Contents

Acknowledgments *page* xi

1 Security Threatened 1
Israeli Opinion on Peace and War 1
Surveying the Israeli Public, 1962–1994 3
Policy Making in a Democracy 10
Measuring Opinion 14
Themes 18

2 Overcoming Threat 24
Threat 24
Arab Aspirations 24
Talk or Fight 28
Right to the Land 29
Ladder Ratings 33
The General Population 33
Two Special Samples 43
To Overcome 46
The General Population 46
The 1987–1988 Panel 48
The 1990 Samples 51

3 Peace and War 54
Making Peace 54
War and Peace 54
Wanting Peace 57
The Nature of Peace 60
The Israel Defense Forces 62
Making War 65
Initiating War 65
Terror and Terrorists 66

Policy in the Territories 68
Nuclear Weapons 70
Wars 74
Lebanon 74
Intifada 78
The Gulf War 81
The Peace Accord 88

4 Change in Security Attitudes 91
Attitudes 91
Nine Security Attitudes 93
Territories 94
Citizen Rights for Palestinians in the Territories 104
A Palestinian State 105
The PLO 105
Transfer 108
Talk or Fight 110
International Peace Conference 111
Security versus the Rule of Law 111
Effect on Israel Defense Forces 112
The Policy Scale 112
Background Variables 114
Attitude Change: A Panel Design 119

5 Politics 129
Elections 129
Voting Change 134
Issues and Demography 140
Issues and the Territories 142
Demography and Ethnicity 145
Valence, Position, and Wedge Issues 151
Party Images and Candidates 158

6 A People Apart 161
At Risk 161
Patterns of Thought and Belief 163
Rationality 163
Religion 166
Mechanisms Facilitating Tenacity 168
Perceived Success: The Importance of U.S. Aid 168
Denial 171
Differentiation 172

The People Apart Syndrome 173
Two Constructs: God-and-Us and Go-It-Alone 173
Interrelations 176
Path Analyses 181
The Intersection of Mind-Sets 182

7 Threat and Policy 187
Exploring a Model in Two Domains 187
Security 189
Religion 195
Threats Compared 199
Belief Under Stress: The Gulf War 205

8 Values 209
Values and Value Hierarchies 209
Value Priorities and Change 212
Political and Ideological Structure of Value Priorities 216
Value Priorities and Policy Preferences 224

9 Democracy 231
Democracy and the Rule of Law 231
Leadership and Leaders 236
Doing Democracy 246

10 Conclusions 254

Appendix I. The Samples 272
Appendix II. Policy Scale Questions 274
Notes 280
Bibliography 288
Index 304