

## **Martin Kramer**

### **Higher Education**

- 1982                    Ph.D. in Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University
- 1978                    A.M. in Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University
- 1976                    M.A. in History, Columbia University
- 1975                    A.B. in Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University  
(Summa Cum Laude)

### **Career**

- 2006-present        Senior Fellow, Shalem Center
- 2005-present        Principal Research Associate (Ret.), Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- 1995-2005          Principal Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- 1995-2001          Director, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- 1985-1995          Senior Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- 1987-1995          Associate Director, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- 1981-1985          Research Associate, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University

### **Visiting Positions**

- 2008- 2011        Senior Fellow, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University
- 2002                Visiting Professor, Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University
- 1994-1995        Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University
- 1992                Visiting Associate Professor, Department of History and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago
- 1991                Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and The Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago

- 1986-1987      Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Government and Public Affairs, George Mason University
- 1984            Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University

### **Awards and Fellowships**

- 2006-2008      Research Grant, Smith Richardson Foundation
- 2000            Public Policy Scholarship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- 1994-1995      Fellowship, National Humanities Center (declined)
- 1993            Visiting DAAD Scholarship, Martin-Luther-Universität (Halle)
- 1989-1990      Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- 1988-1990      Research Grant, Ford Foundation
- 1988-1990      Research Grant, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation
- 1986            Visiting DAAD Scholarship, Albert-Ludwigs Universität (Freiburg)
- 1975-1981      University Fellowships throughout Graduate Studies at Columbia University and Princeton University
- 1979            Doctoral Dissertation Research Fellowship, American Research Center in Egypt
- 1975            Center for Arabic Study Abroad Fellowship, American University in Cairo
- 1974            McConnell Scholarship, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

### **List of Publications—Refereed**

#### Books

1. Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

#### Edited Books

1. The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1999).
2. The Islamism Debate (Dayan Center Papers, no. 120) (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1997).

3. Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991).
4. Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987).
5. Protest and Revolution in Shiite Islam (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad and the Moshe Dayan Center, 1986). [Hebrew]

### Articles

1. "Déjà Vu: The ABCs of Public Diplomacy in the Middle East," A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism, Adam Garfinkle, ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), pp. 133-144.
2. "Nation and Assassination in the Middle East," Middle East Quarterly 11 (3) (Summer 2004), pp. 59-64.
3. "Policy and the Academy: An Illicit Relationship?," Middle East Quarterly 10 (1) (Winter 2003), pp. 65-73.
4. "Coming to Terms: Fundamentalists or Islamists?," Middle East Quarterly 10 (2) (Spring 2003), pp. 65-77.
5. "The Middle East in 2000: Things Come Undone," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Tel Aviv) 24 (2002), pp. 5-16.
6. "The Middle East in 1999: Changing Guard," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Tel Aviv) 23 (2001), pp. 5-15.
7. "The Middle East in 1998: American Preserve," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 22 (2001), pp. 5-15.
8. "The Middle East in 1997: Soft Coups for Hard Times," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 21 (2000), pp. 5-21.
9. "The Middle East in 1996: Rude Awakening," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 20 (1998), pp. 5-16.
10. "Ballots and Bullets: Islamists and the Relentless Drive for Power," Harvard International Review 19 (2) (Spring 1997), pp. 16-19, 61-62.
11. "The Middle East, Old and New," Daedalus 126 (2) (Spring 1997), pp. 89-112.
- 12.a. "Fundamentalist Islam: The Drive for Power," Middle East Quarterly 3 (2) (June 1996), pp. 37-49.
- 12.b. Hebrew translation published as "Islam is the Power of the Future," Islam and Democracy in the Arab World, M. Litvak, ed. (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1997), pp. 24-43.
13. "Rallying Around Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 17 (1995), pp. 109-153.

14. "The Global Village of Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 16 (1994), pp. 193-226.
15. "Islam in the New World Order," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 15 (1993), pp. 172-205.
16. "The Invasion of Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 14 (1992), pp. 177-207.
17. "An Uneasy Truce in Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 12 (1990), pp. 177-204.
18. "Surveying the Middle East," Asian and African Studies 24 (1) (March 1990), pp. 89-107.
19. "Islam's Enduring Feud," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 11 (1989), pp. 153-179.
20. "Arabistik and Arabism: The Passions of Martin Hartmann," Middle Eastern Studies 25 (3) (July 1989), pp. 283-300.
21. "The Export of Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Boulder) 10 (1988), pp. 127-156.
22. "Tragedy in Mecca," Orbis 31 (1) (Spring 1988), pp. 231-247. Reprinted in Sandstorm: Middle East Conflicts and America, D. Pipes, ed. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 241-267.
23. "The Routine of Muslim Solidarity," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Tel Aviv) 9 (1987), pp. 146-167.
24. "Muslim Statecraft and Subversion," Middle East Contemporary Survey (Tel Aviv) 8 (1986), pp. 158-182.
25. "The Divided House of Islam," Middle East Contemporary Survey (New York) 7 (1985), pp. 235-255.
26. "The Muslim Consensus Undone," Middle East Contemporary Survey (New York) 6 (1984), pp. 283-307.
27. "Azoury: A Further Episode," Middle Eastern Studies 18 (4) (Oct. 1982), pp. 351-358.
28. "The Year of Muslim Diplomacy," Middle East Contemporary Survey (New York) 5 (1982), pp. 118-147
29. "Shaykh Maraghi's Mission to the Hijaz, 1925," Asian and African Studies 16 (1) (March 1982), pp. 121-136.

#### Book Chapters

- 1.a. "The Road from Mecca: Muhammad Asad (born Leopold Weiss)," The Jewish Discovery of Islam, Martin Kramer, ed. (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1999), pp. 225-247. Reprinted in Europe's Gift to Islam: Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss), M. Ikram Chaghatai, ed. (New-Delhi: Adam Publishers, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 239-261.

- 1.b. Italian translation published as "Storia di un ebreo musulmano," Lettra internazionale 21 (86) (2005).
2. "The Oracle of Hizbullah: Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah," Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East, R. S. Appleby, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 83-181.
3. "The Mismeasure of Political Islam," The Islamism Debate, Martin Kramer, ed. (Dayan Center Papers, no. 120), (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997), pp. 161-173.
- 4.a. "Political Parties and Political Participation in the Middle East," Politische Parteien und gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Themenkonferenz Afrika/Nahost (Sankt Augustin: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1996), pp. 115-134.
- 4.b. German translation published as "Parteien und demokratischer Wandel in der arabischen Welt," KAS: Auslands-Informationen, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung 7 (1996), pp. 47-61.
5. "The Arab-Israeli Peace Process," The Middle East after the Cold War: Papers and Discussion from the Twenty-Ninth Foreign Policy School, 1994, W. Harris, and L.S. Leland Jr., eds. (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996), pp. 137-152.
6. "The Sharifian Propaganda of Eugène Jung," The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: Essays in Honor of the Late Professor Uriel Dann, A. Susser, and A. Shmuelevitz, eds. (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 31-46.
7. "Hizbullah: The Calculus of Jihad," Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance, M. Marty, and R.S. Appleby, eds. (The Fundamentalism Project), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 539-556. Reprinted in Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 57 (8) (May 1994), pp. 20-43.
8. "Where Islam and Democracy Part Ways," Democracy in the Middle East: Defining the Challenge, Y. Mirsky, and M. Ahrens, eds. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1993), pp. 31-40.
9. "A Sampler of Biography and Self-Narrative," Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative, M. Kramer, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp. 127-143.
10. "Redeeming Jerusalem: The Pan-Islamic Premise of Hizbullah," The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World, D. Menashri, ed. (Boulder: Westview, 1990), pp. 105-130.
11. "Pen and Purse: Sabunji and Blunt," The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis, C.E. Bosworth et al., eds. (Princeton: Darwin, 1989), pp. 771-780.
12. "Ambition's Discontent: The Demise of George Antonius," The Great Powers and the Middle East 1919-1939, U. Dann, ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), pp. 405-416.

- 13.a. "Syria's Alawis and Shi'ism," Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution, M. Kramer, ed. (Boulder: Westview, 1987), pp. 237-254.
- 13.b. Turkish translation published as "Suriye Alevîleri ve Şiilik," Nefes 1-2 (Nov.-Dec. 1993), pp. 45-52 and 38-41.
- 13.c. Hebrew translation published as "The Alawis and Shi'ite Islam," Syria and Israel's National Security, A. Yaniv, M. Maoz, and A. Kober, eds. (Tel Aviv: Maarachot, 1991), pp. 171-184.
14. "The Structure of Shi'ite Terrorism," Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism, A. Kurz, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1987), pp. 43-52.
15. "The Shi'i Revival," Protest and Revolution in Shi'i Islam, M. Kramer, ed. (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1985), pp. 141-156. [Hebrew]
16. "Egypt's Religious Establishment in Crisis," Regime and Opposition in Sadat's Egypt, A. Ayalon, ed. (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1983), pp. 93-112. [Hebrew]

#### Encyclopedia Entries

1. Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999).
  - Elie Kedourie, vol. 1, pp. 637-638
  - Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, pp. 719-720
2. The Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East (New York: Macmillan, 1996).
  - Islamic Congresses, vol. 2, pp. 894-896
3. The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
  - Congresses, vol. 1, pp. 308-311
  - Hizbullah in Lebanon, vol. 2, pp. 130-133
4. Encyclopedia of Islam 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leiden: Brill), vol. 7, fasc. 125-126 (1992).
  - Mu'tamar, pp. 764-765

## Monographic Papers

1. Rules of Engagement: How Government Can Leverage Academe (Policy Focus no. 113), (Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2011).
2. Fadlallah: The Compass of Hizbullah (Dayan Center Papers, no. 122), (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1998). [Hebrew].
3. Hezbollah's Vision of the West (Policy Paper no. 16), (Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1989).
4. Political Islam (Washington Paper no. 73), (Beverly Hills: Sage and Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1980).

## **Other Publications**

### Books

1. Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America (Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001).
2. Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: The Politics of Ideas in the Middle East (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1996). Paperback edition published in 2008.

### Articles

1. "The American Interest," Azure 26 (Autumn 2006), pp. 21-33.
2. "What You Should Know about Muslim Politics and Society," America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President, P. Zelikow, and R. Zoellick, eds. (Washington: The Aspen Institute, 1998), pp. 19-32.
3. "The Jihad against the Jews," Commentary (New York, Oct.1994), pp. 38-42; Letters and reply: Jan. 1995, pp. 20, 22.
4. "Islam and the West (including Manhattan)," Commentary (New York, Oct. 1993), pp. 33-37.
5. "Islam vs. Democracy," Commentary (New York, Jan. 1993), pp. 35-42; Letters and reply: May 1993, pp. 14-18.

### Book Reviews

1. Review of Robert Irwin, Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents in Commentary (March 2007), pp. 63-65.
2. Review of Azzam Tamimi, Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism in Middle East Quarterly (Fall 2002), pp. 77-78.
3. Review of Gilles Kepel, Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam; and of Roland Jacquard, In the Name of Osama bin Laden in The National Interest (Summer 2002), pp. 132-138.

4. Review of Susan Silsby Boyle, Betrayal of Palestine: The Story of George Antonius in Middle East Quarterly (Spring 2002), p. 77.
5. Review of Abdulaziz A. Al-Sudairi, A Vision of the Middle East: An Intellectual Biography of Albert Hourani in Middle East Quarterly (Spring 2002), pp. 84-85.
6. Review of Fouad Ajami, The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey in The National Interest (Summer 1998), pp. 93-96.
7. Review of Fred Halliday, Islam and the Myth of Confrontation; and of Graham E. Fuller, and Ian O. Lesser, A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West in Survival (Winter 1996-1997), pp. 154-159.
8. Review of Edmund White, Genet: A Biography in Commentary (July 1994), pp. 46-49.
9. Review of Robert D. Kaplan, The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite in Commentary (Feb. 1994), pp. 53-55.
10. Review of Kanan Makiya, Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World in New York Newsday, April 18, 1993; and in The New Republic, July 19, 1993, pp. 37-40.
11. Review of Fatima Mernissi, Islam and Democracy in The New Republic, March 1, 1993, pp. 39-41.
12. Review of Yadlin, An Arrogant Oppressive Spirit: Anti-Zionism as Anti-Judaism in Egypt in Jewish Quarterly Review (Jan.-April 1993), pp. 426-428.
13. Review of Derek Hopwood, ed., Studies in Arab History: The Antonius Lectures, 1978-1987 in Middle Eastern Studies (July 1992), pp. 592-595.
14. Review of Andreas Rieck, Die Schiiten und der Kampf um den Libanon in Die Welt des Islams 31 (1991), pp. 289-290. [German]
15. Review of Danny Rubinstein, The People of Nowhere: The Palestinian Vision of Home; of Michael Gorkin, Days of Honey, Days of Onion: The Story of a Palestinian Family in Israel; and of Helen Winternitz, A Season of Stones: Life in a Palestinian Village in New York Newsday, Oct. 29, 1991.
16. Review of Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples; and of Norman A. Stillman, The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times in Commentary (Sept. 1991), pp. 56-59.
17. Review of Efraim Karsh, and Inari Rautsi, Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography in New York Newsday, April 14, 1991.
18. Review of Pierre Péan, La Menace; of Yves Loiseau, Le Grand Troc: Le labyrinthe des otages françaises au Liban; of Marie Seurat, Les Corbeaux d'Alep; of Roger Auque, Un otage à Beyrouth; and of Gilles Delafon, Beyrouth: Les soldats de l'Islam in Terrorism and Political Violence (Winter 1990), pp. 574-580.
19. Review of Neil Asher Silberman, Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East in Modern Greek Studies Yearbook 6 (1990), pp. 493-494.



20. Review of Francis R. Nicosia, The Third Reich and the Palestine Question in Middle Eastern Studies (Oct. 1989), pp. 563-565.
21. Review of Bernard Lewis, The Political Language of Islam in Middle East Review (Spring 1989), pp. 63-64
22. Review of Amir Taheri, Holy Terror: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism in Terrorism and Political Violence, April 1989, pp. 270-72.
23. Review of Augustus Richard Norton, Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon in Social Science Quarterly (June 1988), p. 509.
24. Review of William L. Cleveland, Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism in Middle Eastern Studies (Oct. 1987), pp. 529-533.
25. Review of John L. Esposito, Voices of Resurgent Islam; of Gilles Kepel, Le Prophète et Pharaon; of Denis MacEoin, and Ahmed Al-Shahi, eds., Islam in the Modern World; of Edward Mortimer, Faith and Power; and of John Obert Voll, Islam in Middle Eastern Studies (April 1986), pp. 293-297.
26. Review of Daniel Pipes, In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power in The American Spectator (July 1984), pp. 38-40.
27. Review of Joan Peters, From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine in The New Leader, May 14, 1984, pp. 17-19.
28. Review of Hamid Enayat, Modern Islamic Political Thought in Middle Eastern Studies (April 1984), pp. 238-240
29. Review of Michael Curtis, ed., Religion and Politics in the Middle East in Middle East Studies Association Bulletin (Dec. 1982), p. 43.
30. Review of Fouad Ajami, The Arab Predicament in Commentary (July 1982), pp. 86-88.
31. Review of Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, Answer to History; and of Barry Rubin, Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience in Iran in Commentary (Jan. 1981), pp. 78-80.

### Introductions to Books

1. Introduction, in Martin Kramer, ed., The Jewish Discovery of Islam (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 1999), pp. 1-48.
2. Introduction, in M. Kramer, ed., Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp. 1-19.
3. Introduction, in M. Kramer, ed., Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution (Boulder: Westview, 1987), pp. 1-18.

