



MARTIN KRAMER

Born 1954 in Washington, D.C. Married, three adult children.

Website: www.martinkramer.org

Contact: via website

PRESENT POSITIONS

- ▶ Wexler-Fromer Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, since 2002.
- ▶ Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center, since 2006.
- ▶ Senior Fellow, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, since 2007.

Administrative

- ▶ Co-convenor, Middle East Strategy at Harvard (MESH), since 2007. [View](#)
- ▶ Administrator, The Washington Institute Book Prize, since 2008. [View](#)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Academic

- ▶ Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1981-85.
- ▶ Senior Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1985-95.
- ▶ Principal Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1995-2005 (now emeritus).

Administrative

- ▶ Associate Director, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1987-95.
- ▶ Director, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1995-2001.
- ▶ Editor, *Middle East Quarterly*, 2001-2004.

EDUCATION

- ▶ A.B. Princeton University, 1975 (*summa cum laude*)—Near Eastern Studies
- ▶ M.A. Columbia University, 1976—History
- ▶ A.M. Princeton University, 1978—Near Eastern Studies
- ▶ Ph.D. Princeton University, 1982—Near Eastern Studies

VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

- ▶ Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University, Spring semester 1984.
- ▶ Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Government and Public Affairs, George Mason University, academic year 1986-87.
- ▶ Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago, Winter quarter 1991.
- ▶ Visiting Associate Professor, Department of History and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago, Winter quarter 1992.
- ▶ Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, academic year 1994-95.
- ▶ Visiting Professor, Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, Spring semester 2002.

SELECT GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS

- ▶ McConnell Scholarship, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1974.
- ▶ Center for Arabic Study Abroad Fellowship, American University in Cairo, 1975.
- ▶ Doctoral Dissertation Research Fellowship, American Research Center in Egypt, 1979.
- ▶ University Fellowships throughout graduate studies at Columbia and Princeton Universities, 1975-81.
- ▶ Visiting DAAD Scholarship, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg, 1986.
- ▶ Research Grant, The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, 1988-90.
- ▶ Research Grant, Ford Foundation, 1988-90.
- ▶ Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1989-90.
- ▶ Visiting DAAD Scholarship, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle, 1993.
- ▶ Fellowship, National Humanities Center, 1994-95 (declined with regret).
- ▶ Public Policy Scholarship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2000.
- ▶ Research Grant, Smith Richardson Foundation, 2006-08.

PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS

1. *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. 250 pp.

[Access](#) via ACLS Humanities E-Book (full text; subscription).

Turkish translation of Chapter Four: "Gasprinskiy'nin 'Dünya Müslümanlan. Kongresi' Teşebbüsü (1907) ve Neticeleri." In *İsmail Bey Gaspralı İçin*, ed. Hakan Kırımlı (Ankara: Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2004), pp. 365-89.



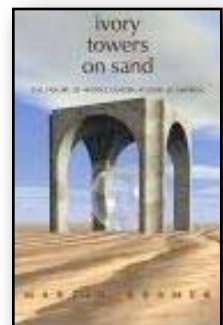
2. *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: The Politics of Ideas in the Middle East*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1996; paperback, 2008. 297 pp.

[Access](#) via Google Book Search (limited preview).



3. *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*. Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001. 137 pp.

[Download](#) (pdf, full text).



PUBLICATIONS: EDITED BOOKS

1. *Protest and Revolution in Shi'i Islam*. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1985; second printing, 1987. 156 pp. [in Hebrew].

2. *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press; London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987. 324 pp. [Access](#) via Questia (full text).

3. *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991. 168 pp.

4. *The Islamism Debate* (=Dayan Center Papers, no. 120). Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997. 178 pp.

5. *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*. Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999. 311 pp.

PUBLICATIONS: MONOGRAPHIC PAPERS

1. *Political Islam*. Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington Paper no. 73, Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1980. 88 pp.
2. *Hezbollah's Vision of the West*. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Paper no. 16, Washington, 1989. 77 pp.
3. *Fadlallah: The Compass of Hizbullah*. The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Dayan Center Paper no. 122, Tel Aviv, 1998. 118 pp. [in Hebrew].

PUBLICATIONS: ARTICLES IN BOOKS AND JOURNALS

1. "Shaykh Maraghi's Mission to the Hijaz, 1925." *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), vol. 16, no. 1 (March 1982), pp. 121-36. [View](#)
2. "The Year of Muslim Diplomacy." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 5: 1980-81 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), pp. 118-47.
3. "Azoury: A Further Episode." *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), vol.18, no. 4 (October 1982), pp. 351-58.
4. "Egypt's Religious Establishment in Crisis." In *Regime and Opposition in Sadat's Egypt*, ed. A. Ayalon (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1983), pp. 93-112 [in Hebrew].
5. "The Muslim Consensus Undone." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 6: 1981-82 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984), pp. 283-307.
6. "The Divided House of Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 7: 1982-83 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), pp. 235-55.
7. "The Shi'i Revival." In *Protest and Revolution in Shi'i Islam*, ed. M. Kramer (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1985), pp. 141-56 [in Hebrew].
8. "Muslim Statecraft and Subversion." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 8: 1983-84 (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1986), pp. 158-82.
9. "Introduction." In *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, ed. M. Kramer (Boulder: Westview; London: Mansell, 1987), pp. 1-18. [Access](#) via Questia
10. "Syria's Alawis and Shi'ism." In *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, ed. M. Kramer (Boulder: Westview; London: Mansell, 1987), pp. 237-54. [View](#). Hebrew translation: "The Alawis and Shi'ite Islam." In *Syria and Israel's National Security*, eds. A. Yaniv, M. Maoz, and A. Kober (Tel Aviv: Maarachot, 1991), pp. 171-84. Turkish translation: "Suriye Alevileri ve Şiilik." *Nefes* (Istanbul), no. 1 (Nov. 1993), pp. 45-52; no. 2 (Dec. 1993), pp. 38-41.

11. "The Routine of Muslim Solidarity." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 9: 1984-85 (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1987), pp. 146-67.
12. "The Structure of Shi'ite Terrorism." In *Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism*, ed. A. Kurz (New York and Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1987), pp. 43-52.
13. "Ambition's Discontent: The Demise of George Antonius." In *The Great Powers and the Middle East 1919-1939*, ed. U. Dann (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1988), pp. 405-16. [View](#)
14. "The Export of Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 10: 1986 (Boulder and London: Westview, 1988), pp. 127-56.
15. "Tragedy in Mecca." *Orbis* (Philadelphia), vol. 31, no. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 231-47. Reprinted in *Sandstorm: Middle East Conflicts and America*, ed. D. Pipes (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 241-67.
16. "Pen and Purse: Sabunji and Blunt." In *The Islamic World From Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, eds. C.E. Bosworth, et al. (Princeton: Darwin, 1989), pp. 771-80. [View](#)
17. "Islam's Enduring Feud." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 11: 1987 (Boulder and London: Westview, 1989), pp. 153-79.
18. "Arabistik and Arabism: The Passions of Martin Hartmann." *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), vol. 25, no. 3 (July 1989), pp. 283-300. [View](#)
19. "Khomeini's Messengers: The Disputed Pilgrimage of Islam." In *Religious Radicalism and Politics in the Middle East*, eds. E. Sivan and M. Friedman (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 174-97. [View](#). French translation: "La Mecque: la controverse du pèlerinage." *Maghreb-Machrek* (Paris), no. 122 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1988), pp. 38-52.
20. "The Moral Logic of Hizballah." In *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, ed. W. Reich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 131-57. [View](#). French translation: "La morale du Hizbollah et sa logique." *Maghreb-Machrek* (Paris), no. 119 (Jan.-Feb.-March 1988), pp. 39-59 (postscript by Jean Leca, pp. 60-64). Turkish translation: "Hizbullah'ın Moral Mantığı." *Dünya ve İslam Dergisi*, Spring 1992, no. 11, pp. 109ff. Spanish translation: "La lógica moral de Hezbolá." In *Orígenes del terrorismo: psicología, ideología, teología, estados mentales*, ed. W. Reich (Barcelona: Pomares-Corregidor, 1994), pp. 145-70.
21. "An Uneasy Truce in Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 12: 1988 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1990), pp. 177-204.
22. "Surveying the Middle East." *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), vol. 24, no. 1 (March 1990), pp. 89-107.

23. "Redeeming Jerusalem: The Pan-Islamic Premise of Hizballah." In *The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World*, ed. D. Menashri (Boulder: Westview, 1990), pp. 105-30.
24. "Introduction." In *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative*, ed. M. Kramer (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp. 1-19.
25. "A Sampler of Biography and Self-Narrative." In *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative*, ed. M. Kramer (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp. 127-43.
26. "Sacrifice and Fratricide in Shiite Lebanon." *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London), vol. 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 30-47. Reprinted in *Violence and the Sacred in the Modern World*, ed. M. Juergensmeyer (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 30-47. [View](#)
27. "The Invasion of Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 14: 1990 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1992), pp. 177-207.
28. "Hizbullah: The Calculus of Jihad." In *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance* (= The Fundamentalism Project, vol. 3), eds. M. Marty and R.S. Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 539-56. Reprinted in *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), vol. 57, no. 8 (May 1994), pp. 20-43. [View](#)
29. "Islam in the New World Order." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 15: 1991 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1993), pp. 172-205.
30. "Arab Nationalism: Mistaken Identity." *Daedalus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), vol. 122, no. 3 (Summer 1993) (=Reconstructing Nations and States), pp. 171-206. [View](#). Spanish translation: "Nacionalismo árabe: una identidad falsa." *Alif Nûn*, nos. 64-66 (October-December 2008). [View](#)
31. "Islam vs. Democracy." *Commentary* (New York), January 1993, pp. 35-42; letters and reply, May 1993, pp. 14-18. [View](#)
32. "Islam & the West (including Manhattan)." *Commentary* (New York), October 1993, pp. 33-37. [View](#)
33. "Where Islam and Democracy Part Ways." In *Democracy in the Middle East: Defining the Challenge*, eds. Y. Mirsky and M. Ahrens (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1993), pp. 31-40.
34. "The Global Village of Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 16: 1992 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1994), pp. 193-226.
35. "Fundamentalism and the Middle East." *The Sydney Papers* (Sydney), Winter 1994, pp. 121-29.

36. "The Sharifian Propaganda of Eugène Jung." In *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: Essays in Honour of the late Professor Uriel Dann*, eds. A. Susser and A. Shmuelovitz (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 31-46.
37. "Rallying Around Islam." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 17: 1993 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1995), pp. 109-53.
38. "The Jihad Against the Jews." *Commentary* (New York), October 1994, pp. 38-42; letters and reply, January 1995, pp. 20, 22. [View](#)
39. "Fundamentalist Islam: The Drive for Power." *Middle East Quarterly* (Philadelphia), vol. 3, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 37-49. [View](#). Hebrew translation: "Islam is the Power of the Future." In *Islam and Democracy in the Arab World*, ed. M. Litvak (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1997), pp. 24-43.
40. "Political Parties and Political Participation in the Middle East." In *Politische Parteien und gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Themenkonferenz Afrika/Nahost* (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1996), pp. 115-34. German translation: "Parteien und demokratischer Wandel in der arabischen Welt." *KAS Auslands-Informationen, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* (Bonn), no. 7 (1996), pp. 47-61. [View](#)
41. "The Arab-Israeli Peace Process." In *The Middle East after the Cold War: Papers and Discussion from the Twenty-Ninth Foreign Policy School, 1994*, eds. W. Harris and L.S. Leland, Jr. (Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1996), pp. 137-52.
42. "The Oracle of Hizbullah: Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah." In *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*, ed. R. S. Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 83-181.
43. "The Mismeasure of Political Islam." In *The Islamism Debate*, ed. Martin Kramer (=Dayan Center Papers, no. 120) (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997), pp. 161-73. [View](#)
44. "The Middle East, Old and New." *Daedalus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), vol. 126, no. 2 (Spring 1997) (=Human Diversity), pp. 89-112. [View](#)
45. "Ballots and Bullets: Islamists and the Relentless Drive for Power." *Harvard International Review* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), Spring 1997, pp. 16-19, 61-62. [View](#)
46. "The Middle East in 1996: Rude Awakening." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 20: 1996 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 1998), pp. 5-16.
47. "Introduction." In *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, ed. Martin Kramer (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999), pp. 1-48. [View](#)
48. "What You Should Know about Muslim Politics and Society." In *America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President*, eds. P. Zelikow and R. Zoellick (Washington: The Aspen Institute, 1998), pp. 19-32. [View](#)

49. "The Road from Mecca: Muhammad Asad (born Leopold Weiss)." In *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, ed. Martin Kramer (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999), pp. 225-47. [View](#). Italian translation: "Storia di un ebreo musulmano." *Lettra internazionale* (Rome), vol. 21, no. 86 (2005). Reprinted in *Europe's Gift to Islam: Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss)*, ed. M. Ikram Chaghatai (New Delhi: Adam Publishers, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 239-61.
50. "The Middle East in 1997: Soft Coups for Hard Times." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 21: 1997 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 2000), pp. 5-21.
51. "The Middle East in 1998: American Preserve." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 22: 1998 (Boulder and Oxford: Westview, 2001), pp. 5-15.
52. "The Middle East in 1999: Changing Guard." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 23: 1999 (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 2001), pp. 5-15.
53. "The Middle East in 2000: Things Come Undone." *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, vol. 24: 2000 (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 2002), pp. 5-16.
54. "Policy and the Academy: An Illicit Relationship?" *Middle East Quarterly* (Philadelphia), vol. 10, no. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 65-73. [View](#)
55. "Coming to Terms: Fundamentalists or Islamists?" *Middle East Quarterly* (Philadelphia), vol. 10, no. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 65-77. [View](#)
56. "Déjà Vu: The ABCs of Public Diplomacy in the Middle East." In *A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism*, ed. Adam Garfinkle (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), pp. 133-44. [View](#)
57. "Nation and Assassination in the Middle East." *Middle East Quarterly* (Philadelphia), vol. 11, no. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 59-64. [View](#)
58. "The American Interest." *Azure* (Jerusalem), no. 26 (Autumn 2006), pp. 21-33. [View](#)
59. " Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran: The Challenges for Israel and the West." *The Sydney Papers* (Sydney), vol. 18, no. 3-4 (Winter-Spring 2006), pp. 19-27. [View](#)

PUBLICATIONS: ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

1. "Mu'tamar." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: Brill), vol. 7, fasc. 125-126 (1992), pp. 764-65.
2. "Congresses." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 308-11. [View](#)

3. "Hizbullah in Lebanon." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 130-33. [View](#)
4. "Islamic Congresses." *The Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Macmillan, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 894-96.
5. "Elie Kedourie." *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 637-38. [View](#)
6. "Bernard Lewis." *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 719-20. [View](#)

PUBLICATIONS: REVIEWS

1. Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to History*, and Barry Rubin, *Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience in Iran*—for *Commentary*, January 1981, pp. 78-80. [View](#)
2. Fouad Ajami, *The Arab Predicament*—for *Commentary*, July 1982, pp. 86-88. [View](#)
3. Michael Curtis, ed., *Religion and Politics in the Middle East*—for *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, December 1982, p. 43.
4. Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*—for *Middle Eastern Studies*, April 1984, pp. 238-40. [View](#)
5. Joan Peters, *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine*—for *The New Leader*, May 14, 1984, pp. 17-19. [View](#)
6. Daniel Pipes, *In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power*—for *The American Spectator*, July 1984, pp. 38-40. [View](#)
7. John L. Esposito, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*; Gilles Kepel, *Le Prophète et Pharaon*; Denis MacEoin and Ahmed Al-Shahi, eds., *Islam in the Modern World*; Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power*; and John Obert Voll, *Islam*—for *Middle Eastern Studies*, April 1986, pp. 293-97. [View](#)
8. William L. Cleveland, *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism*—for *Middle Eastern Studies*, October 1987, pp. 529-33. [View](#)
9. Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*—for *Social Science Quarterly*, June 1988, p. 509.
10. Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism*—for *Terrorism and Political Violence*, April 1989, pp. 270-72.
11. Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*—for *Middle East Review*, Spring 1989, pp. 63-64. [View](#)

12. Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*—for *Middle Eastern Studies*, October 1989, pp. 563-65. [View](#)
13. Neil Asher Silberman, *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*—for *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 6 (1990), pp. 493-94. [View](#)
14. Pierre Péan, *La Menace*; Yves Loiseau, *Le Grand Troc: Le labyrinthe des otages françaises au Liban*; Marie Seurat, *Les Corbeaux d'Alep*; Roger Auque, *Un otage à Beyrouth*; and Gilles Delafon, *Beyrouth: Les soldats de l'Islam*—for *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Winter 1990, pp. 574-80. [View](#)
15. Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography*—for *New York Newsday*, April 14, 1991. [View](#)
16. Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*; Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*—for *Commentary*, September 1991, pp. 56-59. [View](#) Hourani review
17. Danny Rubinstein, *The People of Nowhere: The Palestinian Vision of Home*; Michael Gorkin, *Days of Honey, Days of Onion: The Story of a Palestinian Family in Israel*; and Helen Winternitz, *A Season of Stones: Life in a Palestinian Village*—for *New York Newsday*, October 29, 1991.
18. Andreas Rieck, *Die Schiiten und der Kampf um den Libanon*—for *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 31 (1991), pp. 289-90.
19. Derek Hopwood, ed., *Studies in Arab History: The Antonius Lectures, 1978-87*—for *Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1992, pp. 592-95. [View](#)
20. Fatima Mernissi, *Islam and Democracy*—for *The New Republic*, March 1, 1993, pp. 39-41. [View](#)
21. Rivka Yadlin, *An Arrogant Oppressive Spirit: Anti-Zionism as Anti-Judaism in Egypt*—for *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January-April 1993, pp. 426-28.
22. Kanan Makiya, *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World*—for *New York Newsday*, April 18, 1993; and *The New Republic*, July 19, 1993, pp. 37-40. [View](#)
23. Robert D. Kaplan, *The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite*—for *Commentary*, February 1994, pp. 53-55. [View](#)
24. Edmund White, *Genet: A Biography*—for *Commentary*, July 1994, pp. 46-49. [View](#)
25. Fred Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*; and Graham E. Fuller and Ian O. Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*—for *Survival*, Winter 1996-97, pp. 154-59. [View](#)

26. Fouad Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*—for *The National Interest*, Summer 1998, pp. 93-96. [View](#)
27. *Paying the Price: Killing the Children of Iraq; Vingt ans...à Bagdad; The Minders; La mer sous embargo; Tears of Mesopotamia; Alone with War; and L'Homme aux semelles d'or* (films)—for *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2001, pp. 84-89. [View](#)
28. Susan Silsby Boyle, *Betrayal of Palestine: The Story of George Antonius*—for *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2002, p. 77. [View](#)
29. Abdulaziz A. Al-Sudairi, *A Vision of the Middle East: An Intellectual Biography of Albert Hourani*—for *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2002, pp. 84-85. [View](#)
30. *Beneath the Veil* and *Kandahar* (films)—for *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2002, pp. 69-76. [View](#)
31. Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*; and Roland Jacquard, *In the Name of Osama bin Laden*—for *The National Interest*, Summer 2002, pp. 132-38. [View](#)
32. Azzam Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat Within Islamism*— for *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2002, pp. 77-78. [View](#)
33. *Islam: Empire of Faith* (film)—for *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2002, pp. 71-78. [View](#)
34. Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents*—for *Commentary*, March 2007, pp. 63-65. [View](#)

RECENT COMMENTARY AND LECTURES (POST-9/11)

This category includes only lectures for which an online text is available, and commentary that is not self-published. For additional informal commentary, see Martin Kramer's [weblog Sandbox](#) (partly [mirrored](#) at the *Jerusalem Post*) and his [contributions](#) to *Middle East Strategy at Harvard*.

1. "No Greater Hate: What Inspires the Muslim Kamikazes?" *Tel Aviv Notes*, Tel Aviv University, no. 22, September 16, 2001. [View](#)
2. "Hijacking Islam." *National Review Online*, September 19, 2001. [View](#). Spanish translation: "El secuestro del Islam." *Letras Libres* (Madrid), November 2001, pp. 18-19. [View](#)
3. "The War on Terror," address to the Weinberg Founders Conference, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 20, 2001. Published as "Regime Strategies in the Middle East," in *War on Terror: The Middle East Dimension*, ed. R.B. Satloff

(Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002), pp. 17-24, 32-39 (Q & A). [View](#)

4. "Terrorism? What Terrorism?!" *Wall Street Journal*, November 15, 2001. [View](#)

5. "From Afghanistan to Araby." *National Review Online*, December 10, 2001. [View](#)

6. "Osama Blockbuster." *National Review Online*, December 14, 2001. [View](#)

7. "Professors of Palestine." *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2002, pp. 91-95. [View](#)

8. "Jihad 101." *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2002, pp. 87-95. [View](#)

9. "Arabic Panic." *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2002, pp. 88-95. [View](#)

10. "MESA Culpa." *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2002, pp. 81-90. [View](#)

11. "Can America Promote a Liberal, Democratic Middle East?" Panel presentation to the Weinberg Founders Conference, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 5, 2002. Published in *The Bush Administration Middle East Policy: A Mid-Term Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003), pp. 72-75. [View](#)

12. "Inclusion or Exclusion? Islamism in Politics." Panel presentation to the 2002 Doha Conference on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, October 20, 2002. Published in *An Agenda for Action: The 2002 Doha Conference on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World* (Washington: The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, 2003), pp. 41-44. [View](#)

13. "Military Responses to Religious Terrorism." Panel presentation to the Conference on the Study of Religion and Terrorism, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, November 22, 2002. [View](#)

14. "Controversy: Modernizing Islam [response to Francis Fukuyama and Nadav Samin]." *Commentary* (New York), December 2002, pp. 17-18. [View](#)

15. "The Idea of Violent Resistance." A panel with Martha Nussbaum, University of Chicago law professor, and Nathan Tarcov, University of Chicago political scientist. International House, University of Chicago, November 17, 2003. [View](#)

16. "Can Congress Fix Middle Eastern Studies?" Panel presentation with Stanley Kurtz, Hoover Institution analyst. The Washington Institute for Near Eastern Studies, November 20, 2003. [View](#)

17. "Shiites and U.S. Policy." Panel presentation to the Weinberg Founders Conference, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 16, 2004. [View](#)

18. "When Minorities Rule." A panel presentation by Martin Kramer with Ammar Abdulhamid, Syrian write. Policy Forum of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 15, 2004. [View](#)
19. "Mr. Sharansky, ease my doubts." A panel presentation with Natan Sharansky, author of *The Case for Democracy*, and Shlomo Avineri, Hebrew University political scientist. Tel Aviv University, February 23, 2005. [View](#)
20. "Arab Studies in the Cross-hairs." A panel presentation with Michael Hudson, Georgetown University political scientist, and Asad AbuKhalil, Cal State Stanislaus political scientist. 30th anniversary symposium of the Georgetown Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, April 1, 2005. [View](#). [Listen](#)
21. "Middle Eastern Studies: What is the Debate About?" A panel presentation with Steven Caton, director of Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, and Malik Mufti, director of Tuft's Middle East Studies Program. Inaugural conference, Crown Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Brandeis University, April 4, 2005. [View](#)
22. An open briefing/debate on Islamism and U.S. policy with Alastair Crooke, Conflicts Forum. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, September 20, 2005. [View](#). French translation: "Islamistes de tout poil." [View](#)
23. "Suicide Terrorism: Origins and Response." A debate with University of Chicago political scientist Robert Pape. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 8, 2005. [View](#)
24. "Islam's Coming Crusade." *The Jerusalem Report*, March 20, 2006. [View](#)
25. "Power Will Not Moderate Hamas." Bitterlemons.org, March 27, 2006. [View](#)
26. "Title VI in the 21st Century." Panel discussion with Al Fishlow, Columbia University, and Robert Blake, University of California Language Consortium. Committee to Review the Title VI and Fulbright-Hays International Education Programs, Fourth Committee Meeting, The National Academies, Beckman Center, Irvine, CA, October 5, 2006. [View](#)
27. "The Israeli-Islamist War." Occasional Paper Series of the Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Fall 2006, pp. 8-10. [View](#)
28. "Big Ideas in the Middle East." An address to friends of The Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy, Beverly Hills, November 29, 2006. [View](#)
29. "Democracy Promotion: Plan B." A panel with Carl Gershman, President, National Endowment of Democracy, and Jennifer Windsor, executive director of Freedom House. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 6, 2006. [View](#)
30. "Know Thy Enemy or an Approximation Thereof." A panel presentation to the 7th Annual Herzliya Conference, January 22, 2007. [View](#)

31. "After Iraq: The Future of the United States in the Middle East." Address to the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, April 30, 2007. [View](#). Published as "The Fragile Crescent." *New Republic Online*, May 11, 2007. [View](#)
32. A panel presentation at the Prague Conference on Democracy and Security: Core Values and Sound Policies, June 5, 2007. [View](#)
33. "1967 and Memory." Panel presentation to a conference on "Forty Years Later: the Legacy of the Six Day War," convened by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Jerusalem, June 12, 2007. [View](#)
34. "The Middle East and Elections '08." Closed panel discussion with Ambassador Dennis Ross. Weinberg Founders Conference, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 19, 2007. [View](#)
35. A symposium on Norman Podhoretz's book *World War IV. Commentary*, November 2007. [View](#)
36. "The Myth of Linkage." A lecture in the Director's Series, Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, October 24, 2007. [View](#)
37. "Memo from Gulfistan." A panel presentation to the 8th Annual Herzliya Conference, January 21, 2008. [View](#)
38. "America's Interests: A Bedside Briefing." Presentation to a symposium on "After Bush: America's Agenda in the Middle East," convened by Middle East Strategy at Harvard, Harvard University, September 23, 2008. [View](#)
39. "What do the financial crisis and U.S. Middle East policy have in common?" *The Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2008. [View](#)
40. "Battling Toward the Collapse of the Hamas Regime." *The Jerusalem Post*, January 4, 2009. [View](#)