**Book Proposal:**

**The Six Days that Changed Saudi Arabia: The Seeds of Israel-Saudi Arabia Normalization**

1. **What is the Book About?**

The Six-Day War constituted a pivotal moment in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although the hostilities spanned merely six days, the war precipitated significant and far-reaching repercussions for the region, the effects of which persist into the present day.

The book-The Six Days that Changed Saudi Arabia: The Seeds of Israeli-Saudi Normalization,describes the impact of the Six-Day War on Saudi Arabia's perception and policy towards Israel during and after the war. It also presents the political, economic, and internal costs Saudi Arabia incurred as a result of the war. The book also details the political and economic strategies Saudi Arabia developed to balance its commitment to Israel's allies, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, which provided it with security, against the demands of the Arab and Muslim world to punish the countries supporting Israel.

Above all, the book offers a unique perspective on Saudi Arabia's long standing view towards Israel. It highlights Saudi Arabia's early calls for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict through the establishment of both a Jewish and a Palestinian state immediately following the Six-Day War, a stance that remains relevant today as both nations seek to reach a historic normalization agreement.

1. **The main themes and Objectives:**

**The book offers two perspectives of the War:**

**From the Israeli perspective:** the book discusses Saudi Arabia's efforts to assist the Arab countries against Israel. It seeks to describe how Saudi Arabia "contributed" to the military effort against Israel. For example, the book describes the movement of Saudi forces to the Jordanian border and the Arab world's dispute, as well as Saudi Arabia's internal criticism of the limited involvement in combat. For Example, the book introduces the kingdom's involvement in the war through the passage of Egyptian planes through its territory for refueling purposes and Saudi Arabia's considerations in not deploying large forces for direct warfare against Israel. The book also discusses the status of the islands Sanafir and Tiran, which were under Saudi ownership and passed to Israel following the war. It describes Saudi Arabia's reaction to their domination by Israel and its dialogue with Americans to regain them. In doing so, the book explores Israel's relations with the major powers—the United States and Britain—before and during the war and how these influenced relations with Saudi Arabia, an important ally of theirs in the region.

The book also presents the Saudi perception of Israel, both directly in post-war conferences and through private conversations between the king, his aides, and foreign officials. The compelling documents present a unique perspective towards Israel immediately after the war, recognizing it as a Jewish state. They also reveal a deep understanding that, unlike Egypt and Yemen from Saudi Arabia's perspective, Israel did not pose a threat to the region. Alongside this, tensions arose between the Jewish world and King Faisal, which personally influenced his views on Zionism and Jewish entities in general before and after the war.

**From the Saudi Perspective:** The book’s purpose is to describe the impact of the Six-Day War on Saudi Arabia. How did the war affect the various spheres in the kingdom, especially the social, economic, and foreign policy ones. The book claims that the Six-Day War forced Saudi Arabia to undertake a reckoning with itself. Suffering from political isolation due to its disputes with the revolutionary nations, the kingdom could no longer avoid making a decision—or keep to itself. It had no choice but to stand behind the country that only some weeks earlier had bombed Saudi cities and been seen as Saudi Arabia’s major threat—Egypt. The oil industry, which generated unprecedented domestic prosperity, was now required to share in the cost of the war and promote political goals at the expense of immediate revenues in the form of the oil embargo on countries that supported Israel. Solidarity with the greater Arab world and criticism from within compelled Saudi Arabia to take a stand against its important allies, the United States and Great Britain, now accused of causing the Arab defeat. Above all, the kingdom was faced with calculating future risks and challenges because of the British withdrawal from Aden, Yemen. The looming danger from the south required security guarantees from the United States and Great Britain. At the same time, Saudi Arabia felt obliged to throw its weight behind the only issue that managed to stir and unite Saudi public opinion: the Arab–Israeli conflict. Thus, the book illustrates how Israel's discourse and actions in the Arab world influenced the kingdom's mindset and stability during and after the war.

1. **What are you doing differently, or in a more innovative way, or better than existing books?**

A study about Saudi Arabia and the Six-Day War has yet to be written. In addition, The offered book is overwhelmingly based on primary documents, especially American, British, and Israeli, as well as wide-ranging secondary literature. The U.S. sources excel in their social and intra-governing analysis of events in Saudi Arabia and coverage of many internal aspects of the kingdom, with an emphasis on its society, economy, and opposition forces. In contrast, the British sources often describe the regional political powers, Saudi interests in the Middle East and in general, and Saudi ambitions vis-à-vis the world. The Israeli sources are important for completing the picture, helping to understand Saudi Arabia’s position on Israel in the context of the Arab world. The secondary sources expand the picture of events, whether the global oil market or the superpowers’ position on the region following the war.

1. **Detailed synopsis and chapter headings**

**The synopsis:**

It took six days of darkness and light for the God of the Middle East to create the world. It took six days of war to change the region whence its Prophets came. Ironically enough, merely two days after the war’s end, it was the custodians of the Islam’s holiest sites—rigid in their interpretation of God—together with the royalists and conservatives who sketched out the nature of future relations with the Jewish state. Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of the prophet of Islam, its religious scholars having become synonymous with fanaticism and insularity, called for recognition of the state of Israel in exchange for a Palestinian state, doing so with its characteristic reserve. Initially, this was expressed in vague internal statements not accompanied by structured plans, but slowly Saudi Arabia’s initiatives became the Arab world’s semi-formal outlines for achieving an arrangement that would put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Today, these early steps may achieve concrete results, as 2023 witnessed serious discussions on full normalization between Saudi Arabia and Israel. It may be that, at this very moment in time, relations between the two nations are approaching a point that will lead to the signing of a historic peace agreement.

The 1967 war also represented the peak of a crisis, a situation after which everything seemed irreparable and where all those on the Arab side felt that their dreams had come to an end. The war broke out at the height of the tensions between revolutionary states and monarchies, at a time when Arab–Israeli relations were in freefall. Although the war ended with a stinging Arab defeat, it placed the Arab–Israeli conflict at the heart of the regional discourse for decades into the future. It also created the foundation for reconciliation between nations that had teetered on the brink of war, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In hindsight, the war marked the end of revolutionary ideologies and of ambitions for pan-Arabism. Just as importantly, it signaled the rise of the political power of the wealthy nations in the region, first and foremost, Saudi Arabia that now became part of the countries that tried to solve the most complicated conflict in the region - The Arab-Israeli conflict..

**The book consists of five chapters:**

**1. A Kingdom at the Crossroads: King Faisal’s Leadership before the Six-Day War**

The first chapter presents King Faisal's leadership, his unique personality in the Arab arena, and his attitude towards Israel and Jews.

If it is possible to learn anything, even the smallest thing from the past and especially the book at hand it is this: leadership and leaders have tremendous potential for affecting the future of the region and achieving the vision of normalization and possess great ability in maneuvering between local constraints and international considerations. This ability, which is on full display in this book, proved itself in Saudi’s policy as formulated under and after King Faisal in diverse arenas, such as its stance on Israel, its approach to the oil market, and its attitude to domestic social changes, all of which are rooted in the leader’s strength and experience as is evident in the Saudi Arabia of then and now.

**2.**  **Behind Faisal’s Reign: Unraveling Saudi Arabia’s Society, Economy, and Foreign Policy toward Israel and the International Arena on the Eve of the Six-Day War**

The events of the Six-Day War had far-reaching effects on the foreign policy, economic, and internal arenas in Saudi Arabia. This chapter aims to present Saudi Arabia's political stance on Israel, the West, and Middle Eastern countries on the eve of the war. It also seeks to outline King Faisal's economic vision before the war to understand the economic damage Saudi Arabia experienced as a result of the conflict. Additionally, the chapter discusses Saudi Arabia's oil policy prior to the war to comprehend its position on using the Arab oil weapon to weaken Israel and its allies. Finally, the chapter portrays Saudi society on the eve of the war, focusing particularly on opposition elements to understand the background of the unrest that erupted in Saudi Arabia during the war and how it shaped Saudi Arabia's stance during and after the conflict.

**3.** **Saudi Arabian Society: Reactions to the War with Israel during and after the Six-Day War**

Chapter Three presents the Saudi public's stance towards Israel and the war during the conflict. The chapter aims to highlight the immense impact of the domestic response to the events of the war on Saudi Arabia's foreign policy towards Israel, the West, and Arab countries. It describes the erosion of trust between the West and Saudi Arabia following the outbreak of the riots, concerns about government stability, demands for increased Saudi involvement in the war against Israel, and the activities of the Palestinian community against Western entities.

**4.** **The Oil Weapon: A Tool for Advancing Political and Economic War against Israel**

The Six-Day War introduced a new and highly impactful tool against Israel: the oil weapon. For the first time since its establishment, and following numerous threats from neighboring Arab countries, these states used oil to advance their political goals. The embargo imposed by these states had both immediate and far-reaching consequences for Israel and the global energy market. It laid the groundwork for the subsequent boycott during the 1973 War and created significant pressure on Israel from Western powers during and after that conflict. Additionally, it posed a dilemma for Israel's Western supporters, who had to balance their support for Israel with their economic interests.

The aim of the chapter is to present the purpose of the embargo, its impact on Western powers' relations with Israel, and the broader consequences of the embargo on the West. It also examines the initiatives related to the embargo and explores the discourse among Arab states regarding its use and effectiveness in altering Israel's stance. Above all, the chapter describes Saudi Arabia's role in balancing its commitment to the Arab world with its relationships with Western allies and main oil consumers, primarily the U.S. and the U.K.—Israel’s close allies.

5. **Saudi Arabia in the Political Arena during the Six-Day War and Afterward**

In the fifth chapter, the book explores Saudi Arabia’s foreign policy response to the Six-Day War. It details the constraints that prevented Saudi Arabia from participating militarily in the conflict. The chapter also highlights Saudi Arabia’s efforts to promote a settlement with Israel and to foster unity within the Arab world at the 1967 Arab League Summit in Khartoum. It concludes with an analysis of the British withdrawal from Aden and the 1971 announcement of the impending withdrawal from the Arabian Gulf. This transition underscores Saudi Arabia’s focus on regional concerns rather than the Arab-Israeli conflict, despite internal pressures for more economic actions against Israel and the fact that two of its islands, Sanafir and Tiran, were occupied by Israel during the war.

1. **How many tables, diagrams or illustrations do you intend to include? (a rough estimate will suffice).**

Around 6-10 tables and illustrations.

1. **If sample chapters or a draft manuscript are available, please send them or let us know when they will be available.**

I will include Chapter Two, which serves as an introduction to the atmosphere in Saudi Arabia on the eve of the conflict. This chapter examines the social, economic, and political dimensions that were influenced by the war, as well as the prevailing attitudes towards the state of Israel.

1. **How long will your book be? Please provide an estimate of the number of words you intend to write. Does this include references and footnotes?**

The book is anticipated to be approximately 210 pages in length, with an estimated total word count of 72,000 words, inclusive of references and footnotes.

1. **When will you be able to deliver the completed typescript?**

Two months from now.

1. **Definition of the market**

Saudi Arabia stands at the center of global discourse. In recent years, the issue of normalization with Israel has also become a highly significant topic in the context of regional reconciliation. The combination of these factors makes the subject intriguing for a wide audience, including Israelis and Saudis who seek mutual understanding, as well as Middle East scholars focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the relationships between Gulf Arab states and Israel. Given that the book also narrates the story of Saudi Arabia, it is likely to captivate a broad audience interested in the country and its social, economic, and political characteristics. Therefore, in my opinion, the book will be relevant to the general public, business and policy decision-makers, and researchers.

1. **Is it a research monograph which will sell primarily to academic libraries? Or is it a supplementary text for students? (Please give details of courses)**

I believe that since the book addresses a variety of aspects such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel-Saudi relations, Saudi foreign policy, Saudi oil policy, and the relationship between the government and society, it will be a significant text for students in various courses. These include international relations, energy policy, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Gulf studies, and international studies.

1. **Would this subject have international appeal outside of the UK? If so, where?**

I am convinced that the interest in the book will extend beyond researchers and the British public. The combination of Saudi Arabia and Israel against the backdrop of normalization talks has generated significant interest among American government officials and researchers from the United States. Additionally, I believe the book will be in high demand within Saudi Arabia itself, as well as in other Gulf Arab states that are part of or seek to be part of the Abraham Accords.

1. **Is the subject area covered by the book widely taught or researched?**

The book addresses several prominent categories in recent Middle Eastern studies: the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Arab Gulf, Saudi Arabia, the Abraham Accords, and energy security. Given this, I believe the book significantly engages with content areas studied worldwide and of interest to researchers, students, and policymakers.

1. **List of main competing books, their strengths and weaknesses**

There is no book written about Saudi Arabia's involvement in the Six-Day War and the war's impact on its regional status as well as its perception of Israel. In this regard, Michael Oren's book, "Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East," published on June 3, 2003, is perhaps the most acclaimed in the academic world and has also become a bestseller. Given the interest in Saudi Arabia and its normalization with Israel, I would expect this book to generate similar resonance, especially in the Gulf Arab states.

While there is extensive literature on the Six-Day War that continues to be published, it primarily focuses on the countries directly involved in the conflict and less on second-tier states like Saudi Arabia. The following literature review will demonstrate that although the topic has been discussed, it has not received the comprehensive and complete treatment that this book aims to provide:

A study about Saudi Arabia and the Six-Day War has yet to be written. However, in-depth works about King Faisal’s rule and the many challenges the kingdom faced on the eve of the war and afterward do exist. Williard A. Beling’s *King Faisal and the Modernisation of Saudi Arabia* (1980), penned a few years after Faisal’s death, laid the foundation for research into different aspects of the king’s contribution to his nation. Other books have expanded on Beling’s work: Abir Mordechai’s *Saudi Arabia: Society, Government and the Gulf Crisis* (1993) provides a more detailed description of the king’s challenges, strengths, and ambitions, while Joseph A. Kéchichian’s *Faysal: Saudi Arabia’s King for All Seasons* (2008) is probably the most comprehensive contemporary book about the king’s foreign policy, attitudes to the United States, and the great reforms he undertook, as well as his relationship with the royal house. What is lacking in Kéchichian’s book is precisely the aspect that this book seeks to address: primarily, what took place internally and socially during Faisal’s reign and, of course, the events that occurred during the war. A book published some years after Kéchichian’s, Alexei Vasiliev’s *King Faisal: Personality, Faith, and Times* (2013), provides a comprehensive view of the king’s reign and its formative events, including a chapter on the Six-Day War. The book is outstanding regarding its insights into aspects of Faisal’s foreign policy. While it offers wide-ranging knowledge about the road he had traveled before assuming the throne and about his conduct, it focuses primarily on the personal rather than on the broader societal level addressed in the current book.

Studies about the internal discourse and social dynamics in the kingdom during the war are scarce. Most essays deal with pan-Arab opposition movements, communist movements, and internal elements, such as the Shiites and military forces, that participated in anti-government activities over the years preceding the Six-Day War.

An essay by Claudia Ghrawi entitled “A Tamed Urban Revolution: The 1967 Riots in Saudi Arabia’s Oil Conurbation” (2016), affords a relatively extensive discussion about the violent events that erupted in the kingdom during the Six-Day War. The essay presents the social changes that occurred in Saudi Arabia during the 1960s and the socioeconomic background of the riots that broke out during the war. Similar to the current book, this important essay draws on archival sources about the events that occurred in the oil-producing regions during the crisis. However, with the exception of Saudi Arabia’s eastern region, Gharawi’s work focuses little attention on wartime events in the kingdom as a whole. It also lacks a description of intra-Saudi tensions that greatly affected the nation’s decision-makers in the weeks after the war. John Chalcraft’s study, “Migration and Popular Protest in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s,” (2011), offers a good presentation of the forces that constituted a threat to the Saudi kingdom on the eve of the war. This book demonstrates that the forces that were vocally dissatisfied with the regime during this period would later participate in the riots that broke out during the war. Toby Matthiesen’s *The Other Saudis* introduces (2014), the frustrated elements in Saudi Arabian society in the first few decades of the kingdom’s existence, including the foreign workers in the oil fields and the Shiites. It provides a sound foundation for understanding the events that occurred before the war, but other than referring to the internal riots during the course of the war, it does not discuss the topic at any length.

Rosie Bsheer’s important essay “A Counter-Revolutionary State: Popular Movements and the Making of Saudi Arabia” (2018), represents an in-depth look at the genesis of revolutionary movements in the kingdom and the campaign Faisal waged against them. Her study offers insights into the background of the riots and the factors that provoked the internal forces, and briefly mentions what will be discussed extensively in this book—the many arrests of pro-revolutionary forces in the period after the Six-Day War.

There is scant research on the 1967 oil embargo, which began during the war, perhaps because of a paucity of archival sources. The sources that do exist deal primarily with the attitudes of the U.S. administration and British government to the issue, documentation of conversations with the governments that participated in them, and reports by foreign representatives and local attachés about the atmosphere in the oil-producing regions and events in them. Other essays are characterized by attempts to explain the reason for the failure of the oil embargo imposed during the Six-Day War. Perhaps the paucity of literature on the subject stems from the mistaken notion that this embargo achieved nothing; mistaken, because the 1967 embargo was a preview of the 1973 embargo, and its lessons were studied by the nations that imposed it. The most important lesson for a successful embargo and achieving economic goals, such as raising the price of a barrel of oil, was the need for perfect coordination among OPEC members. Of note is the essay “The 1967 Oil Embargo Revisited” by Mohammed Dajanai Daoud and Munther Suleiman Dajani Daoudi (1984), which lays the foundation for studying the topic and tries to emphasize its importance. Unlike that essay, this book focuses primarily on what went on in Saudi Arabia: the intra-Saudi discourse, the various voices in society, and the discussions within the royal house and with the relevant U.S. and British parties, subjects not explored in other studies.

 Great Britain, the two nations the embargo directly harmed. Two examples are Keir Thorpe’s “The Forgotten Shortage: Britain’s Handling of the 1967 Oil Embargo” (2007), and Shane Rowley’s “The Protection of American Oil Interests in the Middle East Following the Six-Day War” (2017). These studies examine the steps the United States and Great Britain took during the embargo and the dialogue they conducted with all the countries involved, including Saudi Arabia. However, these studies do not touch on the atmosphere inside the kingdom, the public and official discourse there about how to relate to these Western nations, and the policy of the royal house toward them during the crisis. Finally, my article “A Reassessment of the 1967 Arab Oil Embargo” (2013), discusses the reasons the embargo had only limited effects on the large oil consumers and how it helped solidify Saudi Arabia’s status. That essay forms the basis of this book’s broad and in-depth chapter on the subject, which also includes some details and insights that were not published in that article.

The literature on the political aspect of the Six-Day War is much deeper and broader. Neil Patrick’s *Saudi Arabian Foreign Policy* (2016) provides a comprehensive assessment of aspects of the kingdom’s foreign policy, from its policy toward its neighbors in the Arabian Gulf to its oil policy. Despite its extensive scope, Patrick’s work lacks a description of the formation of the foreign ministry, the circles that played a role in shaping it, and key parties to the nation’s foreign policy during the period under discussion.

Several books help us understand Saudi Arabia’s political reality before, during, and after the war, a reality that shaped its political perceptions. Thus, for example, Mohammed Abdullah N. Alharbi’s *Saudi Arabia and Communism during the Cold War: King Faisal's Foreign Policy towards the Soviet Union, 1962–1975* (2017),offers an important key to understanding King Faisal’s fear of Soviet influence over nations such as Egypt and Syria. The book also highlights the connection to local Saudi forces that supported the communist forces. Thus, his work discusses some of the internal issues that this book also presents, including the threat presented by pro-revolutionary and communist forces to the kingdom’s stability.

1. **Product category**

I believe this book can serve both researchers and postgraduates. It is certainly suitable for libraries worldwide and for distribution in the Gulf Arab states as an important historical text for understanding the region and its relationship with Israel. Therefore, I would say it caters to senior researchers, students, and decision-makers who seek not only innovative research but also a historical perspective and an understanding of Saudi Arabia.

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1. **Author/contributor profile**

Dr. Yossi Mann is a senior lecturer in Bar -Ilan University and Reichman University- Israel. He served as Head of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Bar-Ilan University and as the Head of the Middle East program in Rechiman University. Dr. Mann specializes in economic and social aspects in the Arab Gulf- especially the oil market and Saudi Arabia’s internal affairs. He has been a research fellow at Oxford University, Renmin University in China, and Gdansk University in Poland and Reichman University, Israel where he specialized in aspects of the Middle East oil market and the Arab Gulf. He also served as a consultant to various energy companies as well as the Prime Minister's office. Over the years, he has taken part in research projects in the field of AI to assess geopolitical risks on the financial markets.