**Reference material**

**for *One Brief Miracle: The Diplomat, the Zealot, and the Wild Blundering Siege***

(abridged e-book edition of a full hardback edition originally published in 2002 as *Cursed Is the Peacemaker)*

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Sources and Bibliography

 This book is based almost entirely on primary sources: declassified government documents and interviews and oral histories with participants in the events described. I have donated the declassified documents to the National Security Archive at The George Washington University and recordings of my interviews to the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

 When working from declassified documents, I occasionally adapt a quote from the written record. For example, Habib might say in a cable “I told Sharon I could not accept that.” I might then quote Habib telling Sharon, “I cannot accept that.” Likewise, I sometimes alter punctuation for the sake of clarity. Such adaptations are infrequent, do not change the meaning, and are acknowledged in the endnotes.

 Many of my sources are transcribed records of oral conversations. I treat oral sources a little differently from written sources. People do not use capitalization or punctuation when they speak, and the various transcribers use a wide variety of conventions about things like capitalization and punctuation. So I sometimes adapt such things for the sake of clarity and consistency. State Department transcripts of Habib’s conversations often bowdlerize his characteristic profanity, according to Charlie Hill, the official to whom he was usually talking. Based on Hill’s guidance, I often put the profanity back in.

 A given source would often talk about a particular point or tell a story more than once. In such cases, I often use the common journalistic practice of taking parts from one telling and parts from another by that source and weaving them together into a single cohesive quote. That is for a single source. Often I have several sources for a particular incident, and those sources often give multiple and varying accounts. For example, Habib told the story of his June 12, 1982, confrontation with Menachem Begin several times, and a little differently each time. Morris Draper and Nathaniel Howell also have their accounts of that confrontation. In such cases, I analyze all of the accounts, distill from them my own account of what happened, and use the endnotes to explain any notable wrinkles.

 How and when to use quotation marks is a judgment call, so let me spell out the practice I have tried to follow. Virtually every thought and piece of information in this book is based on material from some source. I generally put sources’ words in quotation marks. But there comes a point at which quotation marks would so pepper the text as to do more harm than good by becoming obtrusive. The problem would be compounded by having to include the name and further identification of each source—often two or three for a single sentence—even when the name of the source is irrelevant to the point at hand.

 So my practice is to use quotation marks when the source’s words are particularly colorful or eloquent or otherwise distinctive, when they express a strong opinion, or when they say something that clearly needs to be associated with them rather than with me. I do not use quotation marks, however, when picking up more pedestrian information: “Phil didn’t talk to the press,” for example, may be verbatim what some source said, but in my judgment does not warrant quotation marks because it is just a plain vanilla piece of information. Whether quotation marks are used or not, I carefully identify each source in the endnotes.

 In all of these judgment calls, my guide has been clarity for the general reader. Scholars and other serious readers should treat the endnotes as an intrinsic part of the text, since that is where I present explanations and elaboration and subplots, detail the sources, and note any significant disagreements among sources.

 The manuscript has been reviewed for accuracy by several of my principal sources.

**INTERVIEWS**

This list includes everyone I interviewed for the original full hardback book except for some who asked not to be identified by name. Some of these were sources about Philip Habib’s years prior to or following his Middle East mission. The abridged e-book edition omits most of that material. Recordings of most of these interviews are housed in the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

Arias Sánchez, Oscar

Armacost, Michael

Ashley, Fred

Atherton, Alfred (Roy)

Ball, George

Barrett, Robert

Beinin, Joel

Beyda, Joe

Bider, Lori

Boschwitz, Rudolph

Boulos, Al

Brown, Fred Z.

Bundy, William

Burns, John

Buss, Claude

Cheitlin, Melvin

Colby, William

Conroy, Raymond

Crocker, Ryan

Dean, John Gunther

Dillon, Robert

Djerejian, Edward

Draper, Morris

Duly, Gilda

Dusclaud, Michel

Eagleburger, Lawrence

Easterbrook, Paul

Eilts, Herman

Gaucher, Edward

Geske, Graydon

Grazi, Jack

Green, Marshall

Grove, Brandon

Habib, Alice

Habib, Marjorie

Habib, Philip

Habib, Phyllis

Haig, Alexander

Hall, Winifred

Hamilton, John

Helble, John

Hendee, John

Hill, Charles

Holbrooke, Richard

Howell, Nathaniel

Jabara, Evelyn

Jabara, Raymond

Jacobs, Joseph

Johnston, Robert

Jungel, Paul

Kadishai, Yehiel

Katzenbach, Nicholas

Kerlek, George

Kim, Eva

Kirby, William

Kissinger, Henry

Kliewer, Betty

Kliewer, Robert

Kreczko, Alan

Kuehner, Roy

Lake, Anthony

Lantos, Tom

Lee, Faith

Lewis, Samuel

Lugar, Richard

Marbach, Marty

Matthews, John

McArthur, George

McManaway, Clay

McNaughton, Finley

Mead, James

Michaels, Susan Habib

Miller, Robert

Miller, Thomas J.

Moore, Elaine Habib

Murphy, Elva

Negroponte, John

O’Donohue, Daniel

Orebaugh, Walter

Owen, Robert

Paganelli, Robert

Parker, Richard

Pascoe, Dorothy

Pell, Claiborne

Rockefeller, David

Rosenthal, James

Rusk, Dean

Santé, Henry

Saunders, Harold

Sehulster, James

Shepard, William

Shultz, George

Sicherman, Harvey

Slusher, Edward

Smith, Charles

Solarz, Stephen

Spiridon, George

Sullivan, William

Tarnoff, Peter

Toomey, Isabelle Spiridon

Tueni, Ghassan

Vance, Amy

Vance, Cyrus

Veliotes, Nicholas

Ward, Robert

Weinberger, Caspar

Weyand, Frederick

Wharton, David

Whitehouse, Charles

Wisner, Frank

Yaacobi, Gad

Zorthian, Barry

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Brown, Dean

Brown, Frederick Z.

Burke, John

Cumming, Isabel

Dillard, Dianne

Dillon, Robert

Draper, Morris

Du Vivier, Paul

Eilts, Hermann

Fairbanks, Richard

Green, Marshall

Grove, Brandon

Habib, Philip C.

Hummel, Arthur

Keeley, R.

Koren, H.

Lacey, J.

Lehmann, Wolf

Levine, Robert Don

Lewis, Samuel

McDonald, D.

Miller, Robert

Pike, Douglas

Ryan, Robert

Sigur, Gaston

Sisco, Joseph

Sober, Sidney

Underhill, Frank

Veliotes, Nicholas

Vest, George S.

*From the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library*

Bruce, K.E. David. AC 73-39

Bundy, William P. AC 74-187

Dillon, D. Douglas. AC 74-12

Harriman, W. Averell.

Katzenbach, Nicholas D. AC 78-24

Rusk, Dean. I through IV, AC 74-245

Vance, Cyrus R.

Zorthian, Barry. AC 79-45; AC 82-37; AC 84-63; AC 84-64, 84-65

**PHILIP HABIB INTERVIEWS**

With John Boykin, 12-20-83 and 1-10-84. An edited version appeared in *The Stanford Magazine,* Spring 1984.

With Michel Dusclaud, published in French in *Politique Internationale,* no. 28,  *édition d’été* 1985; translated for the author by Susan Bree

With Stuart E. Eizenstat, 5-13-92

With Harry Kreisler, 5-14-82, Conversations with History, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley. “The Work of Diplomacy: Conversation with Philip Habib.”

With Edward Mulcahy, 5-25-84 and 5-29-84 for the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training’s Foreign Affairs Oral History Program, housed at the Lauinger Library, Georgetown University

With Richard Parker, 5-9-90, for Parker’s book *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East.* Parker had been ambassador to Lebanon.

With Ghassan Tueni, 6-28-87. This interview was intended to be the basis of Habib’s memoirs. The idea was that his good friend Tueni, publisher of *An-Nahar* newspaper in Beirut and Lebanon’s former ambassador to the UN, would publish the memoirs. Nothing came of the project after this interview.

**GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS**

Hundreds of cables and other individual documents too numerous to cite individually here, declassified by the State Department, National Security Council, FBI, and other agencies. Each is cited in the notes by city of origin, number, and date/time. Most cables cited use military time, with a 24-hour clock, so 21 means 9 p.m. *Z* stands for “Zulu,” shorthand for Greenwich Mean Time. Example: 062147Z Jul 82 means July 6, 1982, at 9:47 p.m. GMT. I have donated the documents to the National Security Archives at The George Washington University.

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*Foreign Affairs, The New York Times, The New Yorker, Newsweek, State, Time, The Washington Post*

*Of special note*

Philip Habib’s friend and early colleague Gilda Duly collected six albums full of wire service stories about him over the years, mostly from various Florida newspapers, and sent them to Marjorie Habib.

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**SPECIAL COLLECTIONS**

Habib, Philip, private collection of scrapbooks, memorabilia, books, and other materials in his home office, which Marjorie Habib kindly made freely available to me

Haldeman, H.R., meeting notes in National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials

Harriman, Averell, papers in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division

Nixon Presidential Materials, National Archives

POW-MIA Files, National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials

**UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS**

Bundy, William P., on events of 1968 about Vietnam. At the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Lewis, Samuel, untitled, about Habib’s Middle East work