, 142, 143, 152,	balance of power and, 195
161, 163, 165, 166, 172, 182, 188	compared with Track I, 188–191
leaders' attitudes of, 152	conflict resolution in, 139-141
PLO and, 14	definition of, 1–3
prohibition against Israeli-Syrian	early contacts in, 9–27
talks by, 109	evolving purpose in, 112
Stockholm talks and, 84	gaining information through,
threat perceptions of, 121-122	142–143
Syrian-Israeli talks, 9–10, 85	gaining recognition in, 135-136
Airlie House, 105	genesis of, 133–135
Athens and Istanbul, 107-108	hard vs. soft, 3-5

Track-II talks (continued)	United States
incentives for, 133–134	AAAS talks and, 67
influencing third parties in,	Arab view of, 126
144–145	establishing contact with, 137-138
inner track, 60	evaluation of, 54–56
judging the success of, 5, 193-195	government support by, 155-157
leaders and, 151–154	influencing, 144–145
leakage from, 186–188	IPCME talks and, 107
limitations of, 89–90	Oslo talks and, 45
making contact through, 136-139	in Oslo talks, 52–54
mentors in, 149–151	PLO legitimization and, 32-33
method and substance in,	University of California at Los An-
181–184	geles (UCLA), 116, 123, 146
moving to Track-I from, 193	unsanctioned action, 180–181
parallel, 192	urgency, 76
participants in, 146–149, 173–181	U.S. Arms Control and Disarma-
political environment and,	ment Agency (ACDA), 156
157–161	U.S. Department of Energy, 155
problems facing, 112-113, 161-	U.S. Jewish community, 32,137–
166	138
procedure in, 169-173	
purposes of, 3-5, 135-146	
secrecy in, 184-186	V
sending messages in, 141-142	venting phase, 159
soft, 27, 100–101	Village Leagues, 15
sponsors and third parties in,	violence, 133, 158–160
154–157	
tactical interests and personal	
problem solving in, 145–146	W
testing ideas in, 143–144	Waldman, Avraham, 96
Track-I talks and, 163–164	Washington Institute for Near East
unintended consequences of,	Policy, 104Wazir, Khalil. See Ji-
164–166	had, Abu
value of, 6–8	Weapons-of-Mass-Destruction-Free
trust, 180	Zone (WMDFZ), 118, 124,
Turkey, 88, 128	140–141, 164
two-state solution, 10, 11–12, 14–15	Weinberger, Naomi, 59–62
Tzuker, Dudi, 20	West Bank
	in AAAS talks, 57–69
TT	Israeli closures of, 159–160
U	settler-PLO talks, 91–101
United Nations Security Council	Village Leagues, 15
Resolution (UNSCR) 242, 9, 15	Windass, Stan, 58
United Nations Security Council	Woolsey, James, 119
Resolution (UNSCR) 338, 9, 10	Wye River Memorandum, 100

Y

Yaari, Ehud, 129 Yariv, Aharon, 21 Yatom, Danny, 92 \mathbf{Z}

Zadok, Haim, 22 Zakheim, Dov, 112 Zohar, Gadir, 78–79